



Conflicting Aspirations in the City of Sand: Citizenship & Cosmopolitan Youth in Neoliberal Peru

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I, Jasmin Immonen, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. All photographs are, unless otherwise indicated, my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

The thesis is an investigation into citizenship, schooling, urban anthropology and global youth cultures in a settlement town called Pachacutec north of Lima, Peru's capital city. The thesis analyses the tension between the expectations of the youth at a national level (access to citizenship and its entitlements, like land and education) and at a global level (in terms of consumption and cosmopolitan identities, and the possibility of travel and working ability). Each chapter discusses conflicts in the neoliberal model of progress through ethnography carried out in the school of Our Lady of Sorrows. Starting with an analysis of the relevance of prior and on-going colonial relations to the setting, the thesis argues that previous power dynamics were destabilised in the everyday cosmopolitanisms that young Pachacuteños use. These destabilizations were however often fleeting and rivalled with the continuing precarious standing in which many citizens were enmeshed, demonstrating how the neoliberal project builds on previous relations of power. This has wider implications to the citizenship model.

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Glossary

Aguatero	A water-seller who sells water to those who need. A tradition originating in Spain, used widely across Latin America.
Ambulante	A merchant who travels by walking and public transport selling products to people in streets and in buses
Arenales	Sand dunes
Asentamiento Humano (A.H)	A human settlement
Cachuelas	Odd-jobs
Casta	Colonial racial classification scheme
CEPAL/ECLA	Comisión Económica para America Latina y el Caribe/ United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
Cerro	Mountain/hill
Chacra	A land-plot used for agriculture usually in the countryside, but also found in Pachacutec. It is often owned and cultivated communally. Also a farm.
Chicha	Music genre (fusion of rock, huayno & other). Also a maize beer. Used as an idiomatic expression referring to change appearing in Lima after migrations.
Cholo m./chola f.	Name used usually for a person from the highlands, can be derogatory
Cholito	Diminutive from cholo

Ch'ullu	A hand-woven wool hat worn by men in the Andes
Ciudadela	City/township
COFOPRI	Commission on the Formalisation of Informal Property
Combi	A mini-bus
Compadrazco	'God-father' type of relationship: an alliance with a fictive kinship tie
Compadre	Male member of fictive kin
Comunero	Highland community member
Conchudo(a)	A freeloader (lazy and rude)
Conchudez de la gente	Laziness of people, an attitude expecting things without giving back in return, implies rudeness
Cono	Cone: areas to which Lima expands geographically
Conquistador	Conqueror
Cordillera	A mountain range (Andes)
Criollo	Creole, used for European descent people born locally, also label given to some music and food. Implies mixture.
Critical Pedagogy	A theory that looks at the interrelationship between knowledge, the society, institutions, the individual and power in the processes of learning, and seeks to find transformative tools in teaching practice

Cumbia	Music genre that in Peru is a fusion of the original Colombian genre, traditional highland slow-paced folkloric songs and rock music
Decencia	Decency
EIB	Bilingual Intercultural Education (Educación Intercultural Bilingüe)
Enamoramiento	'Falling in love' ; infatuation; amorousness
Escuela	School
Faena	Communal labour
Gamonalismo	Local political 'bossism' , a system of power applied in Peru until the agrarian reform, refers to exploitation by large land-owners
Gamonal, gamonales pl.	A large landowner: the person in power of the abusive system above
Gente Popular	Common/lay people
Gringa f./gringo m.	A label for foreigners
Hacendado(s)	Owner of the <i>hacienda</i>
Hacerse respetar	Making oneself respected, earn respect
Hacienda	The most widely spread form of latifundio: an area of land in which different forms of labour organisation and land utilization exist simultaneously
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IDL	Institute of Democracy and Liberty

IMF	International Monetary Fund
INEI	National Statistical and Informational Institute (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e informática)
Indigenismo	Indigenism, early 20 th century social movement
Interculturalidad	Interculturality
Intercultural Education	Promotes the understanding of different people and cultures in the class-room. Appears in elementary schools but used also in institutes of higher education all over Latin America
Latifundio	Enormous pieces of landed property, instituted in 16 th century when a Spanish soldier or a colonist was granted a tract of land or a village together with the inhabitants inside
Limeño	A person from Lima
Lote	A lot, an allotment of land
Luchador(a)	A person who overcomes adversities, a fighter
Machismo	Masculine pride that fuses with derogatory attitude towards female gender identities
Machista	A person who is being <i>macho</i>
Manzana	A block, square
Marca Peru	A country brand/insignia decorating souvenirs, clothing and many other items

Mestizaje	An official name given to explain racial mixture that occurred in Latin America after colonialism, typically when referring to mixture between Spanish and Indian, but it also incorporates any type of racial mixture.
Mestizo/Mestiza	Person of a mixed inheritance
Mosca	'Fly' , idiomatic expression, a person who is quick, clever, smart – breaks rules but doesn' t get caught
Negro	Black
Obras	Infrastructural works
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
Ojotas	Sandals worn in the Andes
Pachacuteco	A person from Pachacutec
Padrino	'God-father' (sponsor) of an event
Pandillaje	Gang membership
Parentesco	Kinship
Pendejear	Fool around
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
Pituca	An upper-class woman
Pituco	An upper-class man
Poblador, pobladores pl.	Settler(s)

Pollada	A dish of chicken prepared in exchange of receiving a profit to help a particular need
Pollera	Skirt with many layers worn in the Andes
Provinciano	A person from the provinces
Puta	A whore/bitch
Quinceañera	A girl' s 15 th year birthday party
Salir adelante	Moving forward; getting ahead
SEDAPAL	Public water company
Selva	The jungle (Amazon)
Selvático	Person from the Amazon
Serrano	Person from the highlands
Sierra	The highlands/mountain range (Andes)
Sol, soles pl.	Peruvian sol, national currency
SUNARP	The National Superintendency of Public Registries
Telenovela(s)	Soap-operas
UGEL	Local Educational Management Unit (Unidad de Gestión Educativa Local)
USAID	United States agency for International Development
Vago	Lazy
Vecino m. Vecina f. vecinos/vecinas pl.	Neighbour, used in settlement towns for co-habitants
Vivo	Clever, quick, smart

Chapter 1 Citizenship's Ephemeral Spaces:

From a historical perspective to a new demand

Introduction

Ephemerality in this chapter's title and in this thesis refers to unstableness and to the spaces where new things get articulated. But like a grain of sand needs other grains of sand to move along, things are moving in conjunction. The chapters that unfold in this thesis exhibit this dynamism. The source of analysis it draws from are the events that unfolded in a public secondary school named 'Our Lady of Sorrows', from October 2012 to September 2013. What is particular about Our Lady of Sorrows is that it is located in the city of Pachacutec (*ciudadela Pachacutec*), a large settlement town consisting of 136 smaller settlements, known as *asentamientos humanos*, built on top of sand-dunes north of Peru's capital city of Lima. This precise location shaped the ideas of citizenship and schooling that were the main locus point of the research. However, given the emerging power of social media, the thesis also pays attention to how social media affected the newly emerging spaces, especially as social media allowed for the "fieldwork" to continue from a distance years after returning from 'the field'.

The settlements of Pachacutec lie to the north of Lima, covering a vast expanse of sand mountains known to Peruvians as *arenales* (from *arena*, sand) that form the last stretches of the Andean *cordillera* reaching the coast. Lima itself is situated in a kind of oasis; it is surrounded by arenales at its northern and southern edges beyond which there are numerous beautiful beaches frequently visited on day trips by *Limeños*, the inhabitants of Lima. Today, Lima is the second largest city to be situated in a desert following Cairo (Klaver 2011; Martucelli 2015). Lima is built on flat land, and the Rimac River runs through the old colonial center of Lima. In geographical terms, the areas surrounding Lima where settlement formation is the predominant mode of living are spread to North, East and South, and accordingly they

are known as *cono norte* (North Cone), *cono este* (East Cone) and *cono sur* (South Cone). Now the city spreads vastly to both the north and south, taking in the small valleys of the Chillón and Lurín Rivers, as well as towards the East along the Río Rimac, where it meets the rockier slopes of the Andean foothills (Riofrio 2003). These areas where the city spreads have shopping malls, highways and microenterprises. These spaces began to grow in fast pace in the 1960s and they have traditionally absorbed migrants from other regions¹. At the turn of the millennium, the population in the cones grew in a more accelerated pace than in residential Lima (Calderon 2005; Joseph 1999; Matos Mar 2004), and in 2010, only 2 million people lived in the old parts of Lima, whereas 6 million and half lived in the cones (Martucelli 2015). The cones are thus today the spaces where the majority of Lima's population live today. There are however important differences between the various settlement towns and urbanisations in Lima, and it should be highlighted from the start that Pachacutec held a more ambivalent status than many of the other townships in one of these three cones, the reasons which will be elaborated in detail in chapter two. Pachacutec is situated in the northern part of the district of Ventanilla (see maps 1 and 2 below). According to the website of the municipality of Ventanilla, its population is 200 000².



1. Location of Ventanilla



2. Metropolitan Lima and Callao

¹ In Peru, areas outside of Lima, including Callao where Pachacutec lays, are termed as regions. These regions are subdivided into provinces and districts, and they have an elected government. Lima instead maintains the status of a province.

² <https://www.muniventanilla.gob.pe/noticia.php?idPublicacion=3104>

The *conos* are inhabited by people who want their settlement to become part of the city of Lima. The people who have migrated from other areas are known as *pobladores* (settlers)³ and to each other as *vecinos* (neighbours). Whereas the available literature has stressed the migratory pattern of the people inhabiting *conos*, it would be reasonable to speculate that today inhabitants of the *conos* are from all areas of Peru, including Lima, other coastal areas, the Andes and the Amazon⁴. The *conos* are also increasingly inhabited by the people born in settlements.

The term *asentamiento humano* (human settlement) is relatively new nomenclature for the settlement neighbourhoods like Pachacutec, adopted in the 1990s. It was taken into use as the previous names given to these spaces such as *pueblos juvenes* ('young villages') or *barriadas* were perceived to be stigmatizing (Riofrio 2003). These names vary according to latest policies and not only are they used in the official language but also by the residents themselves. People would also call Pachacutec plainly an *asentamiento*, a settlement, or use other terms like *centro poblado* (populated center). Pachacutec is named after the Inca Emperor who extended the Inca Empire to its greatest extension⁵, the name thus quite adequately reflecting the expansion of the city year by year. Pachacutec gained its official recognition as a city in 1989 (Calderon 2009), but records detail that settlements were already formed to Pachacutec between the years of 1960 and 1968 (Calderon 2005: 140). Whether these were the very first settlements formed in the area remains unknown to me.

³ The term 'poblador' was coined in Latin America after the second World War in order to refer to the people who built precarious houses in the margins of cities, in land that they invaded for living (Quijano 1998:112).

⁴ I have included some statistics about the parents' background and students' birthplace found in the appendix, from a relatively small sample, however. Most parents came from other coastal towns, and most of the students were born in Lima, in *conos*.

⁵ Pachacutec Inca Yupanqui was the ninth Inca who ruled between 1438 and 1471 (Klaren 2004:39).



1.1 Ventanilla, picture taken as the car descends from Pachacutec

The ephemeral space of the sand dunes, *arenales*, may be a suitable metaphor for the argument of this thesis. The picture 1.1 is taken from Ventanilla, a city that started as a settlement project in the 1970s (Calderon 2005), and today has colourful multi-storey houses and casinos. While Ventanilla was settled on the flatter, expansive plain in the sand dunes, we can see in the picture clusters of houses built higher on the hills. Pachacutec consists of a vast amount of clusters of houses built on top of fragile sand mountains as seen in the picture; it just lays on the opposite side of what is photographed here. The question this thesis seeks to answer draws from the physical setting in Pachacutec: what kinds of subjects emerge and how do people experience their subjecthood in this environment, amidst the discourses and processes that enable it to exist? More precisely what could these particular experiences and forms of belonging imply in our understanding of citizenship? By aiming to give some answers to this question, this thesis will contribute to the anthropological literature on citizenship in new urban spaces. It argues that communities like Pachacutec are ephemeral in the face of the vagaries of national power structures, legal systems, elitism, exploitative labour relations, and the demands of global capitalism. But they are also spaces that by their existence demand a certain reconfiguration of the existing power dynamics. Many of the youth in the study are staking a claim in the newly emerging, ephemeral spaces that are relevant to their lives.

On a broader macro-scale level, the thesis argues that much of the contradictions felt, and reproduced by the youth indicate the tensions of ‘progress’ in

the neoliberal age⁶. But the contradictions, as will be demonstrated in this chapter, are not something that is created by neoliberalism per se, they are created by relations of power that have much longer historical roots. As the summary of the historical background will demonstrate, the questions of Peruvian citizenship making have hardly ever been separate from asymmetrical power relations implanted by colonialism. But what it also reveals is that in the long history of battles to resist domination and subjugation there is dynamism where things⁷ are reconfigured. Pachacutec is essentially a reflection of the peculiar legacy of the battle between unequal relations inherited from history and people's claim to participate in the processes of capitalist production.

The thesis analyses the social lives of *Pachacutecños* as well as the relations they establish with their city, their country and the wider global environment. It does this by focusing on the contradictions that arose in every-day discourses and practices and by examining the policies that most impact their every-day lives. These everyday experiences were often mediated by materiality and aspirations. In this light, citizenship is a complex bundle of practices that is more than just a legal status. It also constitutes political membership that is produced by the subjects themselves (Lazar 2013). I follow Saskia Sassen's assertion that citizenship is partly produced by the practices of the excluded and new types of claim making arise from the new conditions of inequality and difference that are evident today (2006). The second part of the introduction will focus on elaborating some of the particularities of this new dynamism in more detail by drawing on the work of Veronica Gago in what she has termed as 'neoliberalism from below' (2017)⁸.

The thesis thus aims to demonstrate two things: First, how complex webs of paradoxes were revealed in the every-day struggles of Pachacutec residents, especially in relation to neoliberal notions of progress; and second, how previous

⁶ The literature on neoliberalism is so vast that merely one definition of it will be inadequate. But in most literature it seems to refer to the intrusion of the market in many aspects of citizenship practices, at the expense of such things as social and economic rights. It is also used in reference to practices or processes that are related to the enactment of the political and ideological project of a particular class. The Foucauldian framework sees it as a set of technologies of government that regulate the self through authority, as much as through freedom (Montoya 2014; see also Kingfisher & Maskovsky 2008).

⁷ I am consciously using this nondescript word because it is hard to label these processes that are uncertain and only half articulated, incomplete, and different from other citizenship processes.

⁸ The inspiration to refer to Sassen's work came from mentioned Gago's work.

power dynamics are destabilised in the every-day cosmopolitanisms⁹ that *Pachacuteños* use. These destabilizations were however often fleeting and rivalled with the continuing precarious standing in which many citizens were enmeshed, demonstrating how the neoliberal project builds on previous relations of power. Part of the complexity is that there are instances when the neoliberal model is rejected and others where it is successful. The conflicts that arise indicate where the model of progress associated with neoliberal policies is rejected, whereas the ongoing destabilizations show where the model is 'successful'. The global critique that appeared in students' talk is evidence that such destabilizations do remain subtle and that the ongoing power dynamics seek to maintain them as such. This has wider implications to the citizenship model, which will be referred to intermittently throughout the dissertation.

The struggle for decolonializing citizenship

The youth in Pachacutec are in the vast majority born in the city. They are the children of generation(s) before them who moved to the vicinity of the capital city. In Peru, the privileged position of the city of Lima comes from its colonial history. Indeed, Sassen records that while the territorial state became a well-established type of political organisation in Europe in the 1600s, a second, and in many ways much older territorial organisation is that of cities and city states (2006). Today in Peru, more than 70% of the population lives in urban areas, and a third of that population lives in Lima. It is also significant that over half of the population of Peru lives on the Coast. In terms of age, half of Lima's population is less than 30 years old, and up to 80% is composed of first or second generation of migrants (Martucelli 2015).

The historical relations that took place in Peru up to the present day tell how the processes of settlement formation are a legacy of asymmetrical relations forged by history. It has been largely debated, and accepted, in the academic literature, that capitalism started in the conquest of the Americas¹⁰. Sassen names pillaging the way

⁹ Similar to neoliberalism, the literature in cosmopolitanism is vast. For Beck cosmopolitanism is a defining feature of a new era in which national borders and differences are dissolving and must be renegotiated. Cosmopolitanism today has more to do with a sense of being in the world, a world perceived in terms of boundarylessness, replacing territorially based differentiations with forms of inclusion through relationships. They do not however imply the end of national empathy (in Goddard 2010:130).

¹⁰The World Systems theorist, Immanuel Wallerstein, posited that the capitalist world economy begun to form centred on the European continent in the 16th century, and expanded subsequently in the following three centuries. This involved the establishment of integrated production processes that can

by which the Spanish crown used wealth gathered from its colonies to pay its debt, and that began to function as one factor in the formation of a type of capability we think of as modern: the apparatus to implement, organise, manage and service cross-border economic transactions. It came, as we know, with a huge human cost (2006)¹¹. But what is still under discussion is whether Latin American countries ever achieved independence in the ‘true’ sense of the word. The point here is to highlight how the dynamics of power have remained asymmetrical since the days of the conquest. Anibal Quijano notes with his coining of the term ‘coloniality of power’, the way that power is distributed has not been decolonialised in Latin America. Because of this, what we term today as ‘globalization’ is only a culmination of a process that began with the constitution of America and colonial/modern Eurocentered capitalism as a new global power (2000).

The decolonial perspective considers how relations of domination are given legitimacy through frameworks that were imposed during the conquest. For example, Quijano asserts that one fundamental axis of colonial/modern Eurocentered capitalism was/is the classification of the world's population in terms of the notion of race. The fierce levels of exploitation in the colonies were legitimized in this way by the fact the people in the colonies were deemed to belong to races seen as ‘inferior’ to those of Europe (2000). The conquest was essentially a political means to control the subjugated peoples. Through reforms made in the 16th century, the Andean natives were removed from the scattered *ayllu*-based settlements to the named Indian¹² Republics, also known as *reducciones*, where they were subject to evangelizing and civilizing projects of Catholic kings and their successors. These *reducciones* had *curacas*, Inca noble men, as their head. The reforms also included the regularisation and monetization of the tributary system, creation of forced labour system, the *mita*, to crucial economic sectors, mainly to silver mines, and the colonial Peruvian economy would have been almost unimaginable without the fiscal contributions and the labour service, of the conquered people in the mines. Faced with the virtual

be called commodity chains, which traversed the existing political boundaries. The total surplus extracted in these commodity chains was at no point in time distributed evenly in terms of geographical location of the creation of the surplus, but was always concentrated to a disproportionate degree on some zones rather than others (1994; See also his major works e.g. 1974).

¹¹According to Spanish figures, between 1521 and 1660, 18 000 tons of silver and 200 tons of gold were transferred from America to Spain, mostly from Mexico, Peru and Caribbeans (Sassen 2006: 83).

¹²As Quijano writes, the ‘accidental Indians’ (2000), as the name was given to them by Columbus’ insistence he had landed to India. The name has been replaced by ‘native’, ‘indigenous’ or ‘original’ in policies, but none of the categories used have come without criticism.

disappearance of the native people in the Coast, slaves, who had accompanied the conquistador Pizarro in his expeditions to South America, were brought in great numbers. They were often brought from other colonies or Spain, where slavery had been long established (Klaren 2004; Orlove 1993).

Colonial Peru was a highly stratified society, created over the perceived fundamental differences between its people¹³. The legal and administrative systems of the colonial system were based on the notion of *castas* or racial categories, which distinguished among Indians, Spaniards, Africans and mixed caste types. Within this three-race account, the Indians had a specific administrative status and a series of obligations to the state (Orlove 1993:322). Most importantly, this condition of dominance through racial classification and other means of exerting power continued after independence in 1821 but in different forms.

There are many versions as to how Latin American independence was achieved, and what it did or did not accomplish. What has been largely accepted is the view that independence was not generally forged as a common cause. Eric Hobsbawm describes how there was not much interest in the concept of the nation among the common people at that time, and that many would have been unfamiliar with the concept (2010). In terms of laws and privileges, the independence was not entirely revolutionary and many of the resultant policies were far from equality oriented. As has been argued by James Holston, the dominant historical formulations of citizenship both produce and limit possible counter-formulations. All nations have at one time developed “a paradigmatic citizenship”, which is a citizenship that manages social differences by legalizing them in ways that legitimate and reproduce inequality (2008: 1-2, 7). The first liberal Peruvian constitution defined a full member of the nation-state, i.e. a male citizen who was permitted to vote, only if he had reached the age of twenty-five, owned property and was a Spanish-speaker¹⁴. The language requirement did not change until as late as 1980, when individuals who speak other languages such as Quechua were allowed to vote (Remy 1995). Slavery continued in the new republic after independence as it was not abolished until 1854, and the church stayed relatively intact during the transition from colonial to

¹³In Latin American countries, during colonialism, a caste society was created on the notion of ‘purity of blood’. Certificates of *limpieza de sangre* were handed out, stating the bearer had no Jewish, Moslem or heretical antecedents (Lomnitz Adler 1992; Wade 2009).

¹⁴This point was made by historian Antonio Zapata in a lecture given at the Institute of Peruvian Studies (IEP) in Lima, 13th of January 2013.

autonomous rule (Klaren 2004). Women were also defined as second class citizens as they were not allowed to vote. In 2000, the amount of Quechua speakers was recorded to be 4 740 000¹⁵, but it is susceptible that this amount has decreased significantly in the past 18 years due to the on-going migrations to the city. According to Wikipedia, the amount of Quechua speakers in Peru is today 3 and half million. If one adds other Andean languages such as Aymara, as well as those that are spoken in the Amazon like Shipibo, the amount of non-Spanish speakers would be significantly more in Peru. The population of Peru is today slightly less than 32 million in total.

Latin American postcolonial scholarship highlights how the pillaging of foreign powers continued after independence and this fundamentally obstructed the aims of de-colonialisation¹⁶. Latin America had to live not only with the legacies of Iberian colonialism but also 200 years of US imperial domination after independence. The era of the guano boom that lasted from 1840 to 1879 in Peru is an important example of this that has been extensively researched by scholars. One of the views maintained about this period, is that the Peruvian economy collapsed after approximately 40 years of guano exportation to Europe and US, when the reserves of guano eventually ran out it (in Klaren 2004; Cotler 2005:37). The state became unable to pay off its debts after 1870 and Julio Cotler sees this period as key for establishing Peru's position in the periphery of the capitalist system (2005). It was also the period when the power of an 'oligarchy' in control of the resources was consolidated (Klaren 2004). Colonial relations had only created a dependent state that was doomed into a perpetual cycle of paying off debts that were incurred rather unjustly while mineral stores and primary products like guano were exported away¹⁷. Peru's position on the periphery shaped further conflicts, e.g. when the reserves of guano eventually ran out and the economy was faced with recession, nitrates were thought to provide a suitable alternative. The government nationalised the nitrate industry, causing dissatisfaction

¹⁵See the last page of the appendix for a chart of languages in Peru.

¹⁶Postcolonial studies (by names like Spivak, Said, Chakrabarty, Chatterjee) has been largely focused on parts of the world that decolonized after World War II and reflected more recent experiences of European colonialism. The decolonial studies perspective has also had various interesting engagements with Subaltern Studies which has been an important contribution to postcolonial studies. Subaltern studies was originally formulated in India, but it is also engaged with in Latin America, see Sandoval's 2010 edited compilation for details.

¹⁷Another point highlighted by critical scholars advancing the dependency view were events like the Grace contract, where the most important sources for production were used for paying off debts accumulated by the Pacific War. In Cotler's view, the power of foreign capital was consolidated from this period onwards. North American capital took over prime agricultural material and mineral production, e.g., Standard Oil of New Jersey bought a north coast petrol area (Cotler 2005:131-132, 137)

with foreign and Chilean populations in control of the industry in the Atacama Desert. Territorial areas rich in nitrates were disputed and the commercial and geopolitical rivalry was a precursor for the War of Pacific that begun in 1879 between Bolivia, Chile and Peru (Klaren 2014: 234-235). Peter Klaren however highlights the changes the lucrative guano era brought to Peru. Funds from the guano exports were used to amplify the state ministries and agencies, and to make investments in public works (2004).

Whether guano benefited the population or not, what is certain is that the mentioned power dynamics had an effect on the way by which dominance was exerted through the course of 19th century. There was certainly a lot of ambivalence in how the state and the oligarchical elites approached the vast majority of the people, now 'free' from the Republic of the Indians. Benjamin Orlove points out how whereas the colonial records were based on the distinction between Christian and non-Christian Indians, the new republic gave geography a prominent role because it was inspired by advances in the natural sciences using environmental determinism to classify people living on the coast, in the jungle regions and in the highlands of Peru (1993). Cotler argues that in post-independence Peru, the oligarchic nature of the dominating regime was based on the exclusion of the majority of people who were 'supervised' by the *gamonales*, *mestizos* (mistas) who concentrated and ultimately privatised public resources at the regional and local scale. The whole *latifundio* and *hacienda* system was imposed by large owners and administrated by the *gamonales* in the rural countryside and backed by the authorities of the church in the smaller cities and towns in the provinces. The *gamonales* took advantage of their position as mediators, reproducing patron client relationships, contributing to the creation of a paternalistic state (2005:15-19).

The world-wide socialist movements that were taking place at the beginning of the 20th century also influenced the way by which calls for freedom against the systems of capitalist exploitation were made. In the 1920s, Peruvian scholar Jose Carlos Mariategui famously established that the independence of Peru (or of Latin America more broadly) was 'fictive,' because it only served to guarantee the export of minerals that helped to industrialize North America and England, and the beneficiaries were a small elite that had retained their power from the days of colonialism. For Mariategui, 'the problem of the Indian' was a problem of land, and he highlighted the slave-like conditions the Indians were subjected to on the

latifundios (1971). These broader calls against the power of imperial domination and nationalism fused with other nationalist strands of thought, as well as the expansion of the state modernisation project. *Indigenismo* was an intellectual movement that questioned the oligarchs' vision that excluded the majority of the population from the national 'imagined community'¹⁸. The *Indigenismo* movement sought to 'incorporate the Indian' into the Peruvian national imagination through politics, literature and cultural practice¹⁹. There were several currents of thought in *Indigenismo*. The first wave of *Indigenismo* was more militant and had a central position in national debate, eventually adopting even 'utopic' and 'apocalyptic' features (Degregori 2012), a trend that already appeared under colonialism among the Indians (Klaren 2004)²⁰. The second strand was a more culturalist and literary strand circulating in elitist circles, contributing to varied criticisms later on²¹ (Degregori 2012; De la Cadena 2000). The political leaders also saw the advantages of this movement, as it would be able to counter the power of *gamonales* (Klaren 2004).

The first half of the 20th century was thus characterised by many serious efforts of strengthening the Peruvian nation and getting rid of imperialist dominance. The Great Depression had demonstrated to many nations again how perilous it was to rely on export led growth (Harrison 1988). During the First World War there were weak efforts of industrialisation via import substitution. The political leaders of the nation competed for the support of large segments of the population who moved from the regional areas, recognizing the voting capacity of these people. It was around this time the building of settlements on city peripheries was initiated. From 1950s, Peru experienced a great wave of export expansion in agricultural products like sugar and cotton, for example. At the same time, domestic production was not able to accommodate the increasing amount of people in the city of Lima. The boom in

¹⁸ Klaren traces the first steps of *Indigenismo* to the end of the War of Pacific in 1884 when Indians were subject to reforms (2004:304)

¹⁹ Degregori argues that Peruvian anthropology as a University discipline itself emerged as the daughter of *Indigenismo* in 1946 (2012: 31).

²⁰ Klaren describes how in 16th century, millenarian movements like Taki Onqoy emerged that idealised return to the Andean times and into a cyclic movement through destruction and rebirth, through a cataclysm (also known as Pachacuti). These movements were prominent up to the days of independence. They also were related to the several Indian resurrections in the 18th century, where the Inca imperium was sought to be revived via the leadership of its descendants. According to Stern and others, such feelings correlated with the discontentment and sense of desperation of the Indians in the missions. Between 1750-1820, the amount of tribute rose 16 times, which increased exploitation of labourers in mines which all affected the rise of 'neo-inca nationalism' (Klaren 2004: 87-154).

²¹ For instance Degregori argues that the presence of the 'Indian' in the Indigenist discourse, as a taming force, allowed oligarchic power and large land-owners and *gamonalismo* to sustain in the Andes (2012:37).

exports kept growing until 1962, and from thereafter it began slowly descending. While around that time, Peru held the most wealth of all countries in Latin America, it also was the place where these riches were most unevenly distributed. For example, 5% of the richest people of the nation received 48% of the national income. The unequal distribution mechanisms were contested, however. For example in Cuzco, the former capital of the Inca Empire situated in the southern Andes, peasant upheavals took place under the leadership of Hugo Blanco. Events in the Andes put pressure on the government to act, and President Belaunde²² presented a Law for Agrarian Reform in order to satisfy the land needs of the peasants. Its implementation was however violent and non-satisfactory as only a very small fraction of land was expropriated. In the 1960s, as exports were declining, Peru relied increasingly in import substitution policies, which were later criticised for leading to the growth of external debt and increased inflation (Klaren 2004).

At the time, socialist thought that was lined up with the Revolutionary movement in Cuba was strong among the intelligentsia (Klaren 2004) and the political rhetoric of General Velasco Alvarado who came to power through a military coup in 1968 and replaced Belaunde, took up some of the militant aspects of *Indigenismo* in his rhetoric (Degregori 2012:32). General Velasco undertook a number of reforms that were intended to undermine the oligarchic legacy of the colonial past that still characterized the relationships between classes and the associations between different social groups and the land in Peru. In 1969, the government released a decree that expropriated the agrarian estates of northern Peru and placed them in the hands of cooperatives, called the *Ley de Reforma Agraria* (e.g. Conaghan & Malloy 1994; Klaren 2004). Cotler believes the agrarian reform was successful at eliminating the *hacienda* system and *gamonalismo* (2005). Industrial firms were also regulated, and the number of labour unions grew. There were also a number of left-leaning experiments in other realms of society and there were also talks of notions like ‘social property’ (Conaghan & Malloy 1994:71). To name a few other changes undertaken by the military government, petroleum and mining companies were nationalised and Quechua language was recognised (Matos Mar 2004).

²² Fernando Belaunde Terry, an architect, governed two times, in 1963–1968 and in 1980–1985.



1.2 Road ascending from Ventanilla to Pachacutec

Despite General Velasco's anti-imperialist tendencies, Peru was at the time a relatively attractive destination in private loan markets, because of temporarily rising export prices, and the discovery of possible new oil reserves in the Amazon, among other seemingly favourable developments. Peru however entered serious balance-of-payments problems in 1976, and was forced to rely on conditional bank loans from both US banks and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Teivainen 2002:57)²³. Eventually, the government was left with few options but to accept the economic gospel of the IMF that advised it necessary to reduce private and public expenditure, and to return to free market mechanisms, especially in foreign trade. The result was massive new waves of unemployment (Shydłowski & Wicht 1983). Conaghan and Malloy record that the Peruvian debt soared between the years 1970 and 1976 from one billion to five billion dollars (1994:60).

With the threat of entire nations going into default on loans in the 1980s, the IMF assumed enormous power in directing the economic policies in Latin America (Nash 2001). In the decades prior to the 1980s, most of the countries now in danger of defaulting had adopted some form of import substitution. In the 1980s, President Garcia failed to honour the agreed timetable on payments to the IMF, leading the IMF to declare Peru ineligible for further credit. Openly confronting the IMF by finding other routes of potential investing was growing more difficult in the increasingly transnational world context. The citizens of Peru felt the consequences of these

²³In terms of decisions taken inside IMF, in 2002 the US had 17, 16% of votes, whereas 23 countries in Sub-Saharan countries all together had 1, 16 votes. Other countries with largest amounts of votes were Japan (6,16%), followed by Germany (6,02%), France (4,97%), Great Britain (4,97%) , China (3%) (in Patomäki & Teivainen 2010:66).

confrontations and economic struggles in high inflation rates, which affected the provincial areas the most (Teivainen 2002).

The economic climate in Peru had gradually suffered a downward spiral from the 1970s. Klaren reports that in the 1990s, people's income was half of what it was in 1980s. And the 1980s had already seen a decline in income because salaries were already half of what they were in the 1970s (2004:489). One of the main political effects of this was the internal war between the state military and the insurgent *guerilla* group *Sendero Luminoso*, 'the Shining Path', which built up in the 1980s at least in part because of the economic crises²⁴. The war also exasperated the economic crisis and by the 1990s there were many Peruvians who looked to a leader who would use a strong hand against the subversives, and the need was met by Alberto Fujimori, leader of the popular party Cambio 90 who remained president of Peru from 1990 to 2000, winning a re-election to a second term. He found a lot of electoral support in the large informal sector and the evangelical movement that operated on a grassroots level, especially in urban settlement towns and the Andes. Once in power Fujimori agreed to follow the structural adjustment policies of institutions like the IMF, IDB and the World Bank that worked under the agenda of the Washington consensus, in order to assure the government had access to international funds (Teivainen 2002; Klaren 2004).²⁵ His policies increased settlement formation via auto-construction at the expense of handing financial support to the settlements, like Pachacutec (Calderon 2005).

Fujimori's government made significant structural changes to the Peruvian state. State interference in the private sector of the economy was reduced and during the government's privatization campaigns Fujimori and his ilk sold off hundreds of state-owned enterprises, which created an opening for foreign capital, and the privatisation of public companies. This stimulated the export sector, although again this largely created opportunities for the people with capital to invest to maintain their dominance. The effects were so drastic that the early 1990s are referred to as the 'fujisshock' era, when there were extraordinary increases in the prices of many basic foodstuffs and the fuel needed to cook and operate vehicles, although it did bring

²⁴ According to the Truth and Reconciliation Committee the armed conflict produced around 70 000 death victims, out of which 75% spoke Quechua as mother tongue. More than half of them were peasants and 80% lived in the five most impoverished departments of Peru (Sandoval 2009).

²⁵ Similar kind of measure, but less harsh, was already proposed by Mario Vargas Llosa in applying for Presidency next to Fujimori (Klaren 2004).

inflation down drastically in the space of a few months and it continued to decline in the ensuing years (Klaren 2004; Martucelli 2015; Teivainen 2002). Furthermore, in 1991 the government passed a package of 120 legislative degrees that aimed at eliminating the interventionist role the state adopted during the Velasco years (Klaren 2004:497). At the same time, loans for improving the health and education systems formed a significant part of the World Bank development mandates in Peru (Oliart 2010)²⁶. Fujimori also became known for another measure that did not impress international allies. In 1992, Fujimori orchestrated a peculiar coup d'état (*autogolpe* also known as the *fujigolpe*) where he dissolved the parliament in an unconstitutional way. He temporarily dissolved the Congress of the republic and drew up a new constitution (e.g. Klaren 2004; Martucelli 2015)²⁷.

The period after Fujimori at the beginning of the new millennium was known as the period of “transition to democracy”. This period was marked by a discourse that emphasised the notion of ‘good governance’, and idea that was actively promoted by the World Bank and USAID (Balarin Bonazzi 2011). In line with the neoliberal turn, this model held that ‘progress’ was primarily achieved via the increase of the middle-classes’ capacity to consume, without replacing the homogenous figure of labour (Gago 2017; Martucelli 2015). The process of neoliberal reform continued until the re-election of Alan Garcia in 2006. As opposed to his anti-imperialist rhetoric of the 1980s, Garcia’s discourse during his second presidency was much more open to international cooperation. The growth generated in this period was due to structural adjustments and the growth in mineral exports such as copper, zinc and gold that grew between the years 2004 to 2006 by 35% to 40%. Most importantly, by 2010, the amount of exports grew to be five times greater than in the year 2000 (Murakami 2014: 93). Taking varied forms and trajectories, the end of the first decade of the new millennium also saw important political changes in various Latin American countries. These trends were seen most prominently in countries like Ecuador and Bolivia which were even dubbed ‘postneoliberal’ and ‘progressive’

²⁶The projects followed a World Bank report that promoted ‘investment in social and human capital’ as key for promoting poverty alleviation, changing the profile of World Bank interventions in the countries in the southern hemisphere (in Oliart 2010).

²⁷Through the 1990s, foreign capital maintained its dominance. In 1996, Elliot and Associates bought Peruvian debt. Although the fund bought \$20.7 million in debt for \$11.4 million, after suing the Peruvian government, it managed to collect \$58 million. The value of the debt of Peru was 55 percent of the country’s GDP in 1998. In 1997, 49% of the population lived below the poverty line. Public expenditure on education decreased from 3.1 percent of GDP in 1980 to 2.9 percent in 1997. Public expenditure on health from 1990 to 1998 was 2.2 percent of GDP (Sassen 2006: 273).

regimens, and in some cases they were referred to as examples of ‘socialisms of the 21st century’. They raised the expectation that governments could generate affiliations with social movements and break with neoliberal policies, at least to some extent (Gudynas et al. 2016:11). A good example is the notion of *Buen Vivir*, debated in political practice, and argued by Quijano to evidence an alternative to the coloniality of power. It stresses egalitarian redistribution and the autonomy of communities, among other things, against the ever accelerating dispossession mechanisms that are put in place by global financial capitalism (2010; see also Escobar 2010).

When I began to carry out my field-work, President Ollanta Humala had just taken office. There was a feeling of possibility in the general atmosphere and Humala’s populist background promised people grand ‘changes’. There was also positive news circulating from other Latin American countries like Brazil²⁸ that also seemed to have elected more popular and left leaning governments. The rhetoric from President Humala was much less extreme than the rhetoric he used during his earlier career²⁹, albeit aligning with powerful regional leftist figures like Hugo Chavez formed part of his initial political agenda (Murakami 2014). Humala’s motto was progress with ‘social inclusion’. While Humala’s government did instigate some new measures of social protection such as a pension for the elderly, there were also many obstacles to carrying out election promises because of the continuing model of extractivism. Peru had opened exports to China which brought about new dynamics in the exports sector, and the wife of the president actively promoted the export of quinoa to foreign countries. During the course of my fieldwork, conflicts between extractivist industries, the state army and local leaders occurred at various locations throughout Peru. The conflict that received widest news coverage was the controversy over the Conga mine. These were all themes that neighbourhood residents talked about and students covered their notebooks with statements about quinoa, China and Conga. While the increase in the market for quinoa and exportation to China were presented as positive developments that were easily incorporated in the national discourse, the Conga was a negative example of human rights abuses and was yet

²⁸ E.g. In Brazil, there were positive effects of cash transfer programs like Bolsa Familia (Ferguson 2015).

²⁹ Humala ran for presidency next to Alan Garcia in 2006, but his militarist background and the more extreme revolutionary discourses taken by his relatives made people less inclined to support him at that time (Murakami 2014).

another reason to distrust the state³⁰.

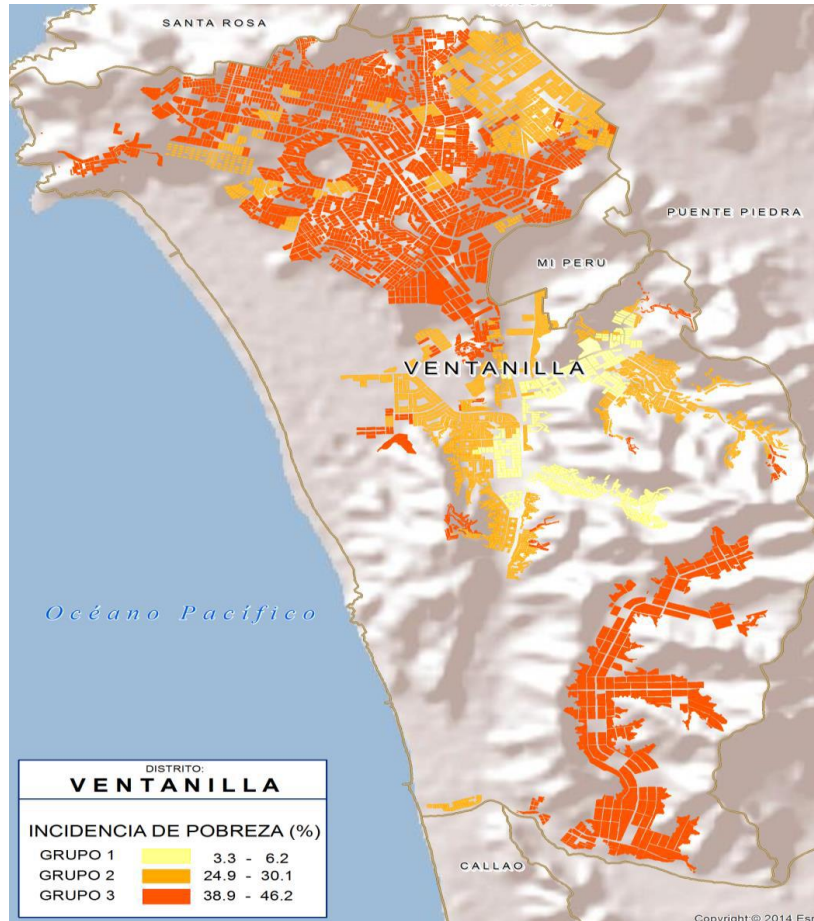
This thesis emerged at a critical conjuncture between neoliberalism and attempts of going beyond it in countries like Peru. While not agreeing with neoliberalism and its modes of functioning, in “Give a man a fish: reflections on the new politics of distribution” James Ferguson (2015) points to the positive effects of an increase in the number of social protections in the form of cash transfers funded by institutions like the World Bank that has followed neoliberal restructurings in contexts like South Africa. He argues that the most rewarding field of distributive struggle lately has emerged around what is called service delivery, a phrase that today evokes a broad package of goods and services. Claims to these services tend to be based not on labour but such things as citizenship, residence, identity and political loyalty³¹. According to a blog, in 2014 there were 700,000 beneficiaries of the JUNTOS program in Peru, a conditional cash transfer program run by the government. The beneficiaries were primarily women classified as poor or extremely poor, as determined by the national census³². The Map of Poverty by INEI (National Statistical and Informational Institute) drafted by the INEI in collaboration with national and non-national agencies and research institutes details the provinces that are most poor, and in those districts where the poverty reaches more than 40% social programs like *Juntos* and *Pension 65* operate.³³ The data below in map 3 is from year 2015. The area between Mi Peru and Santa Rosa is where Pachacutec lays. People in Pachacutec pertain to group 3, where 38,9 - 46,2 of the population are poor. However, during my fieldwork the program did not operate in Pachacutec.

³⁰ Perhaps testifying the ongoing political antagonism and rivalling interests more than anything, President Humala and his wife Nadine Heredia were imprisoned from July 2017 to the end of April 2018, without any charges placed against them, on the grounds they would escape while investigations ensued on how they had funded the Nationalist Party (PNP) campaign in 2006 and 2011
www.perusupportgroup.org.uk

³¹ He further argues that much of the literature on neoliberalism is ‘hopelessly Eurocentric’ and cannot be applied to contexts where labour has had a very different meaning ascribed to it than in the West (2015).

³² <http://www.cgap.org/blog/can-agents-improve-conditional-cash-transfers-peru>

³³ https://www.inei.gob.pe/media/MenuRecursivo/publicaciones_digitales/Est/Lib1261/Libro.pdf



Map 3

Ferguson's criticism of cash transfers is that they are conditional, and by their conditioning it is assumed that all males are able to find work. This does not adequately reflect the reality of the world today, where a large portion of young males are the ones who see themselves out of work (2015). Instead, in Peru, the criticism has been that the programs place emphasis on the nuclear family, leaving single mothers aside. Rivalry also occurs as not all households are included in the program³⁴.

Ferguson argues that cash transfers should not be conditional, but rather they should be offered to everyone, in the form of basic income. He is basing his argument on various political proposals that have been circulating in order to tackle the multiple dilemmas that are created by the current expanse of financial capitalism, or what we also call 'globalisation' since the 1970s onwards worldwide (e.g. Standing 2016). Similar to the de-colonial perspective, the strand of the literature seeks to demonstrate

³⁴ https://www.unicef.org/files/Conditional_Cash_Transfers_In_Peru_-_Tackling_The_Multi-Dimensionality_Of_Poverty_And_Vulnerability.pdf

that value is not derived from labour, but that value is a historical accumulation and it is a panorama that encompasses the whole humankind (Ferguson 2015).³⁵ What is stressed also in this literature is the point made by feminist authors, that historically Western paradigms of thinking, including Marxism, have continuously ignored many types of labour. Female work inside the home is one example of labour that is invisible. In Guy Standing's words: "Throughout the twentieth century, labour – work having exchange value – was put on a pedestal, while all work that was not labour was disregarded" (2016:138). Agreeing with this work, the thesis takes the position that there are many labours that are continuously placed invisible by the model of progress via neoliberal means. These invisible labours also generate value. Chapter 2 discusses the work involved in waiting for infrastructure to arrive, as well as the role of communal work or *faenas* in building the city. Chapter 3 discusses the labour on the part of the Sisters, the students and pastoral workers in maintaining the school. Chapter 4 discusses the ethic of humbleness, which legitimised all the previous forms of work as a sign of citizenship deservingness.

Because of the value generated by these labours is rendered invisible, there are also varied criticisms of proposals to provide monetary social assistance and state incentives as opposed to formal wage-labour opportunities. In the Latin American context, most of the critiques are because monetary social assistance and other incentives perpetuate servile conditions. In 'Neoliberalism from below: popular pragmatics and baroque economies', Veronica Gago argues that consumption is a mediation and incentive that promotes new forms of value creation via state mechanisms. In Argentina, this consumption is no longer just the product of income from wages, as beneficiaries receive state transfers to peripheral neighbourhoods through benefit packages. At the same time, the only work available to the popular sectors are those requiring long hours, are extremely flexible and have no guarantees, such as work in textile factories. Hence, their labour industriousness is multiple (2017). The recent literature on neoliberalism thus has various interesting engagements which provide a lens through which to analyse the events unfolding in Pachacutec. It is important to highlight, however, that neoliberalism is not a uniform or a coherent process, and it manifests differently in different locations. The thesis demonstrates that at the local level many of the propositions of neoliberalism are

³⁵ E.g. Michael Hardt, building on Virno, has argued that value is really produced not by labour in the narrow sense but by society as a whole (in Ferguson 2015).

rejected, and only those aspects that were perceived to give power, such as commercialised identities, not to mention land-ownership, were those that were taken on, a process which will next come under discussion. These new seductive forms of power, however, also translated into new forms of domination and subjugation, where those with more capital, in both social and financial terms, were the ones who dominated.

Neoliberal pragmatisms

While I encountered multiple puzzling situations at the time of fieldwork, there is also evidence that residents were making a claim in the evidence presented in this thesis. In a post-fieldwork visit in 2015, I was invited to visit a beach in Ancon by my former student Lily and her mother. At the time of my field-work, Lily was in her final year of secondary school and by the time of my last visit in 2015, she had graduated from Our Lady of Sorrows. She worked as a teaching assistant in a nursery in Pachacutec during the day time, and on weekends she sang *cumbia* in local casinos and restaurants in Ventanilla with her boyfriend, a talented keyboard player. It was roughly a half an hour ride from Pachacutec to Ancon by taxi passing through many vast settlements formed in the sand. As the taxi driver stopped at a gasoline station to fill the tank, I saw next to us an expensive looking car with a European looking driver who was giving orders to the young man who was going to fill the gas tank. The attendant looked slightly intimidated by the driver. A blond woman left the car to go buy some ice-cream. To me they seemed like tourists and I wondered what they were doing driving around amidst the shanty towns. As we arrived in Ancon I realised that the people in the car were not tourists. They were Peruvians, of the kind I had not come across very often during my fieldwork. They appeared to be going in the same direction as we were.

Ancon was a place that raised contradictory emotions. While an indigenous woman whose skin and dark clothing appeared to be covered in dust and dirt sat on the floor selling what appeared to be oysters, blonde girls were being transported in a rickshaw through a park with fountains and buildings that mimicked Spanish architecture. Here the history of dualities inherited from a colonial order were evident and they were still expressed and visible in current class relations.



1.3 Houses in Ventanilla, similar to scenery on the way to Ancon.

Ancon was a popular hot-spot for the inhabitants of Pachacutec, namely for its beach and its surrounding restaurants. As a former upper class beach resort, Ancon has many flamboyant, Miami-style apartment blocks that rise along the first strip of the beach, which cover the vast mountains of shantytowns behind them. As we came closer to reaching our destination, Lily stated with an excited voice: “This place is really nice, except for those millionaires who have built their houses here.” European looking children ran around as they were followed by their darker skinned maids. But I sensed that such children were an object of interest for the Peruvians of more common, brown skin. Lily and her mother were intrigued by a group of school girls who had gathered together, who were all around the age of ten. Lily whispered to her mother, ‘look at her eyes’, pointing to a girl who stood out as the lightest skinned girl with blue eyes. Lily then smiled and acted somewhat embarrassed when she noticed I was observing her. Indeed, while Lily had said she did not like the ‘millionaires’, light skin seemed to be a source of admiration for her, showing how the coloniality of power remained in the beauty ideals that privileged ‘whiteness’.

Having already spent all our money on chicken and chips and Inca cola, a local soft drink acquired by Coca Cola that is popular in Peru, we took a mini-bus back to Pachacutec. Lily had insisted on treating me to the meal which in local standards is pricey, but she wanted to be generous. Two Andean women sat beside us with their babies wrapped in colourful *kepina*, an Andean cloth typically used to carry

either children or bundles that was tied to their backs. The women spoke to each other in Quechua and it was clear they were only passing through perhaps to visit family in Lima. In Pachacutec the *vecinas* (neighbours) did not use the colourful Andean cloth to carry their babies. Instead they had replaced the traditional blanket with any kind of cloth available, often a shirt or a jacket stretched out to make a *kepina*. The youth on their part would often be seen accompanying their mothers wearing the latest fashion gear. This new generation of youth was also very astute in buying land. On our way to Ancon, Lily had pointed out spots to her mother where land was selling for 6000 soles³⁶. Lily was already making her calculations for the future, despite being only seventeen.

There was certainly something new happening in Ancon. More and more fast food locales were popping up in the commercial areas, giving the *pobladores* in Ancon a place where they can consume together, whereas people used to be accustomed to eating in separate places. Our day trip to Ancon led me to agree with Holston about the destabilizing potential in having the ability to buy a plot of land in a place next to ‘millionaires’ (2008, 2009). According to authors like Holston (2008) and Mike Davis (2007), cities have become strategic arenas where new kinds of conceptions of ‘rights’ are formed. Writing about the city peripheries of Sao Paulo, Holston says that it is no longer in the factory or the union hall where the poor articulate their demand for citizenship, nor is it at the ballot box that they challenge the conventions of citizenship with the greatest force and originality, but it is rather in the realm of domestic life taking shape in the remote urban peripheries and through the auto-construction of neighbourhoods and residences. In the process of building their residential spaces, the residents of new urbanisations constitute the city with a different order of citizenship (2008: 313). Furthermore, as Gago notes, recent years in Latin America has seen the emergence of new forms of abundance in terms of consumption, work, entrepreneurship, territorial organisation, and money (2017). In Lima, Danilo Martucelli argues that the city became a theatre for the creation of a new form of sociability, accompanied by a new type of individualism, which progressively has taken over all social classes. People’s worldview has begun to centre around the

³⁶Approximately 1846 dollars / £1317. In 2009, Calderon records that a flat could be obtained with 80 000 dollars in residential areas of San Borja and Miraflores and a square metre in the historic centre of Lima cost between 400-500 dollars (2009:27). Flats can cost today significantly more or less, depending on the area, but what is poignant is that the gap of prices between a land-plot in Ancon and an apartment flat in Lima is extremely high.

market, rather than to subservient and patronizing oligarchic relationships. The cultural hegemony of the leading classes is waning in favour of a common sociability that stems from the change in interpersonal dynamics, in all social groups. In political and economic realms it is seen in the expansion of certain ways of doing business and forming alliances (2015).

This thesis will show how sociability among the youth also has a transnational dimension. The use of social media especially by the youth is an important new dimension that is not analysed by Martucelli that would add to his analysis of the changes in sociability in Lima. Through the use of social media, the youth in Pachacutec were participating in a world where people are increasingly connected through ideals and values that are not solely applicable to one's locality, but in practice they are ideals that can be applied globally (Appadurai 2013). Sassen writes that globalisation and electronic networks, both as material processes and as imaginaries, bring about changes in the formal and informal relationships between the national state and the citizen. Among the latter are a range of emergent political practices often involving hitherto silent or silenced peoples. Through their destabilizing effects, globalization and electronic networks are producing operational and rhetorical openings for the emergence of new types of political subjects and new spatialities for politics (Sassen 2006: 292)³⁷. This has been accompanied by a certain flexibilization of citizenship where borders become more porous (Ong 1999), not to mention it has also been accompanied by the flexibilization of labour as well (Standing 2016).

But as Aihwa Ong argues, cosmopolitanism is not an equal process. Ong has termed the malleability of neoliberalism (or any other forms of governance) as a technology of government that produces new forms of sovereignty and new interactive forms of citizenship in which rights and benefits are distributed in accordance with entrepreneurial capacity and not necessarily nation state membership. Ong's formulation of neoliberal exception gives value to calculative practices and to self-governing subjects as preferred citizens. Meanwhile, other segments of the population are exempted from neoliberal criteria, and thus rendered excludable as citizens and subjects (1999; 2006:16). As Holston describes, while urbanisation can

³⁷Sassen asserts however that the weakening of the imagery of the nation state as to where solidarity belongs to does not necessitate a move to postnational citizenship, while it does reconstitute the national (2006).

disrupt the status quo and help disadvantaged citizens to confront the social barriers, it can also get bogged down by the past it inherits (2008). While certain forms of subordination have disappeared in Lima, Martucelli notes they have not been totally abolished. Although the traditional upper classes have lost partial control of the city, they never lost the means of directing the economy (2015: 230).

On a broader and more global scale, in his frequently quoted study about the 'politics of the governed' Partha Chatterjee describes how that in 'most of the world', the state has been incapable of delivering on the promises entailed in the juridical model of citizenship (the right to choose, possess, use and exchange commodities at will). As a result, the emergence of mass democracies in the advanced industrial countries of the West in the twentieth century produced an entirely new distinction – one between citizens and populations. While citizens inhabit the domain of theory, populations inhabit the domain of policy. As Chatterjee explains, those who are below do not see themselves as agents of government but they do seek to determine how they are governed, and in this way they are modifying the political status of what it means to be governed. The governed thus have instead a political society with more fragmented rights than Gramsci for example defined in the notion of civil society. More precisely, political society substitutes universal rights for concrete and particular demands, which gives way for the creation of a heterogeneity of social rights (2004; see also Gago 2017). Amy Mortensen however challenges Chatterjee's view of the governed as having definitively another kind of politics. In neighbourhoods on the peripheries of Lima there are different levels of politics that pervade in the creation of the settlements and connect with formal and legitimate frameworks (2010). Indeed, settlements in Peru have always had a certain type of relationship with the state. This also points to the relevance of examining state-making and nation building in their own terms as no nation undergoes the same processes, and each state has a unique history between its state and citizenry. But Peru has yet to fully decolonize itself because deep gaps of inequality persist and they show there continue to be colonial legacies that run deep. Yet despite these persistent levels of inequality there were dimensions of change evident in my field-site that showed that the people of Pachacutec were engaging in choosing, possessing, using and exchanging commodities at will, and thus, they were directly participating in making citizenship more democratic. We have seen in the case of Lily a defiance of the exclusory practices of the elite, as now she could also find her own plot of land

quite close to the ‘millionaires’ in Ancon. An important dimension to keep from Chatterjee’s analysis however is the power by which policy seeks to make ‘the governed’ conform through rendering them as a population to be ‘developed’, without necessarily granting them full citizenship rights as theoretically imagined, and it was the tension between discipline and control that characterised much of the citizenship and schooling processes unfolding in the field-site.

There is a further dimension that problematizes some of the democratic processes of citizenship making that gets involved with the subjectivity of the people participating in neoliberal processes. Working with migrants in an informal marketplace in Argentina, Gago argues that from above neoliberalism is a phase of capitalism, but from below neoliberalism reorganizes forms of life and notions of freedom, calculation, and obedience that help to project a new collective affectivity and rationality. These sets of conditions are materialized and they proliferate beyond the will of a government, whether legitimate or not, but they also turn into the conditions under which a network of practices and skills operate. Taking upon the work of Chatterjee, Gago argues there is a political practice of the governed that does not comply with the idea of liberal equality and does not appeal to the logic of rights. Instead, what Gago terms a vitalist pragmatic is a calculation that is a vital condition in a context where the state does not guarantee the neoliberal conditions prescribed by the ordoliberal model³⁸. On the other hand, this imperfection is experienced as indeterminacy and it implies a certain idea of freedom. While these are resistant subjectivities, they also show how neoliberalism’s legitimacy becomes rooted in the subject. The neoliberal dynamic is thus problematically but effectively combined with this persistent vitalism from below that always attaches to the expansion of freedoms, pleasures, and affects (2017:6).

Gago uses this analysis in demonstrating how the popular sectors make neoliberalism from below, arguing that it is simply not going away. As people comply with it, they go along with the proposals of neoliberalism because there are types of benefits that they can accrue with using the system, provided they are willing to sacrifice themselves for the time being (2017). This thesis will use Gago’s analysis as a basis for examining the cosmopolitan practices of the youth. It will argue that these practices can also be viewed as a form of ‘neoliberalism from below’. Each chapter in

³⁸In these forms of doing, calculation assumes a certain monstrosity to the extent that popular entrepreneurship is forced to take responsibility for conditions that are not guaranteed (Gago 2017).

this thesis details characteristics of an emerging dynamic that does not necessarily appeal to a logic of rights, but instead sought to destabilise the ongoing structure in its own way. There were calculating dimensions in the practices of the youth I worked with, including their ways of dress, music tastes and how a discourse of ‘problems’ was mobilised as a source of value. The youth were making use of the models they were offered via frameworks of citizenship and consumption, producing new pleasures and affects that generated certain freedoms. But as will become clearer throughout the chapters, this kind of neoliberalism from below was often a subordinate negotiation, which on one level attests to the deceptive nature of neoliberalism. It seeks compliance by offering something in return, that often comes with a high cost, like a land-plot in a desert or private education. It tells one they are participating in a global world by consumerism, yet it prohibits movement via visa-constraints, and elides discussion about having a sufficient amount of income to actually do the travelling.

In some regards we may see in Gago’s argument synergies with Oscar Lewis’s culture of poverty. While the ‘culture of poverty’ concept used by Lewis is too problematic to be convincingly used anymore,³⁹ it raised attention to the paradoxically positive quality of the ‘culture’ of the poor. The culture of poverty had a structure, with a reasoned disposition and mechanisms of defence without which the poor could not carry on, and this dynamic factor converted into a sub-culture of its own⁴⁰. These dynamic mechanisms contributed in perpetuating the ‘culture of poverty’ (1969). Likewise, Gago stresses that neoliberalism is inherent in the very practices of those ‘below’ and this is why neoliberalism is not going away. But Gago places more emphasis on the aspect of resistance that allows the poor to destabilise and generate freedoms by generating value. While this value generated by the informal sector comes from their own exploitation, they also most often bring pragmatic returns to the popular sector, such as state incentives (2017). The process of

³⁹ Part of this problematic lays in the author’s tendency to view there is a certain kind of ideal national society, to which those with a ‘culture of poverty’ somehow do not seem to fit. Therefore, the culture of poverty concept complies with a notion of progress, whereas by today the whole concept has been heavily criticised (e.g. Ferguson 1999, Escobar 1995, post-colonial scholarship etc.).

⁴⁰ Lewis saw that the culture or subculture of poverty is born in distinct historical contexts, more commonly when a socially and economically stratified society goes through a process of disintegration and substitution for another such as in the case of the transition from feudalism to capitalism, or in the course of industrialisation. In some cases it arises from an imperial conquest. It was not synonymous with the working class, the proletariat or peasantry, but referred to those occupying the lowest position in the socioeconomic ladder, that could be termed as the ‘lumpen proletariat’ (1969).

destabilization is absent in Lewis's analysis that was published in the 1960s. This may then inform that the process of 'globalisation' has brought some destabilization, that is absent in Lewis's analysis, by the intensification of consumerism, the consolidation of land-ownership as a valid mechanism for accessing citizenship, as well as the appearance of electronic networks. The chapters will thus oscillate between an analysis of the contradictions that the youth in Pachacutec felt from the neoliberal model of progress that was shaping their lives, and the examination of a particular new dynamism that was generated by the youth that allowed them certain freedoms.

Chapter 2 starts with an outline of the history of settlement formation, demonstrating how settlements are formed through a complex relationship with the state and national and global policies. It illustrates how the model of progress via neoliberalism has ignored that capitalist accumulation privileges the person with more capital, which in this setting has resulted in the paradoxical 'illegal' situation regarding land tenure. But this precise principle of accumulation is also a reason why settlers pragmatically settle on the highest sand hills, despite the difficult conditions. While at the same time settling on the land can also be regarded as labour, it is also a pragmatic measure taken by the popular sector, showing how neoliberalism becomes rooted in the subject.

Chapter 3 examines the notion of 'moving forward'/'getting ahead', *salir adelante*, and its contradictions expressed in material markers and the ongoing presence of sand. It will introduce the school and how the religious ethical framework of religious agents mixed with the educational project that started as a social movement seeking emancipation 'from below'. This ethos contributed to making the school successful in fundraising. The neoliberal principle incorporated the sacrifice the missionaries were making in leading the school, and the result was ambivalence towards the community to be 'developed'.

Chapter 4 will reflect on the presence of the discourse of 'values' in the school as a colonial legacy of the notion of *decencia* (decency), showing how the coloniality of power was still present in the school practice. The students mobilised the discourse of 'humbleness' as a way to combat the disciplining discourses and as a means to legitimize citizenship deservingness. The discourse of humbleness viewed that monetary transactions were not always an adequate measure of people's labour, and as such, the notion of humbleness was also mobilised as a means to counter the

dispossessing mechanisms of capitalism. At the same time, it allowed extreme exploitation. The cosmopolitan value given to the street was a pragmatic negotiation by the youth to the constraints they felt in the citizenship discourses, taking strength from globally circulating codes. It too was constrained in discourse by the idea of 'the typical Peruvian', an internalised view of a 'problematic Peruvian', showing the strength by which the neoliberal logic seeks to make subjects responsible.

Chapter 5 will detail the way by which race was implicated in the discourses and practices of youth cosmopolitanisms, showing how neoliberalism had brought a dynamic that not only racialized the discourse of 'manners'; it also allowed the concept of race to be used by the youth, such as in the way in which 'street' was appropriated as a globally racialized space with the potential to destabilize the existing power dynamics. Yet the narratives by the students in this thesis evidence there is a ceiling posed by global power relations that snatched bodies of children for their organs, and thus 'race' continued to be a matter of unequal (global) relations. Students used joking practices that validated 'race' as a desirable trait, thereby reworking some of the dominant dynamics.

Chapter 6 examines some of the neoliberal turns in the school curriculum, practice and policy. This chapter shows more of the negative face of neoliberal policies. Education continued being of poor quality under the explanation that the students and their families are poor and new initiatives built on existing power relations, while still having some destabilizing elements in regards to equalizing against students in Lima. The discourse that aimed at strengthening micro-entrepreneurship was at odds with the students' desires to pursuing university careers and form part of the formalised sector of the nation. The structural changes affecting teachers were accompanied by problematisation of the youth, and the commercialisation of education and low employment prospects in the formal sector placed limits to 'progress'. These conflicts suggest that a serious reformulation of the neoliberal project is needed in order for it to be more accountable to Peruvian students.

Chapter 7 will discuss the gendered nature of the neoliberal process. The structural changes accompanying or pushing towards migration have been led by a feminine, informal wave that redefines the metropolitan space, as well as the family and women's space (Gago 2017). This has also been called the 'feminisation of labour' or 'weakness of men', the point being that much of the liberalisation of the

economy at the global scale has also resulted in a ‘double’ or ‘triple’ burden falling upon women (some say that the burden has even quadrupled e.g. Standing 2016). At the same time, the discourse of ‘preventing early pregnancy’ was interpreted via patriarchal codes in the school that did not change gendered power dynamics, and women were told to avoid pregnancies by ‘making themselves respected’. Yet performing on Facebook as sexually emancipated women was one way by which girls rearticulated the constraining norms, although there were still abiding to patriarchal norms on other levels.

Chapter 8 discusses the politics of difference present in the school curriculum and advanced with neoliberal orders. The chapter will demonstrate that it was really the idea of global inequalities that dominated the students’ understandings of difference, as seen in the students’ anti-imperialist narrative. Hence, ‘culture’ continued to belong to other spaces, not to Lima. At the same time, the increasing horizontal dynamics brought by neoliberal orders, combined with a heavy emphasis on the discourse of rights, did manifest in a notion of shared ‘Peruvianess’ where ‘people from everywhere’ across the country could now be Peruvians, not just those in Lima. The global world, however, continued to be dominated by colour categories of ‘black’ and ‘white’, where these are cast as polar opposites and the former is subordinate to the latter. This reasoning also directed the ways by which students preferred to identify themselves.

A thread that can be followed through all the chapters is that while destabilization occurs in regards to people in Lima, the inequalities were now expressed in regards to the global world, showing how the world had indeed ‘become smaller’, at the same time that inequalities have persistently sought to increase the gap between the wealthier and the poorer parts of the world. Taking the potentials, what Gago terms as popular pragmatisms (2017), into serious consideration, the conclusion will address some potentially welcomed new directions that have been circulating for a while, that address the need to pay attention to the need of reconceptualising the idea of citizenship and claim-making based on the notion of deservingness by labour towards a notion of ‘rightful share’ (e.g. Ferguson 2015; Standing 2016) arguing however also that perhaps the nation state is not the sole agent capable anymore to account for these restructurings.

New methodological dilemmas

The material informing this thesis comes from recorded interview with roughly around 40 students and 10 staff members and from questionnaires – examples of which can be found in the appendix. Although it was not the original intention, this thesis speaks more about the female experience than the male experience. The study involved the analysis of schoolbook texts and policy at the secondary school I refer to as ‘Our Lady of Sorrows’, where I spent five days a week working as an assistant to the English teacher. The school was led by missionary nuns, ‘the Sisters’, who belonged to a foreign congregation. I did not live in Pachacutec during the course of the fieldwork. Thus, the data focuses more on the politics of the school and dynamics as they evolve in that space rather than on local level politics in Pachacutec per se. The reason why I did not live in Pachacutec was because due to having family in Peru, I had a place to stay in Lima already before finding the school to work in, which resulted convenient as Pachacutec could be accessed by a bus journey of roughly one hour and thirty minutes. The everyday informal exchanges and observations I would make at school and in other places such as the marketplace or on the bus ride journey to the school were perhaps more informative than the techniques based on interviews and archival research. To a great extent, I also gathered material by browsing my Facebook newsfeed during and after my fieldwork, and watching TV. Recording students’ performances and Lily’s singing, and letting students’ record with my camera, made relationships with students more relaxed and thus perhaps, more horizontal than what the traditional teacher-student relationship was.

As this ethnography is less about the school and more about citizenship and every-day politics, I have taken the liberty to use related case examples from events I experienced in other localities in Peru, both prior to and after the fieldwork. The weakness of this approach is that it relies heavily on the ethnographer’s interpretation. Its strength is that it allows for a wider scope of analysis in order to encompass a range of different kinds of social relationships and interactions and understand how certain events appeared meaningful to people.⁴¹ By inserting ideas gathered from a wider time frame in the text, my aim is to ask questions that go slightly beyond the scope of the school, Pachacutec, or even Peru. I take the position that the ethnographer always has some kind of a relationship to the setting, and the questions

⁴¹Reducing the fixedness of ‘scientific language’ can also account for seeing in social encounters what Abu-Lughod has termed ‘ethnographies of the particular’ (1991), rather than ‘facts’.

pertinent to the setting are pertinent to the ethnographer's own environment too – more often than we would like to think. Moreover, because what one interprets often comes down to one's experience (Rosaldo 1993) I have also included some reflection on myself as the interpreter of the events.

There is a dimension that deserves special attention in regards to the ethics of the research, which is the still relatively grey area of social media and whether data gathered from it can be ethically used. The world of social media only opened to me after the fieldwork was over, as suddenly I had several friendship requests (with time, they came to amount to around fifty online friendships) by my students, and I started to see their social media posts every-time I logged into my Facebook account. I felt that leaving out that dimension that was opened to me then would not have adequately portrayed the experiences of the youth and what was meaningful for them. As Erving Goffman has pointed out, we have a variety of masks in different social situations (1959) and the mask of 'a student' is only one of them⁴². The other mask I found on Facebook, told many things that were silenced in the school. As Facebook is also to some extent a public domain, I made the assumption that the students would not post things they wanted to remain an exclusive secret, bearing in mind that they might not want that information to be out in the public either. This is perhaps an unresolved grey area. There has not been enough awareness raising to social media users that whatever they do or say in digital networks can end up somewhere else it was not intended for, such as in an anthropologists' thesis. On the other hand, I find that students might find the portrayals of them via social media of more interest, as indeed, these were portrayals they themselves had chosen to make public. Where I saw necessary, I sought informed consent, but in the majority of cases, the data was gathered from multiple students' posts, thus making the observations less about the personal experience of the particular young person, and overall more generic. The principles I used in taking notes of social media posts were thus much that of participant observation. No student social media name was used, and the students were made aware that their Facebook posts served as an inspiration through a post I published on my Facebook wall.

The question of digital media raises other important questions related to connectivity. Although anthropologists have always remained in touch, digital

⁴² This point has also been made by Daniel Miller in his writings on Facebook (2011).

technology has the effect that we are no longer bound by movement but now share a space where we can communicate. The potential continuity across time and space raises the question of 'consent' and what we mean by it and how we may re-negotiate our relationships over time. Digital media can also bring transparency to the anthropologist's work. With today's access to internet, and the availability of online doctoral theses, what is produced at the 'desk' can be accessed in the field quite easily. This forces the writer to take the informant's point of view more seriously, conveying it in the writing in the best way she can. When one of my students, Kenny, who during my fieldwork period was 14 years old, but by now has reached adulthood, told me he wanted to read the thesis when it was finished, I evaluated some of the information I had included in the text through a different lens, and decided to leave some things out as I estimated that he might not have agreed with how I portrayed certain events. Digital media also has the effect of making future collaborations easier, and these virtual friendships might result into visits by the researched to the country of the researcher too.

The question of consent has not been free from frictions before the time of social media either. As schools are often symbolically violent spaces, numerous not-so-easy or unethical occurrences happened. And here lies the paradox of anthropological 'ethics': if anthropologists are supposed to record the everyday, there are bound to be things, events, experiences and persons who challenge the boundaries of ethical practice and research. My excuse for not getting involved was that things could be repaired later on, when the work (of writing) would be done. Now that I am at the point of submitting my thesis, I realise the moment to 'intervene' has perhaps gone. This also raises the question that while some of our informants may be more willing to share information, others actually do expect something from us in return (Scheper-Hughes 1995). This was most evident when my co-worker, the teacher named Cinthia, asked the children to fill in my questionnaires, adding that "maybe we will receive something out of it in the future". Her comment made me wary, and upon reflecting on it, I realised the sensation came from a sense of guilt, as I sensed that the demand was much greater than what I could offer. Indeed, much of the reciprocities between the researcher and the researched lay in the 'silent consensus' that the research will be useful in the future. The Sisters did not tire to ask how my research was going. The last time I visited the school, over a year after my fieldwork, I was reflecting on my slow progress in writing it all up. Sister Ruth encouraged me

by saying that I would finish it, as it was my “work for humanity” (*obra a la humanidad*). While I was humbled by the role she assigned to me, I often felt that perhaps something of this noble task was ‘lost in translation’. There are certainly many ambiguities as to the contribution anthropologists make, or do not make for humanity, but I was pleased to find the Sisters reminding me that this should be the researcher’s aim.

While the Sisters who ran the school and several of the staff exchanged information with me willingly, arguably the agreement to exchange information with the students had different dimensions for the hierarchy inherent in my status as an adult, and member of the school staff. An adult can project intimidation, especially if she is a teacher. The parents were not involved as the director’s permission sufficed in interviewing the children. The age range of the students was between twelve and seventeen. While most of them were not too young, they were still underage, which again brings forth the obligation of the ‘silent consensus’, as the anthropologist is vested with public trust, such as working with children. But children, and especially youth, also know how to deal with adults and avoid questions they do not like, just as how they know how to resist some of the more disciplining structures of the school. The school was also my shield. By this I mean that the students recognised that my questions had to do with addressing questions of ‘equality’, a theme they recognised not least as the enlightened tradition sets the school-house as a space where these kinds of questions are addressed. And it was precisely because of it that most of them were willing to contribute to the research. Many of the students openly and willingly engaged with me about concerns they had heard of, or had experienced themselves and wanted me to know about. Their openness and stark criticism was sometimes surprising to me. They also offered solutions and suggestions about what they would like to change, showing how these children were engaged and far more political than adults tended to give them credit for. It also demonstrates how the school was a shield for the students too, a place they could sometimes find refuge and get their voices heard, albeit not always. Some were also excited at the prospect of ‘being in a book’. A 13-year-old girl who had stopped attending school, because her father wanted her to stay at home to help with the house-chores, recited excitedly her long name “Maria Yvette Dolores Crystal Pacheco Gomez”, so that I would remember to mention her (despite her request, I decided to change her name and protect her identity).

A tentative suggestion from all the above is that we also need to open up

discussion about events that are occurring in our setting that may jeopardize the 'silent consensus', such as the commoditisation of education and the increasing competition and individualisation of research. This is of special importance in a time when academics as individuals are turning into 'brands', often leaving the PhD student a feeling that the research is only useful when one's name has indeed turned into a brand. This proposition is just as ephemeral as many of the propositions given to the students in my research setting. It also raises the question, again, whether the 'silent consensus' is the way the research should be carried out, or whether it is time to move on to more active roles as debated by activists and applied anthropologists a long time ago (e.g. Scheper Hughes 1995; Rylko-Bauer 2006). The silver lining however is that the similarities in the settings only mean that we are more united than before for a common cause. Digital media can offer a scope for more transparency as well as increased connection that may turn out into future collaborations. To conclude, the willingness of the students to contribute to the study points to the public trust invested in the anthropologist, and the ever present obligation present in the silent consensus. Acknowledging the discipline's directives, I adhered to the ASA and AAA guidelines in retaining the anonymity of the 'research subjects' seeking informed consent, with all the grey areas that this entails as discussed above, and by not abusing the power I had as a researcher in a negative way in all of the settings discussed. And finally, I extend these reflections when taking into account at the point of writing that I had a responsibility to informants who may well read this thesis one day.

Chapter 2

The people of Pachacutec united will never be defeated



2.1

Introduction

I saw the slogan that I use as part of the title for this chapter, “el pueblo de Pachacutec unido jamas sera vencido” scrawled in blue paint across the outside of an unoccupied house that I passed by on my way to visit my friend Roberto, the gate-keeper for my research in Pachacutec. This slogan captures some of the main premises that I build on in my thesis very well, as does the unoccupied house where the slogan was painted. Both the graffiti and the unoccupied house are material markers of the tensions between capitalist citizenship and the demands that people make in Pachacutec. As set out in the previous chapters, this thesis takes citizenship as a dynamic process. It follows the following claim placed by scholarship: capitalism functions in such way that it gives priority to the stronger in capital, often neglecting any larger collective labour done in the process. Therefore, certain labours, such as women’s domestic labour at home, remain invisible. I argue that in Pachacutec, there were these kinds of labours that remained invisible and exploited by those with more

money. The result is apparent in the picture above; the unoccupied house is vandalized by someone making a frustrated claim for unity. It was easy for the vandals to victimize the owners of the house with spray paint because no one lives on the premises. No one lives in the house because of idea of accumulation inherent in property ownership. Indeed, the rapid rise in the price of land in Pachacutec had created a panacea around land-ownership and the idea of 'progress'. Buyers from Lima were taking advantage of the rising prices of land in neighbourhoods like Pachacutec. They were buying up lots but never establishing residency. They were using the land as an investment, waiting for the price of land to rise so they can resell at a higher price.

As recorded in other parts of Latin America, since the mid-twentieth century, land politics have epitomized the struggle for social inclusion as the population of Latin American cities exploded (Holston 2008). The urbanization trend in Latin America was further accelerated through the funding conditions imposed by multilateral agencies and the policies that governments adopted to manage their national economies. The chapter will start by outlining the kinds of government policy that have made Lima the city that it is today. The city's lay out reflects a very class-based society, attesting to how the history of colonialism in Peru still matters in terms of how 'rights' are exercised and executed, as was explained earlier in the introduction. Then the chapter will continue by presenting an example of the problems that the gate-keeper of my research has faced with issues related to land tenure and ownership of the house where he lives in Pachacutec. But there is yet another dimension that is perhaps of most importance, which is the strength of the grey economy and how it functions in its own right. People continued to live and make use of the city all the same, whether the land was legal or not. This shows the importance of the need to pay attention to what happens in the 'margins', as the margins are spaces where new types of citizenship are being reconfigured, transcending classic distinctions between formal and informal. This may be evidence of the emergence of a new type of demand that transcends some of the more constraining and disciplining forms of citizenship. At the same time, the conflicts that are present in Pachacutec such as those evidenced in the picture above, demonstrate the unevenness and ambiguity of making new demands.



2.2

The legal and illegal formations of the city

The ‘modernisation’ processes that have characterized the 20th century led to mass rural-urban migrations worldwide, an experience that was felt throughout the global South (e.g. Davis 2007). This contributed to the formation of settlement towns, also known as shanty towns or slums, in the major cities of the global South or their vicinities. In Peru, all cities have experienced this type of growth (Sanchez & Calderon 1980), but it is especially so for Lima. The settlements as well as Lima’s notoriously grey and humid weather have inspired several authors and public figures to refer to the capital city as *Lima, la horrible*, (‘Lima, the horrible’). The name was given to it by writer Sebastian Salazar Bondy, who took the term from a letter written in 1949 by the poet Cesar Moro (Degregori et al. 1986: 264; Martucelli 2015:9).

In Lima the rural urban movement was greater than the capacity of the city to absorb the new residents. At the beginning of 20th century, Peru’s population was 3 800 000, and Lima’s population was only around 100 000. By 1931, the capital’s size had already more than doubled at 280 000 residents, and the growth continued steadily. The result is that the population of Lima has multiplied almost 90 times in little over a century. These are the seemingly unbelievable growth figures that are presented by Danilo Martucelli in his book with the telling title: *Lima y sus arenas* (Lima and its sand). Martucelli emphasizes the way by which the city has been built on unstable premises – the sand dunes surrounding Lima. But while the numbers do appear to be staggering and unsustainable, we have already seen in the last chapter that moving to the capital city constituted a disruption of previously asymmetrical

relations. New social actors began to appear in the spaces of the capital city, as they enacted new types of behaviours and aspired to new objectives (e.g. Golte & Adams 1990; Martucelli 2015). The population that was moving in such high numbers from the provinces to the capital city carved out new niches where a distinct, urban form of citizenship began to emerge for the migrant to Lima, one that was ‘global’ and at the same time ‘local’. The migrant citizens brought to the city elements from the countryside that fused with the urban elements of Lima to make a sub-culture of a particular kind. This rural to urban process has been well documented by Peruvian anthropology⁴³.

The state’s view towards settlement formation was ambiguous from the start, both in terms of policy and practice, and Lima’s class structure has been instrumental in determining the layout of the city. The first migrants from the provincial areas however were not the poorest from the countryside and smaller towns, but they belonged solidly to the middle-classes and they were lured by the cosmopolitan features that Lima promised. It was only from 1930 onwards that social scientists from Lima started to refer to the emigrations from rural areas by the term ‘invasion’. Through the early decades of the 20th century, the class based dichotomies that were first edified during the colonial era continued with little challenge in Lima, and when the migrants started to appear in numbers they were seen as a ‘problem’ and a ‘menace’ that generated chaos and disorder. The new migrants threatened the infrastructural capacity of the city (Calderon 2005). Julio Calderon documents how the increasing presence of people from the provinces pushed some people from the upper classes to move away from the centre of Lima towards the southern reaches of the city, where they could build gated communities and maintain their networks of power. The elites who moved out of Lima subdivided their property in Lima and the traditional large houses became *callejones* (‘big streets’) and started renting them out to the newcomers. Owning a *callejon* became a mark of affluence. The residents of the *callejones* shared a toilet and a shower, and in some instances the facilities were used by as many as a hundred people. A single room was usually home to between 4 to 7 people. The landlords of the old houses and the *callejones* paid little attention to the upkeep, and the *callejones* in the city centre and surrounding neighbourhoods soon deteriorated and were referred to derogatorily as ‘*tugurios*’, the contemporary

⁴³ e.g. Degregori et al. 1986, Golte & Adams 1990, Matos Mar 2004, Montoya 2010, Martucelli 2015, Sandoval 2012

English equivalent perhaps being ‘the slum’. From the 1940s to 1950s, these spaces absorbed the first migrant influxes (2005).

The large earthquake that struck Lima in 1940 that destroyed many of the *callejones* and poor resident areas of the city centre was a further deterring factor that worked against any initiative for public housing. There was no effort to rebuild the areas that housed the poor. The destroyed tenements were cleared out only slowly and replaced with other sorts of, mostly commercial, development. Therefore, the people who lost their houses formed *barriadas*, where they re-established themselves by self-building houses on the edge of the city, or to areas like Callao (Lobo 1982)⁴⁴. Calderon explains the *barriada* is a mechanism to access land where market and non-market principles pre-dominate. In most cases, the land that is eventually occupied to form a *barriada* is lived-in, the owners do not rent the properties to others. In the juridical system, in most cases, creating a *barriada* is illegal (2005). *Barriada* is also a term used in the Peruvian social science literature. However, in everyday and common speech the term *barriada* has a derogatory meaning because of its association with makeshift housing and run-down neighbourhoods and it is often accompanied with the ideas of ‘violence’ and ‘disorder’. Calderon explains how part of newly arriving migrants continued to find housing in the existing *tugurios*, while another part of the migrant population started to form more *barriadas* in order to meet their housing needs. With time, the sand dunes or *arenales* surrounding Lima became a more attractive alternative as there had already been some attempts to establish *barriada* communities there. In the past the government had disregarded public housing projects as too expensive⁴⁵, but the *tugurios* had begun to reach their capacity to absorb more new arrivals to the city. Roughly from 1950s onwards the amount of the *barriadas* began to grow rapidly and by the end of the century, the amount of people living in *tugurios* was less than those in *barriadas* (2005).

Although the housing needs of the people migrating to the city were addressed inadequately from the start, the mass migrations of the mid-20th century disrupted the

⁴⁴ Prior to the earthquake, between 1913 and 1939, during the modernisation process, only 14 *barriadas* were formed. While there is no certainty of when the first *barriadas* were born, some estimates give the years 1908, 1910 and 1913 (Calderon 2005:85). The first official name, *Barrios Marginales*, to these neighbourhoods was given during the second government of Manuel Prado (Sanchez & Calderon 1980:78).

⁴⁵ Calderon records several attempts of providing public housing in the first half of 20th century in Lima that however were weak, and sometimes too expensive for people to afford. There seemed to be always some negotiation of whether providing public housing belonged to the state or not (2005).

asymmetrical relations nonetheless, as documented in the introduction. As Holston notes in regards to similar processes occurring in Brazil, the experience of the city subverted the old regime of citizenship even as it perpetuated it in new forms of spatial and social segregation. Residents gained political rights, they became property owners and also modern consumers. They achieved a right to the city by creating new spheres of participation (2008). Similarly in Peru, the 1940s was seen as an era characterised by political struggle, struggle that was even heroic at times. The governments of Bustamante and Rivero used a lot of inspiring rhetoric calling for social change and measures that would disrupt the existing dichotomies of a strongly class-based society. The mass migrations had the effect that the elite began to be seen in a different light, they seemed less untouchable and it seemed more possible for the new migrants to invade their private property and assert their right to also live in the city. The first invasion of private property was made in 1946 (Calderon 2005: 90). Hence, there was a threat of subversion in the heroism that was emerging at the time, and in Peruvian social sciences this era of burgeoning activity on the part of the new migrants has been coined the 'rise of masses', *ascenso de masas* (Matos Mar 2004). A *Limeña* anthropologist Daniella Gandolfo explains how the newly built areas or *barriadas*, were always 'off-limits' to her as she was growing up. As explained in her own words, for Lima's longstanding and better-off residents, the *barriadas* are surrounded by "an aura of mystery...of fear of the unknown... at the same time keeping alive the fantasies and anxieties of an Indian invasion" (2009: 4)⁴⁶.

This ambiguity about the settlement towns was also present at the time I did my fieldwork. It was formed by the power struggle people in the city were experiencing, who struggle both in terms of 'inclusion' as well as 'autonomy.' At times these two ideas were at odds. The narrative of 'inclusion' was more inclusive in terms of class relations, while the narrative of 'autonomy' emphasised the distinctiveness of these spaces, and their right to exist alongside the formalised class-structure. Thus, in the coexistence of these narratives we see a tension between the individual and the collective, as 'inclusion' promised gains more at an individual level, and 'autonomy' was directed more at the collective. At first, the process of settling in a neighbourhood like Pachacutec is a collective effort. This collective

⁴⁶ These fantasies were fed already by the early 20th century *Indigenismo* tradition. Writer and anthropologist Valcarcel had proclaimed that one day the Andean people would take over the city (in Calderon 2005:110).

dimension is reflected in the *faena*, a public exchange of labour commonly used in the settlement neighbourhoods that involves the community as a whole as well as some local and state institutions. The word *faena* is a short hand for *faena comunal*, a term used for labour performed in the Andes that involves no money. The *pobladores* are required to attend meetings about the settlement organization and to take part in *faenas* in order to contribute labour to projects like making roads and building schools. The exact projects to be enacted are decided upon as a collective in the settlement meetings. Clearing out the sand in order to build houses and make roads is the first duty carried out in *faenas* as soon as a settlement is formed. In addition, in Pachacutec, the parents helped the school by providing labour for maintenance work in the form of a *faena*.

There are historical roots to the systems of exchange, reciprocity and redistribution the *faena* represented. Incas used *mit'a*s in order to extract large amounts of labour from the population, but the labourers were provided in a way that was typical in their communities' exchange systems. Billie Jean Isbell discusses reciprocity in Andean agricultural societies in terms of private and public spheres. Private reciprocity is manifested in the concept of *ayni* and *minka*, obligatory exchange of labour between parties. A person might ask relatives or friends to help clear a new field for crops. The request for the labour is *minka*, and the requested friends are said to 'lend *ayni*'⁴⁷ by coming to work (in Malpass 2016:10). In Klaren's description of the use of *mit'a* by Inca society, the *mit'a* was always performed in a festive manner, although it was also an obligation that served important ends to the Inca state. It provided not only a labour force for construction but also it strengthened the state's military and administrative power. Communities were also obliged to assign a part of their land to the state religion, and that land was worked through the *mit'a* as well (2004).

What is certain is that these systems of exchange were exploited when they came in contact with Spanish rule. As it was recorded in the introduction, the Spanish Crown gained labour in mines via the forced labour system of *mita* thus using the practice that was already used by the Inca society in order to mobilise labour. Likewise, *faena* was a form of labour exploitation first used by the large estate owners, the *hacendados* and, later the *faena* was a labour form also adopted in some

⁴⁷ *Ayni* also means in ancient Quechua 'vengeance', the principle being 'the one who was exploited later exploits' (in Gago 2017).

cases by the state. As it was a form of tribute, it was efficient in terms of mobilizing a substantial workforce for public construction projects (Borg Rasmussen 2015:189). Michael Malpass describes *mit'a* and *faena* as public exchanges of labour that involve the community as a whole and some institution. *Faena* is work that the community does on a common project, such as building a road while *mit'a* is the rotating work that members of a community in turns for another institution, such as a church or a state government. An important component of these labour exchanges, both public and private, is providing the labourers with food, drink and coca leaves that are chewed to relieve physical discomfort, or cigarettes, in exchange for their labour. It is the obligation of the person or the institution asking for the help to provide these things, and if they are not provided, the workers can refuse to do the labour (2016:10). Peasant communities have also adopted this form of labour mobilization in order to carry out projects that benefit the community, and *faenas* have come to constitute an important part of the community identity and politics (in Borg Rasmussen 2015, Gose 1994). In the way that *pobladores* spoke of the *faenas*, however, *faenas* were envisaged as temporary things, disappearing when settlements became more established. The younger generation certainly were not concerned about being required to participate in *faenas* anymore.



2.3 Three-wheel motorcycles are used for transportation in sand.

As we can see in the example of *faenas*, the relationship between the state and citizenry has long, ambiguous history that operates with an established dynamic through the labour of citizens given in exchange for concrete results. During the early days of my fieldwork I was still perplexed by the different uses of space and labour in neighbourhoods like Pachacutec. One day I pulled aside Miranda, the school janitor's wife to see if she could explain how people came to Pachacutec and what were their main concerns. She was a very friendly woman in her forties whose husband was performing a type of pastoral work at the school. Miranda had just taken part in a new invasion. Miranda explained to me how an invasion is made when a group of people with a similar need for more space come together and organize. The process of planning for a new invasion can take around a year, as the invading group needs to be 'strong enough', meaning that it has a sufficient number of people, comprising a group of at least 300 people according to Miranda.

The process of invasion is coordinated with state officials. Investigation done by IDL, Institute of Development and Liberty, headed by economist Hernando De Soto who is famous for his work with the informal sector and microenterprises, defines invasions to run through a "system of extralegal norms". These essentially consist of informal customary law and rules borrowed from the official legal system when these are of use to people, and it is called on to govern life in the informal settlements when the law is absent or deficient (1989:19). The settlement is led by a leader, *dirigente*, a secretary and a treasurer, each elected by a vote. This group forms the directive committee of the settlement, the *directivo*. Miranda explained that the settlements need strong leaders, someone who is characterised as *fuerte* because of their ability to negotiate with authorities. Similarly, De Soto records that leader who has some kind of access to the government is the most preferred one. He also records that a census is taken of the invaders and the contribution they will make to common costs is approved. Sometimes lawyers are hired to help in the initial stages (1989). The settlement boundaries are drawn by the engineers in the municipality or district the area pertains to, which in the case of Pachacutec is the Region of Callao, before the invasion takes place. The engineers work with the *directivo* in dividing the land settled into allotments or lots, *lotes*, allocated usually to family units in exchange for a fee. A block, usually referred to as a *manzana* may hold for instance 33 allotments. The engineers measure the sizes of the allotments, and design them as a residential group, *grupo residencial*. They also plan the area dedicated to commercial activities

and where the schools, medical posts and green areas should be located eventually as the community gains resources and continues to grow. De Soto records that once all these preparations are made, the invasion takes place, and it usually occurs at night or in the early hours in the morning. A communal kitchen is formed that feed the invaders during the early days the settlement is organised (1989). At the first days of settlement existence, the water is brought in by a water carrier, *aguatero* (Montoya 2010)⁴⁸.

Settlements are also formed by ‘gradual invasions’ that occur in already existing settlements via an intermediary, and by occupations made via the initiative of the land-lords themselves in order to rent their land. Not all who live in a settlement have taken part in the invasion either, but some people come to a settlement via a connection made by a relative, for instance. The permission to move into the settlement is granted by the residents (Calderon 2005; De Soto 1989). De Soto also records that an invasion is a highly calculative move. It has a clear and strict operating logic where nothing is left to chance and everything is planned. It thus operates with a type of ‘invasion contract’, the execution of which has the immediate effect of establishing a right to the land which the IDL has called ‘expectative property right’ (1989:23). In picture 2.4, the land-plot allocated to the house is marked by a barbwire (more often, fences perform this role). In picture 2.5 the address is written on the front door.



2.4

⁴⁸ The tradition of having water carriers to sell and distribute water to people is a practice originating in the Iberian peninsula. Whereas water carriers used to hold a good status in Spain, in Pachacutec the students would mention *aguatero* as an undesired occupation. The occupation was so stigmatised that they would use the term in order to shame someone by calling them ‘aguatero!’



2.5 Manzana A-10, Lote 20

After the invasion, the *directivo* makes the necessary connections for settlement formalisation, gaining electricity, water and later infrastructural works. All of these happen separate from each other, e.g. infrastructural works may or may not arrive before land-titling. The installation of electricity is cheap and it comes quickly, whereas people usually need to wait a good couple of years for the arrival of water as the latter is more costly⁴⁹. Lima's water resources are scarce and it is difficult to provision water to the majority of the settlements (Takano & Tokeshi 2007). Today, one of the biggest concerns in newly formed settlements remains access to water, delivered by companies that are not willing to invest in un-titled land. Some settlements get tanks of water from Lima, and others get a water sewerage system put in place. In picture 2.6 on the hill a water company SEDAPAL has constructed its water system. SEDAPAL is a state led company under the jurisdiction of the *Fondo Nacional de Financiamiento de la Actividad Empresarial del Estado* (FONAFE). It is a government entity that is unique, but also faced with many burdens. The house in picture 2.7 did not get its water from SEDAPAL, but from another water tank that sometimes run out.

⁴⁹Cabrera et al. record that families in settlements of Lima are used to waiting two to three years until water (e.g. via projects like *Agua para todos*) and infrastructure arrive (2011).



2.6



2.7

The owner of the allotment is charged with the responsibility of physically building their own house, either by himself/herself, or more commonly these days, by paying a builder. Each settlement is given a name, often named in honour of some state official or a historical figure. From all of the mentioned we can conclude that the process of planning for an invasion, carrying it out, organising the distribution of lots, and appealing to legislators for legal titles and infrastructure, is far from a ‘chaotic’ process, as the term ‘invasion’ implies, but it is actually quite organised and backed up by several professionals.



2.8 “Welcome A.H. Señor de los Milagros”

The process of obtaining legal recognition, and eventually ownership of the land, is perhaps the most difficult measure to be carried out successfully in a settlement. The procedure of obtaining right to a lot and eventually ownership of the land is done as an individual. The first official document sought after is ‘proof of possession’, *constancia de posesion*. It can be obtained in the city hall of the municipality the land belongs to, by indicating the person’s name and national ID number⁵⁰, the name of the settlement, identification of the *manzana* or block and the number of the allotment or *lote* the person lives in. This formality is only the very starting point of the process of gaining official ownership recognition known as ‘titling’ or *titulacion* from the state. If the land is private or reserved for other use, matters tend to take longer, or people only get through the first stage, of holding a ‘proof of possession’. Having a ‘proof of possession’ does not mean that the land is legally theirs yet, this being the biggest difference between a legal and illegal property owner (Calderon 2005). In addition, the settlement needs to be formalised by state officials who come and inspect it. They may visit before or after one has gone individually to seek titling and obtained the proof of possession. I have included in the appendix a list of the settlements in Pachacutec which details which settlements were formalised and which were not. In 2013, out of the 136 settlements in Pachacutec, only 31 were formalized. Access to the number of individuals holding land-titles was denied due to privacy of information, but it is reasonable to assume that if the settlement has not been formalised, i.e. via the state officials who inspect and eventually register it, the

⁵⁰ In Peru, it is mandatory to have an ID card (DNI).

residents will not get legal titling either, and they will have nothing more than the proof of possession document. Dissatisfaction in regards to land-titling is fairly common⁵¹.

As demonstrated thus far, one essential component in the formation of settlements is the relationship individuals have with the state, and how the residents use the state's legal framework (Holston 2008). In his book, that also has the telling title, *La ciudad ilegal* ('the illegal city') Calderon explains that Peruvians have a 'right to property' that is legally outlined in the constitution. Since the 1950s, there have been a number of urban policies geared towards assuring the legal property rights of citizens. It is believed that access to property will enable the property owner to have a closer relationship with the state and better potential to earn money via the formal the market. During the government of Odria (from 1948 to 1956) votes were gained by promising people public recognition of their lands. Odria also enacted laws that authorised occupying public land. Calderon argues that it was a low cost investment and an efficient political tool for the government as it was a way avoid *barriadas* being formed on private land (2005). In 1961, Peru was one of its kind because it put place a 'Law of Marginal Neighbourhoods', the so-called *Ley de Barrios Marginales*, which guaranteed access to public land and public sanitation and water along with it, but it prohibited residents of the settlements from orchestrating further invasions. The law was followed by an explosive growth of the population (Calderon 2005; Stefano Caria 2008; Takano & Tokeshi 2007).

The amount of people moving to the city soon exceeded the capacities of the state administration to deliver on their promises of providing sanitation and water. The state also became unable to limit new land invasions as originally intended under Odria due to the amount of migrants that were arriving in the city. Calderon further argues that one of the reasons why the 1961 law had failed was due to the lack of economic resources needed to the settled areas. The *pobladores* pressured for access to land titles without services and a policy was implemented that separated improving the services from titling. Despite of it, between 1961 and 1968, only 10% of the petitions for titling were given (2005:43). It was also during this period that *barriadas*

⁵¹ The internet has various sources which help people to gain information about how to legalise their land, and all the bureaucratic measures they need to take, e.g <http://www.munlima.gob.pe/images/descargas/gerencias/GDU/SALT/cartilla-de-formalizacion-como-formalizo-mi-vivienda.pdf>

were established further away on the peripheries of the city. It seemed the authorities were allowing people to take the ‘problem’ further away from the city, rather than dealing with it. Ventanilla, the district where Pachacutec is located, was established during this period (Sanchez & Calderon 1980:90-91).

The dependent nature of the Peruvian economy at the world level was also felt within Peru during this period. The settlements have been an object of interest in multilateral policies from 1960s onwards. In mid 1960s urban questions became more dependent of assistentialist programs, mostly allied with the North American government (Sanchez Leon 1980:91-92). Trends in the sociological literature began to see settlements as ‘less the problem than the solution’. One of the most important influencers of this strand of thought were John Turner⁵² and William Mangin, the first an urban planner/architect and the latter a sociologist/anthropologist. In Turner’s model, rural migrants first move from the province to the city centre to find jobs, then with employment security move to the periphery (Cordridge 1995; Davis 2007). Turner’s thesis was that good housing is more common where it is locally produced through network structures and decentralising technologies, and not treated as a mass product, arguing that in the long run, the productivity of centrally administered systems diminishes as it consumes capital resources, while the productivity of local, self-governing systems increases as it generates capital through the investment of income. He saw that institutionalisation results in alienation and people are discontent when their labour is spent elsewhere, not for themselves (2009).

To prove his point Turner compared several case examples from public housing in Britain, and self-built houses in Latin America. In Turner’s words, the British housing policies have only been achieved by relatively equitable distribution of national income. This has been achieved in turn, thanks to the institutional reforms within a system based on the exploitation of other people. Later this was resolved by switching from exploiting people to exploiting non-renewable resources. Aware of these inequalities, his emphasis was on finding solutions that cater for the present needs of people in countries with limited income and his aim was to go beyond dependency narratives, which he saw as obvious facts, but of little use when it came to practice (2009: 40-82). Auto-construction turned into a space of ‘alternative futures’ and the World Bank emphasized making housing affordable to low-income

⁵²The work of Mangin and Turner convinced many planners and donor agencies including WB that shanty towns are as much ‘slums of hope’ as ‘slums of despair’ (Corbridge 1995).

households without the payment of subsidies, in contrast to the heavily subsidized public housing approach (Davis 2007: 71-72).

Influenced by pressure from international currents of thought, the Left leaning militarist government of General Velasco (1968-1980) decided to institute ambitious state programs to 'upgrade' the settlements, calling them *pueblos jóvenes* ('young villages') instead of *barriadas* and Velasco's government used people's resettlement as its tactic of dealing with their housing needs (Joseph 1999). The land reform put into place by the Velasco government in 1969 stipulated that areas qualified as pre-urban should urbanise themselves within a period of five years, and cultivated land existing beyond the city became subject to redistribution. One of the consequences was that large land-owners, who were frightened of losing their lands to the state if they could not obtain sufficient financing, clients and construction within this period, began to deal with the invaders in order to sell them their land. Some private owners avoided the adverse effect of the agrarian reform by transferring their land to associations or cooperatives for more money than expropriation would have brought but less than the normal price. In this way the associations acquired a great amount of land at reduced prices, saved themselves some from the cost of invasion, and acquired slightly more secure property rights (De Soto 1989; Calderon 2006). By then, the informal economy had substantially improved the incomes of large sections of the populations (e.g. minibus operators and street-vendors), who were now able to buy land. The effect of the land-reform was thus that it made the agricultural land cheaper as the expropriation prompted many owners to sell, vastly increasing the supply (De Soto 1989)

Tensions for the popular classes, housing associations, students and union movements went unresolved, and a wide range of upheavals continued to affect Peruvian society. It was common to see associations defy the original scheme or plan that officials had laid out for their neighbourhood, designing their own allotments and the layout of their blocks. As a consequence of this perhaps, urban politics became more centralised with the appearance of various organisations and institutions in the neighbourhoods such as the municipality. There was a more hierarchical attempt to administer services and control the space ideologically and politically⁵³. The right of

⁵³ To this end, in 1968, two organisations *la Oficina Nacional de Desarrollo de Pueblos Jóvenes* (ONDEPJOV) and *el Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la movilacion Social* (SINAMOS) were created (Sanchez Leon and Caldon Cockburn 1980:95).

the *pobladores* to form associations was recognised by law, substantially modifying the relationship with the state and grass-roots organisations through neighbourhood committees, *comites vecinales*. Thus, the government began to see the settlements more as a solution to the housing problem than something to deter, because of the popular efforts taken in the settlements and the continuing constraints the global economy was causing to countries like Peru at the time (Sanchez & Calderon 1980). In her thesis, Amy Mortensen records that the impact of Velasco-era state institutions in *barriadas* of Lima in the 1960s and 1970s was important for the formal recognition of *Organizaciones Sociales de Base* (OSBs), grassroots social organizations in poor communities (2010). Villa El Salvador⁵⁴ was established in the southern cone of Lima in 1971, and it had a lot of symbolic value as one of the first auto-managed cities, and through its foundation the government of Velasco began to direct more support to *barriadas*. SEDAPAL provisioned water-systems with funding from World Bank and German Bank KWF. During the second phase of the militarist government (1975-1980) efforts were made to consolidate the *barriadas* and more offices and programs were established to take charge of the issues that the people living in the settlements faced (Calderon 2005).

The process of expropriation was prohibited in 1976 (De Soto 1989). Several Peruvian authors have emphasised how the agrarian reform put an end to the oligarchic relationships that characterised the society up to that point, and it saw the rise of a new leading class. The state became more modern and at the same time more dependent, as the historical outline in the introduction also details. While the informal sector was more present in the historical city centre, the segregated communities persisted (Degregori 1986; Martucelli 2015). Peru had experienced a tumultuous decade in the 1980s with the violence between *Sendero Luminoso* and the military government and the economic crises brought during Garcia's first presidency. As a result, Peruvian cities experienced another large influx of migrants. A project named *Proyecto Especial Ciudad Pachacutec* was established in the latter half of the 1980s (Calderon 2005:163).

In the 1990s, Fujimori, whose support had been backed up by the popular

⁵⁴ Anthropologist Rodrigo Montoya has produced an extensive ethnography of Villa El Salvador – *El porvenir de la cultura Quechua* (2010). Villa El Salvador is also present in Peruvian school books as a site where citizenship is being forged. School-books mention the story of a female activist for women's and black rights, Maria Elena Moyano, who lived in Villa El Salvador, and was killed by the *Sendero Luminoso*.

sector, aside of dealing with the guerrilla movement, needed to respond to the needs of the vast amount of people who had supported his campaign. Fujimori's main economic adviser was De Soto. De Soto's proposal for legislative reforms was based on the idea that legally entitling settlement dwellers to proof of ownership would have a positive effect on residents' tendency to invest, e.g., by starting restaurants or by subletting their property. By this time, scholars had begun to view the dependency of economies like Peru as a 'myth' (see Vargas Llosa 1989: 290). In his book first published in 1986, *El Otro Sendero*, ('the Other Path'), the title of which referred to the conflict Peru was experiencing at the time, De Soto argued that Peru had never been a true 'market economy.' It was only just beginning to develop a true market economy because of all the informality and the strength of the black market. In his view, there was no 'economic freedom' in Peru, and the Peruvian economic system was better described as mercantilist. De Soto showed that there were on average 159 bureaucratic steps which residents had to complete in order to legalise their settlement, and the process of incorporating their neighbourhood into the city took around twenty years (1989:24). This meant that success in Peru did not depend on 'inventiveness' and 'hard work' of the individual, as the liberal doctrine prescribes, but on the enterprising person's ability to gain the sympathy of presidents, ministers and other public functionaries (1989:209).

De Soto wrote persuasively about a massive social and economic revolution that was taking place in Peru that rivalled with the industrial revolution in the West. He posited that the informal sector in Peru own assets with a replacement value in excess of US\$80 billion – which at the time was fourteen times greater than the value assigned to foreign direct investment in Peru. For De Soto this meant that the Peru's entrepreneurial majority had already begun a market and social revolution against economic poverty and legal oppression (1989:8). Legalisation providing for formal land-tenure in order for people to access credit promised people's legal incorporation and thereby it was a transformation comparable to the 'modernisation' in West. Legalization was a move supported widely by the state and multi-lateral agencies. Yet the downside of the measures taken was that other costs got ignored. In the 1990s, the government of Fujimori took various steps to promote property titling, instead of other forms of financial aid to help with settlement infrastructure. In 1992, for example, Pachacutec stopped receiving financial aid altogether. Its location at some distance from the city of Lima would require a considerable amount of investment by

the government. Between the years 1994 and 2002, COFOPRI (Commission on the Formalisation of Informal Property), a state program that evolved from an idea that was originally conceived by IDL (Mortensen 2010:101)⁵⁵, proceeded to hand out land-titles in Pachacutec, giving many residents legal title to their property and bringing the settlement under the responsibility of the Regional Government of Callao (Calderon 2005: 159, 187).



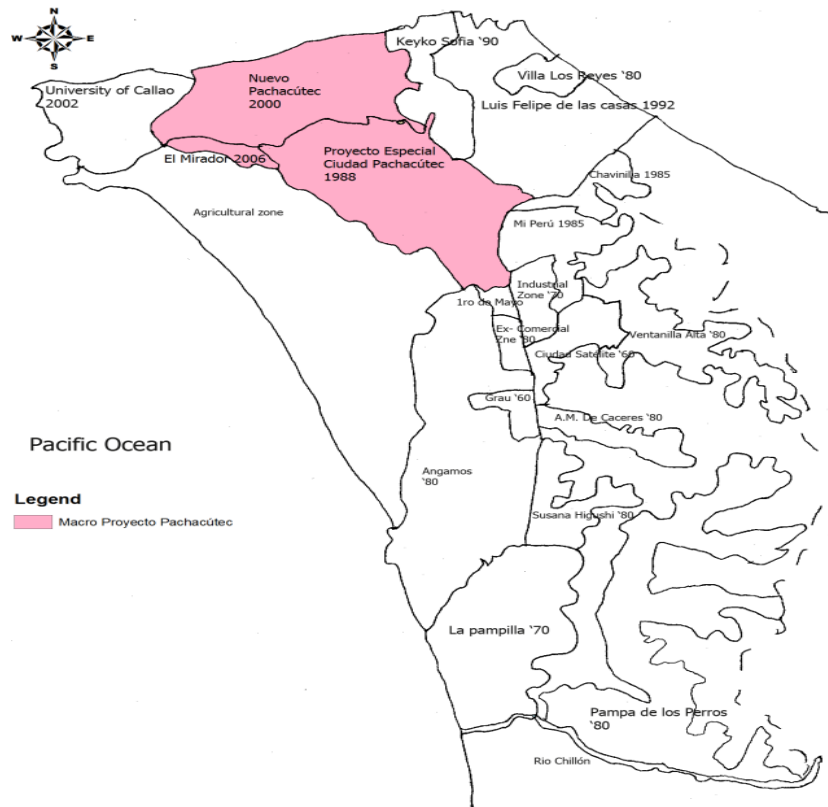
2.9

Policies put in favour of land-titling in the 1990s increased the disorganized nature of urban growth in Lima and the city continued to expand outwards into faraway spaces. The process of distribution of land-titles was not coordinated with urban planning and designing of the settlement that was carried out by the municipality (Calderon 2005; 2006). For some, land that could be procured for free or nearly free became worth long daily commutes for work in the city. A bus ride from Pachacutec to the southern cone of Lima where some *Pachacutecños* work can take up to three hours. The situation continued at an exploding rate into the new century when in January 2000 large invasions were made in an area reserved for agriculture in Villa el Salvador. Fujimori negotiated with the settlers and arranged to have them relocated to Pachacutec, although Pachacutec had already stopped receiving government funding (2005: 190). Over 7 000 families were re-settled into *Proyecto Especial Ciudad Pachacutec* from their initial attempt to take more land in Villa el Salvador. A new project, *Nuevo Pachacutec*, was initiated to take charge of re-settled people's land-

⁵⁵ Aside providing land-titling the office of COFOPRI arranges topographic drawings to settlements legalized through them. Maps of newly formed settlements can be bought in the office of COFOPRI situated in central Lima. COFOPRI also tries to limit illegal lot selling.

titling issues.⁵⁶ The practice of taking ‘the problem’ further away, initiated during the Velasco period, continued into more contemporary practices. The government itself had to side-step the bureaucracy of regular legal channels in order to make it easier and more efficient to regulate land tenure.

Map 4 Both settlement projects of Pachacutec: Proyecto Especial Ciudad Pachacutec and above it, further away from Lima, Nuevo Pachacutec (‘new Pachacutec’)



According to Calderon, what the legalisation of land ignored was that the ‘market’ and the banks that operate in terms of the market do not collude with ‘the state’ on this idea. According to Calderon, banks continued to give loans based on the level of earnings, not on property owned. Following the 1996 policy, it has been calculated that only 2,8% of the people who obtained property titles could gain access to loans from private banks. Based on statistical information, families who had their possession of property formalised by state organism COFOPRI continued to use their own money and resources to construct their houses instead of using credit resources

⁵⁶Gerencia Regional de Planeamiento, presupuesto y acondicionamiento territorial. Oficina Acondicionamiento territorial, Catalogo Regional Territorial N. 4, Proyecto Piloto Nuevo Pachacutec 2012

from banks. Paradoxically, households that were not formalised gained 43% access to credit from private bank loans (2005: 205-206, see also Stefano Caria 2008). In the meantime, Pachacutec continues to grow every year through new invasions.



2.10 Selling lots (*venta de lotes*)



2.11 “This house is for sale” (*se vende esta casa*)

El dueño es quien vive

The complex webs of events that the policies regarding land can generate at the local level was a matter brought to my attention by my friend Roberto, whom I had met through my sister. At the time of my fieldwork he identified himself as gay, but with the passing of years I have witnessed him adopting a *travesti*⁵⁷ identity, a label used in Peru for males adopting a transgender identity. Part of their identity as *travesti* consisted of wearing feminine clothes and make-up, and letting the hair grow long.

⁵⁷The concept of *travesti*, refers to cross-dressing. Campuzano argues that it was born out of the colonizers’ fixation with gender binaries, including the imperative to dress according to one’s place within a rigid gender dichotomy. Today the concept has been re-worked into a political noun by Argentinean and Peruvian *travesti* activists (2008).

Many of Roberto's friends called him Roberta.

The friendship I developed with Roberto was not a surprise. Indeed, individuals holding an ambivalent status in their communities often have a far more critical stance towards their own communities, and therefore they make good ethnographers. This is precisely because individuals with ambivalent status often seek 'something else'. Roberto willingly shared his view on all the social intricacies of living in a place like Pachacutec. He was originally from Huacho, a coastal town about three hours north of Lima. Roberto had moved to Lima over ten years ago, when he was in his early twenties. In his words, he became enchanted by the large and beautiful buildings of the city centre, and he decided he never wanted to move away again. He soon met his partner, with whom he lived for ten years in different parts of Lima. However, it was usually the case that once the landlords became aware of the romantic nature of their relationship, the landlords would want them to leave. This meant the couple had been forced to bounce around living in various different flats in Lima. The constant need to move made Roberto view his experience living in Lima to be difficult at times. By the time he moved to Pachacutec, Roberto and his partner had already separated. Roberto had moved to Pachacutec as it allowed him a degree of autonomy, not only in regards to his gay identity, but also in regards to not needing to be in full-time employment. He often had difficulties maintaining a steady job, as the prejudice that people held against gay men made him feel unwelcome in many places. Roberto usually found work in restaurants, where he waited on tables and helped in the kitchen. Due to his *travesti* identity, however, Roberto received a lot of verbal abuse from the workmen who visited these restaurants. Sometimes he would travel to do cleaning jobs in Lima, presumably helping to clean people's houses. His latest job had been in a hair salon, one of the few places that are permissive of *travesti* workers. Roberto soon argued with the owner of the salon, as the owner had made demeaning remarks about his work in front of a customer. Indeed, Roberto's proud and confrontational manner often got him into trouble with people. He recounted that he was lucky to live in Pachacutec, as there he did not face the danger of being 'kicked out' for such a thing as the failure to pay rent.

One night, I was wandering aimlessly with Roberto along the narrow sandy lanes of Pachacutec. We had been trying without success to find someone with a television that we could watch, as Roberto had no electricity in his house. The dim light coming off the streetlights had turned the night alive, and the streets that are

usually empty and quiet were now busy with families and couples taking a walk. Some families had set up chairs just outside their door where they sat chatting with each other, while others were outside grilling some food to sell to passers-by.

Ahead of us there was a family walking, and they were carrying plastic bags from the chain supermarket 'Metro' that is located in Ventanilla. As we were walking through the narrow streets we had to stop and make way for a flashy-looking white car as it squeezed its way forward. As the car came by Roberto commented: "The government has said that this place is in extreme poverty, but there's nothing of extreme poverty here, how else would they have cars like that?"

Roberto's reluctance to viewing Pachacutec as an area of 'extreme poverty' pointed to the peculiar nature of the situation in which the inhabitants of Pachacutec found themselves. Although their houses lacked water and a sewage system, and many of them were 'still' wooden symbolizing that their owners had yet to invest in more "noble" building materials, money still circulated. It is in this sense that 'extreme poverty' seemed an alien concept and Roberto's reaction proved that the notion of extreme poverty did serve as a disciplining mechanism. There is something unsettling about the term, perhaps there is even something violent in it because it objectifies people by describing them as helpless and immobile, which in the case of Pachacutec was just the opposite. People were constantly in motion, and same affection was given to the space that is given to places we call our homes.

It was a rather pleasant walk as we continued on our way through the neighbourhood. Salsa music could be heard playing from one of the houses. As Roberto took the music in he commented that Pachacutec was a place of salsa and he said that *cumbia* in contrast is the music of the northern towns of Peru. I was tempted to disagree, as I had more often heard *cumbia* or *chicha* music coming from the houses. Both *cumbia* and *chicha* are fusions of Andean *huaynos*⁵⁸ with coastal beats and rock music. I suspected this rejection of *cumbia* or *chicha* music was yet again one of Roberto's attempts to avoid Pachacutec being viewed as carrying an Andean legacy. While Roberto's grandmother was from the Andes, Roberto himself was sure to establish a boundary between the coast and the Andes.

58 Andean slow-paced folkloric songs



2.12



2.13

We ended our stroll around the neighbourhood when we arrived at Roberto's house. He lit the gas stove to put some water on to boil so we could make tea. Roberto had just replaced the roof with new plastic panels that were held up by a pole made of eucalyptus wood. Roberto joked that he could not use the stronger tin material because the house would fall down on him in his sleep. After we finished our tea, Roberto took a cigarette out from where he was hiding it in an empty flower vase. He said he had been keeping the cigarette safe for a special occasion. Lighting it, Roberto explained that there is always more water in the winter months. During winter there is always water running from the tap. In the summer however water was usually only available at certain times of day. 'But who wants to bathe themselves in the wintertime?' he laughed, 'and who wants to wash clothes? They never get dry!' The air humidity in Lima is very high and it can make the cold much feel much more intense than the air temperature indicates, and drying clothes a slow process if there is no sun. I was told people cover the inside walls of their houses with sand paper bought in hardware stores in order to not to let the air run through from the wall. Yet the *Limeño* sun is a mixed blessing. In the winter it is welcome to help lower the humidity and to dry laundry. Yet it is very strong when it does shine in the summer months. The sand makes beneath the feet burn, and the tin material used on the roofs of Pachacutec turn the houses into ovens.

Roberto lit a candle and said, “I’m sorry this is all so rustic”. When he had moved into the house, unbeknown to Roberto, his sister and her family had left an unpaid balance with the electricity company. “What can you do with a family like mine?” Roberto sighed. The electricity was cut off, and Roberto refused to pay the debt ‘out of principle’. Getting stuck with the unpaid electricity bill was not the only time he felt cheated by his sister. Prior to her move, his sister had borrowed 1000 soles from him to buy the allotment of land for the house. At the time, the amount Roberto lent his sister was half the price of the allotment. It was a good investment because today the market price would certainly be higher. When Roberto's sister had decided finally to move back to Huacho with her family, she asked if Roberto wanted to move to Pachacutec. At the time, burdened by rent bills, Roberto thought it would be a good idea. Now, as the years had passed and he still had not received any of the money back from his sister, he grew increasingly resentful towards her. The allotment was registered under her name, making her the benefactor of the increase in the value of the land. Roberto had not thought of making himself a joint owner of the lot when he lent her the money. “Here, the owner is the one who lives [in it], *el dueño es quien vive*”, he said. “She hasn’t lived here in years. If I want, the neighbours can prove it has been me living in here, not her”. Calderon records that the principle of ‘the owner is the one who lives in it’ dates back to the end of the 1980s, when discussion rose about the possible consequences of handing land titles. The fear was that if everyone would be getting titling, there would soon be vacant lots. The principle ‘the owner is the one who lives in it’ was thus a means to making sure that the lots were really occupied (2005:203), and this process became controlled via census making and regular visits to the settlement to see whether people lived in their lots or not.

Roberto’s frustration was ever more pressing for he was aware how the market value of the land market was rising. Indeed, one of the first things I was told in Pachacutec was that land prices were very high, even as high as between 10 000 to 20 000 soles⁵⁹ per plot. People who had bought their plots five years ago could resell

⁵⁹ Depending on the source, Peru’s minimum wage rate averaged between 750 to 850 Peruvian *nuevos soles* per month (around £176-£200), and has remained largely unchanged since 1990. In rough calculation, if a person earning a minimum wage would survive with as little as 250 *soles* a month (which is almost impossible in Lima unless one doesn’t pay rent) and save 500 *soles* each month for a land-plot, the person would have to save for around two years in order to be able to afford a land-plot in Pachacutec. It is also important to bear in mind that the informal employment in Peru is as massive as 73.2%, to which the minimum wage rate does not apply <https://www.minimum-wage.org/international/peru>; <http://www.newperuvian.com/current-minimum-wage-in-peru-in-us-dollars-and-soles/>.

them for double or triple the price.⁶⁰ Yet, Roberto said he knew his sister: ‘All she thinks about is money’. When he did confront her about sharing some of the costs some time ago, his sister retorted that Roberto lives in the house for free. She said angrily to him he should cover all the costs by himself. But living in a settlement is not free, Roberto and his neighbours complained about attitudes like his sister’s. Living in a settlement requires work that is often physical. It requires such things as attending to the settlement meetings, clearing out the sand through *faenas*, as well as waiting for the infrastructure to arrive, which can also be argued to constitute a type of labour. Furthermore, De Soto estimates that invaders pay a high price for the land they occupy, and most importantly, they invest a significant amount of time (1989). ‘You have been fooled!’ his neighbours said to him.

What Roberto’s experience illustrates is that the ones who were benefitting from the daily work of clearing the sand away were increasingly people who did not live in Pachacutec, such as Roberto’s sister. Absentee owners benefit from the rising prices for land but they did not contribute to making the settlement a more hospitable place to live. The problems Roberto was facing with his sister was fairly common in Pachacutec, it was not just an isolated case because of a troubled relationship between a brother and sister. Many of the residents in Pachacutec do not hold legal titles to the land where they are settled according to an official working for COFOPRI, the state organism in charge of land-titling in Lima. The COFOPRI official said that roughly 80% of *Pachacuteños* do not hold legal titles. The official said this is because the land in Pachacutec was reserved for military use.

The “land-owner” mafias were another possible cause for the low levels of legal possession in neighborhoods like Pachacutec. The land-owner mafias were a threat because they are able to gain influence by monopolizing the available plots by praying on the legal market system for land. One former worker of the judiciary in Lima suggested this was a common problem. Rumours circulated in Pachacutec that some conniving and unscrupulous buyers were hoarding land-plots for themselves by finding loopholes in the bureaucratic system. Indeed, land trafficking is not just a rumour in the Lima area. A number of sources in the literature establish that these landowner mafias have been gaining influence and consolidating their power since the year 2000 (Martucelli 2015; see also Cabrera et. al 2011).

⁶⁰Similarly in a study made in Lima, Cabrera et al. (2011) record that a lot price can increase even up to four times more (from 300 sols to 1200 sols).

The fact that most of the people in Pachacutec did not have legal title deeds for their land, also made homeowners leery of investing large sums of money in the construction of their homes, so they used cheaper, more impermanent materials rather than ‘noble’ materials, like cement. One day when walking to Roberto’s house, we passed a neighbour’s house where men were busily building a wall from bricks. ‘What on earth are they doing?’ Roberto exclaimed with a sigh of exasperation ‘they are building a cement house even though they don’t have titling yet!’ Indeed, in some cases, residents reserved beautifying their homes and adding details for some point in the future, when they finally get a legal title to the lot and they can afford to invest in materials such as cement and bricks. This example runs counter to the argument made by Turner, who held that the amount that people invest in their housing depends on their satisfaction with it (2009)⁶¹. Turner’s theory does not take into account the unequal access to resources and competition for land in cities like Lima. There are cases where land is not being legalised, and hence, people have little will to invest in it accordingly. This view on investing in the quality of housing also fails to consider the lack of resources that are available for investing in improvements to housing in the first place. In pictures 2.14 and 2.15 we can see slogans painted on the sides of buildings that let residents know there is a protest march planned in order to pressure authorities to help residents get legal titles to their land.



2.14 March for titling (“modifying law 28703”) 7th of February 2013

⁶¹ Turner’s parameter for being satisfied was making the best use of surplus and saving in income. In comparing a house in a shanty town and in a public housing project in Mexico, the inhabitants were better in saving income and finding a steady job in the first one than in the latter (2009: 54-59).



2.15 “Reversion and titling”

Authors have also argued that urban planners seldom pay sufficient attention to the livelihood strategies of the ‘urban poor’, such as the frequent use of their homes as workshops or other forms of commercial and enterprising space (e.g. Saunders 2011). Following this argument, public housing proves to be unattractive to the ‘informal labour force’ because it provides no space and isolates people from social visits and contact with their neighbours (in Davis 2007). However, in Pachacutec there is still relatively little commerce, aside from what transpires in the designated market places that are a longstanding tradition in Peru. Most of the people in Pachacutec worked in Lima in the informal sector, in occupations such as in construction, as security guards, taxi-drivers and market sellers, the latter occupation filled mostly by women. Some students I worked with also told me their mothers worked as cleaners in the factories of Ventanilla. In addition, mothers would often be engaged in petty merchandising to accompany the raising of children, such as selling Avon products or gas tanks to neighbours. Later on, when the children would grow up, they would help their mothers and fathers in running the shops and kiosks in Pachacutec. Hence, in terms of labour, women stayed more in Pachacutec, whereas men travelled daily to Lima or beyond, and some of the students would also tell me about their visits to regional areas to accompany their parents in their journeys for work.

Some settlements stay in an ‘immobilized’ state, meaning infrastructure is not reaching them, and people lack the capital to establish businesses that could cater a large work-force. Some residents may just have no interest in working from home or owning their own business or participating in commercial activities, and it is not so

clear why there is always such an emphasis on making people become small makeshift entrepreneurs in the literature and in policy. Picture 2.16 is a picture of a run-down house in Pachacutec. By its state, it is clear no-one lives in it, and it could be speculated that it might have been left empty to accumulate in value. As the flag placed in-front of the house attests, the person living there had indeed gained citizenship, but it was an ephemeral gain, going back to the argument set out in the introduction. There are ephemeral spaces in citizenship that are visible and negotiated in Pachacutec.



2.16 Ephemeral citizenship

The ephemeral spaces in Pachacutec are evidence of how markets produce scarcity and are maintained by it as well (Harvey 2009). Lazzarato argues that illegality and precarity are not problems particularly for the neoliberal system, as they are actually conditions that are needed in order to continue to reproduce the system (2009). Indeed, with the implementation of neoliberal policies, researchers have noted that companies are selling settlement land not to those with a dire need for housing, but to middle-class buyers who see the purchase as a good investment because the price of land in the settlement will soon rise. Allotments left unoccupied in order to accumulate in value ‘absent lots’, *lotes ausentes*, are even jokingly referred to as ‘tourist lots’, *lotes turistas* (Cabrera et al. 2011). The ones losing out seemed to be the people with the lowest economic means, who had to invade further up the hillsides and in the poorest quality of land available. Wallerstein posits that while acquiring a title to land seems to enhance ‘individual rights’, as the owner can dispose of the property as the owner wishes, it does not account for the unequal strength of different property owners and the ability of the larger, stronger owners to out-compete smaller

ones (2010).

The settlements that first start as collective efforts also experience tension because of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism depoliticises the collective aspect of private property as it becomes an individual concern (Lazzarato 2009, also Stefano Caria 2008:26). Roberto did not have a good opinion about the leaders of the settlements. He told me the original leaders were unscrupulous and would even re-sell the properties of people who left their homes to travel somewhere else for a holiday. This is possible due to the notion of ‘the owner is the one who lives [in it]’, *el dueño es quien vive*. If a house is found empty by a state officer, the state can claim it back by the principle that if the property is going to be signed over, it is meant for ‘people in need’, not as a private investment. Roberto recounted how during an inspection by the municipality, when officials doubted whether he really lived in his house due to its poor condition, he had showed them the sand in his backyard that had been made firm because he watered it daily. He had then pointed to the sandy and unkempt appearance of his neighbour's backyard and said the neighbour obviously did not live there. This example of his showed the rivalry and antagonism accompanied by neoliberal processes.

Teresa Cabrera has asked what kinds of citizenships is Lima producing given the layout of the city (2009:75). Studies in different parts of the world, in urban areas that are similar to Pachacutec, have shown that people who move into settlement towns are never quite sure whether they will be fully incorporated into the city. A move to a settlement town is always a gamble (Saunders 2011). The settlements that do ‘evolve’ rapidly, like the ones in Ventanilla, do so at the expense of the people with the lowest economic means, who are forced to move higher up on the hillsides where the housing is more precarious and it is more difficult to secure services like water. This continues to attest to how space is unequally divided in terms of the distribution of economic goods, and spatial division manifests in ways that give advantages to the interests of the dominant classes (Castells in Calderon 2005). It is not uncommon for the original settlers to decide to move back to their birthplaces, and they sell the land they have occupied in the settlements to younger generations. For them, “a settlement is always a settlement”, and the stigma attached to it will never go away (Calderon 2006; Stefano Caria 2008:46). In picture 2.17 it can be observed that parts of Pachacutec lay on top of a hill. The white buildings constructed below are ‘affordable’ housing projects constructed by the state and that belong to the district of Ventanilla.

However, according to Roberto, the people of Pachacutec cannot afford these houses, so the actual purchasers are people who are already from Lima. The separation between the clean and white world from the shanties above then perhaps is the clearest evidence of what is being produced. The evidence suggests that these policies, rather than diminishing inequalities, provide grounds for reproducing and exasperating them.



2.17

New Citizenships in Settlement towns

The result of the state promotion of settlement formation is that today the city of Lima expands more through formal rather than by informal or ‘illegal’ means (Martucelli 2015:208). Others have argued, however, that informal and/or illegal means remain the prime way of accessing space (Calderon 2006; 2009). This section tries to highlight that whether the land was acquired legally or illegally, does not seem to actually matter as much as we would like to think. Indeed, there is an added concern that perhaps points to the relevance of a third way in analysing the city’s expansion, and where we could argue that emerging cities are spaces where new types of citizenships are being reconfigured. These new types of citizenships are the result of citizens demanding their share in the global processes of capitalist production, making claims that go beyond the level of the nation-state. A key phenomenon that demonstrates something new is happening in ‘the margins’ is the way by which these grey areas of the law are effectively taken advantage of. As Martucelli points out, in

Peru formality and informality are not mutually exclusive, and they often function together (2015). This was already recognised by De Soto in his affirmation that that people involved in informal activities in terms of land occupation and employment “are better off when they violate the laws than when they respect them” (1989:12). In Pachacutec, this has had a double effect; on one hand, this dimension of informality was celebrated, such as in the discourse of entrepreneurship, and thus the concept of informality was constituted as a part of the very making of citizenship. On the other hand, however, the notion of informality also served to discipline the population, as we have seen in the case of the officials judging whether land was ‘legal’ or not.

But there was always room for negotiation in the settlements at the same time. On our walk with Roberto, a stray dog was digging at the garbage bags that were tossed into the wire collection bin that was reserved for that purpose. The dog had managed to get inside the actual bin as the lid was left ajar. There was a sign attached to the bin that sported the municipality of Ventanilla logo which stated: ‘Garbage is taken out at night-time, like in the great cities of the world’. The slogan seemed out of place in Pachacutec, even somewhat bemusing. Similar slogans were adhered in different places all over Pachacutec. They were a reminder that if the people wanted to access what is termed as ‘citizenship’, they had to put in their share of the effort. Roberto laughed at how people in Pachacutec were somewhat rude/lazy, *conchudos* (freeloaders). They did not pay tax but still expected the municipality to take their rubbish out.



2.18

Another significant element of dispute was becoming recognized and getting included on the official map of the area. The picture 2.18 is taken from the regional territorial

catalogue of Callao (entitled *Proyecto Piloto Nuevo Pachacutec*). As we can see, the houses are aligned in firm blocks. *Asentamientos Humanos*, referred to in official papers with the letters A.A.H.H. , or A. H., are orderly laid out when they appear on official maps, which is different than the public perception that settlements are founded in disorder and lawless, invading people. I argue that ‘orderliness’ is a specific claim to citizenship⁶². As seen on the map above, the different coloured spots indicated on the legend of the map are lots reserved for different institutions. The colour delineating the area reserved for the school is blue, the areas reserved for parks are marked green, and the sites reserved for commercial activities appear in brown. This shows that these areas were planned with forethought and that different forms of inclusion are expected to transpire over time, delivering almost tangible results of inclusion.

Roberto’s remark regarding the *conchudez de la gente* demonstrated that the *pobladores* fully expect to receive municipal services like waste collection as part of what they are entitled to as their share in the distributive dimension of the system. While Roberto seemingly affirmed a stereotype of being *conchudo*, it did not necessarily mean he agreed people should pay taxes. Instead, the entitlement for such things as a waste collection seemed to be more based on the idea that the *pobladores* simply had a right to their share. Albeit briefly, this chapter has outlined some of the various trends during the course of the 20th century that contributed to this particular formulation of citizenship.

⁶² In the context of Brasil, Holston writes that the solidity of masonry houses in settlements indicate to residents that moral order reigns in the organisation of houses and families within, in contrast to the disorder symbolised by the ‘favela’ (2008).



2.19 “Garbage is taken out at night” (*la basura se saca de noche*)

However, these practical forms of inclusion witnessed in the everyday context of neighbourhoods like Pachacutec do not mean that the relations in Lima are equal (Martucelli 2015), and this might at the same time account for the other underlying logic that leads people to also feel no real obligation to pay their taxes if they live in neighbourhoods like Pachacutec, or if people fall on hard times living in other areas of Lima for that matter. Holston argues that if citizenship establishes complex relations of legal rights between individuals, groups and the state, then the conditions of illegality that also bind them produce a very different rationality of citizenship and law (2008). Why should taxes be paid by people who have too little income? But not being confined solely to the people in settlements, Martucelli argues that in Lima it is highly common to transgress the law, even by the elite and the popular sectors alike. The transgression of law is to some extent tolerated because the elites perceive themselves to retain their moral superiority, whereas those below who are poorer in terms resources tolerate the transgressions and abuses of the upper classes provided they give them *obras*, infrastructural works. Within this complex interplay of legal and illegal and transgression, informality is perceived as a more benign form of transgression than illegality. It exists along with the law, and it is less aggressive than illegality, which at the same time is something that makes it more pernicious (Martucelli 2015:200). If ‘illegality’ is seen in such a way it is more of a social relation, as argued by De Genova (2002). The question then becomes of how to

adequately account for these transgressive but still social relations and different positions within a nation.

According to Takano and Tokeshi (2007) the terms *barriada*, *pueblo joven* or *asentamiento humano* are inadequate to describe the city in its diversity and heterogeneity. More importantly, as some settlements have seen the emergence of a new middle-class, it is also the case that one can no longer equate poverty to them. People living in settlements cannot be termed as a ‘minority’ anymore, as in the new millennium two thirds of the houses in Lima have been auto-constructed. Instead, Takano and Tokeshi advocate that there is certain permeability between the denominated categories of popular and formal (2007:14-15). Martucelli instead argues that informalisation is a necessary stage in the liberalisation of institutions in the current global climate. The relationship that people have with the state and market has been changed, and through it, the logics of formal and informal (2015). In practice, state officials do recognise how these dynamics work, like when I asked the official of COFOPRI what happens to those who are not successful at getting an official title to their property. The COFOPRI worker gave me a comforting look and said that people continue to live on their lots all the same, whether they have titles or not - titling just gives people more security because they can resell their lots or use it as collateral for starting a business. At the time the COFOPRI worker’s relaxed attitude towards ‘informality’ surprised me, as he represented the ‘formal’ world. Today I see that he was being pragmatic by recognizing the simple fact that informality and formality exist together.

The existence of a formal and informal world together may well attest to the power that grey spaces have to create new demands. Sassen asserts that citizens can move within the multiple meanings of citizenship like in the case where there is an “informal social contract” enacted by those who reside in a given country without papers, for example, because of the amnesties which are sometimes given (2004:294). These point towards new logics of citizenship that transcend the often constraining mechanisms of ‘inclusion’ via formal, legal means. These new logics employ principles that can be termed as postnational. Here, even when discussing areas that seem wholly the domain of the nation-state like citizenship practices and protection of rights, the nation-state is no longer the exclusive site for their enactment, although it still remains the most important site for these domains, for now (Sassen 2006; see also Gago 2017). The dilemma is that sufficient recognition of the relevance of this

dynamic in contemporary emerging cities is lacking, and the nation-state continues to perpetuate the paradigm of ‘formalisation’ and institutionalisation, with the ensuing disciplinary practices having potentially disastrous results.

Quite recently, towards the end of 2017, I was chatting on Facebook messenger with Kenny, whom I introduced briefly in the previous chapter as the boy who wanted to read this thesis. Kenny was quite proud to inform me he was volunteering as a census taker in the national census that was being carried out organised by the INEI. His job was to go door-to-door and administer surveys to individual households. A few weeks later he wrote to me in disappointment. He explained that the census attempt in Ventanilla had turned into a disaster. A young woman volunteering for the census taking was raped as she went door-to-door. It was a last trigger in multiple events that had caused dissatisfaction, and the people mobilized for a march in order to demand better state control. The result of the march was that the police threw tear gas at people doing the march, some of which had been the census makers themselves. This raises questions about citizenship and control, and whether this kind of confrontation could have been avoided. As Ferguson has noted, advances in technology have made so the state should be less bureaucratic than it currently is (2015)⁶³. How did the paradigms of formal and informal contribute to the excessive disciplining procedures on the *Pachacuteños*? As suggested in the introduction, privileging social protections in the name of one’s ‘rightful share’ are processes that have become more dominant with the application of neoliberal policies all over the world. This may point to need of new forms of administration that transcend the more disciplining mechanisms that have marked formalisation attempts in the past. Although monetary social protections have been largely absent in the cities of Peru, the logic of one’s rightful share has been present, as shown, throughout the 20th century.

Another dilemma raised by the event is the violence exerted on women, and their continuing vulnerability in both formal and informal worlds, which is a topic the thesis will return to in more depth in chapter seven. The event demonstrated most clearly that the brunt of the unresolved dilemmas created by global conditions and neoliberal policies is born by women.

⁶³ He refers specifically to the use of digital technology in delivering social assistance to people via mobile cash transfers (Ferguson 2015).

Conclusion

On my last visit to Pachacutec in 2015, I was visiting with Lily's mother, who was admiring how much the neighbourhood had grown and how all the lights were making the distant mountains sparkle as if dotted with stars in the night, but then her demeanour grew more sullen and she expressed her hope that the space would become all formalised soon. There was a sense of impermanence in her narrative. Her dilemma was an existential one and this chapter has argued that perhaps it could be settled by a new alignment in the narrative. Calls for 'inclusion' and 'autonomy' quickly encounter other obstacles at the everyday level in neighbourhoods like Pachacutec, as illustrated by Kenny's inability to successfully administer the survey on Census Day, and all the family frictions that are experienced by Roberto. The paradox of formalizing property and the emancipatory message of revolution through land legalisation and entrepreneurship as in De Soto's formulation is that it has been unsuccessful at regulating land-tenure and the illegal land-market. It has actually produced the opposite effect because it has exasperated the process of selling land illegally. It has functioned to perpetuate the idea that owning a piece of land is an investment that will create more value in the future, as there is an increasing demand to acquire lots in a settlement, whether one lives there or not. As a sign of protest against the logic of accumulating value, empty houses in Pachacutec were spray painted with the a phrase that has an inherent claim of unity: "*El Pueblo de Pachacutec unido jamas sera vencido*", "the people of Pachacutec united will never be defeated".

The chapter has argued further that there are multiple types of labour performed by Pachacutec residents that do not neatly fit into the traditional divisions of labour, nor do they completely account for how the benefits of that labour are distributed. Settling onto the land and waiting for infrastructure to arrive is one case example of these types of labours. This suggests that continuing to overlook the ways in which people actually do live their everyday lives manoeuvring between formal and informal pressures is a mistake. There is a failure to recognize the multiple types of labour that produce value in the market, which just further perpetuates their marginality and exploitation in turn. Another dimension of the settlements that worked against De Soto's intention was in terms of mobilizing the informal section. One of the regulation practices that accompanied the formalization of land was to carry out physical visits as spot checks to verify whether people actually live on their

lots. This bound people to the land they had settled, with quite the contrary effect that De Soto intended. Pressing for the right to land has resulted in the peculiar situation of people living in a desert without proper access to water. In this case scenario, a right to land does not make sense without a right to water. A further argument from the case example of Roberto that will be elaborated in later chapters is that the family is not an egalitarian unit that shares the gains made from the property market equally.

Yet in addition to being being 'governed' (Chatterjee 2004), the people living in Pachacutec are also 'insurgent', for they are making 'citizenship' and its accompanying idea of 'rights' happen (Holston 2008). What constituted as a 'right' in this setting was not only access to the city, but also, a 'right' not to engage in exploitative labour relations. Whether land was legalized or not came second to making money in Lima for the residents of Pachacutec, and it also came second to living in the settlement without being 'exploited'. Here, the *pobladores* were reconfiguring the models of an exclusionary citizenship, making claims on the basis of the labour they do, but also on the basis of what they think is just and rightful. All the above is evidence of the need to create new terms that can account for the ephemeral spaces created. Through looking at the long history of forging citizenship via settling in the vicinity of the city, this chapter suggests that there is a need to go beyond terms like 'formal' and 'informal' and look for another type of accountability altogether. This accountability would be accompanied with social protections, amongst other things, so that it can counter the dispossessing mechanisms of capitalist accumulation. I have suggested that the combination of neoliberal policies and the way by which citizenship has been forged through the course of 20th century has resulted in a dynamic that transcends formal and informal, but because this dynamic is not recognised, it is disciplined, and its costs are rendered invisible.

Chapter 3

Sand and “salir adelante”



3.1

De un modo solemne, como si acabara de inventarlo, me dijo: El mundo avanza. Si, le dije, avanza, pero dando vueltas alrededor del sol.

-Gabriél García Márquez *Memoria de mis putas tristes*

(Solemnly he said to me, as if he had just invented the saying himself: the world advances. Yes, I said to him, the world advances, but by circling and circling the sun)

Introduction

The paradox expressed by the narrator in the excerpt above from Gabriel Garcia Marques' novel is very similar to the paradoxes that arise in the every-day politics of Pachacutec. Pachacutec residents frequently used a linear concept of progress about access to the city in many of their discursive frames. The same linear view of progress was observed in the studies that other researchers carried out decades ago on settlement towns in Lima (e.g. Degregori et al. 1986; Golte and Adams 1990; Lobo 1982). However, there is also a degree of ambiguity in what settlers expect in

exchange for migrating and settling in the vicinity of the city. As the old and cynical narrator in Garcia Marquez' novel comments, even as the world advances, the Earth only moves forward by circling and circling the sun. By drawing attention to some of the discourses circulating in Pachacutec, this chapter will demonstrate how this ambiguity is evidenced in the everyday moral evaluations of people in Pachacutec. Their material surroundings were a common denominator in their process of making moral evaluations of their status and state. In the previous chapter we saw how land policies privileged those with more capital, and the neoliberal framework of such policies tended to produce ephemeral spaces as a consequence for those who had less capital. This chapter explores this argument further by paying attention to how the individual experienced ephemeral spaces especially in relation to moral conflicts generated by their material surroundings. The aim is to highlight some of the paradoxical tendencies created when people employed the discursive frames of 'progress.'

The second aim of this chapter is to examine the ideological framework of the Sisters who were leading the school. Their ideological framework combined religious morals with certain ascetic elements in order to find success at delivering services such as education and satisfying this social claim from the neighbourhood residents. The Sisters filled a role that was otherwise lacking in the progress focused state policies that used terms like 'entrepreneurship' and privileged land-ownership. The efforts of missionaries like the Sisters combine with the efforts of social movements seeking to transform society from the bottom-up. This ideological framework meshed with the larger structures of global capitalism, effectively championing a certain type of transformation in marginal areas that uses the notions of hard-work and deservingness. These tropes are also visible in material markers like cement houses where many individual Pachacutec families live, showing that (neoliberal) capitalism is not just an all destroying force, but it has produced concrete and visible results that are celebrated. It also creates a vast amount of subjects who seek out and who feel deserving of the rewards that capitalist processes of production claim to share.

The puzzle of Citizenship via Autonomy

Jhon: “There are people who have it all, but do not know how to appreciate it, and others who don’t have, but who learn to move forward and overcome difficulties (*salir adelante*). When my parents got here, the area was all sandy, the houses made of straw. They dismantled everything and they made it anew. When they arrived they took away the sand. And they made the land firm, so that they could build houses.”

“They helped a lot of people who were here.”

Interviewer: “And how do your parents feel now?”

Jhon: “They feel proud of their work. They helped those who needed it. In the beginning, when they invaded, people were afraid to go out and leave their homes, because they thought they would get robbed. Then, not anymore...”

Jhon waved his hand up and down to signal sand mountains, and then drew a straight line in the air to signify flat land. He looked at me with a serious face, as he often did with everyone. Jhon was a boy in the 6th grade, and he had just started secondary school with new classmates. Because of his seriousness and relatively big size compared to his classmates who had not yet reached puberty, Jhon was respected in class because he was physically more mature. He did not feel the need to join in the banter with the other boys. He preferred to sit alone, at times accompanied by girls who were probably drawn to him because he seemed more mature. This added to his prestige among his classmates. At times, when he was alone during recess, Jhon liked to ask me about foreign countries. During our interview Jhon was sitting on the cement stairs of the school playground and he was drawing anime figures in his notebook. The narrative I quoted from Jhon above illustrates some of the key concepts that residents of Pachacutec use to describe their experience of living in Pachacutec. One expression is very common to hear all over Peru, although it is used in varied contexts: *salir adelante*, ‘moving forward’, which also signifies ‘getting ahead’. The other notion I would frequently hear is the reference to sand. In the setting of Pachacutec, sand was the material where most of the paradoxes of the discourse of progress became well encapsulated. People in Pachacutec would laugh and explain ‘it used to be all sand’, and at times they would lament it was all *pura arena* (only sand), noting ‘there is nothing but sand here.’

Both of the mentioned notions were essentially reflections of the linear movement of progress. *Salir adelante* is a common expression used at many levels in Peru. It is common to hear Peruvians use the expression in everyday speech to refer to overcoming a situation that involves struggle (*lucha*). The movement was also imagined spatially. Geographically ‘progress’ was expressed in a downward movement, from the *sierra* to the coast, and altitude often denoted poverty, a colonial legacy of a centralist state. In Pachacutec, the houses at the highest hill tops were also the most precarious. The people who had to invade further up in the *cerro* were referred to with slight pity. Downward movement was also present in oral expressions. The newly arrived migrants from the *sierra* were often described as the ‘recently descended’, *recien bajado*, a term that implied a certain degree of ‘tradition’ and ‘backwardness’, and a lack of knowledge of the city rules. Aside ‘backwardness’, the newly arrived were also said to be characterised by some sort of innocence, expressed in their ‘goodness’. Being ‘ignorant’ of the city rules, they did not ‘steal’ or ‘trick people’ as much as a *Limeño* would, but were thought to be genuinely interested in working and sending money back to their siblings in the *sierra* or the *selva*. The perceived difference in characters relating to one’s location could either be interpreted as a sign of rupture in former, more reciprocal relations of exchange brought by urbanisation, or as a narrative complying with the discourse of modernity, where poverty is some sort of a metaphor for ‘beginning’, and as such, for ‘innocence’.



3.2



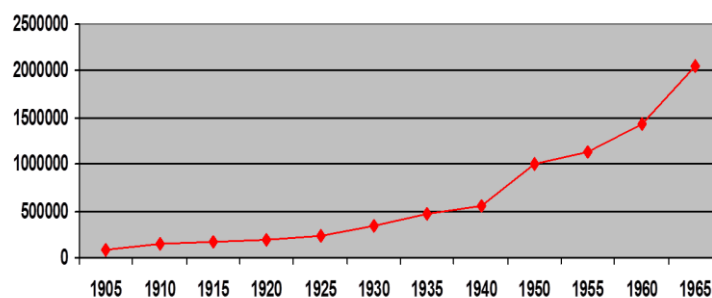
3.3

The critical literature that emphasises the discursive aspects of development stresses the colonial element in the temporality of progress and development. Ferguson argues that the transformation to a progressive temporal sequence, traced to the 18th century, made possible the Darwinian idea that new species emerge over time, but it also sanctioned key social-evolutionist ideas that certain people might represent an ‘earlier’ stage of history (2006: 181-186). ‘Moving forward’ thus entails a type of transformation, but it also had very pragmatic results. The notion of *salir adelante* is used by the *pobladores* to claim a right to the money and resources circulating in the city of Lima. In Pachacutec, one could ‘move forward’ slowly by reaching one’s goals, which were not necessarily sky high, yet signified the ambition to make improvements and to live better. Some wanted to build ‘real’ houses made of brick and cement for their parents. Some wanted to move to areas with better infrastructure and take their families with them. There was an element of ‘liberation’ in the very idea of ‘moving forward’. Liberation employs a linear logic that presupposes rewards of hard work and perseverance will be received in due time. This is the paradigm of progress; mainly, that it presupposes an end point that it usually imagined as achieving a state that is ‘rational’, ‘industrialised’, or ‘developed’ (like Europe or North America). Yet the concept of ‘progress’ has no end point, it is by nature of the word always referring to the process of achieving progress, which can always be continued ‘out there’ and in the future.

But it was not merely the aspiration for labour opportunities that encouraged seeking education and migrating to the city. It was a much broader dynamic of power relations that had been in effect through history, where education was believed to help end systems of inequality, a view the dominant class also helped to perpetrate from

top-down (Oliart 2011). The proponents of ‘modernisation’ of the 1950s held that ‘good politics’ could end inequality and one of the potential benefits of ‘good politics’ was bridging the educational gap between the better and the worse off (Levenson 2011). Urbanisation was clearly stimulated by the belief that life will be better for poorer families in the city because there is greater access to work opportunities and better social service and infrastructure like schools and hospitals. Development planners saw cities as engines of development, an assumption characteristic of the modernization theory which focused on wealth creation, assuming that poverty would be resolved by ‘trickle down’ (Nelson 1999)⁶⁴.

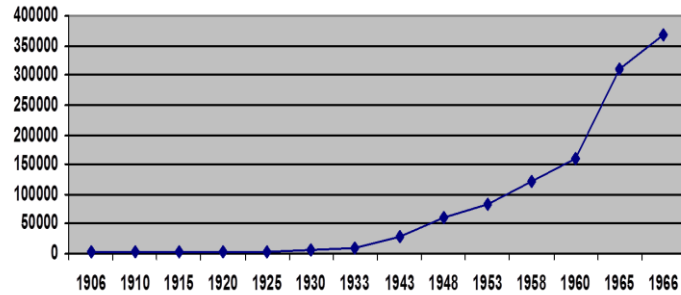
The expectations held by potential migrants did a lot to fuel migration to the city (e.g. Corbridge 1995; Degregori 1986; Lobo 1982) and the pull to the city was also exasperated by the fact that the biggest educational units in the country were created in cities (Oliart 2011). The diagram included by the Ministry of Education shows the number of primary (1) and secondary (2) school registrations from the early 20th century onwards, taken from a presentation given by Pablo Sandoval at the Institute of Peruvian Studies, Lima on 13 January 2013. Both diagrams show there was a gradual increase in primary and secondary school enrolments which accelerated beginning in the 1940s through the 1960s. The rise in secondary schooling since the Second World War which further rose during the 1960s is a testament to the growing success of the primary school sector and the growing importance of secondary education in that decade⁶⁵.



1

⁶⁴ The optimism of the 1950s regarding modernity soon gave way to fears that cities in the developing world were ‘parasitic’ and ‘non- generative’, and competition for urban jobs proved more intense than many expected (Corbridge 1995). Lipton held that the countryside was impoverished by the urban bias (in Corbridge 1995; Nelson 1999).

⁶⁵ Susan Lobo records that in the 1970s, the Peruvian constitution held that a school must be provided for an area in which there are at least thirty school-aged children (1982:14).



2

Numerous studies have emerged to examine how ‘traditional’ village based forms of social organization were affected by the expansion of modern capitalist economy. In villages, nomination to bureaucratic jobs was (and still is) restricted to Spanish speakers. Traditional patterns of landholding and agriculture in the Andes were characterized by small holdings (*minifundio*) and low returns on agricultural production. This meant that even the largest farmers of villages earn less than some of the local teachers or skilled mine workers (Long & Roberts 1978). The rapid expansion of public educational facilities in the highlands meant that even the poorer families living in more remote villages and hamlets could send their children to secondary school. The general increase in levels of literacy among villagers was accompanied by growing wage labour opportunities in mines, textile mills and plantations. Education also contributed to local patterns of differentiation as an increasing number of community members obtained white collar jobs, although they often remained in their communities to practice their professions (Isbell 1978; Long & Roberts 1978).

In the countryside, land remains integral to the subsistence of rural communities and the village functions as a form of ‘social security.’ One argument is that *comuneros* accept their low-paid wages as they have less need to cover the cost of reproducing their labour. Wives and children are supported by what the land produces at home whilst men’s wages supplement the household requirements but rarely supplant subsistence from the family land holdings. In times of unemployment, the villagers are reabsorbed by their communities. The villagers nevertheless cannot survive without some cash income. They need access to cash to pay for schooling, transportation and health care, for example. Yet some communities sought to maintain social and economic closure and avoided active participation in the national economy,

preferring self-sufficiency over a dependence on wage labour. Many villagers were concerned with protecting their control over their territories rather than national policies (Canessa 2005; Isbell 1978; Long & Roberts 1978).

De Soto claims there is also widespread agreement in academic circles that the agricultural crisis of 1940 to 1945 was another decisive factor for migrations. The modernization of agriculture and the uncertain market for sugar and cotton following the Second World War triggered massive layoffs of farm-labourers. De Soto further argues there were problems of property rights in the countryside and that the Agrarian Reform of the 1970s had begun already slowly at this stage. Unable to find work in the countryside, many people chose to migrate to the cities in the attempt to acquire the property hitherto denied them. Lower infant mortality rate in Lima and better wages were also an important incentive for migration. By 1970s, people leaving the countryside to take up semi-skilled employment in Lima could triple their monthly income, and salary earners could quadruple their income. Professionals and technicians could earn up to six times as much by relocating to Lima (De Soto 1989)⁶⁶.

Authors have stressed the importance of alliances in migrations (e.g. Lobo 1980). As in many forms of migration, the first migrants to pioneer the move to the city lead the way for other family members to follow them. In a well-known study on the migrant settlements in Lima, Golte and Adams look at how the rural background of the *pobladores* affected their insertion into city life. Relations of *parentesco* (kinship) enabled further migration because new migrants would have family already in the city they could rely upon when first trying to establish themselves. One of the conclusions Golte and Adams reached was that migrants and their communities needed each other; the colony needed the community of origin for sending products, and it provided security for new migrants because they maintained membership to the original community as a particular group of arrivals in the city. The community of origin also relied on migrants for the remittances they provided (1990). Similarly, in her study of highland migrants in Callao, Lobo records that the initial settlers rely on a network of kin who come from the same rural background, later extending this

⁶⁶ Lobo records how in the 1970s in Lima Peruvian employees were divided into two distinct categories roughly corresponding to 'blue-collar' workers and 'white-collar' workers. Those who worked as domestic servants, vendors in small stalls, or who combined a variety of *cachuelas* or odd jobs, escaped formal inclusion in either category (1982:55).

network of kin through the formation of alliances by marriage and ties of *compadrazco*⁶⁷ (1982).

In the beginning of the formation of the settlement, as we can see in Jhon's narrative, the *pobladores* had no one to rely upon. This is why clientelist relations are used in order to gain more material security. Clientelist relationships are asymmetrical reciprocities established between persons or groups who usually occupy a different social class, ethnic group or social standing⁶⁸. While both of the parties benefit and get something out of the relationship, it is usually the one who is better positioned who gets more. The person with greater social standing tends to exploit people who are most vulnerable like the women who enter exploitative domestic work. However, the relations of dependence formed in the settlements are not considered as permanent, but as temporary. The relations of dependence are expected to lessen at some point in the future, when some of the demands of 'progress' are met (Degregori et al. 1986). This desire for gradual and growing autonomy was a significant emphasis in the narrative of *salir adelante*.

Indeed, settlements were spaces where a contradiction between clientelism and desires for autonomy occurred (Degregori 1986) and I shall suggest this contradiction was a matter of distribution and the allocation of resources. In the previous chapter I argued that although *Pachacutēños* have a right to live on the lots they occupy, they do not have a legal hold on the property to back up their claims. I also pointed out there now exists a considerable amount of literature that points to the need to go beyond the dichotomies of 'formal' and 'informal' that still govern the thought and practice of most nation states, as well as development institutions. Indeed, there are many studies within Peruvian social science that have firmly established the strength of the migrants in shaping the city (e.g. Degregori 1986; Golte & Adams 1990), whether or not they ever received formal title to their lands. In the 1960s and 1970 peasant mobilisations mostly in the Andes inspired the growth of 'popular' organisations all over Peru and around this time being a *poblador* or a *vecino* acquired legitimacy. The appearance of neighbourhood associations and a strengthening of filial relations did away with the need for some of the earlier and

⁶⁷ *Compadrazco* ties are formalised alliances that create fictive ties of kinship and it is a common phenomenon throughout most Latin America (1982).

⁶⁸ Golte & Adams argue they arrived to the country as a Mediterranean pre-capitalist practice, mixing together with Andean practice (1990).

more exploitative clientelist relationships formed in settlements. Neighbourhood organisations were strengthened as state associations opened to cater to them. As the country weathered serious crises many popular organizations emerged like public dining halls (*comedores populares*), health committees, clubs for mothers, as well as youth associations. These helped to provide a platform for the *pobladores* to participate in public and political life. Over the years there was a lot of popular struggle to maintain the autonomy of these popular organisations and avoid their appropriation by the government or state. Extended family, religious associations and the labour union also played a significant role in organization of the settlements (Degregori 1986; Golte & Adams 1990). Lobo records how in the settlements of Ciudadela Chalaca and Dulanto in the 1970s, many of the leaders of the youth clubs attended college and were more aware of national political issues than most adults living in settlement towns. They also took an interest in community issues (1982). Thus, while forming settlements may initially be ambiguous and even scary, achieving autonomy in the long run weighed heavier in the calculations people made due to a history of forging citizenship this way, making the trade-off of settling in the city worthwhile.



3.4 “Adelante en educación
(‘forward in education’)



3.5 “Pachacutec advances”

With this background in mind, I invite the reader to examine the narratives of the students as they are described below, paying particular attention to the way by which material markers emerged as important symbols of progress. There is an inherent contradiction in the notion of ‘autonomy’ for *Pachacuteños* because autonomy is sought after but protection by the state was also desired. The state is the sole agent capable of delivering large-scale infrastructure and the like in Peru, particularly in

poorer neighbourhoods where there is less profit margin for private companies to find an incentive to make infrastructural investments. Calls for ‘autonomy’ thus should not be equated with non-state reliance, but rather, autonomy as used by residents of Pachacutec expressed a desire to break free from asymmetrical social relations. At the same time, foreign institutions (NGOs and religious institutions) and private companies are also held accountable and expected to enable the development of ‘autonomy’ through religious and activist work.. As it was argued in the last chapter, this type of reasoning could be seen to constitute a type of postnational claim of a ‘rightful share’. Important to this claim were visible material markers.



3.6 The green gated building is a public school

The sociality of infrastructural development

‘Moving forward’ or *salir adelante* came to have pragmatic results expressed in material ways. The straw-mats used by invading migrants symbolized precariousness on one level, but the straw mats used in the houses also simultaneously embodied the promise of ‘a modern identity’ (Nugent 2006). As settlements grew and became more established, houses made of straw-mats were replaced by wood and tin that came in plate form, that one can buy in wood shops dedicated to housing material in the area. Today, all the houses in Pachacutec are made of wood, and the straw-mats figured mostly in people’s conversations and references to the neighbourhood’s past. Whenever straw-mats were mentioned, they were used to describe a prior state, from which people had managed to gladly ‘move forward’. At the time of my research the straw-mats were only used as roofing material, or as a makeshift door or gate. Graduating to a wooden house, however, also signalled another state of

impermanence, as ideally the wooden boards would eventually be replaced by cement. Wooden houses were marked by impermanence as some of the windows did not have glass. This allowed people to jut their faces out the window opening to greet a visitor with a kiss on the cheek. Alternatively, some houses did not have window openings at all. The houses most often had a backyard reserved as a possible extension of the house. Cement was a valuable construction material in Pachacutec that denoted more permanency and affluence than either straw mats or wood sheeting. Residents appealed to the authorities to construct parks and bridges and streets.⁶⁹ Indeed, Peruvian researchers have long established that there is a type of political clientelism between *pobladores* and political leaders who promise them infrastructural work (Degregori et al. 1986).



3.7

As we can see in the way the houses are lined up and arranged, it is no coincidence they are organised in such a way that it leaves space for asphalt roads. In people's narratives, the area would soon evolve into something like Ventanilla, and after that, Lima. The *pobladores*' are certain in their claim that eventually the infrastructure will arrive. Even people from Lima would comment to me that *pobladores* were quite clever in their acts of invasion, since 'soon' the settlements would be incorporated into districts of Lima, and the land prices would soar. Indeed, anthropologists writing on 'the state' have urged for scholars to take some distance from the entrenched image of the state as a rationalised administrative form. In this view, the state seems

⁶⁹ See also Harvey 2005 and Lazar 2008

centralized and strongest at its core, while the political organization of the state becomes weakened or less fully articulated along its territorial or social margins.⁷⁰ Instead, an anthropological view of the state sees that the ‘margins’ are not simply peripheral spaces, but they often determine what lays inside and what lays outside ‘the state’ (Das & Poole 2001). The *pobladores* have been instrumental in directing state resources to the settlements and thus, they have always been in some kind of a relationship with the state.



3.8 On a road taking to Ventanilla Beach

Pachacutec thus was paradoxically both a potential place and a poor place. Jhon had lived in Pachacutec since he was born, and he described Pachacutec as a place “full of surprises” because of its scenery and the support it got from the surroundings. The proximity of Pachacutec to a newly constructed beach in Ventanilla meant for Jhon that Pachacutec was going to be filled with ‘people with money’. This potentiality meant that people in Pachacutec were ‘equal’ to the rest of the nation:

They say some places are very poor, but here the poor or the rich don’t exist. Because here we are all the same [equal] (*somos iguales*). But Pachacutec is a place that is very far away... And now there are buildings, constructed houses, like the schools, all that. But, I mean, Pachacutec is not as poor as that. I mean, they say that because it is far.

In Jhon’s quote we may see some evidence that access to city and gaining infrastructural markers shed already some features characteristic of poverty. The realization of the promise for progress was seen in the velocity by which material markers of advancement and improvement appeared in Pachacutec. The policy

⁷⁰The idea of ‘margins’ stems from the vision of Weber and Hegel, who envisaged that just like ‘modernity’, ‘the state’ is always an incomplete project (Das & Poole 2001).

suggestions put forward by the influential De Soto were very conducive to a vision of middle-classification via property ownership. The ideal of middle-classification is seen in the material outlay of the community. Houses in Pachacutec were often painted with bright colours, and they were rarely the same colour as the house next door, so it was easier to differentiate between them. Every settlement also has a space reserved for the eventual addition of a park. Green is a highly valued colour in the desert landscape, symbolizing a state of permanence and hence a promise of middle-classification. Some houses were decorated with green plants.



3.9



3.10



3.11 Middle-class aesthetics

The potentiality expressed in material markers thus had strong equalizing tendencies. In order to examine the positive aspects given to this potentiality an important point to consider is how poverty is defined and measured, but also, how it is portrayed in the statistics. Measuring poverty is not always that clear-cut. For instance, there are absolute ways of defining poverty (e.g. establishing a minimum necessary to maintain a person's quality of life) and relative measures (e.g. poverty is measured against the average living standards of a particular society, or by comparison with other societies)

(Nelson 1999). After the financial crisis in 2008, European political leaders sought to find out where the statistical information used so far had failed. A commission was formed to design new ways to measure well-being, as the previous emphasis on production was blamed for creating economic bubbles. The commission included the Nobel prize winning economists Amartya Sen and Joseph Stiglitz. The principle of the new changes was ‘from production to well-being’ and they took many more dimensions into account than the previous emphasis on GDP as a way of measuring economic success.⁷¹ Critics like Stiglitz et al. (2010) say that the focus on GDP growth pays little attention to the realities of distribution or the ecological consequences of endlessly increasing economic activity. Increased economic growth does not mean it is equally distributed either (see also Hickel 2017). The recommendations were that when evaluating material well-being, there should be an emphasis on income and consumption rather than production, and the new perspective was focused on the household, measuring all the varied patterns of income, consumption and wealth that pertained to it. Another key message in the report by the commission was that well-being was to be measured against sustainability (Stiglitz et al. 2010).⁷²

The sustainability debate was certainly prominent in Pachacutec too, along with discourses about the dangers of junk food, which all reflected the new alignments taken in measuring poverty. In Peru, the INEI uses the Unsatisfied Basic Needs method that captures the availability and access to basic services in its household surveys (*encuestas de hogares*). This method defines first the indispensable needs of a household or a family in terms of education, health, living and employment conditions, among other things, and then defines minimum limits of satisfaction. Then those households below these limits are identified (Riofrio 2003). The household surveys carried out in 2016 by INEI provides highly detailed information about people’s living conditions which include the following type of information: type of housing (its construction material, rooms, legal tenure, title registered in SUNARP [the National Superintendency of Public Registries], availability of bathroom, lighting, water services, types of kitchens used for cooking,

⁷¹ GDP growth is an invention made by Simon Kuznets and John Maynard Keynes who set out to develop an economic aggregate that would help policy makers figure out how to escape the Great Depression (Hickel 2017).

⁷² Affirming the latter, statistical data gathered by INEI continue to show that rural areas remain disadvantaged.

telephone line, cell-phones, TV, Cable and/or Internet, among others. They also record the characteristics of the household members, e.g. kin membership, sex, age, child work, educational levels, status of health, employment and income. They also measure household expenses and gains from programs of assistance, as well as citizenship participation and transparency, perceptions of quality of life and discrimination. In 2012, one new element added to the survey was a measurement for obesity and physical activity levels. These changes were all backed by the World Bank and CEPAL⁷³.

The varied efforts of measurements display a desire to find an accurate assessment, but as Nici Nelson describes, people experience complex and situationally-specific experiences of poverty (1999). So far, Jhon's as well as Roberto's assertion in the previous chapter, show an aversion to labelling Pachacutec as a neighbourhood in a state of poverty. While Pachacutec was listed as having a relatively high incidence of poverty, the Map of Poverty also records that the amount of districts where basic needs were unsatisfied by over 60% reduced significantly in recent years. The total poverty figures fell from 33,5% in 2009 to 22,7% in 2014. The household surveys also revealed an increase in employment and people's access to health coverage⁷⁴. These figures may well have fed the discursive frames taken by the youth at the time of fieldwork. Indeed, the governments from the early 21st century onwards have emphasized the income growth that has occurred in every sector of society. In many ways, the statistics determined 'progress' was happening, so the optimism evidenced in Jhon's remark is not all that surprising. In Pachacutec, a new colourful public health centre was being built, which testified that some measures of well-being were being accomplished.

As the previous chapter argued, the efforts of the *pobladores* through the course of the 20th century in gaining access to the city have yielded concrete results. Yet while these dynamics have destabilised previous dynamics in Lima, they haven't changed systems of inequality. There are systematic mechanisms by which certain people carry out the most amount of labour in the settlements. Those people who are marginal with less resources are taken advantage of by those with more resources, as in the case of buyers coming to buy up land from Lima, for example. These types of inequalities and the invisible labour carried out in the household, such as the labour

⁷³ http://webinei.inei.gob.pe/anda_inei/index.php/catalog/543

⁷⁴ https://www.inei.gob.pe/media/MenuRecursivo/publicaciones_digitales/Est/Lib1261/Libro.pdf

by the person who sweeps the sand away, are hard to measure and they are absent in statistics. National measurements can also be limiting in that they do not take into account the rest of the world. Indeed, while some measure of equality was claimed to be achieved in regards to inhabitants in Lima, many of the students, and some of the teachers too, expressed scepticism over ever getting the possibility to visit foreign countries⁷⁵.



3.12 Peruvian flags decorate colorful houses

Inequality was also something that disturbed local social relations. As people began to change their homes and invest in better materials there were also conflicts. In the older district of San Martin de Porres that was founded and evolved in a similar way to Pachacutec, Ivan Degregori et al. demonstrated how there was a growing sense of individualism and ‘selfishness’ in the narratives of the *pobladores*. Furthermore, there was a decline in organisational activity that accompanied the ‘upgrade’ from straw-mats to brick walls. The *pobladores* recounted how the straw mats allowed peoples voices to carry, and they could have conversations with each other through the walls. Brick walls had the reverse effect, and people lost their interest in their neighbours, noting that people ‘don’t care anymore’, *ya no se preocupan* (1986). The wooden material that was adopted in many houses in Pachacutec as an interim stage between straw mats and concrete allowed also one to hear clearly what occurred in the

⁷⁵The GDP continues to demonstrate these inequalities. In 2018, the INEI detailed that the Peruvian GDP per capita was 17 852,69 Peruvian new sols which is around 5 593,64 US dollars or 4 716, 67 euros according to exchange rate in May 2018. In comparison, in 2016 the Finnish GDP per capita was 39 236 euros (http://tilastokeskus.fi/tup/suoluk/suoluk_kansantalous.html) and the US \$52 194, 90 (<https://tradingeconomics.com/united-states/gdp-per-capita>)

neighbour's house. The children of Roberto's neighbour would frequently visit his house in order to curiously ogle at Roberto's visitors like me or to play at cleaning the sand away with his broom. The neighbour's dog would also come and visit Roberto regularly, in hopes some leftovers would come his way. The dog was in need of friendly attention as his ears were open in blisters and eaten by flies.



3.13

The criticism to the liberal narrative has been that it sees the individual standing above social relations (Lazar 2008, 2013). The linear logic of accumulation and neoliberal market principles seeks to reduce the man⁷⁶ as the sole agent of his destiny, being responsible for his own 'progress' (e.g. Lazzarato 2009). This has the tendency to create distinctions. Edison was a mature 6th grade student, a class-mate of Jhon, and among the cleverest in his school. He regularly outperformed his peers on school assignments. He wanted to become a technician as he liked fixing things. Like many of the school boys, he also liked anime figures. While Edison had a generous and big-hearted nature, his narrative illuminated how 'progress' legitimated social differences through hard work.

⁷⁶ I am purposefully using the word 'man' here, as feminist authorship has long demonstrated the role of capitalism in producing binaries in which the subject is the male, and everything else its feminized other (e.g. Gibson-Graham 1996)

Interviewer: Is there anything you'd change [in Pachacutec]?

Edison: something that I'd change? Well, I wouldn't change much because now they are fixing everything, they are making it better. Because now there almost doesn't exist a lower class, only upper-middle and upper-class.

Interviewer: oh, really?

Edison: Yes, the lower almost doesn't exist anymore.

Interviewer: oh....and how is the middle-class?

Edison: Middle class is when you have a house,money, money that is sufficient for your goods and....the upper class is the class of, not necessarily the millionaires but people who are hard-working. Honest, who have lots of land and a good job.

[...] Today, anyone can be in the class they want. If you don't want to work much, you can be in the lower class, or (to be) in the middle, you can get a job....make some calculations for getting a house, and to be in the upper-class we should do the double of the middle-class. Work double, calculate double.

A particular capitalist rational is inherent in Edison's remarks about social class that is much in line with how Weber viewed capitalist social distinctions. In this view, one of the standards of being deserving of progress was to be an 'ideal of an honest man of recognized credit' (1930:51). With 'honesty' and 'hard work', people ultimately 'choose the class' they are in, and eventually the hard worker will be rewarded with upward mobility. The fact that Edison could perceive there was no longer any 'lower-class' in Pachacutec also shows how prevalent the discourse of economic growth has been in Peru.

The narratives of hard-work and the ideals of progress however stumbled across an undeniable contradiction: the ongoing presence of sand. The seeming endless amount of sand required solidarity among neighbours in order to control it and complete neighbourhood projects, and it was a constant reminder that reaching 'autonomy' had yet to be achieved. This became apparent when people would describe their living places. Indeed, the official title 'city of Pachacutec' inspires laughter in some of its residents because they feel there is some incongruity or exaggeration being made in denominating Pachacutec a city. During an English lesson, when the teacher asked students to repeat: "I live in Pachacutec city", laughter ensued from the youth in the classroom. A boy enquired mischievously "But... Is it

really a city?” The discomfort or incongruence that people felt being tied to a material reality that was less than ideal at the time was evident in how people expressed themselves verbally. It remained in people’s consciousness that an expanse of sand is not really a viable place to live. People had invaded Pachacutec more out of economic necessity than out of real desire to live in the desert.

Sand is always in motion as it shifts across the landscape and in some parts of Pachacutec the sand had literally collapsed under houses, making the houses lay half-collapsed. People used car tyres or sand-bags to shore up buildings and to try to prevent the sand from moving. All in all, the infrastructure in Pachacutec at the time was very fragile. There were constant reminders that in any moment the houses may come down. This was of special concern in the case of an earthquake. Peru is located in an area of high tectonic activity, and the devastating earthquakes, such as that of the 1940s, linger in people’s collective memory. The threat of natural disasters was always present as a looming danger that could bring decimation at any moment. The school secretary, Rosa, once commented that the people who take possession of the precarious lots on the sand-covered hills must not think about the future. They invade the land that is high up on the side of the sandy hills because that is where there is still “free space” for the taking. Laughingly, Rosa said: ‘Just wait for the earthquake to happen and take us all down’ *a que llegue el terremoto y nos lleve a todos*. Her comment displayed the ambivalence generated by neoliberal policies as the surrounding landscape showed that precarity remained an issue of concern. New settlements continued appearing despite the apparent economic growth, evidencing the inequalities in its distribution.

There are oppositions laden in the community that are expressed by many of the residents. For example, Nadine was a 7th grader at the secondary school who was well-liked by all her peers. She was highly likeable because of her good sense of humour and friendly manner that appealed to everyone. She was also one of the tallest girls in the class, which also imparted her with an extra bit of authority. Upon being asked to describe Pachacutec, her narrative was indicative of how the discourse of progress shaped its inhabitants:

It’s a place... full of sand (laughter). Yes, it has a lot of sand, and well, there are humble people, people who do make an effort. There are people who, no matter where they look, they look for a way to move forward, one way or another, to be better people...Not in order to stand

out or to be the best, but to support their families [...] And also, like I told you, there are people who don't... There are people who go to the streets, who do bad things. But there are also people who help. I think they have helped a lot here with the roads, the schools, with everything. And I think people are getting better. Yes, they are getting better.

From the narrative of Nadine, just like from that of Edison, we can deduce that at the heart of the discourse of progress lies a conflict, namely, that those people who achieve progress and some improvement are also at the same time creating a distinction between the people in the community who progress and those who stay the same or who even decline in status or livelihood. In the school arena this was epitomized by the often mentioned dilemma that there are people who 'do not look for a way to move forward' but 'settled with what they have'. The people who neglected to progress were 'negative' people who thought there was nothing to be done in order 'to move forward'. A handsome young man in the ninth grade named Ernesto, explained to me that some Peruvians were *quedados*, 'left behind.' Ernesto had stylish spiked up hair with gel, and he liked to 'hang out' with the most popular girl in the school. He disliked people who 'did nothing to elevate themselves', *no hacen nada para subir*. What we can infer from this is that waiting for material transformation in the overwhelming presence of sand was also a tedious process, rendering some individuals more responsible for its continued presence or the failure to move forward or advance as quickly as their neighbours.



3.14 Car tyres hold many of the houses up up.



3.15 Sand-bags are also used to hold the houses up.

We can see in the narratives of young residents of Pachacutec like Jhon, Edison, and Nadine that while, on one hand, rewards were sought by hard-work and ‘moving forward’, the potential material rewards were not at all that certain. All this point towards the paradoxes of policies that favour land ownership as a means of distribution, as outlined in the previous chapter. As Tania Li found out in Indonesia, the introduction of capitalist development programs on the highlands had the effect that the focus was less on protecting the weak than on ensuring that every individual received a fair reward of their work (2014). We can see that some of these mechanisms were also present in the way by which ‘progress’ was conceptualised in Pachacutec. They also point to some of the gaps in measuring poverty; the mechanisms by which inequality operated and the legitimization of distinctions were making progress also a potentially violent process⁷⁷.

Moving forward with sacrifice

The first ever graduation of secondary school students from Our Lady of Sorrows was celebrated at the beginning of my field-work, in December 2012. Prior to that, students had only studied up to the 8th grade at Our Lady of Sorrows, after which they had to move to other schools for their secondary education⁷⁸. The parents in attendance were dressed in suits and nice dresses, while the students were wearing their uniforms. The students each had their pictures taken, and they were given gifts. It was an atmosphere of celebration and fun as the teachers performed traditional dances for the students, and the students filmed the performances on their cellular phones or cameras, while some girls shed tears of emotion. The religious element was also evident as prayers were given in between the speeches, and students were required to attend mass in the school chapel before the graduation ceremony. The ceremony lasted for over three hours, and the invited guests included people whose presence legitimated the students’ initiation into the ‘official world’. The person who

⁷⁷ By violence I am not referring to physical violence, although that occurred too, but to structural and symbolic violence (see Scheper-Hughes & Bourgois 2003), that is more hard to see, and is more pernicious at times. Structural and symbolic violence is more conniving as it legitimates inequalities, and allows them to continue as violence is hidden in the very system of power.

⁷⁸ The Peruvian secondary school has five year grades (1-5). For reader’s familiarity, I use the European/US grading system, 6-10. The 6th year grade starts in the age of 12 and students leave the school around the age of 17.

was designated as the *padrino* or ‘god-father’ was the most important official visitor at the ceremony⁷⁹.

In an effort to inspire the students, at the end of his speech the *padrino* said: ‘If you don’t have dreams, go and get them’. This statement pointed to the ambiguity that lied ahead for the young graduates. While the ceremony was marked with joy, it also meant the students were embarking on a new stage in their life, and their years of being ‘safe’ inside the walls of Our Lady of Sorrows were now over. The students had to face the future and what they make of it alone. There is an element of hope in the *padrino*’s use of the word ‘dream’. This same hopeful atmosphere was present more generally in Pachacutec. Sister Teresa, the director of the school, would call it ‘divine providence’; the reason why things had progressed so quickly must have been because ‘God was good’. But the ambiguity that lied ahead for graduates and the people of Pachacutec more generally also had to be transcended by people’s active desire of having a dream, of ‘believing in themselves’. These kinds of messages were displayed across the classroom walls in the Our Lady of Sorrows school, written in colourful paper and often accompanied with colourful pictures of happy, smiling children: *sin lucha no hay victoria* (without struggle there is no victory), *nunca sabe el hombre de lo que es capaz hasta que lo intenta* (man never knows what he is capable of until he tries), *cuanto menos necesito mas feliz soy* (the less I need, the more happy I am). It seemed one of the functions of the school was to instil aspirations. Yet, if one looks at the last sentence in comparison with the first two, there is an apparent paradox. Hard work resembling sacrifice leads to ‘progress’, evidently helping the person in question to become better or improve their situation from a prior, negative condition. Yet, to be virtuous or a moral person, one should not ‘need’ much to begin with. Indeed, there were a number of conflicting narratives generated at the school of our Lady of Sorrows. There was ambivalence towards ambition at the same time they tried to encourage the desire to ‘move forward’. Moving forwards and having ambition also entailed ‘having more’, and this was hard to reconcile with the ethic of humility that was part of the religious ascetics at the school of Our Lady of Sorrows.

⁷⁹The tradition of having ‘god-father’ figures in ceremonies is particularly strong in the Andes. The ‘god-father’ would always have a slightly ‘higher’ status than others and he often sponsors the events (Lobo 1982:142-143).



3.16 Each class-room had a bible

The velocity by which ‘things’ came to Pachacutec generated much of the tensions in every-day moral discourses. It was frequently stressed that in the span of only ten years, the school had transformed itself from a building made from straw-matting to a two-storey cement building, standing with authority on top of a sand hill and catering to over 900 students. Our Lady of Sorrows belongs to a chain of schools that promote social change via comprehensive popular education in various countries of Latin America. In Peru, there are several ‘Our Lady of Sorrows’ schools in the Andes and the Amazon, as well as other areas considered as ‘marginal’ in the map of the nation-state such as the *asentamientos humanos* like Pachacutec. The movement was born around mid-20th century by volunteers seeking to transform conditions for people living in poor neighbourhoods in South-America. This is one of the reasons Sister Teresa said they welcomed volunteers like me, attesting that anthropology may indeed have synergies with development (Ferguson 1997).

The aim of the ‘Our lady of Sorrows’ movement, which has a Christian background, is to challenge the structures and conditions that generate inequality, poverty and exclusion and transform them from the ‘bottom-up’. The missionaries who work with the Our lady of Sorrows organization want to achieve this goal by forming people who are ‘conscious of their potentialities’, who gain a new awareness of what they can achieve thus leading to their own transformation. The Our Lady of Sorrows ethos is to seek transformation through love and justice, and the participation of the community is fundamental for their project. Achieving educational justice is a cornerstone of the movement. The rhetoric of the Our Lady of Sorrows movement has been influenced in part by grand changes in the educational systems aimed at the ‘popular’ sectors of Latin America. The work of Paulo Freire (1996) has influenced

educators in Peru⁸⁰ like it has influenced many educators throughout Latin America and the world. In Freire's landmark work called *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* he argues that for colonialization to happen, the colonized need to come to see their reality with the outlook of the colonizers. They need to become convinced of their intrinsic inferiority. Institutions like schools in the colonial system pattern their action after the structure and style of the colonizer, and help to transmit the myths of colonial society to the colonized. One of the precepts to which students must adapt in conventional schools in Latin America is the 'banking' method of teaching, where students are discouraged from thinking independently (1996: 134-136). Taking upon this message, the school of Our Lady of Sorrows saw itself as distinct from other schools. One characteristic that sets the Our Lady of Sorrows school in Pachacutec apart is the autonomy it enjoys. It secured funding from both private and public sources. Hence, this is why many of the Our Lady of Sorrows schools are better equipped in terms of human resources and the materials available to them than the area public schools. The school has its own planning schema and evaluation system, with a structural organisation that sets it apart as something different from the other schools in the area. In Spain, schools that are somewhere in-between public and private schools are named as *escuelas concertadas*, or 'concerted schools'. Their administration is private, but their financing is public⁸¹ and the school of Our Lady of Sorrows functioned the same way.

At the same time that it was being 'liberating', the Our Lady of Sorrows educational project was also evangelizing. The particular nature of the educational project was a mesh of certain transformative measures combined with religious morals. Achieving 'justice' and overcoming barriers seems to require an extraordinary amount of commitment, and for the staff at Our Lady of Sorrows this commitment was a consequence of faith. Besides the mothers of students who gathered at the school to contribute via their *faenas*, free labour was also performed at the school by some members of religious congregations. They were the workers who could always be trusted to carry out any work the school needed, and it was often the most physical

⁸⁰ Fiona Wilson records that Freire's philosophy of 'conscientization' has influenced educators in Peru since the government of General Velasco in 1970s (2001).

⁸¹ In Spain, *escuelas concertadas* have been criticised by educational scholars for being used by the middle-class elite, and undermining the strength of public schools (<https://espejismosdigitales.wordpress.com/2016/03/18/elitismo-educativo-escuelas-concertadas-y-bilinguismo/>).

work that was done by the congregation workers. The school itself was run by Sisters belonging to a congregation from Argentina. The ideology through which the school was run was a combination of the more secular 'moving forward' idea, and the religious ethics held by the Sisters who headed the school.

The ethos of the school was to seek moral transformation with education. The congregation to which the Sisters belonged was founded by a Jesuit priest in Germany in the in the 19th century. At the time, the Catholic Church in Europe experienced radical changes because the ideas of 'liberty' and the radicalism that was brought about by the French Revolution challenged the static and conservative church. The religious message of the congregation was influenced by other powerful ideas in circulation at the time like Western positivism. Many corners of European society in the 19th century were influenced by the works of John Stuart Mill, who saw the concept of 'liberty' rather than religion as the pathway to development. The founders of the congregation that would later run Our Lady of Sorrows schools were also influenced by the liberal state and they came to see education as a tool for transmitting ideas of liberation through knowledge. At the beginning of the 20th century, the congregation sent missionaries who were mainly women to work with the *mapuches* in Argentina.⁸²

But rather than being a straight continuity from events of 19th century, there are obviously many influences from recent developments have had a lot to do with making neighbourhoods like Pachacutec. Indeed, a number of scholars have argued of the link between education and nation-building that whereas previously teachers were assigned the role of nation-builders, today this role is performed by the aid worker and religious reformatory institutions, a trend similar to continents like Africa (e.g. Bierschenk et al. 2002). The structural adjustments made in the 1990s had the effect within the Council of Ministers that while the role of the Minister of Economy was strengthened, in other ministries an increasing amount of policymaking in areas ranging from healthcare to poverty prevention was transferred to special teams that were insulated from public accountability. The teams included consultants funded by international agencies and were evaluated by foreign mission organizations (Oliart 2011; Joseph 1999). In practice, many of the organisational forms that characterised the 1970s settlements got disappeared or diminished. Education too saw the rise of the

⁸² Source not revealed in order to retain the anonymity of the school.

‘third sector’ as the intermediary between foreign agencies and ‘society’.

Accountability was sought from every agency, not solely from the state, showing how the fulfilment of ‘citizenship’ in this instance was not solely a matter delivered by the state. Indeed, Amartya Sen had demanded greater flexibility in demands for accountability, where claims are addressed generally to anyone who can help, even though no particular person or agency may be charged to bring about the fulfilment of rights involved (in Gready and Ensor 2005) and this ideology was already seen in the way by which the Sisters of Our Lady of Sorrows operated.

Our Lady of Sorrows played a role in helping to build belonging and a sense of citizenship among the students, parents and other agents in the community that the organization encountered. In the Sisters’ ideology, ‘change’ was achieved by pragmatic measures, such as literally walking to people’s houses to see how they lived, or to pay a visit knocking on companies doors to request a contribution for a cause⁸³. It was largely through the successful efforts of the Sisters, the religious volunteers and the mothers doing *faenas* that the school had managed to flourish in such a short span of time. Since the inception, the Sisters had little by little achieved remarkable change in the school’s outlook with the help of funds from several independent and public organisations, such as PLAN International, Oxfam, the municipality of Ventanilla, and the Regional government of Callao. With funds gathered from donors, the Sisters had built a large playground, opened workshops in such things as electricity and baking⁸⁴, and opened a library and a dining hall, *el comedor*, that provided students with morning milk and a meal for the price of one sol. The children whose parents could not afford to pay one sol did not have to pay. Sister Teresa explained how the *pobladores* actively pursued a relationship with the Our Lady of Sorrows organization because they knew they were effective at getting funding and that the school would flourish more than others. The teachers recognized that the students of Our Lady of Sorrows were privileged compared to students in

⁸³ I once joined Sister Ruth on one of these visits to a foreign-run convent nearby. Sister Ruth wanted to request whether the convent could allow the children of Our Lady of Sorrows to use space at the convent sometimes, but our request to use the space was rejected right at the door of the convent.

⁸⁴ Workshops (*talleres*) in the school and in Pachacutec in general were popular among students, offering ‘new economy of social life’ (Mosse 2005: 218). They taught such things as carpentry, cooking, dance and theatre. Some students would mention the practical skills learned in workshops as something they value. Dylann, who wanted to become an actor, said workshops were good as academies for acting were expensive.

other nearby schools. At other area schools students had to fetch water for themselves, and there were shortages as not every student had access to all the school materials.

The students of Our Lady of Sorrows also participated actively in school maintenance with a cleaning rota that they each followed after the school-day. There was a secretary and a treasurer appointed from the students in each class to take charge of financial matters, such as providing the teacher with money for photocopies. Periodically, each class also organised small activities with the purpose of raising funds, such as making food or pastries that could be sold to other students and teachers in order to raise funds for their class-room. This money was usually spent on school equipment such as coloured paper and glue sticks, as well as soap and toilet paper when supplies were low for the school restroom. The students took pride in the labour they contributed themselves and this formed part of the ethos of *salir adelante*. Ernesto commented the following to me: “The school started out small, now it’s big. To achieve what one wants, everything depends on oneself”, *todo depende de uno para lograr lo que quiere*. Indeed, they felt the visible change in the school as being also a result of their own effort.

The religious ethos of the Our Lady of Sorrows School meshed with the principle of social transformation characteristic of the ideology of popular, comprehensive education. This created a particular type of moral validation that generated a great deal of hope for the students, and it was present in the more mundane idioms used in the every-day. Nadine explained what *salir adelante* meant for her:

I think what it means the most, is that one makes an effort. And... that her learning will not stay in this school only, but that it will go outside. Little by little, one starts showing what one learns here in the school. And will teach, little by little, other people. And our learning does not stay here only. The children leave, and the children can become teachers and they can teach and teach, and our education, our values that we learn here, we also show them in our home, we contaminate our families with them (laughs) [...] And in that way, make a better neighbourhood, a better world.

What one can read in her narrative of social transformation is that change first starts with the individual ‘self’, with an ‘awareness’ resembling a type of enlightenment that is promoted by the school. The transformation that the individual experiences in the school eventually will lead to ‘a better world’. Here we can see that making neighbourhoods was not due to a pact between a thing called ‘state’ and its citizens;

founding a new neighbourhood like Pachacutec was a much more complex whole incorporating various actors and various ideologies and frameworks of values together.



3.17 “There exists a matrix force more powerful than vapour, electricity and atomic energy: the will” – Albert Einstein”

Whereas for the *pobladores* ‘change’ was encapsulated in the material quality of houses, and their colourfulness, for the Sisters, the material quality they most seemed to value was the colour green of the vegetation. Sister Teresa, the principal of the school, told the story of how she felt in the beginning, in the first few days of constructing the school, evoking the significance of greenery for her and how in the beginning she wanted to leave Pachacutec:

My first impression was to go back the next day (laughter)... It was difficult. Do you know why it was difficult? Because I did not think there could be, in such a wide space, that there could be so much poverty. Not poverty, but misery.

And so...When you have never confronted these types of situations, and [when] I give them to you, to live from one moment to the other, it’s complicated... When I came to the school, there was only one sand hill (*cerro de arena*), nothing else. And it even occurs to father Samuel, and he says to me, ‘here, a school will be built’. But I said, how? The classes start in April, we are in March, there is nothing. I told myself, this little priest (*este curita*) is mad [to say] such things for this mission. And then I went to visit, that day I went, I remember I visited two houses and I didn’t want to visit any more. Because I couldn’t imagine that people could live in these conditions, so precarious, in the beginning it was much worse than now. I come from a place where I

never lacked water, I never lacked green colour, the nature, and I found myself in a desert. In an immense desert where I didn't have a drop of water. And so, that was very striking.

And as I'm telling you, I wanted, I wanted to return, and I said, what did I come to do here, what am I going to do here! I'm not going to do anything. And...then after a few days, speaking with father Samuel, who is a wise man (*un sabio*), he says to me, 'look at me'...because I say to him 'look, I'm finding that this...this is too much...I think I won't be able to..'. And Samuel says to me: 'Look...you either stay here and do something, or you better go back and do nothing'.

And that's when I started simply... The first thing I did was plant the first trees that you see in the school. The biggest ones. It was the first, because the colour green is primordial for me... And then, well. We started the first of April, the classes of year 2002, with 140 kids... Our classrooms only had walls and a roof, they did not have windows, they did not have doors. Neither did they have a floor, it was something very precarious.

Sister Teresa decided to plant a tree as one of the first things she did. Eric Hirsch interestingly writes that whereas in medieval representations, nature was God's creation and humanity was therefore a part of it, the more secular and rational idea of nature accompanying the reformist church depended on a new singular abstraction – that of humans themselves – and humans increasingly intervened into what was imagined as 'natural' (1995). When I conducted my fieldwork, the school was surrounded by many trees, making it a beautiful and pleasant place to be. The trees also help to clear the smog that develops because of pollution in the area from the factories in Ventanilla. Sister Teresa had set up a greenhouse at the school. It was always the very first thing shown to visitors. Students used the greenhouse to fiddle with the plants.



3.18 The school's green room



3.19 Trees clear out pollution fogs

The same pragmatism the Sisters applied to changing nature was also used in trying to change the society. Much like the Jesuits (Henne am Rhyn 2002), the Sisters saw the state and its laws not as something to necessarily obey, but as something that was in need of transformation, something they could change from ‘bottom-up’. As much of the labour was done by the Sisters themselves, their relationship with the state was described by Sister Teresa as uneasy, as it had taken a lot of time for her to get the state authorities to recognize the school as a legitimate national school. Sister Teresa had appeared in the newspaper on several occasions until her demands were heard. In time, however, the state finally recognised the effort put forward by the Sisters and agreed to fund the school and provide the teachers with benefits such as contracts with holiday entitlements.

The state...as we are a national school, [the state] should give us....give us all the personnel the school needs. [...] Because we don't have a secretary, we don't have offices.... I myself make everything, documents...all that has to do with administration and all! ... But it's because *the state does not give us what pertains to us by justice*. Because if the state recognizes that we are a national school, it is its duty to give to us.

The recognition of the school as a national school would entitle it to receive funds from the state for such things as the teacher salaries. The recognition was finally achieved via ‘a friend of the school’, again attesting the on-going relevance of clientelism, and perhaps the need of re-assessing what it may mean on a deeper level⁸⁵. As it has been forcefully argued by John Holloway, there is no such thing as ‘a state’, but what we have in-fact are social relations that appear to take their own autonomy (1994). The process of forming relations, clientelist or not, thus constitutes as the very making of state, where powerful moral discourses of social transformation, combined with Christian love, gave grounds to the efforts of the Sisters to build a successful school. Yet in their narrative we can see that the very lack of things like school personnel reminded them that the process of obtaining ‘social justice’ was ongoing. Deborah Poole has written how, among Peruvian peasants, ‘justice’ is more commonly spoken of, not as something that can be obtained, but rather as an

⁸⁵ James Ferguson (2015) argues for the need of taking better into account ‘distributive labour’: things like clientelism and establishing relations of dependence can also be thought of as labour that produces concrete results (or value), and are desired by people. The Western society in particular has (a false) preference to autonomy and independence that is imposed on others, without taking into account what really occurs on the ground in terms of relationships.

ephemeral link that binds peasants to promises of that justice (2004). So, the matter of what social justice really is and what it is not is perhaps less relevant here, but rather 'social justice' is a process in itself.



3.20 Companies on the highway from Lima to Ventanilla

As in the case of land-titling in the previous chapter, there were some obstacles to the narrative of 'liberation' that were adopted by the Sisters. The congregation was born in Germany at a time of the industrial revolution, as a response to a level of ensuing religious indifference, a lack of faith, and immorality according to religious principles. As opposed to living in a perceived chaos brought by the industrial revolution, the Sisters now saw the *asentamientos humanos* and their marginality as a breeding ground for social ills, similar to those of the times of industrial Europe. Indeed, this parallel has been also noted by Davis (2007), who writes that the appeal of religions such as Pentecostalism in settlement towns lies precisely in their denunciation of industrial capitalism, and their belief in its inevitable destruction. While Sister Teresa was vehement in her desire to 'transform' the neighbourhood and its surroundings the end result was not necessarily what she had hoped for, at least not yet. It was in the process of being obtained, as the narrative of development set.

The dilemma for the members of the religious congregation reveals one of the precise paradoxes of modern capitalism, people's labour is commoditised, reducing them to mere bodies who have little value in the system. The aim of the religious congregation was to insert 'humanity' (e.g. care and love) into the world. This was to be done however with the same notion of advancement inherent in 'moving forward'

within the context of neoliberalism and the capitalist system. That tie obliged Sister Teresa to commit herself to ‘social transformation’, which for her had meant shifting allegiances from family to the congregation. She affirmed in her interview: “I need to move this forward or to make this project work, *tengo que sacar adelante esto*. It’s a responsibility and it’s a challenge as well”. Sister Teresa assumed it as her moral responsibility and sacrifice to ‘move forward’ the school where she found herself inserted in. She described herself as being fully committed and assumed responsibility, but she also later demanded the same kind of commitment from all the students and teachers in the school. In practice, however, the combination of the religious and liberal ethos generated conflicting discourses. While on the one hand “hard work” was demanded for achieving rewards, it also entailed a degree of disciplining of the *pobladores*. Sister Teresa believed that avoiding responsibilities was a characteristic that ultimately inhibited people from ‘moving forward’. The following picture of a poster hung in the library in picture 3.21 encapsulates the school’s ethos well. It translates to: “Be constant. If everything was easy, anyone would achieve it” (“*Se constante. Si todo fuera fácil, cualquiera lo lograría*”).



3.21

There was also another peculiar trait to this discourse that was also evident in one of the narratives I heard often in the school; namely, that ‘the more people had, the more they wanted’. The English teacher of the school, teacher Cinthia, recounted how the students were ‘more docile’ in the previous school she had worked in, as the school was ‘poorer’. Students would help with anything they were ordered to do, as they simply had less. In Cinthia’s view, students in Our Lady of Sorrows instead were

somewhat spoiled by all the things they ‘got for free’. Sister Teresa also expressed a concern over illegal and informal activities going on in the community that lured people in Pachacutec to ‘progress quickly’, e.g., two-floor buildings appeared from one day to another to families who ‘everyone knows do not work’, implying they are involved in illicit activities like drug-selling or money laundering. It was these sorts of activities, perceived to go against the narrative of ‘progress’ that frustrated the efforts of the Sisters the most. In the discourses employed by the Sisters, hard-working citizens are like wage labourers, only they are demonstrating his or her worthiness for the goods distributed via NGOs. It is reasonable to suggest that in a setting where things requiring larger sums of money such as cement houses stand out from the other houses in the neighbourhood, there would be rumours circulating in the neighbourhood about where the money to construct such things came from. Indeed, in her research Lobo described how there was a notable silence around wealth accumulated via work, as this wealth is a source of power that can be also taken away (1982). In a broader scale De Soto writes: “Each person who migrates to the capital is in some way a potential competitor and it is natural inclination to try to avoid competition” (1989:11).

Interestingly, Ferguson points to some of the extreme forms of mystification around money, as simply giving money to the poor has long been refuted as a viable or workable possibility on the basis that the poor do not know how to use money wisely, or they do not deserve it (2015)⁸⁶. The very model of welfare in northern countries functions based on similar types of logic, why discourses around citizenship deservingness based on the demonization of certain people perceived to ‘live on hand-outs’ abound⁸⁷. Indeed, David Mosse has argued that in development there is always a tension between power and control, as giving ‘real power’ to people is scary (2005). But the process goes both ways, as also bitter rumours about the head of the school circulated among community members, often to do with her being too strict and ‘a hypocrite’. The discourses of the Sisters were then actually rejected on many levels by *Pachacuteños*, and as I proceed along the chapters, I shall argue that the various forms of resistance to the disciplining inherent in institutions such as those lead by the Sisters may well be evidence of the emergence of alternative logic that we may

⁸⁶ Didier Fassin writes that in Humanitarian care, distributions are often based not on the rights of nation-state citizens but on the compassion felt for those who suffer, especially of those whose suffering is visible and ‘worthy’ (in Ferguson 2015).

⁸⁷ For the context of UK see Jones 2011, and for ‘Latino’ immigrants in US, see De Genova 2003.

associate with neoliberal politics in general. This logic has been partly facilitated by the ethos of the Sisters that shows people how things can be done ‘quickly’ if the right agencies and companies are pressured to share a slice of their cake.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at three interlinking phenomena: First, the history of forging citizenship and the desire for autonomy through building settlement towns and gaining education, all of which have been part of the more general capitalist expansion and making of the modern nation in Peru. It entailed both a promise of being incorporated into the map of the nation-state and of disrupting the prevailing systems of inequality. At the same time, forging citizenship and capitalist expansion were colonizing projects, for with ‘progress’ a new spatiotemporal consciousness was created, where the *pobladores* were in a stage where they ought to ‘move forward.’ ‘Moving forward’ thus becomes a type of command, a prescription for what you ought to do, otherwise you are disposable.

Second, I have looked at the sociality of material surroundings and the discourses generated by it at the school Our Lady of Sorrows and in the surrounding community of Pachacutec. This sociality provided both ‘hope’ as well as conflicting notions that engaged with the narrative of progress via (neo)liberal policies. As the evidence suggests, Pachacutec was a place with a lot of potential due to the perceived flooding of money delivered by NGOs in the form of collaborations we have seen in the school, as well as state infrastructural projects. The way by which poverty is measured also affirmed that people had more access to goods. Nevertheless, the drive that community residents felt for gaining autonomy was frustrated by the ongoing visibility of sand. At the same time, the settlement inhabitants are made responsible for either their success or failure at taking charge and ‘moving forward’, pointing to some of the paradoxes of the narrative of ‘moving forward’ via accumulation and economic growth as it was evident that not all managed to ‘move forward’ as quickly as expected.. ‘Moving forward’ and achieving progress thus becomes an effective disciplining mechanism of capitalist reproduction.

And lastly, the chapter has looked at how the religious ethos of the reformative church meshed with the ethos of popular struggles, producing a particular project successful in gaining funds and drawing attention to the plight of the poor. In this instance, citizenship involves making claims to anyone accountable. Yet while a

Calvinistic desire of hard-work existed, accumulation via alleged 'illicit' means created points of conflict and tension with the prevailing discourse of progress via hard-work. As we have seen already in the previous chapter, the strength of capitalism to create inequalities, and benefit those with more capital created tensions in this setting where the scarce resources were allocated on basis of ideas of deservingness. In the next chapter I will evaluate more clearly how these ideas were expressed at the general level of every-day discourses of citizenship, deservingness and schooling. I shall argue as I move along the chapters that these contradicting discourses point to the relevance of ambiguous spaces created by capitalist expansion where things remain shaky (Gago 2017), that have the potential to transform into claims outside of the traditional wage-earning citizen model.

Chapter 4

Conflicting Moral Landscapes: 'decent', 'humble' and 'badly behaved'

Introduction

Some years ago, while I was teaching in Cuzco, a ten-year-old student of mine, Wilmer, made a joke that surprised me given how cynical it was at his young age. Wilmer herded animals after school, and most likely spoke Quechua at home. His joke was in reference the slogan *Peru Avanza* (Peru advances), which was common to see painted on public walls and repeated in official discourse at the time. During class one day while diligently copying long sentences from the blackboard into his notebook, in his voice of a child, Wilmer pronounced that *Peru retrocede* (Peru recedes)⁸⁸. I found this very same cynicism was also characteristic of *Pachacuteños*, even among those who were still very young. *Peru retrocede* captures how daily life can contradict the standing tropes of 'progress' that characterised the official world. While the discourse students faced in Our Lady of Sorrows was clearly that of progress, it was also evident there was scepticism in the air regarding the nature of the state and its inability to satisfy people's needs. Yet, due to the economic boom that Peru experienced during the first decade of the 21st century, the future still held a promise. The residents may not achieve all the dimensions of 'progress', but at least there was some promise for increased monetary wealth in the months and years to come.

This chapter will focus in the way by which the national identity was shaped by living in the margins in light of the above mentioned tension. Anthropological work in Peru has established that the new spaces saw for the first time an emergence

⁸⁸ This tension has been recorded in other settings too. What Ferguson found out in Zambia was that 'modernity' was something people viewed to be in the past, and the future was characterised as more bleak, even apocalyptic (1999; 2006).

of an authentic national society, with a ‘new face’ by those who had invaded land and made the city their own. At the same time, the inability of the city to accommodate for the people within the parameters of legality contributed to the contradictory and ambivalent feelings not only by the *Limeños* towards the people in settlements, but also by the *pobladores* towards the people in Lima (Matos Mar 2004). The *pobladores* viewed Lima as a hostile and discriminating environment that rejected their identity (in Vegas Pozo 2009). While Lima was a symbol of modernity, at the same time it was consuming (Balbi 1997).

The chapter will show that while on one hand the same negativity attributed to Lima recorded in earlier writing persisted, the circulation of global cultural artefacts had brought some new dynamics to the citizenship discourses that were used in order to counter the hegemony of some more disciplining norms. I will retain the word landscape in the chapter’s title from the previous chapter as it allows me to capture the symbols associated with these citizenship discourses like clothes, language, flags and as emphasized in previous chapters, houses and sand. These symbols and their conflicts essentially told about the dilemmas that emerge in every-day politics, and how the youth in Pachacutec positioned themselves within national, local and global discourses. The moral landscapes evident in Pachacutec can be divided roughly into three domains. The question I posed to students that gained the most vivid answers was, “how would you describe Peruvians?” Lydia was a girl in the 7th grade at that time but she was reluctant to be interviewed due to her introverted nature. Despite her reluctance, I draw inspiration from her description of Peruvians and I use her response to this question in the title of this chapter: ‘Decent’ (*decentes*), ‘humble’ (*humildes*) and ‘badly behaved’ (*malcriados*, ‘badly raised’/‘spoiled’). Her classification proved to be the most common taxonomy used by students, although they often deliberately wanted to avoid making generalisations.

This chapter will evaluate the responses on the part of the students using anthropological literature that analyses trends in Peruvian every-day politics in light of its history and colonial past. First it will argue that the discourses appealing to ‘values’ at the school retained some colonial elements. As we have seen in the previous chapters, an element of colonial power was also present in the understandings of poor housing conditions and the ongoing presence of sand for example. The discourse of values came to be applied as a means to transform oneself and one’s family out this condition. The second theme of the chapter discusses the

other ways of engaging money and redistributive practices that were present among the popular sector, and that in students narratives came incorporated in the principle of ‘humbleness’. It will evaluate the role of humbleness as a discourse of citizenship deservingness that is also bound with relations exterior to the nation-state. The third theme will introduce new dimensions concerning a moral discourse of ‘respect’. While in the every-day discourse, ‘street’ was the domain that posed the greatest obstacles to progress, paradoxically it was also the domain where youth sourced value to their identity due to globally circulating value given to street culture. This also fused with the broader tendencies of youth criminalisation in the neoliberal era.

Finally, the conflicts that were experienced in the school’s model of progress, the local value given to ‘humbleness’ and the emergence of the ‘street’ synthesised into a special experience that I call the experience of the ‘typical Peruvian’ where citizens have a familiarity with certain types of illegitimacy, and this is used and even justified because the reality does not match the proposed ideals of progress, albeit the ‘typical Peruvian’ is still a subordinate category of citizenship in many ways. Whereas the ‘typical Peruvian’ has elements of neoliberal responsabilisation in how it is articulated, there are also elements of critique that destabilise some dominant tropes of progress in this particular notion of Peruvian citizenship. This particular notion of ‘typical Peruvian’ synthesized the theme emerging in the last sections of the previous chapters, that was the ambivalent space that was making demands, whether living legally or illegally in the land, and whether paying taxes or not. It is a new type of dynamism emerging also from neoliberal policies that to a degree, with its visibility destabilises the ongoing dynamics. It is not necessarily a process celebrated, as an increased concern over violence emerges with this new process of democratisation (Holston 2008).

Making ‘decent’ citizens through teaching values

In the previous chapter it was recorded how schooling played a fundamental role in motivating migrants to move to the city. Education is one of the epitomes of progress, and it is also a complex moral project (Lazar 2013). A recurrent theme raised frequently in the interactions between teachers and students was that of ‘values’ (*valores*). Discussion about values appeared in both students’ conversations, and values were also often mentioned by teachers and directors while making speeches at the school. A significant part of the ideology of the school held that ‘values’ would

transform the students into ‘good people’ (*personas de bien*), who were ‘responsible’ and ‘honourable’. Many of the students mentioned how they learn ‘responsibility’ and ‘values’ (*nos enseñan a ser respetuosos, a tener valores*), and ‘to be a good person’ (*ser una buena persona*) in school. Some students even expressed the desire to learn more about values. The strength of this mantra about ‘learning values’ was also something noted in Peruvian schools in the 1980s (Oliart & Portocarrero 1989). Hence, the way this theme of values has an ongoing presence in the schools and other institutions in neighbourhoods like Pachacutec deserves some attention.

One category that was frequently merged with the narrative of ‘values’ was a category called *gente decente*, ‘decent people’. The ideal student at the school was the student who wanted to become a professional, who put effort into his/her studies, and who behaved in a ‘decent way’. By the same token, professionals would naturally fall into the category of *gente decente* (decent people). Marisol De la Cadena has written extensively about the notion of decency and its relationship to the ways in which differences are maintained in Peru. The colonial honour codes had placed the idea of *decencia* centre stage within every-day discourse of racial/cultural purity, specifically defined as moral/sexual behaviour. Within this frame *mestizos* were different from *gente decente* as they were defined as morally promiscuous and ignorant, while the latter were educated and therefore sexually proper and refined. De la Cadena writes: “decency was a class discourse the elite used to distinguish racial categories culturally and morally in a society where phenotype was useless to define social boundaries” (2000:48). By this she is referring to the certain type of anxiety expressed by the elite classes about where they would belong in the racial make-up of the new Republic. European arguments around eugenics were popular at the time and in this light Latin American hybridity was degenerative. This led the national elite to search for a discourse that would give legitimacy to their ‘racial status’ vis-à-vis other (Western) nations (2000).

Indeed, there were many contradictions inherent to the national project of *mestizaje* proclaimed during Peruvian Independence, and it did little to really alter the asymmetrical relations that underlie racial, class and ethnic differences in Peru. *Mestizaje* transformed such relations into new terms that were more suitable to the economic transformations that the region was undergoing under the rubric of liberalism. As detailed in the introduction, the Latin American Independence was to a degree an elite project. When declaring the ‘equality’ of all citizens, the national

criollo elite envisaged a hybrid nation via processes of *mestizaje*. The underlying message was that racial mixing would ideally remove the ‘negative traits’ of ‘Indianness’. Many Peruvian nation builders proposed ‘constructive miscegenation’ as an alternative to the country’s ‘racial problem’⁸⁹. While the dissolution of the Spanish colonial regime was followed by the abolition of slavery and the old colonial systems of racial discrimination that classified citizens according to notions of ‘purity of blood,’⁹⁰ the rubric of liberalism gradually brought the idea of linear progress that associated ‘indians’ with ‘backwardness’ and the countryside (e.g. De la Cadena 2000; Wade 2009). Thus, Peruvian race-making has traditionally assigned race to different categorizations of space and evaluated those within evolutionary temporal schemes; the country’s ‘non-white races’ were the reason there was a lack of technology in some regions (De la Cadena 2000).

Interestingly, Benjamin Orlove has examined the way by which maps made in colonial times and in times of the Republic illustrate the views taken towards the population. Whereas the colonial orderings emphasized historicized racial differences, the newer maps of postcolonial ordering stressed natural regional differences among places with a homogenous, racialized, population. It was in Republican Peru when the state essentially began to measure elevations, depicting the Andes and its people as an obstacle to national integration. The Highlands became constructed as an elevation separating the jungle and the coast, and Peru gained its tripartite characteristic known today: the Andes, Amazon and the Coast (1993). Education began to play a key role in this new system of classification, legitimizing the category of decency as morally superior. De la Cadena records that the turn of the 20th century thinkers saw morality as innate that could be ‘corrected’ with education (2000). In the political discourse, education became a ‘racial leveller’, that would ‘save the country’ from the possible ‘negative effects’ of racial mixture. Questions of ‘race’ were re-codified into ‘gaining education’ and ‘cultural adaptation’ and education became a means to transform the

⁸⁹ *Mestizaje* found support in Social Darwinism and in the first half of the 20th century it was proposed Scandinavian migrants should enter the country to ‘save the race’. In the 20th century, a dominant *criollo* narrative perpetuated in the school was that a degeneration of race had occurred after the *conquistadores* arrived to Peru (De la Cadena 2000; Quijano 1998; see also Lomnitz Adler 1992).

⁹⁰ The notion of ‘purity of blood’ that legitimated ones position within the colonial caste system had historical antecedents in the Spanish *reconquista* that refers to wars fought in the Iberian Peninsula between Muslims and Christians that occurred prior to the colonialisation of Americas (Wade 2009). According to Rolena Adorno, the Spanish constructed the image of the Indian on the basis of three concepts: “the moor” (*moro*), “the child” and “the woman” (in Portocarrero 1993).

social condition of 'Indianness', associated with moral (sexual) impurity, into a more 'decent' condition (De la Cadena 2000; Oliart 2011).

This history may have some continuities with the notion of 'values', although there may be discontinuities as well. While the concept of race was never raised in the discourse in the school of Our Lady of Sorrows, the notion there is a linear movement towards an improved condition was present in their persistence to 'teach values' in order for the students to become 'decent' professionals. The fact the teachers themselves were from outside the area also showed how the school adopted a liberal narrative which sought to transform inhabitants based specifically on their location, i.e. those living in 'margins', whereas previously the transformation occurred based on their 'race'. As the descriptions made by Orlove indicate above, new means of controlling were put in place as the previous mechanisms evaporated. But curiously, this time it was the ambiguous non-presence of *Pachacuteños* on the map that made them an 'obstacle' to progress and an object to be developed. Furthermore their 'development' was also performed to a lesser degree by the state than by other intermediaries, like religious institutions.

The legacy of the relations of domination and subjugation are also seen in material markers in the school. De la Cadena records that as a contestation to the prevailing racial hegemony set by European ideals of race, *Cuzqueños* asserted new ways of expressing their identity by shedding the markers indicating the social condition of 'Indianness', such as wearing traditional clothes or speaking Quechua. In this way, individuals could shift their social identity, what De la Cadena terms as 'de-Indianization' (2000).⁹¹ What was certainly observable too in Pachacutec was the change of dress between generations. In Pachacutec I only saw elderly women wearing traditional Andean *polleras* and hats used in the *sierra*, as they accompanied families to see the children perform in school-events. I rarely saw anyone using the traditional Andean cloth that is used to make a *kepina* to carry babies, and even when spotted in Lima and the surroundings, this cloth is now used more for decorative purposes like using them as tablecloths when selling food in school events, rather than for carrying babies. The other times when I saw the colourful Andean cloth being

⁹¹ In similar vein, Mary Weismantel has argued that the Peruvian racial identity can be examined as a cumulative social process of accumulation of 'things' such as material possessions, diet and bodily habits (2001).

used were in the traditional dance performances put on by the school-children⁹². If a young person was to wear an original *ch'ullu* (hats that are hand-made by the community one belongs to in the Andes) and *ojotas*, rubber-sandals worn in the highlands, it would certainly have been a matter for ridicule⁹³. While I occasionally heard elderly men speak Quechua with each other, I never saw the wearing any clothing traditionally worn in the Andes. De la Cadena has observed, “women are more Indian” for their association with the private realm and hence lack of claim to *mestiza* status assigned to the public realm (1995). But also, in the public space of the market-place Andean women acquire a privileged status through handling money (e.g. De la Cadena 2000; Seligmann 2004; Weismantel 2001), which may contribute to the fact that there is more value in ‘Indianness’ for a woman than for a man.

‘Indianness’ was thus a category that appeared in certain spaces, like in the market place in Pachacutec, but not in the space of the school. As the picture from the student’s graduation ceremony demonstrates in the next page, the dominance of the discourse of values (or lack of them) and the institutional mechanism of progress continued to imply whitening (the puppet wearing the University gown has brown hair, often described as a desirable trait as opposed the black hair). Drawing connections to these past discourses of *Indigenismo* to present day discourses with *Cuzqueño* commoners, De la Cadena argues that in Cuzco, the existence of contradictory consciousness⁹⁴ of subordinate groups leads individuals to deny the existence of hierarchies and immanent cultural differences (those that would put them in a position of inferiority) while at the same time educational differences legitimize social differences. Through education, ‘culture’ became achievable, contributing to the hegemony of racism by converging with it. This also means that while education acquiesces with racism, it was also a way by which people in Cuzco sought to equalize themselves and challenge racism (2000).

⁹² The tradition of celebrating Andean folklore in school performances is an old practice deriving from *Indigenismo* (see De la Cadena 2000).

⁹³ Also, Lobo mentions in her study in settlement towns how elderly may retain highland habits like chewing coca, dress and linguistic patterns. This may be considered embarrassing to some change oriented sons and daughters (1982). By the same token, village communities distinguish themselves through the clothes they wear, decorations and style separating them from other communities. In the work of Billie Jean Isbell, the *comuneros* distinguished themselves from *mestizos* by calling the latter *qalas*, translated as ‘naked’, as they had stripped their indigenous identity by coming back to the village wearing shoes instead of sandals, *ojotas* (1978).

⁹⁴ De la Cadena is drawing here on Gramsci’s concept of hegemony.

The same sort of contradictory consciousness was observable in the school of Our Lady of Sorrows. While the students did not speak of ‘having culture’ in the context of a settlement city on the outskirts of Lima, they spoke of ‘values’. But different from what De la Cadena observed about ‘having culture’, the narrative of the school seemed to explicitly maintain values were lacking in Pachacutec, and sometimes in Peru in general, and this view was shared by the students too. As the picture 4.1 attests, education functioned as a way to legitimise one’s ascendance in the social ladder, to achieve the markers of professional society such as a University gown, and the flags indicating one’s citizenship and region. Thus the narrative of ‘values’ had also the function to attain these markers.



4.1 School graduation ceremony

In conclusion, the moral project of the school continued to have colonial elements, as the discourse of ‘values’ could be seen as a leakage from the colonial discourse of *decencia*. Characteristic to it is shedding the markers of ‘Indianness’, and incorporating markers like university gowns and flags, all effective signs of ‘moving forward’.

The Deserving Humble people

While the schooling retained some of its whitening propositions, living in a settlement also implies that the national modernist discourses run parallel with local discourses that proclaimed value to the life in the settlement, and celebrated the successes of the

pobladores. In these discourses, life in the settlement united people in a special kind of experience, and this union was often juxtaposed with the perceived experience of the more privileged other who lives in Lima. Anthropological work in Peruvian urban settlements has recorded discourses that oscillate between the complementary notions of hard-work and solidarity for at least three decades now (e.g. Golte and Adams 1990; Degregori et al. 1986; Lobo 1982), and these discourses were no less central to Pachacutec.

These discourses revolved around moral evaluations where the word ‘humble’ (*humilde*) was nearly always present. *Humilde* was a word I often heard in Pachacutec, usually to describe *Pachacuteños* in a positive sense. While sometimes the word humble would be a word used to describe poverty, the meanings associated to it in Pachacutec often also implied resistance and ability to overcome obstacles. Pachacutec was essentially seen as a place of ‘humble’ people. The narratives about humbleness countered narratives of ‘selfishness’, sometimes ascribed to the privileged other living in Lima, whereas humble people “did not need great things”, but “valued themselves for what they had”. *Humble* or *sencilla* (modest) were also words used for people with personality traits that allowed them to remain modest, and not too proud - a rather desired attribute, especially in girls. A humble person had sensitivity to other people, and helps them when they need it. They do not allow their own personal success to affect their relations with others. Humbleness thus also entailed a degree of pragmatism. If one stayed on good terms with others, this would be rewarded in the long run. Sometimes ‘humbleness’ was extended to describe Peruvians in general, and it was used as a means to challenge global hierarchies. When commenting about Peruvians, Yosimar, a quiet boy in the 9th grade, rejected the traditional view of Peruvians ‘needing help’, set by the development discourse and put forward by the missionary and NGO agendas: “We are good. We are cooperative. We don’t need help. If there is a need, we help each other”. ‘Humble people’ essentially helped each other, extending their solidarity to collective work like the *faenas* and raising funds with *polladas*, i.e., small neighbourhood fundraisers where people prepare a big batch of chicken with potatoes and sell portions with a slight mark up to raise funds to help meet sudden, unexpected expenses when someone is terminally ill, for example, or someone needs emergency travel.

Tiffany was a jovial and self-assured girl in the 3rd grade. She was always taking part in class-room organisations and was one of the students that the teachers

looked for to volunteer in whatever extra duties there might be to do in the classroom. She was especially endearing due to her small size and her strong will, combined with her positivity and the braces she wore. Whisking her hand back through the air as a sign of past times, Tiffany said with a degree of pride in her voice that the practice of collective work went ‘back to the time of the Incas’⁹⁵:

It’s like in the community they make a collection for a woman. Right now, there is a woman who has cancer. And so, everybody gets together to make a *pollada*, to get the money together, and all the [ones who have] collected go to see the woman [...] It’s mutual help, help for the woman, like sometimes when we need help, that same person is going to help the people who helped her. And also you can count on help [...] when you have problems in the family. You can trust in other people or in works, like...between the women they help to clean the community because sometimes...there is so much rubbish [laughs].

And so sometimes in our community they ask for help from the fathers, mothers of family, and everyone who lives in the community, so that they can help in the community. And so, everyone gets together and starts to clean everything that is dirty, and from there they agree they have to help each other, so that one day, they will help between everyone.

And this chain will keep ascending from our comrades (*compañeros*) to the rest of the world.

The narrative of Tiffany establishes a well recorded principle operating in settlement towns where mutual support exists because those who lend it understand that they will receive help back when in need⁹⁶. In the context of Brasil, Benoit de L’Estoile records the value of friends was in their potential to help, especially in times of crisis. If one helped someone, one was entitled to expect to receive help back later. Money is perceived to have an ephemeral quality in comparison to friends (de L’Estoile 2014:70).

In the previous chapters it was observed that a central aspect of the life of a settlement is communal organisation. The economic organisations of the popular sectors consist of heterogenous communitarian group of organisations formed by the *pobladores*. In Peru, such reciprocity takes the form of public dining halls (*comedores populares*) that were mentioned in the previous chapter, ‘glass of milk’ committees

⁹⁵ ‘The time of the Incas’ is a common reference made by an anti-imperialist critique, to which I will return in chapter 8.

⁹⁶ Lobo records how this principle is shared mostly by kin members (1982).

(*comites del vaso de leche*)⁹⁷ run by women who gather together to make morning milk, and common food pots (*ollas comúnes*) made by workers to cook and eat together (Quijano 1998). Quijano argues, however, that not all these organisations necessarily have an intense communitarian logic, and that rather than being formed by solidarity, they are formed in order to cover more practical urgent needs, thus making these institutions function with a compensating logic (1998). We have seen thus far that similar type of logic existed with the *faenas*. They were used for the present needs, but imagined to no longer be needed in the future. In essence, just like the organisations of the popular sectors, they were fulfilling roles that were uncovered by the state. Thus it remains somewhat unclear whether the *pollada* held to benefit the woman suffering from cancer is evidence of reciprocal practices, or is there a distinction between these and other pragmatic negotiations of survival?

Thus, given the uncertain nature of some of these communitarian aims, reciprocity may not be the best term to describe these activities. Indeed, in the narratives of students there were also constraints to the level of people's solidarity. Not everyone complied with communal duties, but some people were characterised as being 'selfish', e.g., letting others do the work. This tension was present in the school too. While there was a school rota for cleaning, it was most frequently girls who abided by the rota, just as during *faenas*, as shown also in Tiffany's narrative, it was more often the women who did the cleaning. Part of the *faenas* consisted of looking after the school's toilet area. As the school had running water only two hours a day, blue barrels need to be filled when the water was running so they would have a supply throughout the day. Someone needed to monitor the water supply and add water in the toilets that did not flush. Once a mother who was carrying out this task to monitor the toilets said it was her turn to perform this unpleasant duty because she had drawn the shortest stick in a parent meeting held at the school. While there was the occasional male figure who attended the parent meetings held regularly at the school, and once I saw a man even holding a broom needed for clearing the sand away in one of these meetings, I never actually saw any fathers working at the school. However, men who belonged to a religious congregation worked in the school in maintenance,

⁹⁷ The public dining halls and glass of milk committees have their origin in the crisis of the 1930s during which the state, *las parroquias* and other charity institutions organised together to feed the urban unemployed and provided breakfast for some schools. The glass of milk committees were formed by a leftist party *Izquierda Unida* in Lima between 1983 and 1987, joining together around 100 000 people in metropolitan Lima, all of which were women (Quijano 1998:121-122).

construction and security. They were the ones who carried the work that demanded the biggest amount of physical effort. The mothers would instead clean and plant vegetables. It is thus evident that some kind of egalitarian organisation exists as *pobladores* draw sticks to determine who is responsible for each specific task, but it is also important to note that not all the neighbours take part in these organisations, and those who most take part seem to be women.

The notion of ‘humbleness’ is another important dimension of the discourses that circulate in neighbourhoods like Pachacutec, that adds to this sense that people with a lot of strong values can overcome the adversity even in instances where there is little government support. This is mirrored as well in the market, where Quijano argues that communal organizations represent part of the ‘capitalism of the poor’. The reciprocity that operates is limited and part of the pragmatics of survival, it is not a true alternative economy. Under the conditions of capitalism, a large proportion of people cannot live exclusively based on the rules set by the market, they are forced to appeal to other ways of subsistence. Thus, rather than being a remnant of a precolonial Andean tradition of reciprocity, the types of organisations seen in neighbourhoods like Pachacutec arise out of the very behaviour of capitalism. Reciprocity and solidarity are then products of actual global capital. These units of community reciprocity furthermore are extremely dependent on exterior financial assistance. And lastly, they are in majority run by women, indicating they perpetuate norms of the patriarchal family household, where (unpaid) things like feeding people are tasks assigned to the women (1998:137- 144; also Joseph 1990:110). Indeed, Gago describes how such communitarian characteristics are versatile, ambiguous, self-managed and a vehicle for exploitation and new forms of servitude. Gago for example records that the notion of community plays a fundamental role in the conjunction of the informal economy and neoliberalism as the informalisation of labour reintroduces categories of home and community, which at the same time are spaces largely associated with women. This informalisation makes home and community important economic spaces and reinterprets them to its own advantage (2017)⁹⁸.

But does the exploitative aspect then invalidate Tiffany’s enthusiasm about being Peruvian and her pride in her country completely? To this end, returning to

⁹⁸ I will return to the feminization of labour in chapters six and seven.

Gago's notion of neoliberalism from below can be instructive. One vitally pragmatic characteristic of neoliberalism from below is the power it has to inaugurate other logics and develop other spaces in respect to neoliberal hegemony. There is a level of auto-management in popular practice where the production of social life is organised without the political mediation of traditional institutions (such as the labour parties, social assistance etc.), while at the same time taking some use of traditional institutions when possible. This way the neighbourhood residents can express a desire for progress via a type of rationality that also mixes with communitarian practices⁹⁹. The type of rationality specific to the popular sectors has an intimate relationship with the temporality of crisis and it provides resources for self-management when people who live in marginal neighbourhoods are also confronted with wide-spread institutional dissolution. Popular pragmatism does not coincide with the 'homo economicus' but instead becomes a mode of conquest of a space-time in which people live under the threat their plots will be dispossessed, for example. Yet one cannot attribute anti-capitalist premises to this rationality of the popular sectors. Instead, a popular economy is characterised by a fractal geometry of accumulation that introduces a certain notion of circular temporality. It can go bankrupt, or it can turn to a traditional mode for example. Certain communitarian forms are extremely flexible and dynamic¹⁰⁰ and have the capacity to expand and absorb other forms of organization, and they can be reinvented, which is key for how they are made relevant to the present day and put in practice. This vitality shows how these popular economies, that Gago calls 'baroque' economies (2017), and that Quijano insists are not alternative economies (1998), does not mean that the people who operate in these economies are victims, and it is precisely in this non-victimized position where much of Tiffany's pride laid.

In validating the processes described above it is possible to argue some forms of communitarianism are also mobilised in market transactions. In Pachacutec, this was most vividly seen in some of the informal negotiations made daily about transactions involving exchanging or sharing money. Indeed, the practice of solidarity attributed to humbleness was most pronounced in the informal buses that carry a large

⁹⁹ There exists a great debate over the notion of 'common' (*común*) as a notion that goes beyond classic liberal divisions between public and private. Taking up Rivera Cusicanquis work, Gago argues that the aspirations for progress do not fusion in state horizon anymore, but in urban contexts they take post-state communitarian horizons (2017).

¹⁰⁰ Building on Guitierrez Aguilar

part of the population in Lima to and from work or school as it is the most economical form of transportation.¹⁰¹ I spent a considerable amount of time during my fieldwork on such buses, as I commuted daily between Lima and Pachacutec. Merchant after merchant, known as *ambulantes*, would board the buses to sell their products, usually sweets. Before passing by the passengers, the *ambulantes* would usually make a speech, sometimes they would sing or do some other kind of entertaining routine to lighten the mood and appeal to people's sense of solidarity. Generally the *ambulantes* would receive the change that the bus passengers could spare for such performances. The *ambulantes* would usually give a speech to the audience that explained their effort was to 'move their family forward', and they would often start their speeches by saying 'do not ignore me, ignore the *vago* (lazy) or the *drogadicto* (drug-addict)', thereby delineating the boundary between deserving and un-deserving poor¹⁰². On one occasion a man was selling candies on the bus in order to collect money for his disabled daughter in the hospital. In his speech to the passengers, the man proclaimed that the most important value he had learned was that of 'being humble', which he urged the passengers to do by ending his speech with *aprende ser humilde*, 'learn to be humble'. The lesson he tried to teach on the bus to the passengers was agreed with, and people empathized with the man and contributed slightly more coins than was usually the case.

Indeed, the relative frequency with which people gave money points to alternative logics of money that are not tied to a model that emphasizes accumulation. Money circulated more as a form of gift economy rather than as a commodity. But one can also infer from the narrative of the *ambulantes* in the buses of Lima a double standard regarding money. On one hand, it is associated with vicious activities, like drugs and alcohol, but on the other hand, it is desperately needed for use in caring for family and loved ones. This demonstrates that money and markets are not as impersonal as they are usually described (in Ferguson 2015). Moreover, by demonstrating one was using the money to care for loved ones like the *ambulates* did, one was also making a moral claim about the worthiness of labour. This also exposes the profoundly dispossessing logic of 'humbleness'; that labour was worthy precisely

¹⁰¹ Several authors have also written about the important role played by the informal buses to the struggles of the informal sector, e.g. De Soto (1989), Montoya (2010), Quijano (1989). For more information on the informal transportation system of Peru, and its relationship with the liberalisation of the economy, see Claudia Bielich Salazar 2009 *La Guerra del centavo: una mirada actual al transporte publico en Lima Metropolitana* Lima:IEP.

¹⁰² see De Genova 2005

because it was meant for the benefit of others, and not for oneself, in this case, also legitimating one's own extreme exploitation. Indeed, Standing writes that in a society, feelings of empathy and competition are in constant tension (2016), and it was these two feelings that the *ambulantes* had to negotiate daily.

The informal buses are one example of how empathy and competition mixed together in curious ways in the informal economy of the *pobladores*. As people who live in settlements mainly work in Lima, obtaining transportation to and from Lima is vital. The buses start to run from settlement towns as early as five in the morning. Each bus usually has a ticket collector who helps the driver to collect fares and rounds up passengers as they get on the buses. There are also a series of people usually men, who station themselves at the bus stops and call out the names of each passing buses destination, helping the ticket collector to more quickly fill their bus and they receive some coins in exchange for their 'invented' labour. The labour of these men depends on the good will and solidarity of the bus drivers and ticket collectors, who share what they earn with them. As the buses compete for passengers, they drive very fast. The ability to be quick and clever, and get people on the buses is celebrated as being *mosca*, 'fly' (Montoya 2010).

To be 'fly' however also implied a degree of illegitimacy, especially because they were reckless and often amassed many traffic violations and caused accidents. Therefore, there exists also a certain degree of disdain towards bus drivers and ticket collectors, who I heard also being called *marginales*, 'marginals'. Hence, solidarity and cooperation also ran parallel with certain types of illegitimacy. To certain extent, 'being *mosca*', or *vivo* (clever) was celebrated, as on the 'street' one learns to be *vivo*.¹⁰³ 'Being *mosca*' displayed the extremely competitive environment that dominated the 'street'. Solidarity and certain types of morals were however present in the admittance of *ambulantes* to the bus, or in the recognition of the invented labour of the men waiting by the bus stops and aiding the buses to get passengers, showing the flexibility of capitalist logics, that operated at times with certain elements of communitarianism.

We could argue thus far that the popular pragmatics exercised by the *pobladores*, in activities like community work, *polladas*, *ambulantes*, and the informal bus routes exhibited a type of moral logic that had a distributive function that

¹⁰³ Montoya details also how being *vivo* pertains to a *criollo* identity (2010; see also Martucelli 2015)

countered some of the most dispossessing elements of capitalism. How much are these distributions able to transcend global power mechanisms? Indeed, the asymmetrical relations were not only perceived to be between *Pachacutec* and *Limeños*, but also experienced on global scale. When evaluating oneself within the global scenario, 'the selfishness' sometimes attributed to some Peruvians came up short. Lily saw that in other countries, people did not 'lend you a hand' like the Peruvians did. This was because Peruvians 'shovelled', *lampean*, meaning they worked physically with their hands, taking their food from the *chacra*¹⁰⁴. For her, this meant Peruvians worked harder than people from other countries. Another student affirming this point, Belen, was one of Lily's classmates. She was born in Piura, a city on the Northern coast. Belen hoped she could either work there in tourism one day, or study journalism somewhere in Lima. Piura was an increasingly popular spot for Peruvian tourists. The new middle class of Lima visited beach towns like Mancora, to do some surfing and to escape the foggy climate of Lima, at the same time meeting *gringos* on their backpacking tours. Belen's father came from the *sierra* and spoke Quechua. Although Belen herself did not speak Quechua, she knew all the marvels the Peruvian mountain scenery had to offer, and she emphasised that in the *sierra*, one does not necessarily need money, implying that in some ways people were better off there. However, moving to the *sierra* would be a 'step backwards' for Belen. Indeed, her family had already accomplished some steps of 'moving forward' and still remained united, as Belen's grandparents lived just next door to her house. For her, remaining close to family was a sign of success. She stated the following:

Peruvians. Hard-working Warriors (*guerreros*), let's use the word warrior because despite all the things that you presume, there are a lot of obstacles, they have been able to move forward. For me Peru, I mean, my Peru is super cool (*super paja*). If I would be given a chance to be born here again, I would do it a thousand times over without thinking about it.

Hence, the discourses of 'humbleness' in Pachacutec served to claim self-worth, rivalling against discourses of 'lack of values' and thereby rendering meaningful people's position in the nation state. However, the students of Pachacutec did not evaluate themselves solely within the frames of the nation state of Peru, but within a

¹⁰⁴ A land-plot that in the highlands at least is often communally owned and communally cultivated. There were some *chacras* in Pachacutec too.

global scene where Peru's position remains as a subordinate nation, as capital knows no spatial boundaries. Within this global scene, they saw they had 'proven' themselves by being able to 'progress' via 'hard work', 'despite the odds', the odds being posed by capital relations. However, while Belen's affirmation of Peruvians being 'warriors' attests to the strength of the vital potency inaugurated by the popular sector, the students' narratives also affirm that there is a capacity by which capitalism transforms into new levels of exploitation (Gago 2017) shown in the constant reference to foreign countries as impediment for their 'progress'. Measured in these scales, the *común* will always remain subordinate.

Rules of Respect – Two sides of the same coin

If we all respect each other, the world is going to change.

If one by one...first one block, then *a manzana*, then a neighbourhood and then... the world will change.

If we don't start from ourselves, no one is going to accomplish anything.

-Nadine, 7th grade

Up to this point we have seen that the moral landscapes of decency and humbleness were significant to the way by which every-day politics were understood, and how they operated, making 'moving forward' a complex and heterogenous process where capitalist logics meshed at times with more communitarian logics. But there was yet another distinction: the appearance of the "road to development" was accompanied by "the street"¹⁰⁵. As we saw in the case of informal drivers who were celebrated as being *mosca*, both were domains where 'respect' were gained. It was a moral dilemma. For Nadine 'respect' was needed for 'changing the world' and 'becoming better'. 'Respect' was thus one of the key values taught in school. It was a key category for mobilizing societal transformation, but also for maintaining some degree of civility. A common phrase in Peruvian lexicon, when referring to someone who is doing something considered wrong, is *faltar el respeto* 'to lack respect'. There were many ways in which people were considered to 'lack respect', such as whistling and using slang. Teachers often urged students not to 'lack respect' when asking for silence in the classroom. As a moral category, 'respect' appeared in three spaces in student and teacher narratives: 'the school' (*el colegio*), 'the street' (*la calle*) and 'the

¹⁰⁵ Thank you to Mark Lamont for raising this point.

house' (*la casa*). The narrative of progress held that the schoolhouse was distanced from the 'street', dominated by gangs and violence. In the imagery, 'lack of respect' happened more in the street and students would tell me that one can learn nothing in the street but *jerga*, slang, and *malcriadez*, bad behaviour.

In the space of the school, 'the home', was situated somewhere ambiguously between 'the street' and 'the school'. Yet the moral values of 'respect' and 'honesty' were to be learned both in the school and in the house, and as a consequence, if the students did not behave well in class, it was often attributed to the home environment. Tracing the birth of this moral code, Peter Wade argues that in colonial Peru what guided public life was an Iberian notion of 'respectable man' and his 'honour', arguing that the notion of 'respect' is a leakage from this old colonial honour code. Due to ideas of the purity of blood, *mestizo* men found at times hard to claim 'honour'. With time, men began to lose their association with 'honour' as a simple colonial birth-right status, and instead began to be defined according to acquired characteristics, such as occupation and virtues of 'hard work' and respectability. At the time of the formation of the nation state this contributed to the idea that one could become *mestizo* by hard work and by 'acting honourably' (2009). From this we can infer that respect was one of the traits belonging to decency, and it came to have a destabilizing function as it was appropriated by the common people and not just the elite.

Delinquency, real or apparent, however frustrates the more acceptable struggles to define and settle into 'respect', but in ways that add considerable complexity to the narratives of progress so easily espoused in public. Research has shown that the discourse of *delincuencia* in Latin American cities creates imagined walls that separate the rich from the rest, aside the actual walls of concrete and razor wire (Lewis O'Neill & Thomas 2011). In student narratives, 'lack of respect' was also characterised by violence and dishonesty, the ills of the society that happened more on the street. A student in the 8th grade, Mireilla, who like Nadine got good grades in her class, described how on the street one could witness daily 'a lack of respect to life', *falta de respeto a la vida*, due to assassinations, gangs and drug use. Theft was an everyday reality, that I myself was confronted with when I was robbed at knife point in Lima. When I said to my middle-class acquaintances 'you know what happened?' their immediate response was 'you got assaulted?' (*te asaltaron*). Everyone had one or more stories to tell about being assaulted. I was even advised to carry a knife with

me. Belen saw that the constant fear of getting robbed was an obstacle in the daily struggle to 'progress':

You can't be calm, because you know that if you leave with something, with a cell phone or with something new, you will get robbed. And one can't progress like that. In other words, you progress, you're getting there little by little... then by getting robbed, it's like...all your efforts have been in vain.

However, on the geographical map of violence, Pachacutec was still considered safer than Lima, and students attributed thefts to Lima, and Pachacutec to a much lesser extent. When I asked Belen to describe Lima, she summed it up with the word 'chaos'. Lima was also described by the students as 'contaminated', 'ugly', 'a wasteland' (*un basural*), and with 'too much traffic'. Students would also attribute a higher percentage of inequality to Lima in terms of wealth and subsequently, how people were treated. In other words, Lima did not represent the end-point of 'progress', although the proximity to Lima and access to the capital circulating there was the reason the students' parents and/or grandparents had migrated in the first place. Rather, Lima represented an inverted promise of progress, its negative consequence.

What fuelled also the narrative was that as *asentamientos* grew the collective organisation that helped to protect the community became reduced (Degregori et al. 1986). Jhon said that at the beginning of the formation of an *asentamiento*, parents had to get together in order to defend themselves against thieves. This would be done by forming patrols.¹⁰⁶ He then added that even more recently parents' collective effort had been needed to chase away a group of boys who were hanging out in the park with guns. He complained that the security officials of the municipality 'only sleep in their cars'. Similarly, Belen complained that the police only came around if they were paid. In this way, increasing urbanization brought further insecurity as a malfunctioning security system was said to accompany urbanisation.

One day while taking a walk Roberto in Ventanilla, he drew my attention to the logic of increasing insecurity with urbanisation. He explained how there was an area in Ventanilla that was *brava*, 'dangerous', 'like some areas in Callao'. To

¹⁰⁶Also, Orin Starn has written about peasant patrols in the Andes. It is a defence mechanism guarding against thieves as well as *Sendero Luminoso* that reflects the state's lack of presence in regional areas, as well as marginal cities such as Pachacutec (1999). See also De Soto (1989).

Peruvians, Callao is known as a dangerous area dominated by gangs¹⁰⁷. When I would tell my students from Pachacutec that my mother was from Callao, their response was usually to laugh and make gang signs. Roberto said Ventanilla was becoming increasingly like Callao. Although urbanized, it was inhabited by families who ‘dedicated themselves to stealing’ and ‘being *vago*’, (lazy). According to Roberto, as places become more urbanized and businesses like casinos and restaurants are opened, people started to get together to look for ‘something to do’, because they now have ‘free time in their hands’ and the new places available where they can ‘hang out’. Yet, while this discourse characterised Callao as a dangerous place that is filled with gangs, its developed infrastructure and its proximity to Lima made it a leap forward in the hierarchical scale of the urban space. Hence, violence was to some extent tolerated in this framework, as the promises of improvements in infrastructural conditions weighed more.

The notion that people ‘hanging out’ by a light post, or outside a restaurant would be up to no good was also present in the narratives of school-boys in Pachacutec, who would warn me to be careful of such individuals. They were a cause of concern for these boys, not because they would be violent towards them, but because of the possible lure they presented for the boys to join their group. Indeed, while the narrative of ‘moving forward’ presented youth as the actors who will inevitably become ‘better’ than their parents over time, the youth themselves were also at risk of frustrating this narrative by making bad choices or falling under the influence of the wrong crowd. When I saw Kenny on my post-fieldwork visit, a young man passed by us, exaggeratedly waving his hands and legs as he moved, and by this movement signalling to others he may be somewhat dangerous. Kenny looked at him suspiciously across the street, and said: “He used to be OK, but then he turned bad” (*se malogro*). Falling in with the wrong crowd and ‘turning bad’ was a prime moral concern for the youth, and it was a narrative imposed in their homes and in the school. Reflecting and at the same time reproducing that fear, the school narrative often placed emphasis on *pandillaje*, gang membership.

Concrete historical processes and structures of uneven social and economic power often give rise to new forms of violence (Camus 2011). It could be

¹⁰⁷Daisy and Julia, in the 7th grade, described to me with a degree of exaggeration and amusement, that in comparison to Callao, Pachacutec was a tranquil place, where ‘they only kill old people’, whereas in Callao, ‘even a child, they can kill him’.

hypothesized that the discourse of *pandillaje* was a transformation brought by neoliberal structures over the fear generated by *Sendero Luminoso*¹⁰⁸. Martucelli records that *Sendero Luminoso* accentuated the fear on the street. The latter turned into a space where thievery happened. Coupled with the disorganised transport, it contributed to ‘social and urban anxiety’ (2015: 112)¹⁰⁹. A telling anecdote of this was an incident where, after catching a student selling drugs to fellow classmates, one of the teachers objected the ensuing daily searches of students bags and socks for drugs, lamenting out loud *ni que fuera Cantuta*, ‘as if we were in Cantuta’. The surveillance exercised by teachers was paralleled with the lingering trauma in the memory of teachers, of when troops from the state army entered the University of Cantuta and shot students and faculty because la Cantuta was considered a hotbed of terrorist activity with many who were loyal to *Sendero Luminoso*. At that time, it was the teachers who had been under surveillance. Hence, a fear of violence was present in the collective memory because of the internal war, and this may have contributed to the sense of urgency about the *pandillaje* problem, making the perception of violence greater than the actual lived experience of violence.¹¹⁰ In the context of Brazil, Holston has argued that exactly because some of the old formulas of differentiated citizenship persist, new incivilities and injustices arise with democratisation, the consequences which are often violent reactions seen in the growth of youth violence. Thus, new forms of spatial and social segregation are perpetuated (2008). Gangs are however a pretty universal phenomenon for disenfranchised youth whereas *Sendero Luminoso* is not.

While Holston sees youth crime as a specific legacy of an old formula of differentiated citizenship, Martucelli argues that violence is not necessarily the inverse of social cohesion. Violence can also be a condition of possibility for social cohesion, or its peculiar, paradoxical way of assured continuance. For instance, drug trafficking can strengthen networks and generate social esteem for different groups (2015:194). Indeed, the other side of the coin of the narrative was the evident source of social capital that was laid on the notion of the ‘street’. While holding the potential

¹⁰⁸ This observation has been raised also in other parts of Latin America. In Guatemala, Manuela Camus records how old threats over guerrilla combatants were replaced by new threats of ‘drug trafficking’ and ‘gang violence’ (2011).

¹⁰⁹ Later, Fujimori was charged with Human Rights violations for this specific event.

¹¹⁰ Lobo records how in settlements of Callao 1970s, contrary to common belief held by the upper-classes, the crime rate was very low (1982:15).

of making youth ‘turn bad’, it was precisely on the ‘street’ that youth drew pride in their identity. The youth culture in Pachacutec valued a ‘street culture’ that borrowed from North American street-style made famous by rap artists, and recycled in Latin America by Spanish-speaking reggaeton artists. The ways of dress that were popular with the youth consequently challenged norms of respectability in the official world; boys wore baggy jeans and girls tight and body-emphasizing clothes. This style is marked by its association with Black resistance, and in the context of Latin America, it has been associated with the youth’s refusal to abide to constraining norms, deliberately challenging power relations of differentiated citizenship with an “in-your-face” attitude (Holston 2009).

As a peculiar way of protesting, boys would pull the legs of their trousers up to their knees. It was a deliberate way of signalling a lack of respect for rules, and it was carried out by those who were labelled as the most ‘problematic’ students. Sometimes other more neutral students would copy the gesture, presumably to gain some ‘respect’ in the eyes of the ‘problem’ students. Boys outside the school would also wear rags on their arms as a specific sign of gang membership. Students told me that gang members walked around the streets of Pachacutec throwing rocks at people. In a study made with young gang members in the city of Ayacucho, Cordula Strocca records how ‘making oneself respected’ (*hacerse respetar*), i.e. earning respect, was essentially an attribute enhanced in a society living in violence and uncertainty, such as in post *guerrilla* war Ayacucho. Identifying with a group, *mancha* (‘stain’) was a defence of territory and a way to ‘remain united’ for the youth of Ayacucho, thereby also embodying a strong sense of solidarity (2001). It was evident that the way in which the youth engaged in small examples of resistance in the school, like pulling the legs of their trousers up, was also a way a sign of solidarity in Pachacutec. But it also showed how ‘respect’ in Pachacutec was sought from other social arenas than those proposed by the official world¹¹¹. Bearing the above in mind, it could be speculated that street then was not really ‘an obstacle’ for the youth, but it was the domain created by global (neoliberal) capitalism where value was also sourced. The new forms of spatial and social segregation experienced by the youth were manifested in their search for respect, and it gained strength from the globally circulating value given to the ‘street’, a point to which I will return in the next chapter.

¹¹¹ Literature has shown that an essential attribute for embracing ‘street’ is ‘respect’ in the public life of the society, where larger structural conditions impede it from being fulfilled (e.g. Bourgois 2003).

'The Typical Peruvian'

One evening, as we were marking students' school assignments in the staffroom of the secondary school with Cinthia, the English teacher of the secondary school, a small boy from the primary school wandered in. Upon noticing us, his face turned into a cheeky grin and in an exaggerated move, he turned and ran away. Cinthia said to me: "You want to know about Peruvians? That is a typical Peruvian," (*asi es el peruano típico*). "He knows he is doing something bad, and he still does it". She then added with slight cynicism in her voice: "we are sad clowns" (*somos tristes payasos*). The anecdote expresses a central concern that ran parallel to the discourse of 'Peruvians lacking values'. A very frequent comment made to me when things went wrong, both on the political level as in the every-day, was 'we [Peruvians] are like that', almost claiming that there was something innate in the character of 'Peruvians' that deviated from the model of an 'appropriate citizen'. As shown so far, the paradox was that there was value laid in the illegitimate. To be able to 'trick' people was also to pass as *vivo* (clever). Yet Cinthia's attribution of the word 'sad' denoted that *ser vivo* was not to be idealised too much, but it was an element of Peruvianess that was celebrated in subordination. However, at times I also wondered whether the emphasis placed on bringing the supposed negative qualities out might have also entailed a degree of satisfaction. Indeed, the frequent validation 'asi somos' (we are like that) also implies there is a degree of familiarity in the 'illegitimate'. As Michael Herzfeld points out, the formal operations of the national states depend on the co-existence, usually inconvenient and always uneasy, with various realizations of 'cultural intimacy'. Most citizens may agree that because the state is staffed by rapacious bureaucrats, too much obedience of the law is just silly (2004). I had a sense that the frequent validation of Peruvians 'lacking values' also validated that illegitimacies existed as the relations were not all that equal.

While the tendency was to often highlight the deviant character of Peruvians in everyday narratives of citizenship, these accounts were often juxtaposed with the state that is considered to be much more deviant than the 'typical Peruvian'. Scholars have noted that after the collapse of power structures from the Cold War, people began to see the state as incoherent. Whereas it dedicated itself to solving social problems in discourse, in reality it was in the process of abandoning its role as a

provider (Montero et al. 2006). Social policies began to be viewed as aimed at specific vulnerable population groups, and they were distanced from the rhetoric of the ‘rights’ of each citizen. Towards the end of the last century in Peru state intervention gave way to a discourse that saw the President as a paternalistic figure distributing the benefits of various development programs (e.g. Oliart 2011; Zarate 2002). The hierarchical pyramid of the state machine descends down from the President to its ministers, expanding from mayors to settlement leaders, all of whom began to embody an ambivalent status in people’s minds due to rumours of corruption and other illicit activities. Indeed, ‘corruption’ existed as a central concern in Peruvian political rhetoric, one that contributed heavily to the view of Peruvians ‘lacking values’. Martucelli records that in 2010, 80% of Peruvian believed they lived in a ‘very corrupt country’ where one’s position depends on who one knows (2015:190)¹¹². Corruption had many levels, and in the case of Pachacutec, Tiffany recounted rumours about settlement leaders who took money gathered for the construction of parks and ran away.

Due to the legacy of patriarchy, the Peruvian state is often constructed as a male domain and the relationship with the President is metamorphosed as a ‘father and son’ relationship (Zarate 2002), perhaps reflecting how the state is more accessible and understandable to people if it is rigidified in a paternalistic role (Holloway 1994). Cotler traces this development to the post-Independence period where the conservatives wanted to maintain a paternalistic state that was personified in a leading figure who would administer society authoritatively and provide a paternalistic form of protection for ‘the indians’ (2005:92). Lily saw the ‘lack of change’ in Pachacutec as largely being a result of un-motivated leaders on the top of the hierarchical pyramid, who served as severe obstacles to the efforts of the *pobladores* to progress:

I think some parts will improve, but change, no, because...[...] those leaders sometimes don’t... I mean... They don’t have the initiative to want to change the place, they continue there, doing the same things (*en lo mismo*). Only a few good things will arrive, but then, no

¹¹² But what in a sense constitutes as ‘corruption’ is another matter of discussion. Cowen and Shenton show how in the writings of John Newman, history was depicted as moving through ‘true’ developments, and practices and doctrines that did not remain faithful to the originating concept, were ‘corrupt’. Once Newman’s understanding was extended from theology to political economy, ‘corruption’ became synonymous with ‘underdevelopment’ (1995).

more...Because the majority of them, if there are mayors coming here, they won't do anything. They'll do it when they are on campaign. But after that I think, nothing, because it's, if it's the same for the president...who doesn't do anything for the country. There is so much delinquency. There is so much, like, so many... rapes. There are so many robberies. What can you expect if, if even he doesn't take the initiative?

Lily's narrative was not special, but quite to the contrary, similar kinds of cynical affirmations were made repeatedly by students, also evidencing that making this kind of criticism was a way of attesting that just like 'asi somos' (we are like that), also those who governed were also 'like that'. In her ethnography about the political activities of *vecinos* in Rosas Pampa, Bolivia, Lazar records how people assert their expectations of the state and attempt to hold politicians accountable through narratives of corruption. This had the double effect of also constituting 'the people of Bolivia' as collective entities of 'betrayed citizens' (2008). This juxtaposing seemed to be absent in Pachacutec, but as in Lily's narrative, there was a degree of fatalism in the air, that was legitimated by illegitimacy pertaining to 'the typical Peruvian'.

We could say that the discourse of corruption was easily absorbed by neoliberal responsabilisation. While people had a deep scepticism towards the government, it was paralleled with a discourse that saw people as responsible for their actions. The neoliberal rationality aspires to construct responsible subjects whose moral quality is based on the fact they rationally assess the costs and benefits of their acts. Thus, consequences of actions are borne by the subject alone, who is solely responsible for them (e.g. Lazzarato 2009). Martucelli records that in the 1990s, aside the consolidation of neoliberal politics, the state established a regulating role (*estado reglamentador*), in order to combat the challenge that laid in informalisation of the economy, as well as crime and drug-trafficking. This he names as 'modernisation via rules' and its status quo has been largely accepted and left unchallenged by different governments since 1990s. The neoliberal order of the 1990s was established in the name of better administrative control and macroeconomic efficiency that was seen in the growing fiscalization of the informal sector, and in politics of decentralisation. 'Cleaning the streets from street-sellers' was one of its motto. Martucelli argues that rather than really emphasizing free market principles, the aim of the 'regulating state' was to impose 'respect for rules' in the society, and the regulating state took over the national or social state. Neoliberalism thus, in author's point of view, was not

enhanced as a means of assuring competition, but rather, as a means of efficiency. Most interestingly, he argues that these dynamics of regulation demanded going beyond polarities of informal and formal, either by viewing the state as weak and incapable of placing order, or by viewing the civil society as 'hardworking' and facing an old, *criollo* and mercantilist state that is inefficient and unjust (2015:214 – 215).

The moralistic discourse over 'corruption' was also the concern of the average person. Miranda who was introduced in chapter two, complained to me that people exchanged their votes for the mayoral race for short-term gains, such as packets of food. Hence, not only were the mayors 'corrupt', but also people were easily lured by them. For Belen, this meant that people needed to be 'vigilant' over what happened 'above'. As people 'at the bottom' chose those 'on top', they ultimately had themselves to blame for 'choosing bad political leaders'. Same types of expressions were made by the students too. Cassandra was a talkative 8th grader who liked watching South-Korean soap-operas, and was learning Japanese and Quechua in her free time. These unusual pastime activities making her stand out from her peers. She liked the idea of one day working in Japan. In contrast, Quechua represented for her the Peruvian 'mother tongue'. She believed that aside Quechua, the schools should also teach Mandarin, as China was such a big economic power. Knowledgeable about world trends, she was self-assured, caring of her female friends, and did not chat much with boys. In Cassandra's view, in order to overcome 'corruption,' change needed to come 'from the person', and she presented education as the ultimate and only key to guide the 'self'.

Now lately, they have made a law to increase the salary of the transit police, but, I'd say that more than anything, it [change] would have to *come from the person*. No matter how much you increase the salary of the police. Because they say: 'Can't you see I'm paid little, I have to do this to you to earn more.' Well, you shouldn't do that. 'Because I have family [...], there is no other option for me'. But even like that, I think that it remains on the person. No matter how much the salary will be raised, lowered, it will always remain the same. *And that should come from education*. That's what I think.

Here Cassandra rejected the idea that structural conditions such as a low salary were the cause of corrupt activities. Hence, whereas there was a cultural intimacy with illegitimacy in neighbourhoods like Pachacutec, the discourse of 'corruption' seemed

to be imposed from above. Engaging in corruption was believed to lie in the 'self', while at the same time it allowed many to avoid addressing such issues as the low salary of the police-force. In this narrative, education retained its role of elevating from an impure domain characterised by 'corruption' and 'dishonesty'.

The types of criticisms raised by Lily, Belen and Cassandra were typical of the students, and they pointed to the conflicts experienced in neoliberal capitalist citizenship. To summarise, while on one hand, the very hierarchical system of the nation-state was perceived to be 'corrupt', it was also the average citizen, 'the typical Peruvian', where the blame laid. But the 'typical Peruvian' was also constrained by circumstances. Some thought that whilst Peruvians may 'steal' a little, it was relatively small-scale, and perhaps to a certain extent justified for there really was not much work around. This was evident in Nadine's narrative when describing Peruvians:

Well, some Peruvians... not to generalize, because generalizing is bad. Some Peruvians are good, kind Peruvians. They help and collaborate with others, but there are also other Peruvians who ... go the other way, which can mean blackmailing or...kidnapping, you know. I mean those kinds of things, robbery.

But I think ... if they would help those people, those people could change. I think those people need help because for people to ask for money, and do things to get it, is because they need it. They need it, and so I think there should be help coming here, for those people who need the money... and for the poorest places, because what will I do with work 'over there'... [if] there is nothing over here. And how will I travel there, you know what I mean?

Here Nadine was giving a critique of neoliberal policies that did not address questions of employment, or as she repeatedly stresses, where to get money, in a more profound way other than vague notions of 'entrepreneurship' and responsabilisation. Her concern reflected a vehement urge for 'a state', or any other type of entity to be held accountable for people's needs. So whilst the official discourse placed 'the typical Peruvian' as the source of the problem of the 'society', running parallel to it was a silent consensus that the 'typical Peruvian' was who he was because of a need. We thus far have seen how 'values', 'humbleness', 'street' and finally, 'the typical Peruvian' are all discourses mobilized by the every-day realities of living in a

settlement, and trying to live according to the models given by a raw formula of citizenship where not much reciprocity is involved.

Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with three domains of Peruvian citizenship that tell much about the conflicts of neoliberal citizenship. The school retained elements from a hierarchical colonial order and honour codes in the notion of *decencia*, evidencing how schooling in Peru has not decolonialised itself. The history of unequal relations of dominance and subjugation manifest themselves in such things as the discourse of teaching values.

The proposals of progress (e.g. owning a house, education and a professional status) so prevalent to the narrative of *salir adelante* existed in parallel with other ways of engaging with money, community and family, that were produced by the neoliberal logic, but also mobilised as a challenge against the colonial elements of the citizenship discourses. The notion of ‘humbleness’ was a way to legitimize one’s deservingness of citizenship as it gave value to the everyday labour and efforts of *Pachacutēños*. We have also seen that rather than being a reciprocal practice drawn from alternative economic forms to capitalism, the narrative of humbleness shows how communal work, as well as other invented work by the informal sector, exists as a form of distribution. The labour invested in ‘humbleness’ validated demands of citizenship, but people also delineated a boundary between ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ poor through legitimizing themselves as ‘good citizens’ for being ‘humble’. In this way, neoliberalism is a rationality that is rearticulated and reformed as it meshes with other rationalities (Gago 2017).

Whereas the logic of ‘humbleness’ has been shown to be specific to settlements since 1970s (e.g. Lobo 1982), a discontinuity from previous work is the appearance of global influences from a consumer culture where ‘street’, contrary to the school’s patronizing discourse, is appropriated as a site of struggle that claims visibility through clothing that embraces street-style and is deliberately obnoxious. The street emerged as an ambivalent source of identity, necessary for accumulating the capital that could not be gained in the formal world. These three strands (decency, humbleness, street) then mesh as three important threads in the particular experience of youth in Pachacutec that is specific to the neoliberal era. Jokes about the ‘typical

Peruvian' imply that it is precisely here where the neoliberalism from below is instituted, and thus, while on the one hand deep scepticism ran towards the government as well as the common Peruvian in general, it was met by the valorisation of astuteness and other forms of resistances. This astuteness was present in the informal sector, and in the 'street'. While 'the typical Peruvian' and discourses of humbleness demonstrate some of the successes of citizenship-making in neighbourhoods like Pachacutec, they also demonstrate that capital continues to exploit the free labour of people in settlements that were in most cases performed by women. It seems that the 'progress' promised to *pobladores* decades ago was very slow to arrive. Unequal relations forged in history transform into new forms of inequalities, distinction making and violence, and 'the typical Peruvian' was a one of such manifestations. It is a dynamic that seeks to disrupt the mechanisms of power nonetheless.

Chapter 5

Cosmopolitan racialisations & unequal exchanges

Introduction

Whereas in the previous chapter the dominant moral landscapes of citizenship discourses in Pachacutec came under discussion, this chapter will evaluate some of the racialized dimensions of every-day politics in Pachacutec. The chapter takes the position that there are national and global discursive influences that shape the subjectivity of the youth living in Pachacutec: their hopes, desires and what they believe they should be entitled to. As it was recorded in the beginning of chapter two in relation to Lima's expansion, the ambiguous status of these newly emerging spaces pose a type of threat that elite culture seeks to negotiate. Thus, like in the previous chapter, the first part of this chapter will look into the history of race relations in Peru, arguing the shift to discussing class instead of race is still a continuity of these relations. But the shift from race to class also demonstrates how equivalence is created by a vocabulary of 'sameness'.

Building on what was established in the previous chapter, I will then examine the transnational dimension in the notion of 'street'. The chapter will argue that there was an element of 'freedom' in youth's cosmopolitan styles exhibited on social media, and in their other style preferences, such as tastes in music. The youth create themselves as compatible with the neoliberal world by recycling different types of global and local musical forms, dress-styles, and sociabilities that have created some destabilizing effects (Sassen 2006) to power structures, although they do not necessarily change the dynamics of such power structures. As was pointed out in the introduction, global inequalities have nothing but increased, and this will be analysed in light of circulating stories about body snatchers in Peru. These stories have an important transnational dimension that again validates that as the world becomes 'smaller', global inequalities and profoundly unequal exchanges persist.

And finally, the last section will examine how the youth engaged in playful joking about 'race.' This is telling of the ongoing stigmatisation that occurs of certain

phenotypic traits, but it also shows how youth rework racial categories to be more acceptable. Thus, this shows that cosmopolitanisms are mobilised ‘from below’ in ways that do destabilise prevailing hierarchies. The overall aim of the chapter is to demonstrate the new potentials that youth cosmopolitanisms have created in recent years that do bring about new forms of horizontal relations, as is developed similarly in Martucelli’s (2015) work. Nevertheless these new forms of horizontal relations do not erase global systems of exploitation.

From ‘Race’ to ‘Manners’

Thus far, the thesis has argued that disciplining narratives generated by the relations of domination and subjugation take different forms as time passes on. Similarly, the attitudes around potential threats to established relations, like settlement towns, have varied and even today, the views tend to oscillate between seeing them either as one of the horrors of capitalism (e.g. Davis 2007) or as spaces where there is potential for a new revolution (De Soto 1989). Oscar Lewis (1969) sought to challenge the attitude towards the people inhabiting these spaces¹¹³ in his encapsulation of the ‘culture of poverty’. He wanted demonstrate that something other than social degeneration was going on in the newly emerging spaces. Yet the children of Sanchez are not the way youth in Pachacutec could be described today. The new ways of expressing the ‘self’ that are inherent to the way in which neoliberal subjectivities are formed today, are quite unlike the ordeals of the characters in the Sanchez book. There are also new cultural forms that enable the youth to make the distance to the perceived other less distant. Nevertheless, some continuities with ‘social degeneration’ as well as ‘culture of poverty’ were present in the way teachers talked about the youth in the school. This was seen in how in the everyday moral evaluations, ‘manners’ began to play a significant role. As it was recorded in the previous chapter, ‘race’ was not something overtly vocalized in the school but what was talked about instead was ‘values’. Parallel to ‘values’ runs a public discourse around ‘manners’ that attributed ‘lack of manners’ to the popular classes. This discourse concerning a ‘lack of manners’ also manifests that it is no longer appropriate to make openly public distinctions based on

¹¹³ E.g. Lobo shows how from the traditional *Limeño* point of view, the large number of rural migrants threatened the cosmopolitan nature of the city. In the 1970s among middle-class and upper-class *Limeños*, squatter settlements were often stereotyped as harbouring criminals and social degenerates (Lobo 1982).

race, and that racial labels themselves carry heavy stigmas¹¹⁴. But at the same time this seeks to make invisible the continuous distinctions that are made between people based on ‘race’, -or what I prefer to call phenotype-, as will become clearer towards the end of the chapter.

While ‘lack of manners’ was a new way to make distinctions, the categories that have specifically addressed race have undergone changes due to changing social relations. Scholars working on Peruvian racial formation¹¹⁵ have asserted that the 20th century mass migrations to cities were accompanied by transformations in racial labels and their accompanying stereotypes. Racial labels such as *serrano* (person from the *sierra*) and *indio* (indian) were changed to *provinciano* (a person from the provinces) and *indigena* (indigenous)¹¹⁶ (Oboler 1996). In the late 1960s, Quijano wrote about the ‘cholo’ as an emerging social group that can be distinguished from both the indigenous culture and Western culture. *Cholos* are persons that separate themselves from the peasant masses, abandoning certain elements of the indigenous culture and adopting some elements from the *criollo* culture, the process which was understood as the ‘cholification’ in the Peruvianist literature of the time (Quijano 1980:63).

Just like all racial labels, the category of *cholo* also acquired negative stereotypes. Some viewed the *cholo* as ‘lazy’¹¹⁷. Similar to the *cholo*, the image of the Afro-Peruvian was consistently described in a negative manner. The negative stereotypes attributed to being *negro* (black) were formed during slavery, when Afro-Peruvians were viewed ‘culturally undeveloped’ and hence dedicated to ‘stealing’

¹¹⁴ Similarly, in the context of Brazil, McCallum’s study of a maternity clinic in Salvador shows the clinic staff do not talk about ‘race’ openly, but instead they talk of ‘class’, ‘youth’ and ‘irresponsibility’ (in Wade 2009).

¹¹⁵ Omi & Winant (1986)

¹¹⁶ Cotler records that at the independence, the words ‘indigenous’ and ‘natural’ were taken out by freedom fighter San Martín due to their discriminatory connotation (2005: 96). Indeed, Andrew Canessa points out the concept of ‘indigenous’ is drawn out of natural history, where it means ‘belonging naturally to the region’, suggesting that people can be considered simply as part of the flora and fauna of the region (2005). See also Remy (1995) for criticisms on the use of the totalizing category of ‘indigenous’ for such distinct groups with completely different histories, languages and relations with ‘the state’ as those in the Andes (e.g. Quechua speakers) and those in the Amazon (e.g. the Matsigenka). Abercrombie instead has pointed out the paradox of anthropologists using the racial labels of ‘Indian’ stating that their use “accedes to the colonial situation itself, which continues to posit itself in the form of a relationship between two opposed cultural poles, ‘Indian’ and ‘European’” (In Seligmann 2004:124).

¹¹⁷ Juan Callirgos separates between the ‘indian’ and the ‘cholo’ in the following way: whereas the *indian* was viewed as ‘passive’, ‘submissive’, ‘servile’, of ‘lower intelligence’ and living in the country-side, the *cholo* was viewed as a threat, ‘aggressive’ and ‘without respect’, ‘making demands to the state’, ‘having too many children’, ‘getting drunk’ and ‘treating their children and women bad’ (1993).

(Oboler 1996). This is a legacy of the culturalist definition of race that saw education as a means to transform certain negative attributes given to certain 'races' as detailed in the previous chapter. Some have argued that due to the strength and visibility of 'indigenous culture' in the national imagination, the *negros* of Peru have remained invisible (e.g. Golash-Boza 2011), while others suggest that the 'indigenous' has a much more negative image in people's imagery, as the 'black' have always lived closely with the 'white', sharing their codes of behaviour during the course of the 20th century up to this day (in Oboler 1996). Klaren argues that the black population were generally considered above of the Indian population in the social stratification of postcolonial Peru as they were valued for their loyalty and abilities (2004).

Due to the legacy described above, stereotypes linking skin colour with intellectual ability also prevail in families. A few years ago in Cuzco, I met a young man from Lima who was resentful that his parents had always expected a bit less of him, and treated his lighter skinned brother with preference. As a pilot for LAN airlines he considered that he had succeeded quite well in life having completed his training Miami despite of his young age and - slightly spitefully - he told how he had proved his family otherwise. This is not uncommon in other Latin American countries either. In Brasil, Winddance-Twine records that the most educated and economically privileged Afro-Brazilians usually attempt to reproduce a family that is both socially and biologically whiter by typically transferring their material and social resources to lighter skinned children and partners (1998). The preferred aesthetic ideals of wider society accompany these practices of 'whitening.' In the northern Peruvian town of Ingenio, Golash-Boza records how Afro-Peruvians preferred not marrying a black person, in order to have 'prettier children' and for 'bettering the race'. The ideal beauty of a woman for a man was that of a *café-con-leche*¹¹⁸, a black woman mixed with white (2011). 'Blackness' thus in Peru is a fluid status, and perhaps best described as a social condition an individual seeks to move away from, just like 'Indianness'.¹¹⁹

The beauty ideals and practices of whitening are fundamentally linked with ideas of property, marriage and status implanted on colonialism in Latin American nations. Wade records that at the arrival of the Spaniards, unions were made with Inca

¹¹⁸ 'Coffee-with-milk', a playful saying used in every-day conversation.

¹¹⁹ Golash Boza (2011) has argued that black skin colour in Peru is perceived as unchangeable. What I argue here is for certain fluidness, for a person with visible Afro-Peruvian inheritance markers, such as curly hair, or darker than average skin, might prefer to name herself as *mestiza*.

noble women in order to gain access to land and indigenous labour. Most notably slavery played a crucial role in marriage preferences, as women in former colonial societies were able to 'move up' in the slave society using their sexuality as wives of white men. This also means manipulation of certain sign-posts pertaining to social categories. In this way there was an expansion in the population's claim to 'whiteness'¹²⁰. Wade further details that while the religious lens of the church defined sexual relations with 'others' as a sin, dark-skinned women represented the higher-class white men an 'other' that was inferior, but also powerfully sexually attractive. Dark skin is also linked with sexual looseness, idleness and lack of discipline, and in women's cases – associated with prostitution. Thus in an erotic market, relationships are not equal, as women and men bring unequal forms of capital to it (2009). In public life, where men are judged by other men (De Beauvoir 2011), to 'have' a white woman by your side is something of an achievement. In describing the colonised consciousness, Fanon writes:

Out of the blackest part of my soul, across the zebra striping of my mind, surges this desire to be suddenly *white*. I wish to be acknowledged not as *black* but as *white*. ...- who but a white woman can do this for me? By loving me she proves that I am worthy of white love. I am loved like a white man (1986: 63).

These privileged notions of whiteness persist in the present day in popular culture and in the aesthetics of television programs. Traditionally across Latin America, telenovelas reinforce Western beauty norms, as European-looking characters are usually portrayed as beautiful and successful, whereas non-European characters are portrayed as unattractive and poor (Golash-Boza 2011)¹²¹. Programmes where men are cross-dressing and wearing an Andean *pollera*, - a skirt with many layers-, are popular, openly ridiculing the figure of the *chola*. Also, the telenovela story is often about a poor Cinderella-like *empleada* (housemaid) who falls in love with the son of the family she works for, thus displaying a desire to break class distinctions. In other words, the trend has been that while poverty is forgiven, the skin colour is not. In Pachacutec, girls who gained the most appreciation from boys were the lighter skinned girls.

¹²⁰ e.g. Raymond Smith has shown how slave women who had children with their free, white owners in Jamaica, were able to get manumission for their children (1990).

¹²¹ The *telenovelas* are most commonly produced in Peru, Mexico and Venezuela and reflect an idealised version of middle- and upper-class values (Lobo 1982).

While whiteness is the beauty norm and a personal project of enhancement, in the case of foreign females it is also associated with an idea of sexual looseness, and hence also a transgression of norms of decency. A person racialized as *gringa* might undergo a considerable amount of sexual harassment, from kissing sounds to whistles, as well as comments with sexual overtones, and a *gringa* might be a highly sought after partner. In Peru, a special word is applied to people who are perceived to seek relationships with members of the opposite sex solely because of their (racial) status, a term I heard on several occasions among the middle-class and in places where tourists hang out. The name is *brichero/brichera*.¹²² The term is a play on the English word bridge, where the Peruvian becoming romantically involved with a foreigner is perceived to be building a bridge to the foreign world. In Peruvian slang, *bricheros* are known as young men who dress themselves up in traditional accessories, such as Peruvian jewellery, that denote a type of bohemian ‘hippy style’ and appeal to foreigners due to their association with ‘Andean traditions’. A *brichero* may play the panpipe (*zampoña*) or a small Andean string instrument called the charango, wear a *ch’ullu* and thank *pachamama* by dropping a splash of beer to the ground before drinking it. The *brichero* appeals for his denoted ‘non-modern’ and ‘anti-capitalist’ characteristics. Indeed, the cult of the *pachamama* is also vindicated in the ways of dress, as a way to condemn global capitalism¹²³. Yet it is also in some sense perceived that *bricheros* play on a false identity, making a mockery of ‘authenticity’ for personal gains. Instead, *bricheras* are women who lurk around bars where *gringos* hang out, and they also meet their gringo boyfriends online. The existence of these labels points to the ongoing relevance of manipulating signposts for social gains, demonstrating that sexual relations too continue to be defined by unequal relations of power, not only in the national class-structure, but also between the Western tourist, and the *brichero/a*.

The trend of assigning races to spaces that was part of the liberal project implemented in the twentieth century, and the idea that status could be achieved

¹²² The Peruvian newspaper ‘El Comercio’ also published about the topic in 2015. <https://elcomercio.pe/opinion/habla-culta/martha-hildebrandt-significado-brichero-336499> Martha Hildebrandt is a controversial linguist and a Congresswoman who criticised Congresswoman Hilaria Supa for taking an oath in Quechua.

¹²³ Similar trends appear in other parts of Latin America too. In the beginning of the new century in Mexico, Reguillo Cruz writes about the local youth culture of *raztecas*, the name coming from ‘aztecs’ and ‘rastas’, who criticise the ‘Western’ development model, the deterioration of environment and processes of exclusion, in the process vindicating local values, communitarianism and self-employment (2000).

through hard-work and respectability, was also accompanied by the associations made between certain racial labels and types of work. Studies show that Peruvian stereotypes view the indigenous living in the *sierra* as *emprendedor(a)* and *trabajador(a)* (hard-working), as in people's imagery people in the *sierra* are used to physical hard work (Oboler 1996). At the school of our Lady of Sorrows, I also heard laments about work being arduous and physical in the Andes, contributing to some of the physical characteristics of the people. A student in the 6th grade, Fabiana, whose grandmother was from the *sierra*, and who used to travel there herself, would describe the people from the *sierra* by characteristics that were due to manual labour and climate: "their cheeks are blistered and their hands too", *los cachecitos los tienen rayadito y sus manos también*. Hard work is also attributed to the highland habit of mutual aid. Anthropologists have also recorded how *pobladores* make a separation between leisure oriented *criollos/Limeños* from the coast and the hardworking *cholos/provincianos* from the highlands (Golte and Adams 1992; Lobo 1982). These distinctions could be argued to be ways by which each group tries to validate their deservingness of citizenship in a climate of evident competition.

As racial labels and their associations undergo transformations, the distinctions made between people too have undergone changes. The discourse around 'manners' legitimized distinctions based on residence. Scholars have shown how the practices of *Limeños* from residential areas create boundaries that are sustained between more affluent areas and the residents from *barriadas* like Pachacutec. In a study of on the forms of diversion among youth, Samanez Bendezu records middle class youth groups' aversion to 'bad taste' and material precariousness. For the middle class youth, a space of diversion had to happen in a matrix of 'good taste'. What is considered as *popular* (of common/lay people) is ridiculed, even viewed as 'contaminating', and there was a growing narrative that 'good places' were 'contaminated' increasingly by *gente popular* (2005) in Lima. Indeed, the problematic of the figures of the *cholo* and the *negro* was accompanied by a sense of fear that grew along the mass migrations and the appropriation of 'white' spaces, resulting in the growth of gated communities towards the end of the 20th century, in neighbourhoods such as Miraflores and Magdalena (Montoya 2010; Oboler 1996). In Holston's words, the strategies of withdrawal by the upper classes produces a destabilized urban land-scape. It was accompanied by a nostalgia for how the city used to be before higher rates of urbanization (2008:281-283).

But the discourses that maintained difference did not pertain solely to the upper classes. We have also seen that as a similar type of ambiguity was also attributed to the city of Lima by the youth in Pachacutec, who saw it as a place with more violence than Pachacutec. Hence, *Limeños* were perceived to be more contaminated by all the bad vicissitudes associated with city living such as crime, stealing and pollution. Lima was also associated with a discriminatory upper-class, who in Jhon's words, 'did not respect' other people. Living in Pachacutec meant they needed to make a greater effort in studies and work in comparison to people in Lima, who did not have to 'struggle for it', as they had 'everything at hand'¹²⁴. In describing differences between Pachacutec and Lima, Gisela, a tranquil and happy girl in the 6th grade who wanted to become a police-woman, said the following:

I mean, they talk bad about their behaviour, the way they dress and...the race and colour doesn't come in there much, because in other places they are the same (*son iguales*). The only thing is that they start criticising the... the way they dress and behave.

Therefore, according to the affirmation of Gisela, 'race did not matter' anymore, but instead discourses around 'behaviour' were used to make distinctions. Students would recount how they needed to learn manners and to behave well in order to secure a job, also showing that racialisations are ultimately tied to capital relations. At times they would also attribute 'lack of manners' to themselves, agreeing they were sometimes badly behaved and used derogatory names for each other. We can also see in Gisela's affirmation that what was an acceptable code of language was to talk about class differences, and the discussion of 'race' was disregarded through the claim that 'they are the same'. Gisela's affirmation curiously also points out that the elite class themselves might not be all that 'white' anymore. What we can also see in Gisela's affirmation is that the discourse around 'manners' is a more benign form of classifying than that around 'race'; it can be easily turned around, there is no real substance to it as the upper-class or people in Lima too are 'the same'. This in turn validates the perception of the students that they are equal to their counterparts, and that 'manners' was just a benign form of discipline exercised by the upper-classes. In this sense, to speak of class was also a way of legitimizing one's citizenship and equality. This shows that the neoliberal model of strengthening citizenship via

¹²⁴ see also Cole & Montes 1991

consumption in this regard has equalizing tendencies, and it has been able to transcend some of the forms of domination and subjugation characteristic of people's social relations in Lima.

Pragmatic cosmopolitanisms: Life is for smiling, money is a compliment

In line with the above, and Martucelli's assertion (2015) that migrations have destabilized prevailing racial hierarchies and made social relations more horizontal, a claim to 'sameness' has an equalizing characteristic. The consuming activities of people of Pachacutec and the increasing appearance of shopping malls in Ventanilla, among other things, has validated the consumer citizenship of the *Pachacuteños* and made 'leisure' activities like shopping, cinema and dining out also something of their own. While during the 1990s youth in *barrios populares* in Lima thought 'having fun' was something trivial and reflected a lack of goals for the future (Cole and Montes 1991), today the discourses about leisure and the future in Pachacutec were slightly different. Whereas Gandolfo argues that an aura of mystery and untouchability envelopes the wealthier districts of the city for the residents of *barriadas* (2009), some students in Pachacutec did claim the wealthier areas as theirs. Ricky and Gianmarco, two boys in the 8th grade who were always getting into trouble, said to me they went skateboarding at Larcomar in Miraflores, an up-town shopping complex with a Starbucks that sells pricy coffee situated next to a Marriot hotel, and I shall argue that the appropriation of urban spaces in the city with urban social capital, such as the use of skateboards, served as a claim for 'sameness' like that mentioned in Gisela's narrative.

Accompanying this appropriation of urban space was also the popularity of social media and smartphones. One could argue that the equalizing effect of social media lies in that the rules of the game on social media are pretty much the same: one decides how one wants to portray oneself, and one gains likes accordingly to people's approval. Writing on social media, Daniel Miller asserts it is very much a public arena, where a 'self' is created to be exhibited to an imagined audience. As a site for self-cultivation, it is always to some degree performative¹²⁵. The idea of Facebook is precisely to interact with others through the way in which one wishes to portray oneself. The 'self' to be portrayed today is often a mobile subject that knows how to

¹²⁵ Here he builds on Turkle and Goffman.

‘have fun’ and ‘enjoys the moment’ (2011). The youth in Pachacutec were no less skilful than anyone else in showing how much fun they had on Facebook. It’s a Machiavellian game, as one needs to ‘be ahead’ of people in anticipating what kind of post might receive most approvals. In the ephemeral landscapes of social media too, youth are faced with a competitive world, where the one who has most ‘likes’ in their social media posts, may generate new forms of distinction making, effectively disqualifying those who don’t manage to perfect the image of the ‘self’. The social life thus becomes a competition of popularity in a virtual field. Lazzarato argues that the capitalist appropriation of virtuality relates to the power over potential becoming, and that post-Fordist economy is an economy based on potentialities (2009). Using social media has also been argued to be a form of immaterial labour¹²⁶ that for youth can be a ‘time-suck’ (Miller 2011). Time spent on social media becomes more instantaneous, and at the same time easily vanishes into air. Others have warned about the effects of social media in real life relationships. Sherry Turkle refers to the ironic condition of youth actually spending less time together, all the while they are spending more and more time on the internet showing how much fun they have. Social relations on social media are fleeting and do not necessarily entail more than a friendship request (2011).

But Facebook is not only a site where people show how much ‘fun’ they have, Facebook is also a site where a lot of criticisms are raised, including posts critiquing people who always claim to have so much fun on Facebook. What often seemed to be specific to the youth in Pachacutec was the creation of a ‘self’ that was street smart and pragmatic, and not necessarily buying into the standing tropes of progress. Students would not only post pictures of Converse shoes, skateboards and other items that accrue social capital on ‘the street’, but they would also share wise statements about life, pictures of themselves wearing trendy round goggles and posts about environmental concerns. Love also entered the student posts as a sign of commercialised liberation (see also Lukose 2009). The posts of the students had something transformative in them: instead of trusting grand narratives that ‘moving forward’ presented to them, everyday events were reworked in the space of social media. Lack of predictability of the future was also present in these student criticisms; in the space on Facebook where one should describe their educational background one

¹²⁶ See Jin Chae’s (2015) thesis.

boy put the following: “on the street one learns more than in the school” *en la calle se aprende más que en el colegio*. Another boy described his employment status in the following way: “I am not lazy I just don’t have anything else to do”. Indeed, writing in the context of Trinidad, Miller argues that in ‘a street corner society’, people are judged by their ability to take on messages that are present in banter and jokes, not through the ideals of meritocracy or cumulative achievements in education and labour. It makes sense to evaluate others differently if there are a limited amount of jobs and the educational avenues available are also limited. It also means freedom to construct oneself and not be categorised by circumstance. By signalling to others, that ‘one can take it’ one is essentially gaining ‘respect’ (2010; 2011).



5.1 The global self



5.2 In the hairdresser: “Only the tips, please.” “Hairdresser, son-of-a-bitch”



5.3 “For me, only you exist”

To certain extent, while one could argue that all posts that are shared on social media are about perpetuating capitalist logics, as the focus is on the individual ‘self’, capitalism does not mean it is unethical, or that it does not help to promote certain kinds of freedoms. Quite the contrary, mobility and money grants power, and as it was argued in the previous chapter, money is also used for such things as caring. There is morality involved in transactions, just as there is morality also in social media posts. This morality may well be one of the reasons why mobility is vehemently desired by the youth in Pachacutec. In a questionnaire given to students at an early stage of the research, most detailed some kind of mobility as part of their aspirations and desires for the future, be it in the form of education for a career, or moving to a better place. Quite a lot of the students mentioned ‘helping family’ (to move forward) as their reason for wanting mobility. One of my students in the 9th grade regularly posted pictures of herself on social media wearing trendy outfits with several other young female students, posing confidently in the photo. In one of her posts of herself she wrote: “your envy is my progress”. While it is evident that she was buying into the logic of individualism and capitalism here, the post can also be interpreted as a sign that she was also enhancing and giving pride to her family. Emotions are entwined with larger processes of capitalism in complex ways, that effectively also make the narratives of neoliberal exploitation a little more questionable.

Another site where youth were claiming cosmopolitanism was in the circulation of music-tastes. The popularity of rap music was part of the youth street-culture, notoriously associated with street-life and Blackness as understood as a subculture from the United States (e.g. Keyes 2002). As explained in the previous chapter, street culture can be a part of the incivility and aggressive aesthetics appears

necessary as a public idiom of deep democratic change (Holston 2008: 275). During my fieldwork I witnessed several rap performances on the buses by young males, either by themselves or in groups, carrying a small sound-system giving them a beat for their performance. Given the global circulation of musical forms like rap and hip hop and their powerful potential to transgress constraints and legitimate youth's 'in - your-face' attitude, it is hardly surprising rap has emerged as a popular cultural form amongst youth in Pachacutec, and in Peru in general. Rap was used as a means to circumvent frustrations of everyday life and to critique the dominant system, although it was also mobilized for money making and 'moving around'. I once chatted with a boy performing on the buses who was from Pachacutec and he told me he travelled performing this way on buses all around Peru. Another time when I was returning home from school in Pachacutec three boys entered the bus to perform rap and I took the opportunity to record their performance. After the rap was over the boys followed up with a speech where they asked for people's collaborations, proclaiming their rap was 'an act of protest' but also 'poetry' and 'culture', and as the lyrics below indicate, they were also a claim for respectability for the settlement:

Peruvian *compadre*, brother. From the *asentamiento humano*,
making music in the *altiplano*,
like Corazon Serrano....

[...]

In my neighbourhood, your hood... fear gets confused with respect

[...]

Here there exists no trust in friends,
they tell you they support you, they stab you in the back.

[..]

All that you can observe in the *arenales*,
marginal neighbourhoods.
Where you get in and you don't get out
At least if you don't pay like Speedy Gonzales.

[...]

People look at me and judge me for my trait,
I go to walk and they send me to civil police.
But I keep calm...I keep walking.

I continue with the mates, kicking cans¹²⁷, [...] resisting ungrateful looks,

born in this society that mistreats you
and treats you as a rat
if you don't carry money
(*te trata de rata sino cargas plata*)

How much you have, how much you're worth.

[...]

Who doesn't have, always wants,
and who has, wants more.

Money; piece of paper and tin
is what people kill for by a cheap bullet.

Money, loved by all nations,
They are millions of millions; they fill their pockets but not their hearts.
They are millions of millions, who fill their pockets but never their hearts.

[...]

That is something I learned inside the settlement,
Life is for smiling, money is a compliment.

We can see their rap was an 'act of protest' against the every-day felt experience of racism and spatial segregation. The settlement (*asentamiento*) is a precise symbol of immobility, of 'lack of change'. The rap provided a medium for expressing angry feelings generated by lack of mobility and the injustices of global capitalism that are exasperated by neoliberal policies. The only means by which the boys felt they could truly 'get on' in society is by having money. These resistant sentiments belong to 'transnational ideas of Blackness', what Ramos-Zayas has also termed as 'the ideas one should feel'. Working in the context of 'Latino Newark' in the United States, Ramos Zayas argues that under neo-liberalism there has been intensification in the cultural standardization and organisation of feelings and sentiments seen in the social practices around performances of Blackness. She works on the notion that there is always a degree of emotional work required in embodied practices of learning 'race' (2011). The emotional work required for this racial learning was mobilised for moving around, precisely what the youth wanted to do. Embracing the 'street' as their own proved to be a challenge to racism and segregation and it also allowed the

¹²⁷ A saying that refers to times of unemployment

youth to transcend national and local hierarchies producing new affect and a sense of freedom. The boy rappers were also pointing towards the irony of materiality and ‘having more’, which is what capitalist nation-states propose. The symbolic value that is placed in ‘a piece of paper and tin’ is destructive and the song contrasted this with an empty ‘heart’ thereby affirming their own moral superiority to those with power and privilege.

In conclusion, so far we have seen that the students found some freedom in their social media posts, in the ways they chose to dress and the music they liked to listen. Affect plays a defining role in how youth subjectivity is formed today, and neoliberal transformations have brought with themselves new spaces that can be used in order to destabilise the present structures. By living in a space that was approximating a city, where ‘fun’ indeed existed in various ways, and where youth were using their cultural forms to move around, Pachacutec had possibilities as well. And thus, Pachacutec also held a promise for it was a place where one could learn that ‘life is for smiling, money is a compliment’. It was just that such promise came more slowly in Pachacutec.

From Pishtaco to Pituco

We have thus far seen how the cosmopolitan styles of the youth destabilised some of the more constraining norms that continued to victimize or racialize the inhabitants of Pachacutec. It did not mean however that the systems of inequality were erased, as we saw in the rap composed by the boys. There were also other ways by which the dispossessing effects of capitalism were addressed by the youth in Pachacutec. One such example were stories that circulated about strangers entering the community to steal people away and sell their body parts to the foreign world. Tiffany, whom we got to know in the last chapter, told me one day how in her mother’s village ‘up in the mountains’ (*por arriba en los cerros*) the community members had found human bones buried in the ground. According to Tiffany and her family, the bones belonged to the victims of *pishtacos*. A *Pishtaco* is a vampire-like figure that roams around the Andes, killing indigenous people in order to sell their fat as soap (e.g. Oliver-Smith 1996; Weismantel 2001). There was a peculiar new trend occurring in Tiffany’s narrative, however, adding to previous accounts of the existence of *pishtacos*. Tiffany told me how the *pishtacos* came at night-time and stole babies and human organs, selling them to foreign countries. I must have looked at Tiffany with a

concerned expression on my face as she laughed and said: “but that was in the past, they don’t do it anymore”.

The stories about disappearing bodies were not only told by Tiffany. At times when I was teaching or helping out during classes, the students would insist on the existence of *duendes* (elves) who took children from their cribs, and advised that the *sábila* (aloe vera) plant would keep these little mean creatures away. But the most elaborate stories I heard came from Zakarias, a boy in the 6th grade, who came from Tarapoto in the *selva*. His father had died, and he had just recently moved to Pachacutec to live with his aunt. Other students were also interested to hear his accounts of Tarapoto, who giggled whenever the city’s name was mentioned (because *poto* means ‘bum’ in Peruvian Spanish). Zakarias would tell me about two mermaids, one who was good and the other bad, who lived in the Amazon River; the former had yellow hair, and the latter had black hair and breasts on her back. The young boy’s uncle had warned him about men who stole little children and took their organs, leaving their dead bodies behind. The men who stole children communicated by blowing into a shell pipe and making signs to each other. The locals learned to recognize the sound and it was a warning that these men were up and about searching for children. Sometimes they would come with helicopters, taking the children away and leaving dollar bills behind.

An undercurrent of all the stories about the theft of body parts was a way to comment on the continuing exploitation that existed, especially more in the provinces than in the larger cities. The students recounted about the inexplicable acts that were nevertheless very real, and reflected the uncertainty, ambiguity and sometimes violent acts that impacted the poor and disadvantaged everyday, such as the disappearance of babies. In her work on the symbolism of the *pishtaco* figure, Weismantel describes how the *pishtaco* signifies accumulation, not through honest labour, but through stealing and taking from others. The white body is fed, the Indian drained, the *pishtaco* thus representing the historical destruction of indigenous peoples and their vicious exploitation (2001).¹²⁸ Zakarias and his uncle thus had told a similar story about an unequal and forced exchange with ‘foreign’ and dangerous strangers and

¹²⁸ Weismantel suggests that the exchange systems of indigenous society were ‘morally and psychologically better’ than those the Europeans imposed. She also argues these earlier systems, which exist in conflict with modernity, have been harmed but not totally obliterated (2001). Similarly, in Colombia, entering an unequal market system generated beliefs in the Devil and baptism of money so eloquently recorded by Taussig (1980).

what worse exchange could there be than the lives of innocent children in and around Tarapoto. A student of mine once posted a note on Facebook that evidently showed the picture of a man and a woman who were suspected of kidnapping children and selling their organs in Puente Piedra, another suburb of Lima near Pachacutec, validating again the currency and the multiple variations of such stories that circulate in different communities and neighbourhoods in Peru. As Scheper-Hughes has argued, commodified organs have become a commodity of last resort to the socially disadvantaged. Indeed, organ selling to richer nations displays the imbalances of global capital relations, where in the global economy the body is a fetishized object (2002).

The numerous stories arising about body snatchers and organ stealers reveal the ongoing unequal dimensions of global capitalism, and its profoundly dispossessing dimension. Almost invariably in all the body snatching stories, the ones who did the stealing were the foreigners with dollar notes, again bringing forth the unequal nature of market capitalism. As David Graeber reminds us, the idea of market-place 'exchange', presumes that people start from an equal footing, which in most cases is not true (2011)¹²⁹. Who decides the level of interest paid on loans from Western powers, for example? Who decides how much value is given to certain kinds of labour? There was however hope that things were 'getting 'better' and those things were left behind, as Tiffany recounted.

But whereas Tiffany tried to comfort me by saying the *pishtacos* do not exist anymore, the students used another term frequently to discuss other types of exploitative dimension, but this time existing inside the nation: the *pitucos*. When talking to people in Pachacutec, time and time again the theme of the 'higher class' would emerge, making me wonder at the beginning of the research who the wealthy class were. Likewise, I asked a few of my middle class acquaintances whether there was discrimination against people from places like Pachacutec, and they would answer, 'not here, but among the *pitucos*, reflecting the consensus that a 'mean' and 'discriminatory' upper class did exist, but it was never 'here', and always 'over there', by this meaning the segregated communities rumoured to exist in upper class living areas like Miraflores in Lima, or in elite gates communities like Casuarinas. Roberto would refer to them as 'having more culture'. They send their children to foreign

¹²⁹ Graeber describes that the theory of exchange presumes equivalence, and thus distinguishes 'the modern society' from previous slavery/caste system (2011).

countries to study. To a certain extent I began to think *pituco* was a symbol of global hierarchies, and consequently, their colours. At times it almost felt the *pitucos* were even imagined. While Weismantel (2001) describes the figure of the *chola* as mystical, I would say the figure of the *pituco* as perhaps just as mystical. On the streets you did not see many *pitucos*, more commonly you would see the *chola*. The *pituco* might travel in a car with tinted windows. Only once did I see a blonde boy, handsome and clean-cut, carrying a surf board while waiting for a lift on the street corner. I was not sure whether he was a tourist or a member of this mystical upper class. There was surprise, envy and anger on the face of a ticket collector who was passing by on a minibus, as he contemplated this blonde boy and scoped the other people on the sidewalk looking for passengers. Just like the *pishtaco*, the figure of the *pituco* also represented the negative side of the 'white'. Callirgos argues that contrary judgements and emotions with respect to 'white' exist. The 'white' are seen as 'rich, powerful, happy.... but also as sadistic, exploiting and satanic' (1993:14: See also Portocarrero 1993).

One day I had my own encounter with the meaning of the term *pituca*. Unaware of the market protocols, one day in the marketplace in Magdalena, I let a market seller cut a chicken open for me to see the quality of the meat, but I opted not to buy the chicken regardless. To make matters worse, I tried to make excuses for rejecting the purchase by murmuring 'I don't know how to cook'. Given the neighbourhood we were in, this might have implied that 'my servants cooked for me'. The market seller was annoyed with me and she called me *pituita* as I walked away, using a softening diminutive so as not to insult me too much. It was then that I realised at least one variant of who the *pituca* was: the person who was abusive by causing people losses. The *pituca* deliberately allows the product being sold to become alienated from labour invested in it. As I argued in the previous chapter, there is often a morality involved in transactions and exchanges, and *pituco* was the one who lacked empathy with the seller. We are then ultimately dealing with local understandings of global capital relations, where *pishtacos* and *pitucos* could be argued to represent similar things; both speak to the logics of accumulation inherent in capitalism that exploit without sufficiently giving back. In line with Weismantel's work, race is also about transactions and unequal exchanges, which explains why there is a vehement desire by the youth to be dissociated from 'race', and instead talk

of class. 'Indianness' remains exploited by the *pishtacos/pitucos*, and class allows the youth I worked with in Pachacutec to disassociate from this exploitation.

However, we have also seen the power of the cosmopolitan tropes discussed, which are derived in part from the global hierarchies that the students were also speaking against in using class terms in resisting exploitation. In this way the transnational musical forms and cosmopolitan traits exhibited in social media have power. Blackness is legitimated when it has signals of the global street-style, and it is in part validated by the previous struggles of Black movements in the US and other parts of the world. These globally known struggles have made Blackness a trait that can also be desirable because it becomes a more legitimate or credible way to contest local power dynamics, where bodies get snatched away, and people continue being privileged according to the colour of their skin (as the case of the surfer boy showed).

Different shades of Brown versus Raza Boxer, Raza Pitbull

So far it was argued that the students in Pachacutec rejected the category of 'race' when discussing differences among themselves; instead they spoke of class. Yet while 'race' was not something specific the students liked to describe themselves with, in the everyday there were numerous occasions where it was evident that 'race' did matter, and a lot, and this was seen in the ways by which phenotype was described. One of the intriguing things was that students continued to distinguish between the varied shades of brown people described, using words like *trigueño*, *prieto*, *moreno*, *mestizo* and *claro* to describe the different shades of their skin colour. I also learnt that words used to describe a specific phenotype, such as *sambo*, sometimes change with time perhaps to evade a possible stigma formerly attached to a racial label. The importance of the different shades of brown was brought to my attention by the students, who occasionally made comments about my 'whiteness'. When I had explained to my students that I was actually considered quite dark in my home country, the response was either to laugh or gasp in horror: 'What would that make me, then?!' Indeed, having spent my childhood in Finland with intermittent visits to Peru I learnt that skin colour and even the colour of your eyes can vary depending on who is looking at you. This variation takes on a significant role within the everyday interactions, in either context. Whereas De la Cadena describes how she had internalized her social whiteness accredited to her in Lima due to her education and middle-class status, to the extent that she was surprised she was called 'Latina' in the

US (2000), my situation was the opposite. As the racial formation of the nation-state of Finland deems ‘whiteness’ as the sole representation of ‘Finnishness’, despite being born in Finland, my darker than average skin colour assigns me to the status of a ‘foreigner’ in social situations. Even up to the present day, Finnish people I meet for the first time often address me in English, making the assumption that I am a foreigner and I do not speak any Finnish. It was therefore with great bemusement that I listened to a student of mine describe me as blond-haired and blue-eyed in front of a class during an English lesson where students were asked to complete an assignment detailing the physical characteristics of peers in the classroom.

While students would describe others with the varied shades of brown already mentioned above, the students were not always comfortable when I asked them questions like what they thought *mestizaje* was, and many did not identify with the categories. Students tended to link this kind of labelling with slavery and colonial history, and when we talked about these kinds of categories the conversation often ended in a discussion of discrimination. This most likely also reflects the emphasis placed on ‘awareness raising’ about discrimination to which I will return to in the coming chapters. Martucelli says that for many, *mestizaje* is a legacy, if not a scar left by the past (2015: 233). Race also continued to be attributed to spaces in the social imagination of the youth. For example, when I asked Brenda, a chatty and studious girl in the 6th grade to describe the *sierra* to me, her narrative immediately wandered into the politics of discrimination:

I don’t understand why that is, ‘oh, you are from the *sierra*, I’ll go away’...discrimination. Because they are....it doesn’t matter if you are *cholito* or if you are *negrito*. My mum tells me that when she was in the University, a boy came there, of dark skin (*piel oscuro*), like that, and a girl who, being really egocentric, said to him ‘slave’, as the slaves were black. Poor thing... (*pobrecito*)

As it is clear in this narrative, students remain vulnerable to name-calling based on their physical appearance. This is also a reason why such things as ‘race’ and the racial category of *mestiza* are something not easily discussed, or at least not with the foreign interviewer. Some of the more confident students, however, identified *mestizaje* as their own, and they used the national discourse that celebrated Peru as

‘an extremely *mestizo*’ country¹³⁰. Jackie was a smart, pretty and outspoken student in the 6th grade who was aware of the traits she possessed. As she gained more freedom as she got older, she struggled with her own sense of superiority, which at times translated into a slight meanness towards her peers, as well as frustration during class-time when she was not faced with tasks that challenged her enough. When explaining to me what *mestizaje* was, Jackie said the following:

Mestizaje is the mixture of races for a new one, for example, we are *mestizos* because the Spanish came and had it with the indigenous (*tuvieron con las indígenas*) and we come from that... The Japanese also came to the *selva*, that’s why the ones from the *selva* are ‘a bit Chinese’ (*medios chinitos*).

In using the word *chinito*, Jackie is referring to eye shape, as in Peru it is common to call people by the nickname *chino* or *china* (Chinese) if they have thick upper eyelids. The nickname is not considered insulting, although it draws on phenotypic stereotypes, namely implying that all people with thick upper eyelids are ‘Chinese’. These nicknames however are given in affection, and they are enhanced by the use of the diminutive. Another example is when a boy with a darker skin tone may be called *negro/negrito* (black) by his family and friends, without there being any racial condemnation in the nickname. Yet it is arguable that the frequent use of nicknames of this sort also point towards a high awareness of physical appearances and a lot of importance attributed to physical attributes (Oboler 1996). Juan Callirgos argues that diminutives can be used to soften a vocabulary that can be racist, and diminutives are frequently used in Peruvian Spanish. This has stayed in people’s way of speaking, and the diminutive is also frequently used for words that describe a certain lack, such as *pobrecito* (*pobre* = poor), *cojito* (*cojo* = crippled), *ciegito* (*ciego* = blind). The official equalizing discourse of *mestizaje* is different from the discourse one is faced with at home via jokes and hiding of indigenous and/or Afro-Peruvian heritage. Thus, there is tension in the act of qualifying oneself racially (1993).

Callirgos continues to explain that within everyday interaction *mestizaje* is also used as a discourse to self-identify as someone of mixed heritage. While the

¹³⁰ Contrary to the discourse of racial impurities, *mestizaje* was also presented as an emancipating alternative, e.g. in Mexico, Jose Vasconcelos has written about the *raza cosmica*, a ‘superior blend’ of all races, prefigured by Latin American populations, which would eventually take over the world. In Bolivia, there existed an idealisation of the *mestizo* as the ‘synthesis of indigenous will and *mestizo* intelligence’ (in Wade 2009). The discourse of diversity that will be discussed in the last chapter of the thesis had some continuities from these ideas.

racial labels *blanco* (white), *indio* (indian) or *negro* (black) are more easily applied to others, the label *mestizo* is sometimes applied to oneself in order to avoid a more detailed description (1993). After the English lesson at Our Lady of Sorrows described above, where I stood in front of the class while students described my physical characteristics in English, describing me as blond, a female student in the class was called on to do the same. She smiled uncomfortably as the students struggled to pronounce the English words ‘brown eyes, black hair’. A boy shouted out loud: “*raza mestiza, raza mestiza!*” thereby validating to the class that she indeed was ‘the average Peruvian’. He also may have been providing an avenue of escape for the girl, who had a slightly darker skin tone than most of her classmates. Hence, as argued by Callirgos, denominating oneself as a *mestizo* is a way to negate conflict because the person would be situated somewhere ‘in-between’ (‘black’ and ‘white’) (Callirgos 1993). In conclusion, whereas in the common language *mestizo/a* was perhaps not the category by which youth described themselves anymore, it would still emerge as a validating term when someone needed to describe one’s physical characteristics. On another occasion, I asked Gisela whether I could be described as a *mestiza* based on my physical characteristics, and she replied ‘I suppose so’. In light of the ongoing ambiguity around *mestizaje*, it was perhaps the case that the students were trying to be polite in attributing ‘whiteness’ to me, and that foreignness also whitens.

As taboos are often transgressed in forms of humour like jokes, the students were more likely to use racial terms and discuss these matters when they were in their comfort zones and when they were relaxed and joking with one another. Class 6C was known to the teachers as the most ‘restless’ (*movido*) class, to the extent that students had been warned if they continued their ‘bad behaviour’ the classroom would be divided up and mixed with other classes. As it tends to be in other schools too, the students who were *movido* accounted for a small minority in the class, in this case roughly five students out of thirty, who nevertheless had a great impact on the rest. As if by contagion, restlessness was often dispersed to other students when the five *movido* kids were around, and likewise, the class was calmer when they were absent. One of the restless kids in class 6C was Jessica, a ‘tomboy’ who managed to get by always doing the bare minimum. I rarely saw her sitting still, and when she was still, she would be peeking over her classmate’s shoulder copying the assignments. She always sat one leg bent sideways as if she would be ready to stand up from her seat. But most often I would see her wandering over to her classmates with the intent of

picking on them, especially boys. She would slap them with a ruler, pull on their books, steal their rubbers, etc. Even boys found Jessica a tough match. Her lack of femininity, extenuated by her boyish voice and gruff manner of speaking, made the boys seek revenge in equally rough ways. But the 'winner' in any classroom spat always seemed to be Jessica. While not being particularly friendly with her female classmates, aside from her best friend Tanya who shared her restless modalities, Jessica did not direct her teasing at the other girls. She was more interested in picking on the members of the opposite sex. She had a few selected favourites that she would pick on, who were also 'restless' students.

Jessica's character put her in the position of a 'problem student' in the school, one teachers were not sure what to do with. At times the staff would just leave her to continue with her usual behaviour, reprimanding her but only minimumly, as if she were somewhat of a 'lost cause'. As a consequence, Jessica was not used to being asked questions in school, and was slightly surprised when I directed my questions at her. Assertive as she was, she followed her own rules and decided when it was 'okay' for her to leave the classroom. The one time I called out Jessica, she had wandered out of the classroom with a few of her friends, including her best friend Tanya. I was outside having an interview with Araceli, a calm girl who was liked for her prettiness and gentle manners. I had just been discussing *mestizaje* and 'races' with Araceli. She was struggling to answer my question about what she thought 'race' was.

Araceli: Races? They are types of...like type of sects or like that....
[Araceli gets agitated as she thinks there are 'right' and 'wrong' answers and she thinks she is getting it wrong. She puts her head down] Noo!

I laughed and reassured Araceli any answer was fine, as I was just looking for opinions from the students. I turned to Jessica who had wandered close to us with her friends, listening to our conversation.

Interviewer: And what do you think, what's your opinion?

Jessica: What... me?

Interviewer: Yes, you.

Jessica: Me? [pause] I think that races are, for example, the boxer race, the pit-bull race [laughter by everyone], that kind of a thing.

Jessica continued with a smirk on her face, trying this time to provide the ‘right answer’, while her eyes wandered around the corridor walls:

Jessica: That’s it... some...the black race...the race, [she turns to Tanya] what’s it called?

Tanya: Indigenous.

Jessica: Indigenous. And what else?

Tanya: White.

Someone in the back shouts: “The little blacks” (*los negritos*). The group laugh again and Jessica adds with a smile: “Like Juana”. Jessica was referring to a friend of hers standing in the back, smiling as well although it was apparent the girl was slightly annoyed to be singled out with the comment. The girls continue:

Tanya: Ha! *Mestiza, mestiza*.

Jessica: Well, *mestiza (mestiza pe’)*.

Following Jessica’s example, other students had started wandering out of the classroom, and the teacher came to the door to tell them to return. Tanya was interrupted by a student who came to ask what we were doing. With a tense voice, she said: “Well, she’s recording, *chola!*” (*esta grabando pe’ chola!*). Jessica laughed, repeating: “chola”.

Jessica’s response to me indicated there was indeed something laughable about the attempt to classify people into ‘races’, and the other students showed they felt the same way by laughing at Jessica’s response. Classifying in terms of ‘race’ is something done with animals, like classifying the different breeds of dog. The same observation was made by Aguirre Beltran when discussing the racial ideology inherent in the *castas* of colonial Mexico, where the words used to describe people of ‘different racial mixture’ were taken from zoological vocabulary (in Lomnitz Adler 1992:272). Since in laughter and jokes ‘everything is permitted’ jokes and laughter often help to mitigate ideas that would be unacceptable if more openly and straightforwardly expressed. After her joke had achieved the desired outcome, Jessica intended to give the ‘correct answer’ by following a recognised type of a classification scheme for the ‘human races’. It included ‘the indigenous’, ‘the white’ and ‘the little blacks’ (*los negritos*) (using diminutive to soften the language, as *negro* can also be an insult). However, there was an element of objectification in naming

racial categories in this way, proving that ‘race’ was something that was ascribed to others, but the categories are not used to describe oneself. As in the system of colonial *castas*, it was others who did the classifying. Jessica’s friend Tanya nevertheless resorted to classifying by calling the new person who walked into the conversation a ‘*chola*’, a move that was approved by Jessica through laughter¹³¹. Jessica also saw the opportunity to inspire more laughter in her classmates by referring to her friend when someone mentioned *los negritos*. It was the tension between being classified, and constantly trying to avoid being classified that dominated the social scene of the school. This is perhaps the reason why Jessica and Tanya so easily resorted to classifying their classmates.

In the above excerpts it becomes clear that ‘race’ is not something that is overtly talked about. But the examples also point to the ambiguity of the racial categories themselves. Just like the rules of exchange that govern the market, it is important to consider who decides what rules are applied to idea of ‘human races’. But arguably there are new dimensions that intersect with race in complicated ways, as we have seen in the case of Blackness being adopted in the rap music that is followed by the youth. Addressing these unequal dimensions, Peruvian TV shows have also started introducing actors of darker skin colour in recent years, usually depicting a caricature of class relationships, such as in *Al Fondo hay sitio*¹³², a popular TV series about the lives of two neighbouring families, the poorer *cholos* and the rich *pitucos*, and the resultant love affairs that arise between them. Such programs want to capture the class relations and the shift in power dynamics resulting after the ‘cholification of Lima’ (e.g. Nugent 1992; Quijano 1980). These TV series are largely written as comedy series, and thus it is possible to speak of things that are otherwise not discussed. In an interview that was broadcast on TV, an actress playing the leading role in a *telenovela* called *Mi amor el Wachiman*, where an upper class white woman falls in love with a *mestizo/cholo* security guard, said it was inappropriate to use the word ‘cholo’ to describe others because as she said, ‘we are all cholos’, this

¹³¹ While occasionally a girl would insult a boy by calling him *cholo*, a boy would not usually call a girl *chola*. Within the dynamics of gender and power, the upper-hand the boy ultimately had by the mere fact of being a boy meant that girls were allowed this kind of small ‘bad behaviour’, the boys being gentlemanly enough not to answer back. In the end, the girl’s insult would never come near to the insult made to a girl, if a boy would call her *chola*.

¹³² The name translated as ‘there is room in the back’ refers to the phrase loudly used by the ticket vendors of informal buses when they try to get passengers into their cars. This comedy denotes certain ‘cultural intimacy’ expressed via joking with the condition of informality that characterises the majority of the nation.

despite the actress's European looks. This attests to the change and disruption to racial hegemony brought by the 'the cholification' of Lima and how the label 'cholo' has been appropriated by a commercialised national discourse.¹³³

Indeed, the above mentioned reflects an important new dimension of social relations after the turn of the new Millennium in Peru. In recent decades Peruvian popular cultural has been marked by what Martucelli calls 'fusion'. Fusion comprises a big part of the imaginary for the popular classes and it is most vividly expressed in music and food¹³⁴. According to Martucelli, the popular classes have brought their identities as migrants and descendants of migrants into cultural forms like *chicha* music that mixes rock, cumbia and *huanyos*. Thanks to its open and plural dynamics, fusion was indifferent to the cultural hierarchies, ignoring the cultural codes of the dominant (represented by vals music). This shift was accompanied by the consolidation of elite popular groups, and the culture of fusion spread 'upwards' and was appropriated to some extent by the higher classes too. But most importantly, Martucelli argues that in order to understand this new trend, one must recognise that it is cultural fusion rather than racial mixture that is at its core. Breaking with previous dichotomies via fusion also means that a brave self-identified indigenous person, or even *mestizo*, does not exist in Lima. These categories have been replaced by the 'Latino' (2015: 235).

Indeed, along with appropriating fusion as a trait characterising the nation came the increased promotion of 'Peruvianness' as a brand (with brands like *marca Peru*), so *latinidad* (being latino) too fuses with these larger forces of commercialisation. Martucelli argues that whereas *mestizaje* was about 'race', and the explanation of colonial history, fusion is about music and opening to other practices and meanings (2015), thus also shedding some negative legacies of *mestizaje*. In their narratives too, the students in Pachacutec also associated themselves with a general Latino culture, shared by everyone in South American countries. In the *cumbia* songs of Lily, she sung about having a *corazon latino* (latino heart). The point is that fusion allowed 'race' (in the category of black, white, indigenous, *mestizo*) to be disarticulated from the everyday racial politics of the youth in Pachacutec. Fusion

¹³³ This was enhanced with the circulation of *marca Peru* items, and the boom in 'creativity'. Also, after a movie the *La Teta asustada* directed by the niece of Mario Vargas Llosa, Claudia Llosa, got considered into the Oscars, the media promoted Peru as the "Chollywood", making a referral to both Hollywood, and Bollywood.

¹³⁴ Martucelli even argues that a new concept of a nation is being designed via food. An important figure heading the trend of 'fusion' is a Peruvian chef Gaston Acurio (2015:233).

thus was destabilizing, but commercial forces also use fusion to their advantage thus also integrating forms of fusion with the premises of global capitalism.

In line with the above, there were also ways by which the youth used categories that could be derogatory for their own ends. The word *chola* was one that I heard quite regularly from the mouths of certain girls. The word was mostly used during a conversation between friends, when students were excited to see each other and exchanged their news and gossip. It was always used by the same girls on the same friends, usually the ones closest to them. By contrast, boys would never use the word ‘cholo’ between them. When I asked a girl in the 9th grade why she was using that term, she immediately understood the reason why I found it perplexing and said laughingly: ‘We use it out of affection!’ (*de cariño*). Indeed, the nature of the friendship had to be tight in order for the word not to be interpreted as an insult.

On another occasion, I also saw the label ‘chola’ being used on Facebook by my former student Carolina who was in the sixth grade at the time. She was using the word but in the social media context it had been changed to ‘cholex’, following the unwritten ‘rules’ of Peruvian social media language. In this language, the last letters of words are often changed into the letter ‘x’, for example ‘amiga’ turns into ‘amix’. Carolina explained to me via messenger that she used ‘cholex’ as a label for her friend on Facebook. Here Facebook had emerged as a new democratic space where the youth could recycle racial labels, allowing them to gain new meanings, and creating new categories as opposed to the essentialised categories they were associated with in the past. Cholex was an affective nickname that to some extent also deracialises racial categories, just like fusion. It is appropriated by oneself, instead of being invented by others. Yet circulating the word ‘cholex’ via social media does not necessarily mean that an Andean identity is not viewed as a source of ridicule or pity, as we have also seen in the students’ narratives, which again points to the deceptive nature of some the equalizing tendencies accompanying neoliberal orders.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at youth’s ideas of race and the cosmopolitan meanings given to racial labels. It has also looked at how continuing unequal exchanges were expressed through mythical figures and nicknames given to the higher classes. I started with detailing some of the ways by which the notion of ‘manners’ was a continuity of previous racial relations that sought to devalue the colonial ‘other’. The

chapter argued that talking of class instead of race introduced some equalizing discourses that could be used against the upper-classes, thus constituting a destabilizing dynamic to previous relations of domination and subjugation. The ability to express criticism in public platforms also evidence new ways of relating to one another and expressing oneself that are globally shared by the youth and that have globally recognised codes. Citizenship thus has also experienced mutations in that it gives privileges to certain individuals who know how to manage the social capital accompanying neoliberal orders. Here I suggest that the articulations of the youth had something in common with flexible citizenship (Ong 1999)¹³⁵; they provide social capital that is gained from more transnational domains of meaning such as ‘the street’. The robust landscapes created by youth on social media attest that they are well equipped to deal with both transnational connections as well as local conditions. The varied youth cosmopolitanisms signalled that the youth rejected viewing themselves in a victim position, but instead mobilised in global styles via social media, and spoke of injustices through the art forms like rap.

The claim of ‘sameness’ was also seen in the way by which the youth in Pachacutec rejected some of the most traditional racial categories offered to them (e.g. black, white, *mestizo*), and instead circulated benign nicknames on Facebook, that made the stereotypes ascribed to migrants more cosmopolitan, and even identifications that are desirable given the affective investment in them. On the national level this tendency is related to the fusion that came with migration to the city, and it is appropriated by the higher classes and on television too, as new telenovelas break previous middle- and elite- class preferences. These are all positive transformations for they do give power to people. In a broader level, we could argue that this is a specific legacy of neoliberal transformation, where emphasis has been placed in growing the middle-class through consumption.

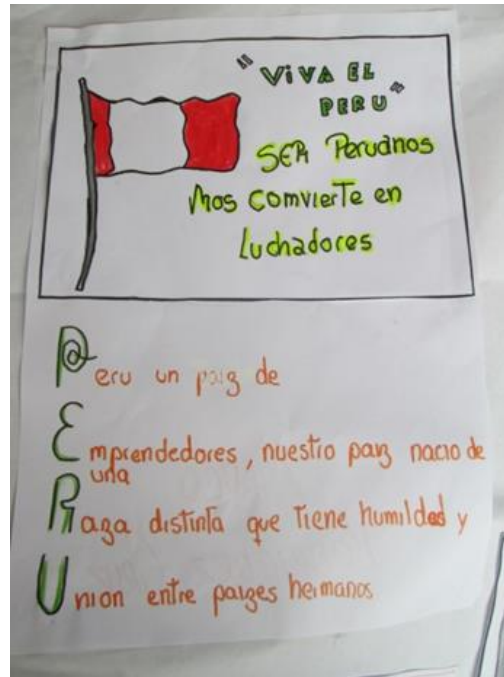
Yet there was also the anxiety ridden stories about disappearing bodies that were also mentioned by the youth, albeit as Tiffany claimed, to a lesser extent because *pishtacos* do not exist anymore. Such mythical events occurred more in the highlands or the Amazon, which also brings forth the unequal nature of the project of the nation. The chapter also suggested that the figure of the *pituco* was a more benign

¹³⁵ Ong describes wealthy people from Hong Kong who buy houses in the US as flexible citizens. They may have multiple passports, and not be circumscribed by a perceived loyalty to one nation only. She also points loyalties to families as more prevalent here (1999).

manifestation in continuity with the *pishtaco*. The stories about *pishtacos* and disappearing bodies told that there were various scales to students' experiences, not only the national. The most destructive and dangerous level was evident in versions of the body snatching stories where wealthy foreign people with ready access to US dollars, fly about with helicopters and are seemingly untouchable. These stories provide evidence that while social relations are more horizontal on one level, global capitalism still knows no spatial boundaries. Indeed, Holston argues that the ideologies of universal inclusion effectively blur its massively in-egalitarian distribution of rights and resources (2008), and that such inequalities persist despite the push to 'participate in globalisation' where citizenship becomes more inclusive as it enhances our collective capacity to consume. While the distance to the upper-classes might be diminished, the power of capital operates in mysterious ways, and continues to be profoundly dispossessing.

Chapter 6

“With creativity we are conquerors”



6.1

“Long live Peru: Being Peruvian transforms us into fighters (*luchadores*). Peru is a country of entrepreneurs. Our country was born out of a distinct race that has humility and union with fellow countries.”

Introduction

One day while I was watching television in my home with Roberto, the TV broadcasted an often repeated advertisement. In the advertisement a male voice with a positive up-beat tone said, “*Con creatividad somos conquistadores*” (with creativity we are conquerors). The choice of words in the advert always seemed rather odd to me, given the colonial past of Peru and negative associations with the word *conquistador* due to the arrival of the Spaniards, and the ensuing genocide and exploitation that came with the colonial regime. But it was not this colonial past the advert was referring to. It was using the word *conquistar*, to conquer, to refer to the

hard-working drive to overcome adversity on the part of the popular sectors. The verb has also been used by Peruvian anthropologists in referring to the way migrants from the regions have made their presence felt in the city of Lima, creating new spaces where they ‘conquered citizenship’ (Degregori et al. 1986). The TV advertisement was thus a reference in celebration of these achievements through the catch-all term ‘creativity’, which refers to the ingenuity of the popular sectors in creating their own spaces. Indeed, the use of the term creativity has grown in the past decade on the global level. In the educational sector, the term ‘creativity’ has been used to describe the transformation that is needed in the educational sector which remains ‘stuck’ in a mode set by industrialisation, meaning many different education systems still teach in very much the same format as 30 years ago and they are unable to keep pace with the emerging needs of the digital industries. One view holds that the failure of the educational sector to take into account how youth use digital media today is manifested in the rise in levels of children with ADHD, for example¹³⁶. There is a pressing need for students to learn more about ‘creativity’ because it is believed that digital technology will continue taking many future employment opportunities away. Entrepreneurial endeavours and small-scale activities will be how many have to try to overcome unemployment in countries like Peru. These sorts of self-start efforts are what the television ad about conquerors refers to as creativity.

Yet it is not uncommon to see people engaging in creative activity, such as performing acrobatic jumps in front of queues of cars waiting at the traffic lights or performing magic tricks on buses in order to earn some cash. It seemed like ‘creativity’ was the Emperor’s New Clothes. The popular classes in Peru had already been applying creativity in earning a living for a long time. The advert slogan also seemed to be in contrast to what young people and their parents were really after. The youth in Pachacutec had desires that were quite similar to what any young person in the world today wants in regards to employment; the youth I met in Pachacutec wanted to be doctors, vets, engineers, chefs, language instructors, footballers and models. No-one really believed that ‘creativity’ in small-scale activities would lead to good careers and prosperous futures. Instead, parents and students alike continued to put a lot of faith in education as the key for achieving their desired futures.

¹³⁶See Ken Robinson and his highly entertaining TED talks on YouTube. In his book ‘Out of our minds’ he proposes creativity as the magic word that can transform the education system stuck in a mode set by industrialisation in order to build digital technology.

There was thus an essential conflict in the official discourse of ‘creativity’, also enhanced in the school. As was argued in chapter four, the ‘regulating state’ demanded going beyond the polarities of formal and informal (Martucelli 2015). In this regard the neoliberal narrative valued the ingenuity of the popular sector, while there was a degree of ambiguity in the value it imparted to the self-starting and self-managing classes. As chapter two detailed, there were conflicting mechanisms in place; while on one level the neoliberal narrative permitted land occupations in the interest of acquiring property and bringing more equity to the lower classes, there were also mechanisms that sought to limit land-hoarding and further invasions. The ambiguity which accompanied the neoliberal project revealed its aims were never really to achieve ‘equality’. Indeed, picture 6.1 above, taken of a school-assignment drawn by a student for civic studies class, demonstrates the ongoing relevance of colonial ideas to the neoliberal project. In the assignment ‘race’ appears as a legitimate category and it seems to be in need of validation. It is transformed into a specific trait of ‘hard-working’ and ‘humble’ Peruvians. Hence, curiously the earlier de-Indianisation premises that informed the educational philosophy in Peru was transformed into new dynamics, where ‘race’ was this time legitimized as a category that belonged to the successful popular sectors. Also note how the letter ‘P’ in the student’s assignment is drawn in the style of the *Marca Peru* insignia. Peruvianness was thus validated by its marketability in the global economy, and the discourse of hard-work, humility and entrepreneurship meshed in a way that had potential for destabilization. However, as the previous chapter demonstrated, ‘race’ was not really a category used by students in Pachacutec, and so its appearance in the official discourse such as that in place in the school shows that this kind of discourse was imposed by others, which reveals the potentially exploitative dimension of racializing the popular sectors as ‘hard-working’ and ‘humble’.

Indeed, the celebratory official discourse of entrepreneurship had many conflicts and while the potential for destabilization was celebrated in the official discourse and in the narratives evident in the textbooks at school, it was perhaps less celebrated in the discourse of the teachers. The Sisters of the school adopted some elements from the school-curriculum that fit their agendas of transformation and social change, such as conducting a cooking workshop so students can learn to cook well, and at the same time give students another potential avenue for a future income, but the larger, even somewhat revolutionary aspect of the discourses that celebrate

destabilization and the triumphs of the popular sector was absent. Chapter three of this thesis showed that the efforts ‘from below’ became mixed with the missionary ideology of the school and in this process, ‘the community’ remained an object to be developed. Thus, alongside the discourse of ‘creativity’ (entrepreneurship), the school curriculum promoted a seemingly pacifying discourse that placed emphasis in ‘making good (responsible) citizens’. I hereon use the term ‘pacifying’ specifically as my own formulation in order to describe the form by which the neoliberal curriculum also had an element of taming in the way it circulated words like ‘conciliation’, ‘respect for each other’ and ‘dialogue’. The chapter will also discuss some of the pressures that fall on the teachers themselves, and how this has affected their impressions of the students and their families, as well as their own profession. The teachers were submitted to an increasing number of evaluations and they felt performance pressure due to international measurements.

The chapter will lastly evaluate what the students desired out of education in light of responses given to questionnaires about their desires for the future after leaving the school. The educational project itself is a powerful symbol of citizenship and an avenue to liberate the residents of neighbourhoods like Pachacutec from asymmetrical social relations. In analysing the ongoing discourses between teachers and students about values and teacher status and the desires of the students for the future, the citizenship and liberation dimensions of the educational project weighed more perhaps than the function of learning in the public education system in Peru. While certain elements in the pacifying discourse were attempts to address differentiated levels of citizenship, such as the emphasis on gender equity and interculturality that were introduced in the school curriculum through structural reforms in the 1990s (Oliart 2011), the promise of mobility weighed more in the calculations of young *Pachacuteños*. The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate how some traits in the neoliberal model of the schooling system have a tendency to build on existing asymmetrical relations, exploiting the concept of ‘mobility’ for its own advantage, showing that neoliberalism ultimately is about reproducing an order where despite much of the glorification of the popular sector, nothing is really changing, at least in terms of the pedagogy that is used.

The Neoliberal School Project: the entrepreneurial self & 'social problems'

It is generally understood that the successes of education system depend on the resources the state invests in it. This is why education remains a significant site for assessing the nature of the 'contract' between state and citizens. Education in Peru takes on a paradoxical role; although education is considered an epitome for development, it is also widely known that the quality of Peruvian education is lacking due to low student and teacher performance on international tests. In 2012, from the 65 countries participating in international PISA test¹³⁷ that is administered to students who are 15 years old by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Peru came in last place in all areas. Peru has been scoring poorly with consistency since the 1980s. In the beginning of the new millennium, Peru's political leaders and scholars declared Peru's education to be in 'a state of emergency'. An edited volume about Peruvian educational politics and state bureaucracy describes how the emergency in the education system was most acute from 2003 to 2006. Although during this period advances were made in new pedagogic proposals in communications, ethics and mathematics, the authors of this edited volume say that the educational shortcomings mirror the institutional crisis that is characteristic of the state itself (Montero et al. 2009).

During the time of my fieldwork, there was a lot of discussion about the massive change in state investment in education towards the end of 20th century. In the statistical figures (3) taken from Sandoval's presentation at the IEP on 13 January 2013, based on statistical information from the Ministry of Education, the line in yellow depicts the amount of state investment per student, and the blue line depicts the amount of students registering for public schools. Although there were some isolated spurts of investment in the education system that are likely related to favourable macroeconomic indicators, the chart shows how the state kept investing less and less in education, although the level of registration kept increasing steadily.

¹³⁷ PISA stands for Programme for International Student Assessment, and the tests are made in order to see how well students apply learnt knowledge in every day practice in areas like science, maths and reading. The aim is not to rank countries according to scores, but to seek to find where the schooling systems are getting more or less effective in preparing their students for future study or for work, and to define the best schooling system where all students can thrive. (<http://www.oecd.org/pisa/>)

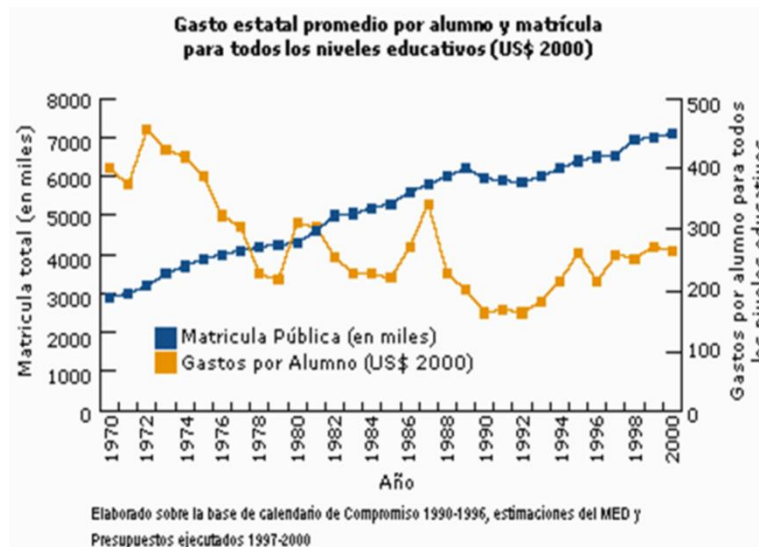


Chart 3 Student registration and investment per student

The promise of education weighed high in public views, but the state did not invest enough resources to really provide a quality education and did not contribute in monetary form to this trust. The lower levels of state investment in education was accompanied by wider processes of state retrenchment that started from the 1970s onwards. Whereas in the course of 20th century, schooling had provided a space where nation and politics could be thought about from a collective point of view, the 1990s saw political parties dwindle in importance, while social movements emerged as the intermediaries between people and the state, leading to a ‘crisis in representation’ and a collapse in institutions (e.g. De Belaunde & Eguren 2012; Montero 2006)¹³⁸. The dilemma was that education had to be transformed within a ‘weak’ state. Scholars recommended an emphasis on attacking educational inequality.¹³⁹ The priority should be to decrease the distance between the middle- class and the poor and strengthen public education¹⁴⁰.

There were serious constraints to these calls, however, that came with the forces of commercialisation. At the same time state investment in public education decreased significantly, private schools filled in the gap for people who were looking

¹³⁸ International financial institutions provided sources of funding for Education. In the 1990s, the percentage of World Bank loans to primary education passed from 4,2 % [1963-1969] to 37,8% [1995-1999] (Oliart 2011).

¹³⁹ E.g. a UN led longitudinal study “Niños del Milenio”, financed by the UK and the Netherlands, records that inequalities between Peruvian children persist, and the ones who benefit most from economic growth are urban Spanish-speakers, whilst a rural and native language speaking child fares less well.

¹⁴⁰ These were issues raised by Pablo Sandoval and Mariana Eguren in interviews held in Lima, February 2015.

for more opportunities for social mobility. But there is relatively little oversight of the private school system so the quality of education is not guaranteed. The private schools can be distinguished into three sectors: elite schools, middle group schools and schools of very low quality (for those with less resources)¹⁴¹. Yet it was generally viewed that the state of public education was so bad that one needed the help of private schools and institutes that supplement the regular education students receive in order to pursue further studies. Many of the students attended institutes after school hours, like those teaching English, in order to gain educational merits needed for future studies.

One day when I was squeezed between passengers in a *combi*¹⁴² in Ventanilla, a young woman sitting opposite me was quarrelling on the phone with who appeared to be her partner. She was upset because he had not left her any money for his son. With a tone of annoyance the woman said to him: “Do you want your son to go through the embarrassment (*pase avergüenza*) of going to a public school? You know he won’t learn anything there”. The commercialisation of education had effectively taken advantage of the stigma that existed against public schools. Education was increasingly something to be consumed. It was the potential of mobility that this educational industry was selling because it was no longer the state’s responsibility to provide. According to Martucelli, privileging the private over the public was a means to assure efficiency in consumption¹⁴³. But most importantly, these were not just institutional prescriptions. There was also a dimension of a populist critique against a mercantilist state (2015: 167) that followed the prescriptions of economists like De Soto (1989) and perhaps Turner’s calls for housing autonomy in the 1960s as well. Indeed, as Gago (2017) describes, neoliberalism plays on potential becomings, making people undergo sacrifices ‘for the time being’ in the interest of potential

¹⁴¹ Described by Mariana Eguren in her interview

¹⁴² A van used to transport passengers, rivalling with buses, but smaller and usually newer and quicker than buses. They were introduced in great quantities during the Fujimori era.

¹⁴³ According to Martucelli’s, neoliberalism was legitimised by the consumption of the new urban middle classes, rather than by ‘meritocratic’ or ‘competitive’ traits, the result being an uneven distribution of income. The discourse over the autonomy of the market was not particularly strong among the elite, partly because its relationship with the state had always been strong, as well as because the structure of the labour market and the informal sector put obstacles to the ideological discourse of business meritocracy (2015).

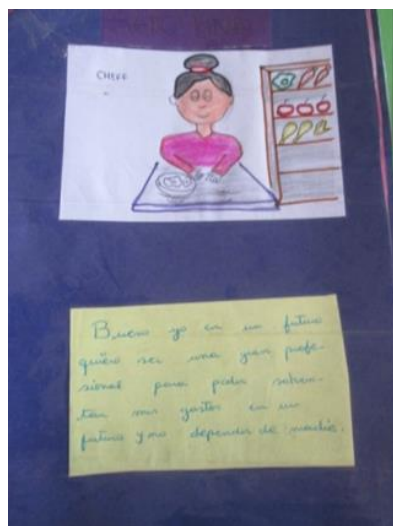
rewards later. Those who are left behind are treated as can be seen in the picture below¹⁴⁴:



6.2 “Only children who have paid the March bill enter

Whilst privatisation of education was one aspect of the commercialisation of education, another one was the emphasis placed on certain marketable traits. In the school curriculum, the ‘ethnic’/ ‘racial’ re-appeared in a new discourse that advertised Peruvianness (*Peruanidad*) as ‘exciting’, ‘successful’ and ‘enterprising.’ This was part of an impulse that came from the ‘boom’ of Peruvian gastronomy and fashionable music (Ames 2011), that also accompanied the spread of *Marca Peru* items. The popular sector was being credited for a large part of these traits. This was also seen in the way that students in Pachacutec imagined their own futures. For example, in a school assignment below, a student drew the likeness of a chef and provided the following explanation in the caption to the drawing: “Well, in the future I want to be a good professional in order to be able to pay for my expenses and not depend on anyone”.

¹⁴⁴See also, “Quien se queda atras?: resultados iniciales del estudio del Milenio Tercera Ronda de Encuestas en el Peru” *Niños del Milenio: informacion para el desarrollo*, September 2011 Lima: Young Lives; Instituto de Investigacion Nutricional, GRADE (author unknown) www.ninosdelmilenio.org



6.3

Here the student has internalised the idea that she is responsible for her own success and independence. She sees this as dependent solely on her own effort and her entrepreneurial capacities. A teacher commented in an interview that what students should learn in school is a profession and a vision of life, as ‘the person is the entrepreneur of her own life’ (*la persona es empresario de su propio vida*). In Martucelli’s summary, the neoliberal philosophy is based on the enterprising subject whose rentability has to be assured through studies, goods and networks. At the same time, neoliberal decisions are guided by a global governmentality, where what dominate are evaluations, indicators, comparisons, quality certifications, and ‘best practices’ etc. As pointed out in chapter four, in Martucelli’s view the Peruvian neoliberalism was born less from all this, however, than from the tradition of abandonment of the individual by the state, the result being the ‘regulator state’ (2015). As a reflection of this perhaps, there was an element of regulation also present in the school curriculum that appeared along with the message of creativity and entrepreneurship. This regulation came from a pacifying discourse that used terms like ‘conciliation’ and ‘understanding the community’ and ‘dialogue’. These measures have been criticised by scholars to have overridden pedagogies used for teaching (e.g. Cuenca 2011; et al. Montero 2006; Montero et. al 2009).

In light of the above, how did the school of Our Lady of Sorrows tackle the conflicts posed by increasing privatisation of education, and ongoing educational inequalities? Anthropologists have long examined the ways by which power operates locally when dealing with institutional reforms and policy implementations, while

critical pedagogy¹⁴⁵ has examined the ways by which schools operate with ‘a hidden curriculum’ in turn: schools have a culture of their own that determines the successes and failures of the students. Oliart’s study (2011) demonstrates that much of how teaching transpires in the class-room depends on the educational culture itself. She demonstrates how an educational reform lead by the World Bank between 1994 and 2001 did not take into account there are power dynamics in the relationship between the school and the community, and among the teachers and the state. There are also questions of power laden in the expectations of the community in regards to education. Oliart’s study also pointed to the ongoing relevance of certain ways of speaking, as well as the performance of obedience in front of authorities in Peru’s educational culture. Emphasizing respect for the norms is a way of evading the more threatening traits of power, while it also permits the completion of other more demanding aspects of the teaching profession at the same time. What is of most importance is that this culture persistently seems to hold to an idea that there is an order where some people do not have same rights as others, seen in the way by which teachers perpetuate classification mechanisms in regards to their students as well as other teachers. Hence, the reason why education is poor for poor people is largely also sustained by this culture among the teachers themselves, where teachers believe that certain students do not deserve better than poor education (2011).

As mentioned earlier, despite being a public school, Our Lady of Sorrows held a relatively privileged role in relation to its counterparts. From the years where I was doing fieldwork to my post fieldwork visit in 2015, I could only record examples of increased expansion at the school; there were more class-rooms being built, and more facilities being opened. It seemed that the downward spiral of state investment in education was not felt at Our Lady of Sorrows; indeed the school seemed to experience quite the contrary where there was an expansion of the funding available to them. The long history of different religious organisations helps people to trust their motives and this works to their advantage. Many of the teachers recounted how

¹⁴⁵ A social and educational theory that looks at the organisation and politics of knowledge, the individual, society, institutions, and the effect of these to the human mind and societal organisation. It aims to explain and understand societal events and make it more possible for individuals to act in the society and make it more just and equal. Therefore, aside of providing a critical lens through which to look at the society and its institutions, it aims to develop tools through which to question the assumptions inherent in the world, and join in changing them. Some of its most known advocates are Paulo Freire, whose work was discussed in chapter three, Peter McLaren, Henry Giroux and Michael Apple.

some of the private schools were not as well equipped in materials as the Our Lady of Sorrows schools.

But Our Lady of Sorrows was a desired school not only for its ability to gain funds and prosper quickly, but also because it had a certain ethic that set it apart from other public schools. The administration had strict principles by which they run the school. The school's mission was 'placing the child in the centre', and according to the teachers and the Sisters, no-one would be left behind. This concern was mentioned frequently in teachers meetings held in the school chapel regarding 'how are we reaching the children' (*como llegamos a los niños*). Teacher Bernardita was in charge of coordination at the school, and her job consisted of liaising with the UGEL, the local educational management unit of the ministry of education, as well as the parents. Whenever there were issues with a student's home situation, Bernardita was the one who was first contacted. Her description captures well how the child centred approach was adapted to the surrounding circumstances of state retrenchment:

“Give education to those who are in most need. Well, I would describe Our Lady of Sorrows as a movement, as that's what it is. In education everything keeps changing, right? Nothing is static, nothing stays as one supposedly thinks it will stay. When we talk of how Our Lady of Sorrows imparts education, we have to receive everyone, without an exception. No one has to be left aside. ... I think here we all have an opportunity to study, and here we give that opportunity to the children. We get so involved with their problems and we give them an opportunity.

As the introduction of this thesis stated, nothing in neoliberalism is static, and this plays upon the possibility that lays in unstableness. The unstableness in this instance was taken advantage of by the movement to create these schools, and the uncertainty and the problems the children faced were accepted at face value and even mobilised for the benefit of the school in some respects. The ethical commitment of 'placing the child in the centre' is a value that would be difficult for anyone to counter or dispute, which gave the school a moral authority over other schools. Teachers would also explain that Our Lady of Sorrows schools were more demanding of the teachers. Whereas other public schools were lenient about such things as teachers' absences, in Our Lady of Sorrows, they had 'a line to follow'. Indeed, one of the missions of Our Lady of Sorrows was to demonstrate that public school could be worthy too, and this was something repeated by the principal of the school various times.

Our Lady of Sorrows also works with other organisations and networks such as *Enseña Peru*, the translation of the name being ‘Teach Peru’. *Enseña Peru* is a network operating in various countries, from Germany to India that seeks to transform education. During the school year, three teachers funded by *Enseña Peru* started as new teachers in the school in Pachacutec. The teachers working through *Enseña Peru* had gone through a rigorous selection process, and they had committed to working at the school for two years. The teachers in the *Enseña Peru* program did not need a background in education, but their motivation for improving education in Peru was the deciding factor for their selection. The selected teachers came from a middle-class background, and were all sympathetic and student oriented teachers, which was shown in the way by which students often sought them out during break-times, as they tended to be the students’ favourite teachers.

Miguel was a young man hired by *Enseña Peru*, who was one of these ‘favourites’. He told me he was placed at Our Lady of Sorrows in order to help ‘not only in academic part’ but also ‘in the emotional part’, by improving students’ confidence and self-esteem. He saw that the latter was fundamental if a student was to apply to a job in Miraflores, the upper-class district of Lima, for example. In his words, the students must know how to ‘insist on their rights’ and ‘the chance they deserve’, and they need to know how to ‘make themselves respected’. We could see that his approach was something different from the past model of ‘poor education to poor students’. He thought the students from schools like Our Lady of Sorrows are just as good as anyone else who is applying for a job. However, despite these more emancipatory views, Miguel also resorted to the narrative of teaching ‘values’ to the students. Perhaps in his enthusiasm for giving me the right narrative, he stated he preferred ‘over a thousand times’ that the students learn to be ‘good citizens’ over skills like reading and writing.

Miguel’s narrative on the importance of ‘making good citizens’ through teaching values was a theme we saw in chapter four that argued that the organisations whose prominence has risen after neoliberal restructurings interpret their efforts through already existing power dynamics. They take existing discursive frames and transform them only slightly in order to fit a new agenda towards change. In the narratives heard in the school of Our Lady of Sorrows for example, the ‘lack of values’ among the students and their families became linked to a ‘needs’ discourse. In the teacher’s narratives, the students in Pachacutec had emotional and spiritual

shortcomings (*carencias*) that often came from their home-environment. Their learning was impacted because many students lacked things like regular running water at home. The mission of Our Lady of Sorrows that placed the child in the centre played upon this notion. One of the pragmatic measures the school has used to address the needs of the students who lack some basic resources is to build the school dining hall, as well as working with other organisations such as *Aprendamos Juntos* ('learn together') that assisted students with special educational needs. These are all highly welcomed approaches that did benefit the students enormously. The school also had a psychologist that visited a few times a week to meet with students who need therapy. Yet the downside was that the emphasis placed on these 'needs' often overrode talking about pedagogic concerns and teacher meetings were often centered on this issue of taking students' needs into account, but there was often really no other substance to the conversations at these meetings. They just repeated the necessity of taking into account the 'problems' they were encountering.

This focus on the deficiencies that the students face is not only evidenced in Our Lady of Sorrows. Research in Peruvian schools shows that educational results are assumed to be low on the PISA tests because students have 'problems at home'. In the beginning of the new millenium, UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Plan (IIEP) took up the agenda of assessing the impact of a student's 'socioeconomic situation' and 'culture' on educational success through the notion of 'educability' (*educabilidad*). The 'family' was raised quickly as a 'problem' and 'culture' was racialized (Cuenca et al. 2011). Indeed, as Bourdieu has argued, state bureaucracies and their representatives are great producers of 'social problems' (1999:55), and in this case, it seemed that 'family' was often the perfect escape valve for teachers who needed a scape goat to explain why students were falling short in their pedagogical achievements; their test scores were low because their 'social needs' were high. Moreover, while engaging in a discourse concerning the social problems the students face helped to bring experts to the school who could assist in such matters and try to address the problems, there was also a certain moralizing element in the efforts. Martucelli argues that one of the consequences of the state's regulating project is that morals became a social matter to regulate via media and other aspects of culture (2015:160). The implication of this was that since morals are a social matter, they also can be 'fixed' through social interference, such as by educational scholars who specialise in such issues, like those who are recruited by *Enseña Peru*.

As schooling is also a moral project, schools also incorporate aspects pertaining to the ‘social’. Due to the conflicts that teachers sometimes experienced with parents, ‘the house’ represented a contradictory terrain. The home could be imbued with ‘problems’ in the eyes of the teachers such as ‘parent negligence’. Parents were blamed for not making sure their children did their homework, or that they behaved well in class. The changing nature of the nuclear family was also emphasised in these matters. I was told that large families lived in small spaces, often with a single mother as head of the household, and children came from large families where ‘all have different fathers’ reflected in the different surnames among siblings. These were all cited as reasons which apparently contributed to the low achievements of students. Indeed, other research shows that teachers began to feel burdened by all the ‘problems’ children had in their homes, and the role of the teacher also became that of social workers (Cuenca et al. 2011).



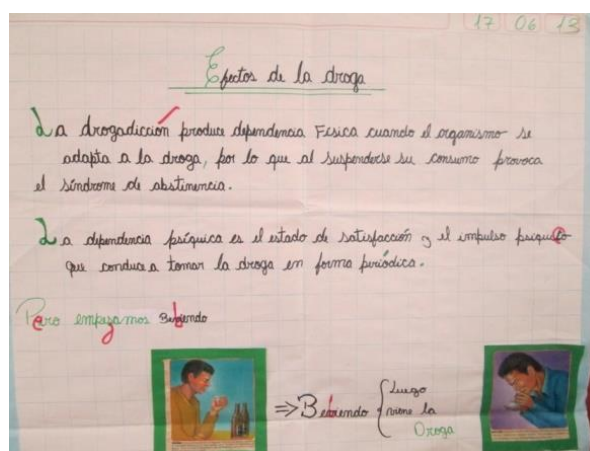
6.4 “Life is your best choice, drugs are your worst choice.
Trust in your teacher. Help us help you
Thank you teacher for showing me”

In the context of Latin America more widely, the youth are identified not as a social actor, but as a segment of the population in need of attention, as a ‘development problem’. This brought a more prescriptive approach to the study on youth. A number of research institutions emerged and their data help to produce information that feeds into state policies on the youth in areas like reproductive health, education, employment and security, covering such issues as ‘street violence’, ‘delinquency’ and

poverty (Oliart & Feixa 2012). Lazzarato argues that liberal strategies of government are to neutralize and depoliticize certain groups by employing increasingly extensive social policies (2009). Furthermore, research in different settings has indicated that neoliberal adjustment programs and the accompanying privatisation and withdrawal of the state from health and education, has often resulted in moral evaluations of the youth (e.g. Lukose 2009). In Pachacutec reverberations of this trend were seen in how a lot of the classroom time was spent on tasks that were perceived to eradicate or prevent ‘problems’ like criminality and drugs. Many of the school assignments required students to reflect their responsibility in events like a crime¹⁴⁶.



6.5 Robbery



6.6 Effects of drugs

As to overall pedagogic concerns, the new curriculum had now shifted to place emphasis on ‘capacities’ and how to strengthen these, whereas previously the emphasis had been on the content of the curriculum. A teacher who kindly explained to me the difference between the approaches gave the example that whereas previously one would only talk about the qualities of water, now, aside from teaching about the qualities of water, one also teaches the value of water. This is important in Peru and particularly in Lima and on the coast as water is scarce. There was thus an element of moralisation in the pedagogy taught in the curriculum, as the emphasis was placed on awareness-raising. In classroom practice, like in other Peruvian schools the shift in the new school curriculum to ‘capacities’ over ‘contents’ often translated into

¹⁴⁶ In line with Foucault, subjection requires making the individual responsible and culpable or criminalizable (in Lazzarato 2009).

group work (Cueto et. al 2013; Montero 2006; Oliart 2011).¹⁴⁷ Moreover, the emphasis placed on group work tended to privilege students who were talkative and participative. Most of the teachers did not discourage students from shouting out their responses, which allowed the class to proceed largely dominated by the participation of a few loud students¹⁴⁸.

The way by which the school curriculum was interpreted thus took influence from previously established power relations where the neoliberal rationality incorporated old topics like ‘values’ as something new. As we can see in picture 6.9 in the next page taken from a student’s English book, ‘values’ were something to be strengthened in the everyday. It was not uncommon for the students to lament that ‘values were disappearing’ among Peruvians, especially as this was something they frequently heard teachers and other adults say.



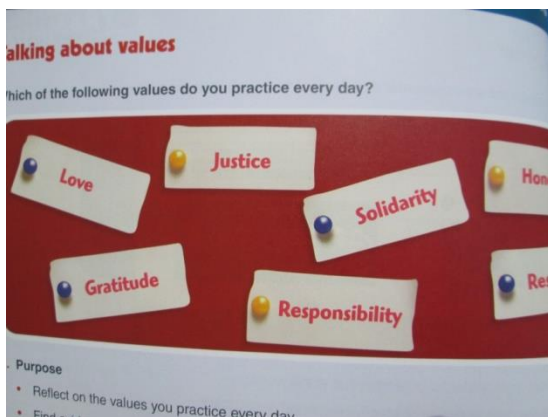
6.7



6.8

¹⁴⁷ Cueto et al. also point out that the definition of ‘capacity’ and how teachers evaluate whether it has been mastered or not remains to a degree ambiguous. The research also argues that contrary to the prevalent discourse of Peruvian teachers being incapable of teaching, many primary school students display capacities and skills that are above their year grades (2013).

¹⁴⁸ Anson (2005) has recorded that this type of ‘alertness’ (*estar despierto*), a desired characteristic in students, is viewed essentially to characterize *mestizo/criollo* students, (and as we have seen already, on the street being *vivo* is rewarded). Indigenous children are viewed as more ‘passive’ and un-talkative and thus, the way in which classroom participation happens reinforces racially defined power relations.



6.9 The Neoliberal Agenda

Some of the teachers however resisted against some aspects of the pacifying discourse that was dominant at the school. Cinthia, upon reviewing the contents of the new text books commented: “They don’t want these children really to learn anything, they only want to make good people. But they are already!” On the same day, after having students spend an hour of classroom time copying forty five new English words from the whiteboard, Cinthia gave the students a homework assignment where they had to find the meaning of each word in their dictionary. The whole class-room hour had been spent copying, leaving the pedagogic task to be done at home by oneself. One should also point that the teacher assumed all students had an English dictionary. The English books did not have translations for the vocabulary used although each story in the book introduced new and complex vocabulary and was often not grasped by the students. The students did not understand the text about Shakira in picture 6.8 until the teacher translated it, for example.

In light of the above, Cinthia’s critique about the contents of the textbooks and how they impede learning was reasonable. But her comment might also reveal a type of pessimism characteristic of the ‘poor education for poor people’ mindset that is characteristic of some of the older pedagogical frameworks in Peru. One of its characteristics is that the expectation for students’ classroom achievement is low from the start (Oliart 2011) which also inhibits teachers from taking initiative to attempt to teach in a way that would make students learn. Teacher Cinthia had herself learned English in a prestigious institute at a mature age, so she must have had other resources to use in her teaching, not just those offered by the school-curriculum. Yet, her classroom tasks were often infantilizing and emphasized the copying aspect. Teachers often complained about the lack of resources and the scanty materials they were given, and students were asked to provide money for photocopies. The photocopies

were usually of assignments that were carried out in class and never needed again. Cinthia did not have them print vocabulary lists or lists of irregular verbs that could be used as references as the students studied more English and learned the language.

Teacher Cinthia could be described as representing ‘the old school’ in Peruvian teaching and by this I refer to the traditional high status that teachers have held because they represent the state and modernisation, especially in the Andes (e.g. Wilson 2001). Cinthia came from a family of teachers, and she had studied at the University of San Marcos, the most prestigious public University in Peru that has a history dating back to the 16th century. She studied five years for her career, and she first started teaching at the age of twenty-two. She always knew she wanted to be a teacher, and she made a distinction between herself and other teachers whom she saw as less motivated. She herself had gone to elementary school at a school that was run by a mining company (*escuelas de minera*). The mining company schools were good in giving social protections like housing, water, milk as well as other social services. Her mother was a teacher in that school, and she described how all the teachers there were dedicated to their vocation and came from prestigious schools like the Catholic University of Lima.

Cinthia came from the highlands and she had a habit of teasing students by using the Quechua phrase *manan canchu* (, “there is none left”, “there isn’t any,” or “I don’t have any” in English, or *no hay* in Spanish) when she sought to reprimand them for not knowing the material. Many of the students found it annoying, albeit most repeated the joke whenever someone did not know the right answer, although it is not likely they really knew what the Quechua phrase means, like the present researcher at the time. The inappropriate joke would have never been made by *Enseña Peru* teachers as their approach was much more sensitive to cultural factors and the self-esteem of the students. Yet we can see that despite of Cinthia’s habit of using jokes that demeaned the students or shamed them for not knowing something that perhaps were related to her own insecurities as a migrant herself from the highlands, Cinthia had asserted that the students were ‘already good people’ when she criticized the content of the textbooks and some of the more patronizing aspects of the curriculum. Cinthia also critiqued the way that the status of teachers had declined in Peruvian society. Cinthia recounted how her father, who had also been a teacher, was greeted in the streets with respect, whereas today that respect was no longer granted to the teacher. This was also felt because the income for teachers had fallen off drastically

when adjusted for buying power and the cost of living. By the year 2000 the salary for teachers had fallen to a third of what it used to be in the 1960s-1980s (Saavedra & Chacaltana 2001).

The bad state of educational attainments because of low PISA test scores was a very well-known theme to the teachers at Our Lady of Sorrows, and it was something many of them raised in their interviews. The Peruvian state had been incapable of keeping up with the mid-20th century expansion of education even just in regards to teacher training¹⁴⁹. Rumours circulated about the existence of particularly ‘bad’ teachers in the system who ‘lacked vocation.’ The rumours also stated there existed ‘mafias’ that coveted the teaching positions, in order to assure the teachers who were in favour with the mafias were granted positions while not others. The teachers also stated they felt vulnerable, and even wounded by the decline in the status of teachers in the public opinion. At the time of my research, the Peruvian state was making gargantuan efforts to implement educational reforms that targeted the quality of existing teachers in the system. Teachers were faced with a whole new system of certificatory examinations that were to be implemented periodically. The teachers who did not score high enough on the exams would be in danger of losing their positions. There were also calls to raise the pension age for teachers as a way to reorganize and to put more money back into the present system.

There were some teachers who were grandfathered into the old state system who are “nominated” *nombrada*. One of the teachers who was *nombrada* at Our Lady of Sorrows was Leyla. As a *nombrada*, Leyla’s position was more secure and she received all the benefits accorded to professionals, such as a state pension. This also meant Leyla did not have to do the yearly exams in order to keep her placement. In the Peruvian educational system, the majority of the teachers who have entered the system more recently are ranked through annual exams. Every year teachers are placed into schools according to their scores on the examinations¹⁵⁰. Leyla had started working at Our Lady of Sorrows only a year after it was established and she recounted smilingly how in the early years, when the school was not made of cement yet, the students used to escape from class by slipping under the straw-mats. Leyla saw that the pedagogical issues were not really addressed by the curriculum changes, and she believed the new policies were basically just lip service to a different teaching

¹⁴⁹ See Sandoval 2009 ; Oliart 2011

¹⁵⁰ See Oliart (2011) for more information about the history of this trend.

philosophy, they did little to change how teaching occurred in the classroom. Instead, any significant teacher re-training had to be done on their own account. Many of the teachers participated in workshops and in virtual training in order to improve their skills, which placed more strain on their every-day life and expended their personal resources. Leyla stated the money she earned was barely sufficient to pay the costs of housing, and her husband complained she spent almost as much as she earned just in travelling to the school. Addressing the diminished returns from public education, she stated she had often thought she would earn more if she would promote herself as a 'private tutor' closer to her home. In comments that compared the low scores that Peru received on international tests to other countries, Leyla said the following:

Here there is so much...we fill ourselves with papers, we fill ourselves with things, of typing, waking up early to type when we should be spending our [time] finding material, inventing material. I for example, I invent my readings And so, that is what we should be doing with our time. Making material, and maybe that material that you invent you can...because, I, yes I copy a lot! Nobody [here] invented the gun powder. But many of the texts, I invent them...

I think the curriculum here should change a lot. I don't know, maybe experts could come from Finland, I don't know, I would love that. To see, isn't it? Why is it, why do we always come last in the PISA results?

With her last comment Leyla referred to a rumour circulating among the educationalists that Finland had the 'best education' for their highest scores in PISA tests¹⁵¹. Teachers were sometimes wary around me during my fieldwork, because of my home country. One day Dwayne, a boy in the 6th grade, revealed some of the sources of this wariness. Dwayne was a student who liked to resist the rules for example by never taking his beanie off in the classroom. He said to me once that he had read that education was the best in Finland. He then asked: "are they more intelligent than Peruvians?" His question points to the symbolic violence that is inherent in international tests, although this may not be their intention. But it does

¹⁵¹ The rumour was not entirely accurate. In 2012, students in Finland came in the 5th place in science, 6th place in reading, and 12th place in maths. Students in Shanghai, Hong Kong and Singapore came before Finnish students in all areas. Instead, the students in Peru were placed the very last, as the 65th in all areas.
<http://www.mineduc.gob.gt/DIGEDUCA/documents/pisa/Am%C3%A9rica%20Latina%20en%20PISA%202012-%20Brief%201.pdf>

raise the question about the power in the results and how such measurements should be used in practical ways. Do they take into account the power relations that operate on the ground, but also perhaps even more importantly, globally? As the introduction of the thesis has detailed, the state is also subject to the foreign demands of capital, which points to the salient relevance of dependent relations, and thus, the international responsibility in such things as educational merits in dependent contexts. We have seen in the case example of Our Lady of Sorrows, intermediary institutions have arisen as suitable alternatives because they are more successful at acquiring funds and other means of financial support, often by making foreign agencies accountable because they are far more efficient than the state in this instance. However, their agenda too is laden with the power relations that are prior to and a part of its own history, and thus an alternative institution like Our Lady of Sorrows is constrained by larger factors such as the quality of teacher training and sufficient wages as well. This may point to the ever present need to go beyond the alternatives offered thus far and seek radically different solutions altogether.

Leyla's suggestion that Finnish pedagogics come to Peru in order to assess the system and help train teachers would not be all that utopic either, there is no reason Finnish pedagogics should not come to teacher training rooms in Peru. In the process, they would learn something from Peru too, such as the history of the world economy and the relations of dependency that exist outside of Europe and North America. The importance of the latter is more prevalent as education is not only about resources, but about a specific educational culture that is created by the very same power mechanisms that have rendered the state's investment in education minimal. Neoliberalism operates with the 'technique of the minimum' (e.g. Lazzarato 2009) meaning 'give them the minimum to keep them happy', that in this case was seen in the distribution of the new approach using the *Enseña Peru* program that introduced a number of new equalising tendencies to schools. Miguel's approach to students was a strong case for going beyond 'poor education for poor people' as it highlighted students' equality towards their counterparts in Lima. However, a young person living in Pachacutec still needed to be taught self-esteem. So the technique of the minimum strives to give the students' self-esteem in this instance, but again, it continued overriding the pedagogic aspect of learning. The potential was thus not really transformational to anything more specific in terms of pedagogy. The message

seemed to be the same as with ‘creativity’; tell people to do the same they have been doing for a long time.

The paradox of mobility in a Neoliberal Age

As shown thus far, the neoliberal logic sought to celebrate the successes of the informal sector in its narrative, and the message was somewhat ambivalently received. The concept of ‘informality’ first arose shortly after scholars began to debate the notion of ‘marginality’¹⁵², and the first mention of the existence of something called an “informal sector” was suggested in a report about Kenya that was produced for the International Labour Office, some give the publication date as 1969 (Quijano 1998:74) and others in 1972 (Hart & Hann 2011: 115). The concept of ‘informal economy’ became a suitable replacement of the previous emphasis on marginality as it gave more agency to the people, and it was present in the emancipatory attempts of incorporation into the economy by the likes of Hernando De Soto (1989) in Peru. However, for Quijano the tendency in the use of the concept of informality is to perpetuate a dualist view of the society, where the informal sector represents a type of a problem that is still used in development reports that describe the characteristics of a nation’s economy (1998). This does not mean that the dualism does not exist, however. The informal sector often pays more for basic services such as water and many need to operate without a bank account, so there are more barriers for them to enter the formal economy. They also are disadvantaged in terms of gaining access to loans with lower interest rates and so on (De Soto 1989; Quijano 1998).

More recently, there has been a shift into a more positive discourse. Today it is widely recognized that the informal sector has generated economic returns to the nation and it is precisely in these returns where much of the glorification of the sector lays. According to INEI, in 2014 19% of the GDP was produced by the informal sector and it employs 61% of the population (Martucelli 2015: 197). Many of those who work in the formal sector also engage in some form of extra income generating

¹⁵² The ‘marginality’ debate is also associated with Lewis’s culture of poverty (in Matos Mar 2004:171). Lobo records that the culture of poverty model contributed to a notion of ‘disorganisation’ and ‘marginality’. After it, the process of urbanisation was viewed as a ‘positive adaptation’, placing emphasis on the way by which reciprocity was used and stressing the ability of the migrants to build a community in both material and psychological sense like in their achievement of goals such as education of children etc. (1982:6).

activities, as was the case for some of the teachers in Our Lady of Sorrows too. As it has been demonstrated thus far, the gradual acceptance of the strength of the informal sector to promote value creation through land invasions and business has provided an opportunity for the neoliberal state to keep the citizens as both the consumers and producers of their own labour, while at the same time maintaining its hegemony. Promoting creativity is a suitable way for eliding the costs of formality and strengthening institutions like the school.

However, one of the most central paradoxes of using ‘creativity’ as a key token in the neoliberal curriculum was that its message was seemingly at odds with what the youth wanted. The majority of the students did not embrace the ‘entrepreneurship’ model, but desired careers in the formal sector of the nation with all its securities. The statistical information obtained from a small survey that was completed by 82 boys and 71 girls may provide some fruitful examination on how the youth saw their future. The majority of the students wanted to continue further studies, and most in a university. However, entering into a university, even if it would be public requires some investment. Students usually need to take several months of preparation courses in an academy in order to apply for entry, as the secondary school itself does not prepare the students to take the exams. In order to pay for the private school or the institute, the students need to be supported monetarily by someone, usually their parents, or sometimes they rely on support from other family members like their uncles or aunts. Some of the youth worked in order to pay for the expenses of the academies themselves, and they would write down as their future desire such things as “working in a factory and studying.” This shows that some were already thinking pragmatically as to how to manage the monetary requirements of pursuing further studies. Institutes of higher education (*Institutos de Educación superior*) that teach such things as computing, administration and teacher education are seen as an easier route to professional careers. Yet research shows that employability remains low after egressing from institutes, which perhaps contributes to why only few of the students mentioned the institutes as a place they explicitly desired for future study. Instead, what gives most people more concrete employability is training in a company, but these opportunities are very scarce (Chacaltana 2006; Saavedra & Chacaltana 2001).

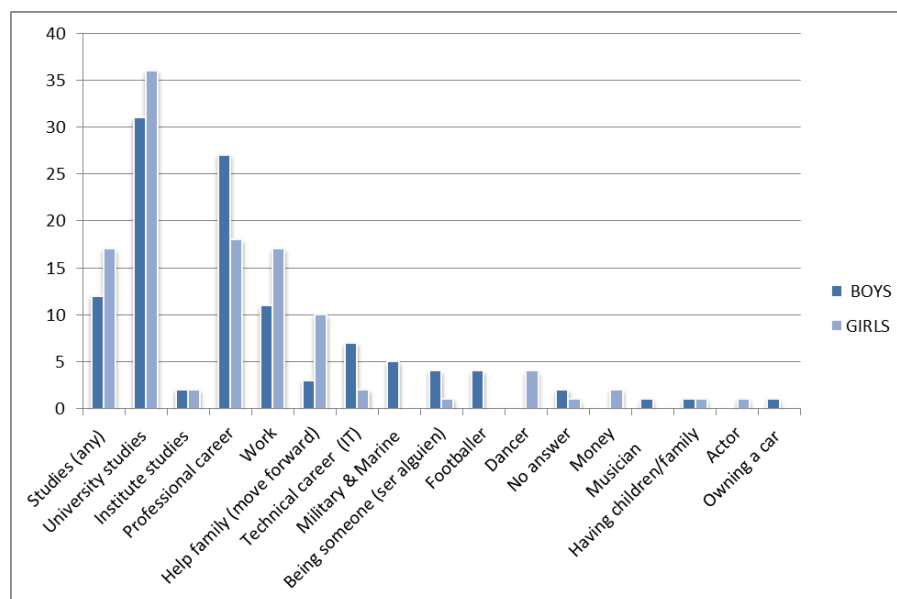


Chart 4 Desires after leaving school

There were also some gendered trends observed in the responses that students made on the questionnaires. While girls mentioned going to the University more than boys, girls also mentioned helping family as a motive for wanting to work more than their male counterparts. In the next chart, chart 5, we can see that the girls also strongly rejected work inside the home whereas no boy mentioned this type of work at all, meaning the task fell to girls, as tends to be the case with domestic work nearly universally given that such work has no direct monetary exchange value. Indeed, Standing writes that every generation has its peculiarities about what is considered desirable or not in terms of work, and the classic distinction between workplace and home in the Western hemisphere was forged in the industrial age (2016). Feminist authors however have traced this distinction back to way before the industrial age, tracing male dominance over female bodies and their labour to the formation of land enclosures in the 16th century and most likely beforehand as well¹⁵³. In the next chapter I will return to some ways by which females reject and also inadvertently reproduce this exploitation.

In contrast however, manual labour was something highly undesired by most of the students in Pachacutec, reflecting how such labours were perceived to be of low value. Boys would also express that physical work such as construction work, was also undesired and they wrote down as their reasons comments like “it’s exploited’ or

¹⁵³ See Gago for a summary (2017). Linguistic and biological anthropology traces the subjugating transformation in gender roles to the invention of agriculture (Knight 1991).

‘it’s of low economy’. The gendered dimension is also present in the labour that does have exchange value. Lobo records how domestic work was the typical kind of work for unmarried girls who were just arriving in Lima from the highlands. This work entails long hours and lack of respect by patrons (1982). The girls in Pachacutec also held the same views of domestic work as something exploitative and undesirable as something to do in the future.

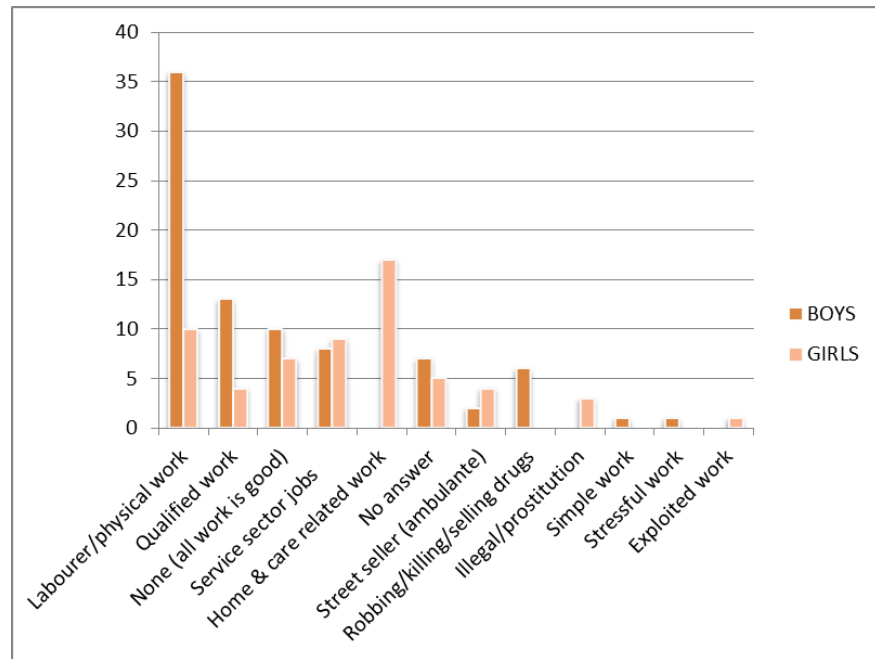


Chart 5 What work would you not like to do?

Anthropological work on settlements in Peru has recorded that the youth of the late 1970s saw themselves as an active force in making the city, and the settlement dwellers at that time lived through and were organized through leftist and nationalistic strands of political thought. The political parties used to incorporate the people living in the early settlements as valuable members of society through their their struggles to find work and inclusion in the city (Degregori et al. 1986). The record of improvement in educational levels due to migration is well-established as prior to the 1970s many in the generation of parents had no further education after secondary school. The children of the migrants began attending technical schools and universities (Lobo 1982). Secondary schools were also highly political spaces in the early years, which in the 1970s and 1980s contributed to the association between

many teachers and *Sendero Luminoso*, especially in the south and central highlands of Peru in the initial stages of the war (e.g. Wilson 2001)¹⁵⁴.

The processes of labourist struggle changed towards the end of the 20th century. Degregori et al.'s study about the 'conquerers of the new world' (*Conquistadores de un nuevo mundo*) shows that while parents were proud of their labourist background in the 1970s, in 1980s this pride waned. In the 1980s the youth were seen as the 'children of crisis' due to the growth of external debt, the phenomenon of *El Niño*, hyperinflation and internal terrorism. It was believed at the time that Peru had become worse in the 1980s and the preceding decades were seen as better. The youth in the 1980s were perceived to lack a work ethic and the solidarity that characterized their parents. Instead, the school was a space where one had to demonstrate one was more than their labourer parent, and a labourer was seen as someone who 'stays in one place' and is 'exploited'. The authors of *Conquistadores de un nuevo mundo* further record that it was the parents who inculcated in their children the need to 'go forward' and achieve more than their parents. In that way, their labouring experience was seen as a mere transit to something better. Proletarianization thus was a vague concern for the *pobladores*. While for some the goal of migration and education was to locate oneself in the entrepreneurial world, for most it was about reaching a meritocratic paradise where only those with professional qualifications accede (Degregori et al. 1986; also Chacaltana 2006). This history may well explain the educational desires of the youth in Pachacutec.

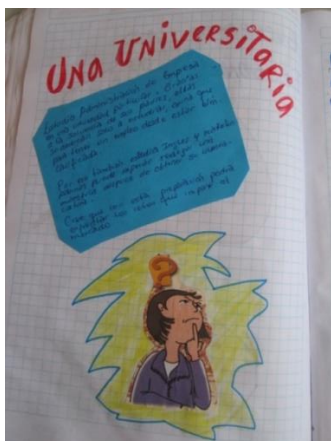
The questionnaires also revealed that mobility was often desired for pragmatic concerns like buying a house for one's parents, but also for things like travel and owning cars. There was also a theme of resistance in viewing some kind of work as negative and undesirable, accompanied by a discourse of 'honest labour'. Work was thus a moral project and in the answers of the students prevailed the same moral evaluations regarding 'humbleness', 'decency' and *malcriadez* that were discussed in chapter four. Many of the students included in their answers the desire 'to be someone in life/in the world' (*ser alguien en la vida /ser alguien en el mundo*), and 'in order to give the best for my family' (*para dar el mejor a mi familia*). These moral frameworks invested in types of labour also point out that aspiring for a professional

¹⁵⁴ The *Sendero luminoso*, led by Abimael Guzman, who was a professor of philosophy in a University in the city of Ayacucho in the Andes, is known to have been convincing people of the need of a Maoist revolution in the Faculties of Education through leaflet Marxism (e.g. Sandoval 2009).

status is not really something that is done in the name of a nation, but it is something to be done in the name of the family. Indeed, Martucelli also records that in Lima, interpersonal relations and trust in family is stronger than in the state (2015). But as feminist authors point out, families are also prime sites of labour exploitation, which indicates many of the processes of advancement occur at the expense of female bodies. What is also reflected in the charts of survey responses, girls aspired to professional careers just as much or even more than boys, this perhaps being an indication that the chains created by family are changing.

Amidst the aspirations for mobility, the media presented life as a space for never-ending 'self-realisation'. This became apparent during a class with the 9th graders, when I overheard a conversation between the teacher, Cinthia, and a student named Sonia, a jovial girl who was always making jokes and laughing. She was larger than her classmates, and she did not fit the frame of the average 'pretty' and 'modest' girl. As she was bemoaning that she always got low grades, teacher Cinthia consoled her by saying: 'Everyone has a talent'. This led Sonia to inquire: 'What is my talent?' Sonia then started making beatboxing sounds with her mouth, cleverly making fun of the surge in talent shows and reality TV - popular on all continents in recent decades. The most popular shows among the students were *Combate* ('combat') and *Esto es Guerra* ('This is War') where good-looking, mostly light-skinned people form groups and compete against each other in games that require a good fitness level and a competitive spirit. Amidst the meritocratic hopes of parents that their children will 'become better' than them, Bauman notes how youth are also told by the official discourse in implicit ways they can 'invent a new Twitter' and become multi-millionaires. In other words, they can always play the lottery and get luck so money is never a worry again. Citing Ricardo Petrella, Bauman says the current global trends direct "economies towards the production of the ephemeral and volatile – through the massive reduction of the life-span of products and services – and of the precarious [temporary, flexible and part-time jobs]" (2011: 30). The educational discourse in Pachacutec then was two-fold; it is first based on the aspirations found in the idea of merit and mobility and second, it is also laden with ephemerality. Sonia's concern over her 'talent' reflected this ambivalence.

Youth unemployment is of special concern in countries where youth form a large section of the population¹⁵⁵. In a study of youth employment, Chacaltana records that in the Peruvian labour market, problems emerged in the 1980s and the 1990s. As a result of the increase of people in the labour market, there was a drastic twenty percent reduction in salaries. Mass migrations to the outskirts of the city were also influenced by these factors. While there was an increase in youth employment from 1990s to early 2000s, youth unemployment is still double of that of adults and even those with a lot of education find themselves out of work. Consequently, in early 21st century youth viewed employment in highly uncertain terms, despite the economic boom (Chacaltana, 2006). In a study carried out in 2005 by the Catholic University of Lima, underemployment in Ventanilla was a concern for 52% of the population¹⁵⁶. The INEI however also lists that unemployment levels were slightly lower from 2006-2012¹⁵⁷ which may have contributed to more optimistic views of the youth than what was manifest in the 1990s and the beginning of the new millennium. A certain pessimism was in the air, however, that had mostly to do with the discourses over the ‘weak state’. Research on youth outlooks indicate that despite the upheavals the country may be going through, youth often view their educational avenues in more optimistic terms than the future of the nation (Oliart & Portocarrero 1989).



6.10 A university student



6.11 A walking street seller (ambulante)

¹⁵⁵ As a result of the end of 1960s demographic explosion that lasted until mid-1980s, in the early 21st century youth formed nearly half of the population (Chacaltana 2006).

¹⁵⁶ Universidad Católica Sedes Sapientiae 2006 *Informe Socioeconomico laboral: Comas, Puente Piedra y Ventanilla* – authors unknown

¹⁵⁷ www.inei.gob.pe

In terms of labour, there are fixed and structured markets for technical careers, and the students that I did witness going into further studies tended to go into areas like engineering. In terms of labour, those who eventually do get into technical schools are not going to take leading positions, but without technical education, they would be worse off in terms of future job prospects¹⁵⁸. Since the 1990s, there has also been an increase in service sector jobs, such as cashiers, bank clerks etc., where a major portion of workers are also female. Yet, turnover in these jobs is high and the wages are very low (Saavedra & Chacaltana 2001).

Employment precarity had a decisive role in the desire the youth express to move abroad. Chacaltana also records that in 2002, less than 5 percent of Peruvians belonged to labour unions, and more than half of young labourers worked without contracts and these factors also influenced desires for migrating abroad. Between 2001 and 2005 around 1.4 million people left Peru (2006)¹⁵⁹. In the surveys handed out to students, 71% of respondents said they did not want to stay in Ventanilla, and approximately 32% mentioned they would like to move abroad. At the same time, only 14% of the students who would like to leave Ventanilla mentioned Lima as a desired place to live. Students listed factors like ‘more opportunities in life’, ‘better chances for work’, and ‘better economy’ as their reasons for wanting to move abroad. Also, more girls wanted to migrate abroad, whereas more boys were happy in Ventanilla which may reflect that boys have easier conditions and better opportunities than girls, or that the girls have traditionally sought to ‘move forward’ the family more by migrating to other, economically better, places.

¹⁵⁸ Raised by Pablo Sandoval in an interview.

¹⁵⁹ In Chacaltana’s study 80% of the youth would go abroad if they were given a chance (2006). In another study made by Castro de la Mata & Martinez Vargas (2002), 46% of youth wanted to migrate abroad.

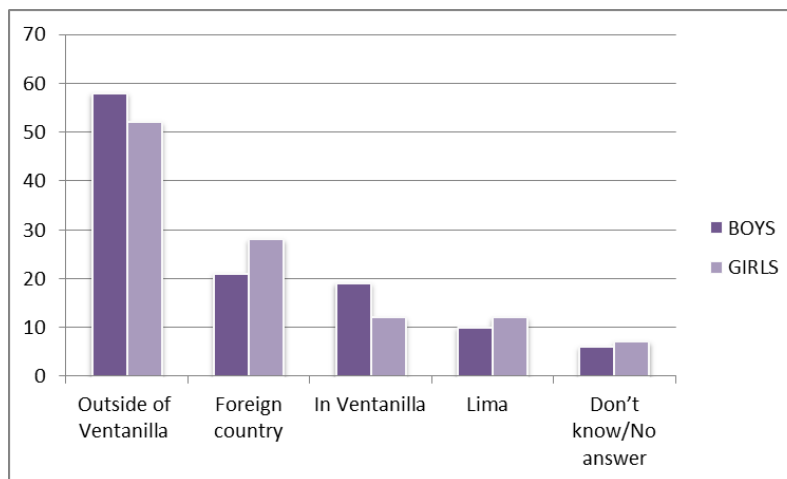


Chart 6 Future desired living place

The processes that are leading to high levels of insecurity in youth employment in the labour market are global and not just a consequence of dynamics in Peru. Guy Standing has perhaps most persuasively written about a ‘dangerous under-class’ that emerged with the global restructuring in favour of finance capitalism between the years 1975 to 2008, which he calls ‘the precariat’. There are multiple varieties of precariats, but what they all have in common is a more limited range of rights than full citizens. Indeed people who are precariats can be depicted as ‘denizens’. A denizen is a category of citizen that lacks at least one right in the range of rights accorded to full citizens, such as a cultural right (equal access to enjoyment of culture and entitlement to participate in the cultural life of the community) or a social right (equal access to forms of social protection, including pensions and health care)¹⁶⁰. Youth make up the core of the precariat and the absence of enterprise and state benefits intensifies their vulnerability to poverty (2016).

The formulation of citizenship by Standing is a rather privileged one, and it shows how the global neoliberal project has various scales in which some get poorer than their parents, like the youth in Western countries. In other national contexts the youth have the same social status as their parents or the get slightly richer. Such will be the case perhaps for some youth in Pachacutec given how basic infrastructures in the community are improving. As was shown in chapter two, the price of land and real estate has increased greatly in Lima, and some in the young generation may feel the benefits of this increase. Yet the denizen status is still applicable to them because

¹⁶⁰ Standing describes that the idea can be traced back to Roman times, when it was applied to foreigners given residency rights, but not full citizenship rights (2016).

while most of the *Pachacuteños* have a right to stay in their land, they do not have a legal ownership of the land. They too lack equal access to all mentioned rights afforded to citizens, such as access to educational opportunities at the postsecondary level avenues and employment options can be limited by the very fact of living in Pachacutec which is far from many of the main business and commercial districts of Lima. The desires that the students expressed in their responses to the questionnaire all show that the model of citizenship via wage-labour is evident in their response. This model however is failing to deliver on its propositions.

Indeed, there is now a significant debate over whether the capitalist model of wage-labour is still suitable for most countries and Standing has even argued the 21st century will see ‘the end of the labouring man’. In his view, the question is not about labour anymore, but about income (2016). So far, we have seen that there were serious conflicts in the message given to students of Our Lady of Sorrows on one hand, and the parents’ and students’ desires on the other. While the official discourse sought to valorise the informal sector due to the global understanding of the ways by which the informal sector has been successful in creating value, it was not what the youth were after. And the reason why is precisely as the labour of the informal sector, which includes many types of manual labours, while hypocritically glorified in discourse, stays something that is easily exploitable. Gago’s argument regarding neoliberalism from below is precisely that the state seeks to promote the consumption of popular classes so that it can keep them working in long hours, without any securities and producing semi-slave conditions in places like textile factories, and give them in return small state incentives. In the process, credit institutions emerge in order to satisfy people’s consumption needs (2017). In Peru the exchange does not include even the state incentives. Hence, these conflicts, characteristic of wider processes accompanying shifts to a digital economy and financial capitalism made neoliberalism a profoundly conflicting project that was a rejected project in the students’ ideals. But not only being a reflection of the on-going exploitative dimension of neoliberal capitalism, this rejection perhaps had more to do also with the ongoing model that placed wage-labour as the epitome of progress. This perhaps is one of the more conniving aspects of financial capitalism. By keeping the model of a labouring man at its core, it also legitimizes the commercialisation of education and the dominance over people’s labour capacity.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the peculiarities of the neoliberal project in the school. There is a particular dynamism present in the celebratory discourse of neoliberalism that legitimises it, and as Gago describes, it is not simply going away as it is deeply ingrained in people's practices. It is the very potential of future possibilities that keeps neoliberalism going. Yet, at the same time, it tells that the present must be neglected, and the possibility of future wealth and well-being must be generated by people's entrepreneurial capacity. The chapter demonstrates how the discourse of creativity and entrepreneurship added to other institutional logics, such as the logic of 'teaching values'. 'Poor education to poor people' became disguised in the pacifying discourse that saw the surrounding conditions as the ultimate concern to be 'fixed' by schooling, while in the process this tended to side line pedagogic concerns. At the same time, teachers had to negotiate their own diminished status and attempts of taking their security as the value of their income is lost and their benefits are taken away. The students' desires for the future were likewise status oriented, also indicating how achieving status helps to assure going beyond exploitative relations and poverty. Yet avenues for fulfilling that goal were constrained by the privatisation of education as well as the lack of employment opportunities. Standing asserts that the transformation of the school system to make it a consistent part of market society, pushing education in the direction of 'human capital' formation and job preparation has been 'one of the ugliest aspects of globalisation' and it has not produced better job prospects meaning that an education sold as an investment good that has no economic return for most buyers is, quite simply, 'a fraud'. It also diverts attention away from what education should really be about: learning and discovery (2016: 79-87).

The puzzles that are generated by the precarity of youth worldwide requires a serious reconsideration of the citizenship model that holds education and labouring as the prime means by which income is generated. This does not mean ignoring education and labour, but quite the contrary, reforming them to become more suitable to the crises and problems youth are faced with all over the world due to the expansion of financial capitalism. All efforts must be accompanied by a recognition of the unevenness of distributive mechanisms, and how easily new initiatives only build on the old. There needs to be a realignment in how people's welfare is addressed, which is the argument forwarded by Standing, among others, with the basic income. The evidence presented in this chapter such as the dilemmas faced by

teachers, increased privatisation of schooling and low employment prospects for youth suggest that there is no place better suited for the basic income trial than Peru. But to repeat, this requires first some reconfiguration of the citizenship model away from the wage-earning man, who ‘merits’ his earnings, towards a model where people are having what is rightfully theirs (Ferguson 2015). Ironically, this type of reasoning is already present in new cities like Pachacutec where people demand their share of capitalist production as suggested thus far in the previous chapters. This chapter has suggested that it is rather the formalisation paradigm, and the constraints entailed in the model of the wage earning, ‘respectable’ man, where much of the troubles still lay.

Chapter 7 Feelings are made in China

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss a theme that was very prevalent in the school: love. The chapter will focus on the female experience, as the restrictions placed on ‘love’ were more of their concern. Love had various dimensions and in the narratives and practices of the female students and teachers in Pachacutec, there were roughly three observable traits. One was traditional romantic love, where the boy played the role of the conqueror, and the girl the object to be conquered. The other one was cynical love, the love that was made in China. This kind of love didn’t last for long and as such, it posed a threat to the credibility of romantic love, and even more so to the ideals of ‘moving forward’ and ‘progress’. And third, there was a sexualised love, enhanced by commercial forces and the media, where women were portrayed at times as hypersexualised objects, but at the same time more free to make their own sexual choices. In the latter what was important was the right kind of performance, indicating a certain shift towards stronger individualism. Thus, the traits that were given to love reflected the overall socioeconomic trends of the society.

In light of these discursive frames given to love, the chapter will argue that while girls in Pachacutec saw themselves as ‘equal’ to boys in terms of their role as future professionals, the fine grain of social relations had a tendency to socialise them into a position second to men (De Beauvoir 2011)¹⁶¹. This socialisation was not related to the public roles available to girls as such, but more to the role ascribed in gender relationships and how ‘love’ was performed. As the population of Peru is young, it has inspired the emergence of a regulatory discourse surrounding ‘early pregnancy’ in the national development plan¹⁶². There was a strong emphasis placed

¹⁶¹ As the famous declaration by Simone De Beauvoir goes, one is not born a woman, but one becomes one. The society socialises a woman as second to a man, and she is raised to carry this burden without questioning it. Woman is for a man the ultimate ‘other’, in her carnality reminding him of his eventual death (2011).

¹⁶² The population figure in 2017 was 31 161 000, which is not that big in comparison to the geographical size of Peru: Age structure: 0-14 years: 26.62% (male 4,164,681/female 4,019,436)
15-24 years: 18.63% (male 2,868,743/female 2,859,476)
25-54 years: 39.91% (male 5,892,065/female 6,377,681)
55-64 years: 7.62% (male 1,135,938/female 1,205,579)

on the discourse of preventing early pregnancy during the 1990s, which former President Fujimori's government implemented with multilateral funding.¹⁶³ The legacy of this trend was still observable in the school's discourse, as well as the textbooks in courses titled 'Person and Family', *Persona y Familia*, that has weekly class time dedicated to what were considered "social" matters important to address among young, impressionable students in the public school system. The textbooks for this course discussed not only safe sexual practices, including discussion of myths about certain 'safe' sexual positions, but also gender roles and their ascribed stereotypes. Topics like the gender dynamics of domestic roles as well as subjects like homosexuality were also addressed in the textbooks. The central question asked then in this chapter is, why did heteronormative gender roles keep reproducing themselves, despite the content that was provided in the textbooks? Despite the discursive emphasis the school placed on preventing early pregnancies, quite a few of the girls interviewed for this study just a few years before, subsequently had their Facebook walls decorated with pictures of their babies.

The hypothesis drawn from this reality is that the gendered roles adopted by the youth had a more practical and immediate function than the discourses that were promoted in the school. As it was shown in the previous chapter, much of the policy implementation in neighbourhoods like Pachacutec ignores local power operations. This chapter will therefore draw attention to some of the ways by which females in Pachacutec felt more comfortable reworking dominant power relations that are not necessarily the same as the explicit narrative of empowerment that is outlined in the school books. While having some destabilizing effects, this reworking of dominant power relations nevertheless played into the established patriarchal codes. One of the strategies adopted used a cynical discourse of 'making oneself respected' that valued female chastity as a means to 'move forward', but that did not change dominant gender relations. The other was a discourse of sexual emancipation accompanying commercial forces that was more public as it was displayed on social media like Facebook rather than evident in every-day interactions. The girls thus chose to rework dominant power relations not necessarily based on what they learned in the school,

65 years and over: 7.21% (male 1,049,409/female 1,168,054) (2016 est.)

http://www.indexmundi.com/peru/age_structure.html

¹⁶³Fujimori's programs on reproductive health were highly controversial and received accusations of forced sterilizations as informed consent was not adequately given. They happened in Lima too in poor neighbourhoods. <http://www.aibr.org/OJ/index.php/aibr/article/viewFile/346/371>

but instead they used other mediums that are legitimised either by established norms of respectability, or by the existing commercial structures. This means that the attempt at changing the way by which gender roles and their ascribed burdens are formed requires a larger effort, backed up by norms at the level of the whole society, for in individualised practice the constraints tend to be too great. As research in gender and development maintains, often the ‘real problem’ is women’s subordination to men (Moser 1993) and therefore it is important to look at how this subordination is produced and maintained in the every-day practice.

Love: Discipline & Play

In the previous chapter it was demonstrated how the school placed emphasis in family problems, a trend that was exasperated with the neoliberal agenda. From the very beginning of my fieldwork, I was confronted by the teachers with a dilemma they referred to smilingly, which was that students ‘fall in love too much’. What they implied with ‘falling in love’ was the unwanted consequences of such relationships among the youth: early pregnancies. While the Sisters would talk of the importance of love, and how Jesus loved each child, this love was not like the romantic kinds of love between genders. Quite the opposite, some of the school walls were decorated with dissuasive slogans such as “more work, less falling in love”. In her attempts to convince me about the pervasiveness of this matter among the students, teacher Cinthia told me there were three girls who had dropped out of school because of being pregnant just that year. A boy had also once come to her in tears because he had made someone pregnant.

The concern over ‘early pregnancies’ was addressed as part of the official school curriculum in the subject area of ‘Person and Family’. It was considered more a ‘girl’s subject area’, as it entailed a lot of reflection on relationships and emotions, matters that were considered to be of interest to girls rather than boys. One assignment in this class consisted of students having to care for an egg as if it were their real baby, painting it with eyes, giving it clothing and nurturing it, after which they were required to reflect in their notebooks how they felt about their baby and its care. Students were required to discuss capacities such as ‘resilience’, and how the family could strengthen their resilience. In an interview with three girls in the 8th grade, they stated that their ‘Person and Family’ class taught them ‘how to behave’ (*como comportarnos*). Picture 7.1 describes ‘falling in love’ (*enamoramiento*) the

following way: “Part of life is falling in love with the person meant for you. Thinking of the future together, planning everything ahead, so as not to depend on anyone, and moving forward together, already as professionals.” The nuclear family is the ideal at the centre of this pacifying neoliberal discourse, and independence and professionalism were also desired attributes in learning how to behave.



7.1 'Falling in love' (*enamoramiento*)

Another central theme in *Persona y Familia* was a critique and an attempt to break down the tendencies towards *machismo*¹⁶⁴ that still reproduced many gendered stereotypes in Peru. The girls I interviewed agreed that Peruvian men were *machistas*, and mentioned how men sometimes made them uncomfortable with the cat calling and lewd comments in the streets. In the girls' discourse, *machismo* was linked with 'bad education at home'.

The changes in Lima's landscape through people's relocation and migration practices were accompanied by some changes in patterns of cohabitation, and this certainly was something repeatedly pointed out at the school, as mentioned already in the previous chapter¹⁶⁵. The central discourse in Pachacutec was that families often did not have 'a man at home', and these households were headed by single mothers.

¹⁶⁴ There is no exact translation to the Spanish word *machismo*, but it could be described as the sense of being male, and male pride. It is something that is generally ascribed to Latin American countries in order to critique their gender based hierarchies and patriarchy. The school discourse viewed that *machismo* was related to gender based violence and in some cases, violence towards children too.

¹⁶⁵ Social scientists have also been concerned about the family structure in settlements. Matos Mar records however in a study made in *barrios populares* of Lima in 1977 that 62% of the families were nuclear (in Galin, Carrion & Castillo 1986). Galin et al. argue that the years of crisis that followed soon afterwards increased families need to live in extended families (1986).

Following the narrative, children came from ‘broken families’, as households were led by women who had no choice but to work during the day, leaving children either unattended or in the care of others. Another dimension in the narrative was that in those households where the father figure was present daily or at least regularly, he also posed a threat for the young female members of the family due to possibilities of incest. Lowering her voice down to a whisper, Sister Ruth told me there were at least three reported cases of incest reported by female students at the school. For Sister Ruth incest was more likely because families lived in small spaces together and often with extended family members who might take advantage of young and vulnerable youth. In this way incest was also a ‘structural problem’ that was also a threat to the quality of life and the psychological wellbeing of the youth in neighbourhoods like Pachacutec¹⁶⁶.

In what comes to anthropological observations made in regards to the shift of family arrangements, Lobo recounts that in the 1970s, the gender relationship between the migrants in the squatter settlements, compared to that among *criollo* and middle-class urban populations, were more egalitarian, going against the Latin American stereotype of male dominance and female submissiveness and passivity. She agrees with Billie Jean Isbell whose argument about gender complementarity in the Andes is well known. Isbell and others note that where there is more contact with Western concepts, gender relations tend to be less egalitarian. Lobo adds, however, that within squatter settlements one also finds a continuum of modes of relationship, ranging from very egalitarian households to those which closely approximate the more urban, middle-class norms, including the complex of *machismo* and the economically dependent and socially isolated women (1982). Yet there are other studies that demonstrate migration from the Andes is often initiated by women who reject the oppression they sometimes experience in their natal families and due to rural life (Degregori et al. 1986), thus complicating the notion that traditional Andean gender relations were more egalitarian in every instance. It would be more adequate perhaps to say people have different life histories and multiple factors influence an individual’s experience of egalitarianism and gender oppression, and the reasons why someone chooses to move to the city can vary widely. One does not always need to have a pushing factor for moving to the city either. The idea that female-lead

¹⁶⁶ see also Fassin et al. 2008

household would necessarily be ‘poorest of the poor’ has also come under attack by feminist research that seeks to understand why female-lead families is a choice for some women, who prefer independence to being dominated by a male patriarch (Chant 2007). In South-Africa, for instance, marriage is a radically diminished institution, as poor and working-class women may see little gain in bringing an unemployed man into the household (Ferguson 2015).

Despite the strong emphasis placed on ‘family problems’ and relationships that ‘end up’ in early pregnancies, ‘love’ in its romantic form was something very desired by the youth, and gender identities were actively performed most often in an attempt to gain the interest of the opposite sex. Feminist research since De Beauvoir has pointed to the importance of not treating the categories of ‘a man’ and ‘a woman’ as givens. Instead researchers should be focusing on the performative aspect of genders¹⁶⁷. As Cornwall and Jolly assert, development agencies have in the past focused largely on one outcome of (hetero) sexual expression, namely pregnancy and childbirth due to population control, ignoring how bodies are socially produced in the process (2006). In the setting of the school, girls and boys learn to draw boundaries between each other¹⁶⁸. All the more pressing for the social production of ‘men’ and ‘women’ in this context is that those with a male gendered identity share ‘a gender privilege’ that subjects female and males with feminine gender identities as ‘others’ (Greig 2006)¹⁶⁹. The class-room was a prime site where masculine identities were forged. While the discourse of *machismo* prevailed in speech, - more in the speech used by girls than in discussions by boys- in student performance being domineering through being macho, was a means to enhance status in the class-room for boys, and the performance was usually displayed by the students who did not score well in school assignments. In some minority cases, displaying some traits characteristic of the dominant gender was also done by girls as we have seen in the case of Jessica in chapter five. Indeed, Callirgos records how in a public secondary school in Lima the one who ‘wins’ is the one who knows how to ‘have fun’, *pasarla bien*, is ‘macho’, astute, strong and domineering, and these characteristics gain recognition from fellow students. To make jokes and to ‘conquer girls’ are highly valued abilities (1996). As it

¹⁶⁷ Most notably in the work of Judith Butler. See also Walkerdine (1989).

¹⁶⁸ E.g. research in primary schools shows boys retain their boundary against girls by not being ‘girl-like’ (George 2007).

¹⁶⁹ According to the questionnaires handed to students, girls were more sensitive to violence. See appendix.

was shown in the previous chapter, the mechanistic way of teaching that places emphasis on copying and memorising made the class-room experience somewhat dull and not much is really learned. Thus, the joking culture was ‘a survival strategy’ to counter the tediousness of the classes. Providing opportunities for group work helps to change the dynamics for the better, as then the students can fiddle with things and use creativity in decorating their notebooks or other such tasks. Although it is also noteworthy that the joking culture was only perpetuated by a minority of students, showing that the students were quite obedient in the end, despite the tediousness of the class-time.

The exhibition of masculinity was thus about displaying competence in the school’s ‘hidden curriculum’. At Our Lady of Sorrows, the way in which school norms were constantly tested and transgressed was via the means of joking. Many of the students would describe their classmates as happy and fun (*alegres, divertidos*), although at times some students might go too far or ‘over-the-top’ with the antics. Tiffany described how some students make a joke and do it over and over again until it gets tiring. The classes were usually very noisy as students chattered away with each other while the teacher spoke. The students would also frequently stand and walk around the classroom to borrow things from their classmates, throwing paper notes at each other, and so on. In general, the classroom dynamic proceeded as an open act of ‘fun’, where assignments were carried out and orders obeyed ‘out of respect’ for the teacher, but what actually counted among the students was who had managed to make the most jokes. The loudness of the class and students shouting out the answers inevitably resulted in students copying from the board, or writing down the answers they managed to pick up from the ‘loud ones’. An occasional, annoyed ‘shut up!’ (*callense*) would be heard at times, an order that was more likely to be paid heed to when shouted by a domineering student.

The ‘hidden curriculum’ had important gendered dimensions. Students often engaged in play-fights with each other, teasing each other verbally. Girls would sometimes slap at boys with a ruler or a book to stop their teasing – behaviour which was allowed for girls but not for boys who were thought to be stronger. Jessica, one of the most mischievous students in the school, said with a twinkle in her eye that what she liked most in school was how “boys grab the girls by the waist”. Indeed, the social capital gained by being able to attract the attention of the opposite sex often competed with students’ desires to get good grades. This contributed to the anxieties that

teachers felt about students 'falling in love' too much. The older the students were, the more affectionate they were with students of the opposite sex. It was acceptable for girls and boys to show affection, like when a girl leans her head on a boy's shoulder and girls and boys would often choose to sit together. This affection was nevertheless accompanied with some antagonism in the flirtation. As the students got older, boys would start expressing their approval of certain girls by using whistles and making kissing sounds, just as happened more anonymously in the domain of the street. The girl would ignore these comments and advances, as it was also a matter of ambiguity whether such a verbalization was flattery or not. Boys would whistle and make kissing sounds as girls passed by or shout phrases at them such as 'I love you', *te amo*, but always while in the presence of a group of other boys who would show they approved of these performative acts by laughing, or by joining in and attempting to do the same. The most spontaneous and improvised acts would get the most cheers. The constraints of 'respect' were stricter for girls, who would shout back a cynical remark such as: 'I didn't know that', causing the boys cajole each other with more laughter. The girls who the boys would bother in this way the most were the pretty and extroverted girls. On a few occasions some boys would also whistle at select female teachers. The whistle drew a fine line between being a compliment and a 'lack of respect', the boys at times playing with the power they had in their hands to undermine the teacher's authority. Boys would also frequently tease their classmates with rowdy jeers and whistles when a pair of students of the opposite sex has to present together in front of the class, for example, or they walked in to the classroom together. In a more mischievous way, whistles were sometimes directed at a pair of boys, insinuating homosexuality.

While the 'joker' boys tended to dominate the class, girls also participated by shouting out answers to assignments, and they also would frequently talk back to the teasing boys. Girls tended not to comment on or edge on their fellow girl classmates. It was the boys who would edge on the girls verbally in a sexualized form using whistles or cat calls such as *muñeca* (doll) or *mamasita* ('little mother', i.e., 'hottie'). Only on one occasion did I observe a girl whistling at another female student while she was to perform in class, overstepping the domain assigned to her. The rest of the class seemed not to know how to act to her outburst as it got no cheers or acknowledging laughter from fellow students. However, among themselves, girls formed smaller groups where a great deal of classroom time was spent in gossiping

and giggling. At times, girls would refuse to participate if they were called on to do something out loud and in front of the class. This never happened with boy students, who no matter how unknowledgeable they were about the subject or the particular task at hand they would still carry out the public performance of speaking in front of the class when asked to. Boys also directed more attention to girls who were uninterested in school assignments. Girls were thus praised for their looks when the boys would show their approval using whistles and declarations of love, but also by their small resistances to norms. The underlying dynamic of the class-room thus ultimately was really about challenging the dominant curriculum, and this hidden curriculum was marked by performances that followed and affirmed typical heteronormative gender norms.

While most of the girls performed their feminine roles in convincing ways, there were a few girls who did not embrace their assigned role. One of them was Andrea, who having entered Our Lady of Sorrows in the 6th grade having transferred from another school, soon became known to the teachers as a girl who was *movida* ('restless'). Andrea did not like sitting still, and her extroverted character made her always respond to the other students with jokes. This was a trait appreciated in boys as it earned them the reputation of being a 'joker' in class, but for a girl to be doing this put her in a somewhat liminal position, as it was not considered very 'ladylike'. One day, when I was walking home from the school, Andrea caught up to walk with me and said "teacher, I don't like being called homosexual or heterosexual". A girl from the classroom next door had been calling her names. Indeed, even at her young age the teachers and her peers were quick to remind Andrea that she was trespassing the norms of femininity, and should be performing her womanly roles more appropriately. To the male world she posed a possible threat because of her extroversion; by taking up the space of 'a joker' she was skilfully undermining the man's ability to do so. For this same reason she was also viewed sceptically and with suspicion from the teacher as a possible 'trouble-maker'. This implied that joking - also a means to overrule authority - was in the end reserved for boys who were expected to dominate the public realm¹⁷⁰. It is seen here how gender norms were part of how the classroom dynamic was managed and thus girls were socialised to retain more passive roles next to their male counterparts. But if we analyse the dynamics in

¹⁷⁰ Also, Santos Anaya records how label 'machona' is easily used as a means to discipline/embarrass a girl who is perceived to be doing "boys' stuff" (1999).

more detail, there are small instances where girls were actively testing these boundaries and in the case of Andrea she did a lot more to challenge those stereotypes. However, the norms perpetuated in the school social practice were too limiting to make the girls' playfulness a more dominant aspect in the class-room. The boys were still able to dominate with their joking and by sexualizing the female students at least to some degree with whistling and commenting on their appearance.

The lack of innovation in terms of teaching delivery and classroom organization combines with the prevalence of the joking culture and this contributes together to the reproduction of traditional gender norms. It was indeed the classroom dynamic that seemed to impress more on the everyday relationships between the students than the pacifying and critical messages that were conveyed in the textbooks. Although the teachers would recognize the joking culture in the classroom as a sign of 'problems,' the awareness-raising focus of the textbooks really did little to challenge the reproduction of gender norms even between the students themselves.

Cynicism and Pragmatic Love: 'making yourself respected'

It is surprising that heteronormative roles continue to be reproduced so efficiently and effectively in Peruvian society considering the changes that the 20th century has witnessed in terms of gender. I develop the position here that the gender binaries that have existed historically are reproduced in everyday social structures as well as in working practices, which are practical realities that work against and effectively hinder some initiatives towards a better gender balance taken in the school. A trend that first appeared globally beginning in the 1970s was the increase in women's access to labour due to women's increased access to education. By 2002 in Peru more women were university educated than men (Chacaltana 2006), a pattern that has also been seen in countries in Europe and North America (e.g. Lopez 2003).

Globalisation saw the replacement of industrial jobs with service sector jobs, where women are often more successful in securing employment. Although it is unclear whether this is a cause or an effect, the growing presence of women in the labour market has been accompanied by the 'feminization' of labour, meaning the more women became involved, the more flexible labour became (Standing 2016). Research has shown that in export-oriented economies women's formal labour is often exploited, more so than men, and this is compounded by increasing levels of

privatization because companies do not give the same benefits as the state (Pearson 2007). As Standing criticises, increasing women's access to labour does not mean that women everywhere were improving their conditions. Whereas in the previous industrial model the male proletariat worker earned a family wage, the woman was never expected to earn a family wage (2016). Women are almost invariably 'cheap' workers.

The gender binaries are thus exploited by global capitalism. Feminist work by Silvia Federici argues that with the devaluing and invisibilization of women's work, domestic labour was created as a way of sharply separating production from reproduction, thereby enabling a capitalist use of a wage to command the labour of the unwaged. With the privatization of land (enclosures), women become 'the communal goods'. This means that their bodies and labour are mystified as personal services and/or natural resources. According to this new social-sexual contract, proletarian women became for the male workers the substitute for the land lost to the enclosures, their most basic means of reproduction, and a communal good anyone could appropriate and use at will. Once women's activities were defined as non-work, women's labour began to appear as a natural resource, available to all, and women's historical defeat in this respect, was the feminization of poverty. Women were reduced to double dependence on employers and on men (in Gago 2017).

Gago argues that with flexibilization of labour and youth precarity discussed in the previous chapter, there is a recognizable passage from 'the providing father' (the figure of the salaried worker, family provider, the providing state) and feminized figures (unemployed, women, youth and migrants) (2017:76). In Peru, in the turn of the new millennia, women continued to work more in the informal sector than men, or in jobs that are regulated only minimally with labour protections (Saavedra & Chacaltana 2001), and several authors have recorded the female dominance in the informal sector and in Peruvian market-places (e.g. Seligmann 2004; Montoya 2010). Moreover, urban, regulatory and planning environments stigmatize informal work as unproductive and insecure, with policies that often erode the livelihoods of informal economy workers (Moser 2016). Gago describes that there is a notable impact on the urban environment as cities are transformed by this new, predominantly feminine and informal wave, which redefines the transactions and the bustle of the metropolitan space as the family and women's place (2017). However, there are some countervailing impressions of the value of female labour that circulate in Peru, albeit

they are weaker and more specific to particular populations of women. For example, Lobo records how the female was valued as a labourer among the highlander *pobladores* who had migrated to Callao in the 1970s (1982), meaning the females were already accustomed to work hard in the Andes. It also means that their roles were not solely relegated to the domestic sphere.

For planners and economists, women were not ‘economically active’ until fairly recently – a formulation that negates the fact that a great share of food grown in the ‘Third World’ is grown by women. Standing claims that historically Western discourse has refused to recognise the productive and creative role of women, and this refusal has contributed to propagating divisions of labour that keep women in positions of subordination (2016). Moreover, women’s economic and gender position frequently deteriorated in many countries in the 1970s as a result of the participation in rural development programmes (Escobar 1992:73)¹⁷¹. Where women’s paid work does increase, there is little evidence there is a corresponding adjustment in the burden of (unpaid) domestic labour within the home or the community (Pearson 2007). This means that women are still expected to do the majority of the housework and care for the family.

There has been a significant amount of anthropological research on women and development that specifically addresses this dimension. Caroline Moser’s interest has been on how to develop practical tools for policy relating to gender differentials and she has developed a ‘triple roles’ framework for assessing time women use in these activities. It is hoped this will aid in designing development programs so they do not create additional burden on women’s responsibilities in the household¹⁷². As we saw in chapter two, in Pachacutec women also took care of community duties, such as clearing the sand off of the patio and walkways at the school, and therefore we could speak of a ‘triple burden’ for mothers. In the process of ‘moving forward’, girls have

¹⁷¹ Pearson denotes as the “Engelian myth” the assumption that giving access to economic resources and employment would inevitably lead to ‘empowerment’ (2007). Critics say that emphasis by development agencies on ‘self-help’ groups for women often in the hands of neoliberal advocates turn into stories of “efficiency” (e.g. Batliwala & Dhanra 2007; see also Mosse 2005).

¹⁷² The Moser framework examines the amount men and women spend in the roles of production (e.g. farmwork), reproduction (domestic work and care in the family) and community affairs. In the latter, whereas men tend to participate in political affairs of the community, women contribute their free time for a social good, such as cleaning the school backyard.

In Nargiza Ludgate “Moser Gender Analysis Framework” Feed the Future: USAID, INGENAES available in

[https://www.agrilinks.org/sites/default/files/resource/files/ING%20Info%20Sheet%20\(2016_09\)%20%20Moser%20Triple%20Role%20Framework%20\(Ludgate\).pdf](https://www.agrilinks.org/sites/default/files/resource/files/ING%20Info%20Sheet%20(2016_09)%20%20Moser%20Triple%20Role%20Framework%20(Ludgate).pdf)

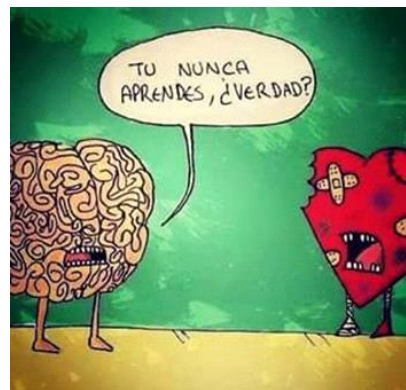
to juggle various demands on their labour, including household duties that fell to them, as well as the demands of education and the special labour and time that requires in order to achieve some mobility, and later possibly even communal duties. The economical strains often meant that men too are better off without women, especially the younger they are.

These shifts accompanying the feminization of labour, which included women's increasing presence in the streets through participation in informal activities as well as the continuing burden of having to perform more of the domestic work because they might naturally be mothers someday combined into a particular way in which 'love' was expressed by female students. Here I would like to turn back to the students' social media posts in order to illustrate this point. Frequent wall posts by girls were those displaying romantic disillusionment. While a boy would occasionally express doubts and hurt feelings on Facebook because of romantic disillusionment, the public airing of disappointment towards the opposite sex was more frequently expressed by girls. The following was posted by Carolina, a girl in the 7th grade:

1st Act
He makes you fall in love
2nd Act
He cheats
3rd Act
He disillusions you
What is the name of the GAME?
Welcome to re@lity

Indeed, as the practices of people in social media often replicate what happens in wider society, the drama of everyday social life was also inevitably expressed on Facebook (Miller 2011). Carolina was a relatively popular girl with boys, as she was pretty and funny, and she was friends with rebellious girls like Jessica. She nevertheless also did well in her studies, and was liked by the teachers. In other words, she was a girl who knew how to balance the traits of modesty and 'fun' well enough to retain the interest of boys. Her most usual wall posts were of her and her friends, giving the peace sign or making gang signs, wearing a basketball cap and trendy clothes. Her photos were nearly always taken from creative angles, with digitally modified colours, accompanied by phrases such as "enjoy the moment" accompanied with hearts and smiley faces. Hence, Carolina was by no means a

cynical girl, but was repeating a mantra one would often hear in Pachacutec, and in Peru in general: that of being ‘cheated’ on by a man, who ‘makes you fall in love’ (*te enamora*). In other words, it was expected that a girl would probably experience romantic disillusionment at some point in her life, and Carolina was skilfully signalling she was one of those who was not going to fall into the trap of *enamoramiento* (infatuation, amorousness). On another occasion, Carolina posted the following: “When a woman plans a future with her boyfriend, it’s normal. When a man plans a future with his girlfriend, things are getting serious”. Indeed, there is a pattern to be observed here. A man is always susceptible to not be ‘serious’ enough in his love declarations, ultimately giving him the agency to be able to ‘choose’ whether to stay with a woman or not. It is up to the woman to test whether the ‘love’ is true or not. Yet, no matter how well the man proves his love, for the girls in Pachacutec it is a truism that ‘all men cheat’.



7.2 “You never learn, do you?”

7.3 “If I find out who left you abandoned, I will find him and shoot him, I swear!”



The figure of the ‘cheating man’ was often contrasted with the ideal woman, who was a strong woman who worked hard. Girls and boys often idealised their own mothers, who were seen as *luchadoras*, ‘fighters’, who ‘moved the family forward’ more than a man. Girls would express that women in Pachacutec did not depend on men, they were able to ‘move forward’ by themselves, also implying that they were often better off without men. Similarly, Golte & Gabriel (2011) record that the models of desirable womanhood are often picked up from soap operas. These programs usually portray women as ‘humble’ and *luchadoras*, and the youth watch the programs and see them as examples of what one needs to do to reach success in life and love. This would again bring forth the tenacity of the idea of ‘moving forward’. Education was seen by girls as an option that would liberate them from disappointment in life.

The ambivalent role that ‘love’ played in ‘moving forward’ was made apparent during an English assignment I carried out with the 9th graders. Students were required to draw a timeline where they would list their future plans in English. While the students followed conventional norms by listing ‘studying for a career’ in their early 20s, I was surprised to note a trend among the girls. They listed the milestone of ‘buying a house’ in their mid-20s and listed ‘getting married and having children’ in their 30s. When I enquired with two girls about why they wished to get married so late, they looked at each other in agreement and stated “there’s no trusting a man”. The girls agreed it was important to have one’s own property separate from that of a man’s. One of them waved her hand through the air and said: “he will take your house and everything.” As shown in chapter two, the way in which land titles are granted in the name of individual owners only is problematic, for it neglects the reality that usually more than one person lives in a lot. The question becomes then who gains the advantage of being the official owner of the lot. As the girls’ vehement desire to own their own homes (or lots) suggest, conflicts over ownership surely must exist, and as the societal norms privilege male members, it is reasonable to assume that in a case of a married couple, the tendency is to privilege the male party, although the women do a lot of the physical labour of clearing out the sand, for example. The young female students thus used a pragmatic discourse of love that they were socialised into from a young age. It was important not to ‘fall into the trap’ of ‘false love’ and early pregnancy and it is important for women to prioritize their own resources over love and marriage.

Implicit in the narrative of the girls was a moralised burden related to their sexuality that has not been erased via females' access to the public society. The most prominent discourse in Pachacutec, where sex was a key 'hidden' concern, was *hacerse respetar*, 'making oneself respected' (or also 'earn respect' or 'win respect'). 'Making yourself respected' in more straightforward words meant not engaging in sexual activities before marriage, or at least until one was sure the man was going to be faithful. The narrative implied that once the man had demonstrated he was 'sincere' in his love declarations, a girl could live a life of a 'decent' woman. It was a pragmatic means to assure the girls were not falling into the trap of early pregnancies. Female teachers advised female students in a low voice to be careful of the male partners they chose, and not to go to their homes if asked.

Although it was a pragmatic way to protect against early pregnancies, the narrative of *hacerse respetar* ('making one-self respected') is not adequate for accounting for the changed gender dynamics in terms of labour. Indeed, as a class-based notion, the implicit assumption in *hacerse respetar* is that once married, a man would be able to support the whole family, while the female is happily supported at home, which is quite the contrary to what the girls strived for. As we saw in the charts in the last chapter, girls valued studies and professional statuses perhaps even more than boys, and with the increasing feminization of labour, it is likely that women would be more employable and earn more regularly than the boys in many instances. Yet the ideals still continued to place emphasis on old codes. As discussed in chapter four in reference to the work of Peter Wade, 'respect' originates from the colonial honour code. Wade argues that sex was not only a means of conquest, but also a means of building and governing a new social and moral order of how society should be run. The concerns over female chastity, virginity before marriage, as well as honour and shame were brought to the American continent after the conquest, when wealthy families sought to pass their property by means of dowry and inheritance. *Mestizo* men aligned themselves with the patriarchal values of elite men, which saw women both as objects of (sexual) conquest and as male property to be 'defended' from other men all the while a crucial site for a man's honour was his wife's fidelity and 'sexual decency'(2009). Sexual reputation for a woman was thus a concern that possibly restricted her access to the public realm.

However, while the codes about sexuality and gender that were evident in the teachers' conversations with the students may have been derived from portrayals in

telenovelas and in upper- and middle-class circles, Lobo recounted how in settlement towns among the highlanders virginity is not really valued, and pregnancy outside of marriage was not something shameful in particular. The concern over marriage was more of an economic arrangement (1982). In addition, whereas the school propagated the idea that pregnancy should be avoided, there was also a lot of comments and pressure placed on women who were still childless and nearing their thirties. Comments like *se te pasa el tren* (the train will pass you) were made if women remained childless. Whether one was married or not came as secondary, as what mattered was to have a child, perhaps as it was perceived to be the natural role of women. Babies are also celebrated, and children are pampered and looked after by the extended family. Girls I interviewed in the 8th grade also recounted how a woman may have many reasons to have children. Some young girls may get pregnant for ‘fear of losing the partner’ (*miedo de perder la pareja*). Indeed, babies were also a means to ‘trap’ a man. The girls also explained that a man may ‘insist’ on a baby, as a sign of the woman’s love or fidelity. The discourse of ‘making yourself respected’ thus was perhaps more a class discourse propagated in the school, but babies were not always such big stigmas as evidenced also by the proud displays that young mothers put together on their Facebook walls.

In the space of the school however, norms of decency dominated. Girls recognised the playful aspect of boys flirting, and girls usually ignored the male attention they received at school. Members of the opposite sex expected this behaviour, and a cold response from a girl may not have been interpreted as a sign she was not interested. In a research about young professional students’ ideal partners, Oliart records that male students valued a girl who would ‘make herself respected’, *se haga respetar* (2011). These messages were also circulated on Facebook, such as in figure 7.4 in the next page that states: “If you want to fool around, let me know so I won’t fall in love, and if you want to fall in love, let me know so I won’t fool around.”

7.4 “A female who respects herself”



But what we can infer from the post in figure 7.4 is also a degree of sexual openness. Indeed, the girl too could ‘fool around’ if the boy was not being sincere enough. So the girls weren’t passively reproducing the circulating messages, but reworking them to a degree that was acceptable.

The ambivalence surrounding female sexual activity that is exhibited in the post about *pendejear* was something that could be perceived as a threat to norms of decency, which made the relationship between the sexes sometimes fraught by antagonism. While male youth were often seen as more potentially problematic than girls because they may become associated with *pandillaje* and illicit activities such as stealing, the girl was also a menace when she reached the age of puberty. At this age, men would start to notice her and make comments in the street like whistles and kissing and sucking sounds. This is usually when adolescent and preadolescent girls become aware they are objects of the male gaze. She would also become aware of the power of her sexuality, perhaps taking secret pleasure on her attractiveness.¹⁷³ Indeed, when I asked the girls about the activities they liked doing at home, they would giggle and say ‘escaping’. It can be speculated that during one of these ‘escapes’, a girl might encounter a boy with whom to chat, and perhaps even secretly start a ‘love affair’¹⁷⁴. There were standards as to how long the boy should court her, in the name of ‘respect’, otherwise, the girl would soon acquire the reputation of *facil* (‘easy’). While some girls knew how to play the game of love better than others, there was also the possibility of being labelled as *melosa* (sticky), if one was too flirty. Yet, being

¹⁷³ In representations of women in colonial Lima, beauty in a woman was power over a man (in Rosas Lauro 1999).

¹⁷⁴ Similarly, Goddard records how in Naples, amorous relationships were formed during times when women were able to escape confines of home and walk along the streets. Marriages were also formed as an avenue to escape the constraints of home (1996).

too introverted was not good either, for then a boy may lose interest. While a girl was to guard her sexuality, she should still remain 'pretty'. A successful girl would know how to gain 'serious' courtships, perhaps using slight seduction and her attractiveness. The girls should show they are 'respectful', *señoritas* (misses), and *niñas de su casa* (i.e. 'girls of their homes'), this also implicitly present in the way they dressed. Compliments to a girl's appearance are easily made in Peru, with words like *hermosa* (gorgeous) and *linda* (beautiful). At the age of puberty girls also start receiving other small remarks relating to their physical appearance, such as those relating to figure. In these practices, what essentially continued to dominate was the male gaze.

The division of gender was also manifested in the occupation of space. The girls were also complaining that the boys would monopolize the playground to play football, and did not leave space for girls to play their favourite game, which was volleyball¹⁷⁵. Indeed, boys often became fierce in their game, making anyone crossing the playground weary of the ball flying over. If the passer-by was a teacher, the boys would courteously catch the ball and wait. A similar way of engaging with the football would happen on the streets. Boys would get together after school or on weekends in little groups to play, alerting the others with shouts to stop the game if an elderly woman was passing by, and selectively screening those who were worthy enough members of society to whom to address such respect. They would continue playing football into the late hours of the night, whereas leaving the house unaccompanied at night time was rather dubious for a girl. Even during the day-time, a girl would have to give her mother or other family member a good excuse for leaving the house such as visiting a neighbour's shop to buy a packet of washing powder or milk. Wandering around the impure domain of the street proved that she was either not clever enough to guard herself and stay home, or she must have been a little bit 'vicious'. The unmentioned trait that led to such views was her sexuality, and the 'threat' to her were the men in the street that she might encounter or even a specific male friend or acquaintance she might meet. While it was the man posing the threat, it was also the girls' responsibility not to instigate any inappropriate interactions. Hence, the public space was, just as the school playground, dominated by the male gaze that also turned it into a possible site of aggression towards females.

¹⁷⁵ Peruvian female volleyball teams succeed well in global competitions, and it is known that managers often search for women who play well from *barrios* where one of the women's past-time activities is playing volleyball together.

And so girls were socialised into respecting the norms that govern the public space outside. Of course, De Beauvoir reminds us that women's sexuality cannot ever be controlled for certain (2011). Hence, there is always ambiguity in the picture. While on the one hand a woman is venerated as a virgin and mother, on the other she can also be viewed as sinful and lustful (Wade 2009).



7.5 "the most awkward moment in a woman's life".

Despite the prevalence of early pregnancies, in Our Lady of Sorrows, sex education had been prohibited by the Sisters, but due to the curriculum emphasis placed on the prevention of early pregnancies, the Sisters were becoming more lenient about teachers giving sexual education. During the early days of the fieldwork, teacher Cinthia suggested I could perhaps talk with the Sisters about permitting sexual education in the school. For my own convenience, I used my 'objective observer' status as an excuse, and decided to ignore Cinthia's plea that I press the issue with the Sisters. But by the end of the school year, Cinthia decided to take matters into her own hands and she planned and carried out a brief lesson on sexual education for the 10th graders. Half of the class was however absent when she gave the lesson, as they had gone to a dance rehearsal. It was clear that the topic was considered 'delicate' for the teachers. During the class, Cinthia drew pictures of ovaries on the blackboard, advising students that sex can also be a nice experience, if done with the right person, who she described as the one 'you are in love with'. She then warned the students who were present about the high prevalence of HIV in Ventanilla, and the importance of using condoms. While the boys who were present tried to show off their knowledge on the subject by listing the price of condoms, girls were seemingly embarrassed and

they seemed to want to avoid the discussion. It soon became apparent why the issue was such a concern for them. Perlita, a girl who was usually calm, grew exceedingly nervous as the teacher continued on with the subject. She asked Cinthia to stop discussing the topic. When teacher Cinthia asked her “now, what’s the big deal?”, a boy turned in her direction and with a derogatory voice said: “it’s because she has done it”. This put a stop to Perlita’s complaints, and she had a mortified look on her face.

Indeed, whereas for a boy there was a need to show competence in sexual matters, even if in truth he has to feign it¹⁷⁶, ‘having done it’ was a stigma for a girl and a profound devaluing of her status. A girl who “has done it” as Perlita was labelled had clearly not managed to ‘make herself respected’, but instead proved to be ‘easy’ (*facil*). The ongoing socialisation and asymmetrical power relations between girls and boys in matters relating to sex were evident as Cinthia tried to broach the subject with the adolescent students. It was more important for the girls to treat themselves as an object with a ‘price’, than the information on safe sexual practices that was being given. Indeed, a girl who would show competence or interest in sexual matters faced stigmatisation. For young women, sex was only legitimated when it happened with the person you were ‘in love with’, a matter that the teacher reinforced even as she tried to talk to the students about sex. As shown however, ‘love’ was characterised by unequal power dynamics where boys were conquerors and girls the conquered, also suggesting that ‘unsafe sexual practices’ were legitimated when a person was ‘in love’, perhaps being one of the reasons why girls continued having babies at young age¹⁷⁷.

There was a further antagonizing aspect given to sexual practices. Running parallel to the discourses about ‘broken families’ were frequent rumours of family incest. Lobo observed that in the settlements of Callao, rumours about incest were common and they appeared to have a wider function of sanctioning against possible misalliances between even distant kin members (1982). Thus, rumours about family incest may have held different functions and meanings to the Sisters leading the school, and to the *Pachacuteños* themselves. The emphasis of the school was however

¹⁷⁶ In discussing the formation of masculinities, Greig argues that the idea that men also desire and enjoy sex all the time also creates anxieties to those men who do not conform to that prescription (2006).

¹⁷⁷ In a study made with women living in inner-city areas in the US, Sobo argues there are psychosocial benefits to unsafe sex that stem from ideals of fidelity, love and monogamous relationships (1995).

more on the violent aspect of incest than a kin related mismatch of pairs. Students would sometimes emphasize that sexual acts were violent at their young age. One student in the 8th grade for example said in a fragile voice that early pregnancies may also result from rape, adding that a man may rape a woman because ‘he may have had gone through the same’. At the time of the interview, I thought she may have been replicating ideas she had learned about in the media or read somewhere, or she was influenced by the ‘awareness raising’ agenda present in the school. A few days later during class-time with the 8th graders, when I was carrying out my usual task of reading students notebooks, I read in the same girl’s diary a story about a girl named Esperanza that numbed me into silence. Her friend was reading the diary and she smilingly let me read it over her shoulder. In the story a girl asked why her father had raped her, and she was angry at her mother for not denouncing him. Instead her mother had told her she was her ‘hope’ (*esperanza*). I didn’t know whether this student’s name was Esperanza and I could not tell whether the protagonist of the story was this student or not. While I read her diary, she carried on working on her assignments, she kept her gaze down and avoided eye contact with me.

At home when listening to the recording of interview with her again, I wondered if she was describing her own personal experience with her own father. It was not until a year after my fieldwork, when I met one of the girl’s classmate Kenny that I was able to ask about a girl named Esperanza. Kenny however told me there was no one named Esperanza in his class. Therefore, the story may have been purely fiction or it may have been inspired by somebody else she knows. It nevertheless points to the kind of sexual violence that teenage girls are exposed to, even in the intimacy of their family. Like stories of the *pishtacos*, these accounts also found their source in real events. Her interview also raises the possibility of rape against other men.¹⁷⁸

Masculinity is systematically linked with violence and legitimises its use, which is a reason to explore the ways by which masculine and feminine identities and heterosexuality are continuously socially produced. Indeed, there exists a false assumption that rape is a marginal event in society, perpetuated by ‘deviant’ individuals. In radical feminist thought, rape is a political act, and a fundamental

¹⁷⁸ While girls are three times more likely to experience childhood sexual abuse in most cases perpetrated by males, also boys are subject to it, the sex of the offender varying (Greig 2006:85)

expression of men's relations with women and property (Jukes 1993)¹⁷⁹. While out in public and on the street, it was the fear of rape that limited female movement although it might not be explicitly stated or vocalised as such. And as was apparent in Esperanza's story, even the 'safe' space of the home where women are confined does not guarantee protection from rape. The reproduction of the public/private divide present in the social practice of the students ultimately subordinated girls to a position where their agency was limited, and these norms were not addressed by the school's pacifying discourse.

What was also apparent in Esperanza's story was that the sexual violence that happened inside the confines of the private was not addressed by any institutional means, because her own mother had desired not to press charges. This was also a concern voiced by the Sisters in the school. In the absence of 'state', they were confided with matters such as the sexual violence experienced in home by students, yet the Sisters also lacked an institutional system to which to refer to themselves. At times this would amount to a sense of frustration about their own efforts, perhaps being the reason why it was easier to blame structural factors such as 'small houses' and 'living with extended kin' for the frequency of the cases that were heard. When recounting about the cases of family incest she was aware of, Sister Ruth lamented: "I wish we could offer them a better future". The funding that has been dedicated to strengthening gender relations has not achieved change as violence is multidimensional, and discussions about the reproduction of violence need to be accompanied by reasonable measures at the level of the whole society (e.g. monetary support to institutions and people, sanctions, employment etc.). This kind of disconnection occurs when discourses in the text books get separated from the state project. The ways by which social norms in Pachacutec continued to follow rather strict gender divisions in the stereotypical roles assigned to women and men shows that there is really little that is challenging typical gender norms in neighbourhoods like Pachacutec. They could be described as superficial and limited challenges that go no deeper than just equal access to educational avenues for women. Yet as we have seen, the increasingly flexibilization of labour also poses challenges to education and

¹⁷⁹ Here Jukes uses Freudian psychoanalytic theory as source to his argument. According to it, the early childhood desire for mother, and fear of castration by father to whom the mother belongs to as property, means that the men carry around them an internal object, that is the 'witch woman'. In researching paedophilia, Jukes argues that men who harbour more intense feelings of hatred and fear of women experience them so damaged they cannot be intimate with them (1993: 191).

future labour opportunities. In line with the previous chapters, the ephemeral quality of many of the neoliberal project proposals aimed at strengthening the civil society demonstrate where exactly it fails to account for the youth in Pachacutec.

Threatening Sexuality: why don't women masturbate?

So far, I have suggested that the official discourse rarely matches young people's experience of reality. There were certainly some trends mostly in the media that were contradicting and competing with norms of 'decency'. The most striking contrast to 'decency' was the popularity of the music form reggaeton among the youth. Reggaeton is a commercialised music genre originating from Central America, that mixes music styles like Jamaican dancehall, soca and hip hop, and it has replaced music styles like *salsa* in popularity among the youth. Reggaeton is characterized by highly gendered lyrics, and openly sensual and provocative music videos. In the youth sub-culture, *perreo*, has become a popular dance form of reggaeton. Its moves imitate 'doggy style' male penetration, hence the name (*perro* = dog). The erotic charge of this music form, popular at parties among the youth and in the dance clubs that young people visit, propagates an ambience where sexual contact or getting close to a desired partner is easier (Golte & León Gabriel 2011). Part of reggaeton's popularity relies precisely in the strength it has to transgress norms, and arguably, the reason it is so popular is because it provides a valve through which to contest the rather conservative norms of 'decency'. Indeed, where there are rigid rules, there also exists the carnivalesque to defy those rules (see Bakhtin 1984). Girls in Pachacutec would tell me gigglingly how at their 15th birthday parties (*quinceañera*)¹⁸⁰, they were going to dance reggaeton and *perreo*. The *quinceañera* is perhaps the most important tradition in a young girl's life especially because it is more about consumption and display of wealth on some level by the family in emerging middle and working classes. It has become part of the whole consumer culture that has emerged for children in the past 20 or 30 years on a global scale – which is more aware of children as agents and the values of childhood. As we saw already in chapter five, consumerism allowed destabilizing some constraining norms, such as in this case the norms of 'decency'.

Yet the double demands exerted by consumerism on one hand, and 'decency'

¹⁸⁰ A girl's 15 year-birthday party that is commonly celebrated throughout much of Latin America. In Peru it is a common urban coastal tradition (Lobo 1982).

on the other meant that the ways in which youth made sense of the messages presented in the school and youth culture had a tendency to put females in an unprivileged position. In a study of middle-class youth in Lima, Golte and Gabriel record how young *Limeño* males, while desiring sexual relations with members of the opposite sex, would often refer to the girls who attend parties as *perras* (bitches), implying they are only 'good for sex'. A man is expected to boast about his sexual encounters, while women are expected to be more secretive about their sexual liaisons (2011)¹⁸¹. This means that the celebrated openness about sexual matters that comes with the forces of commercialisation was a trait allowed without stigmatisation only to males, and this means that the accompanying objectification of bodies focuses on male pleasure rather than that of female, as the dance moves in *perreo* also imply.

Amidst the discursive frames discussed thus far, it was evident female sexual pleasure was neglected in the local understandings of sex and sexuality. Yet research has shown that when pleasure is inserted in sexual practice, it has potential to motivate safer sex, thereby also reducing early pregnancies (Knerr & Philpott 2006), and some of the ideas may also have been present in the pacifying discourse evident in textbooks as the confusion over female sexual pleasure was a concern to some students. It could also be the case that they may have figured out there was a paradox all by themselves. Jonathan, a diligent boy from the tenth grade, once stopped me in the corridor in order to ask a question that made some of this confusion evident. He was accompanied by one of his classmates, who kept some distance from us, but stayed close enough to overhear my response, as if it were both boys who had prepared the question beforehand and had decided to ask me. Jonathan nervously asked me if he could ask me a question, but at the same time he provided a trigger warning and told me "don't get angry". I promised not to. He then continued: "why don't women masturbate?" My quick and blunt answer: "yes they do" caused him to look down in embarrassment, and clearing his throat he continued: "no, I mean, why do they masturbate less than men?" It was evident that the taboo of a woman's sexual pleasure and the imposed norms of respect were somewhat a puzzle for boys, and I would suggest that it is also a confounding problem for girls.

Indeed, the silence about the sexual pleasure of women has been narrated and

¹⁸¹ In an earlier study in *barrios populares*, Santos Anaya record that males often 'supervise' females who attend parties and their behaviour there in terms of drinking and dancing and later circulate stories about the girl's behaviour, explicitly linked to her 'reputation' (1999).

performed most famously by Eve Ensler in the episodic play called *The Vagina Monologues* (2001) that has traversed continents on a quest to break down some of the taboos surrounding female sexuality, and to shed light on the instances of sexual violence women experience every day that are directly linked with this concealment. It was evident in Jonathan's question that the combination of increased sexual openness, as well as the school's discussion on safe sexual practices had opened up some space where the contradicting messages over female sexuality could be questioned. To that note, perhaps my role as a *gringa* made it easier for Jonathan to ask the question, as *gringas* are perhaps perceived to have more agency to think differently.

In another example, while 'decency' dominated in the school discourse, it was also evident that the youth were using social media platforms like Facebook to also challenge the traditional norms. These mediums are sometimes more permissive than face-to-face interaction, and they demonstrate that girls too were reworking the traditional passive-active roles, and reclaiming some power to themselves. On Facebook, sexuality was also manipulated by girls as a form of 'emancipation'. Girls posted pictures of themselves in provocative poses with an emphasis on their body parts, imitating those found in tabloids magazines, receiving many 'likes' and appraisals of their physique from boys. Rosa, who was at the time around 16 years old, employed an original way of using Facebook by only posting pictures of herself giving kisses to the camera, often wearing trendy and revealing clothes. Her facial expression, usually with puckered lips, made her unidentifiable in her profile, which extenuated her mystique. Her wall posts revealed sensitivity, often entangled with humour that one could identify with. The sentence below was posted on her Facebook wall and I used it for the title of this chapter:

'These days even feelings are made in China, they don't last shit.'

Hoy en día hasta los sentimientos los fabrican en la China, no duran ni mierda.

The sentence directly reflects a sentiment prevalent in Pachacutec that feelings were also ephemeral, just like sand and citizenship. This idea is by no means new, but reflects what has been described as the 'post-modern' and/or 'flexible' condition infiltrated by consumer rationalities, where everything - including relationships - get

thrown in the bin due to the increased ‘availability’ of options. Indeed, ‘love’, just like items made in China, had become of secondary quality¹⁸². The condition that Rosa captured in her post along with the provocative persona she seemed to perform on social media is evidence of an important new dynamic in the more traditional gender roles, accompanying the new ‘ephemeral’ conditions in love and living arrangements. Here Rosa was mocking the idea that there was a love that would last through all trials and tribulations. Indeed, market driven forces have tended to promote an idea of a ‘sexually emancipated’ woman, who at the same time sells her sexuality by remaining desirable to men, but is the one who chooses whom she establishes liaisons with, and openly has many. This kind of performance was critique of the notion of *hacerse respetar* and the norms of patriarchal society. Her posts nearly always received many likes, and her performance was accepted as street-wise and trendy. At the same time, she skilfully maintained the male gaze with her red puckered lips.

Rosa was redefining romantic love by manipulating the image of the sexually emancipated woman. As Oliart observes¹⁸³ in this new trend, romantic love is disassociated from sexual relations. Females disrupt previous boundaries by demonstrating that they have sexual relations without love, thereby taking some of the power away from men. To some men it can be disconcerting, which is why they resort to calling these girls ‘easy girls’ *chicas faciles* (2011). Aware of these possible antagonisms, one day Rosa posted a picture of herself where her phone covered her face, taking the focus away from her face and making her trendy pose the centre of attention. She captioned this with the words: *ni puta, ni santa, simplemente mujer*, ‘not a whore, not a saint, simply a woman’. The post by Rosa is one of the new manipulations emerging that rework some of the constraints in the assigned gender roles. It is seeking to transform some structures that are limiting, nevertheless through norms that are validated by the commercialised logic where women gain capital through their ability to display their bodies with style and appeal that still correspond to gendered conventions. This logic is something that operates beyond the school, and it gained acceptance from globally circulating codes. In chapter five we saw these codes had a strong agency in giving meaning to the youth.

¹⁸² During the period of fieldwork, the public discourse sought to valorise China as Peru had opened export to China, but the post by Rosa indicates that China retained some ambivalent qualities in public imagination. This ambivalence, also recorded in other places, has been associated with the dilemmas brought by globalisation and the global restructurings and the resulting ‘weakening of the bargain position of workers outside of Chindia’ [China and India] (Standing 2016:33).

¹⁸³ Building on bell hooks

It is important to consider why these kinds of performances and commentary on social media are preferred by the girls rather than the open discussions some teachers were promoting about sexual practices at the school. Some synergies may be found in the work among female militant activists in India, in the slums of Bombay, recorded by Atreyee Sen. Sen details how access to labour opportunities compelled by rural-urban migration compromised women's notions of fidelity, morality and ideal motherhood¹⁸⁴. What women desired was to change their own conditions, *whilst* retaining their home arrangements. The nationalistic Shiv Sena movement gained momentum throughout the slums and used violence to punish men who had abused Shiv Sena women, and offered a means to push back where women did not have to challenge the dominant patriarchal relations. The talks of empowerment offered by feminist social workers in India at the time was a discourse that belonged to privileged women, it did not take into account the need to stay inside the patriarchal family structure, because as poor women if they were to reject all male dominance and return to their homes, they would be ostracised by their families. Thus, these women found the Shiv Sena's radical right-wing nationalist rhetoric much more convincing than the rhetoric of NGO's (2007). While there are important differences, the dynamism in gender dynamics that was present in Pachacutec could have similarities with these women in India. The girls in Pachacutec, like Rosa, subtly re-adjusted the mechanisms of power, just like the Shiv Sena supporters (Sen 2007:76). The more direct rejection of gender norm that was proposed in the school curriculum was perhaps elitist to some degree and ignored the important ways by which by both girls and boys felt the need to perpetuate gender specific practices. The gender specific practices were part of their social capital and important for the every-day relations beyond the school.

Digital media offered a space where some more constraining norms such as those related to female sexuality could be reworked, although the most traditional stereotypes about the roles of women and men were nevertheless reproduced at the same time, as girls explicitly tended to reduce themselves to body parts in the photos they posted. The trick was to know how to play the game well enough, as the risk of being labelled a *puta* existed for pushing this dynamic too far. The discourse of

¹⁸⁴ The women Sen worked with had entered the labour market which often required granting sexual favours to employers, dealing with illegal trade and also leaving their children at home for entire work days (Sen 2007).

gender in the school was highly prevalent and constructive in the learning materials provided to students, but in the end there were few resources to deal with issues like gender violence, as well as the very real life situations where women may feel various constraints that inhibit following the ideals proposed in the curriculum. A few years after her post, Rosa had gone to a technical school and moved to Lima, showing that her cosmopolitan strategies had helped her to attain some mobility and yielded results in terms of moving to the city. She also got engaged and removed all the 'sexy' pictures from her profile.

Conclusion

The chapter has argued that 'love' was a discourse and a game of everyday life that often reproduced structures of a patriarchal society. Although the school embraced the aim to try to dissuade early pregnancy and empower female students, the discourse the school adopted did little to challenge male dominance within social relationships and the public sphere. One of the pragmatic strategies embraced by girls in the love games was *hacerse respetar*, which embodied what was essentially a moral concern over the implications of female sexual promiscuity. It was also for the girls a pragmatic concern through which they were voicing criticism over the place they inhabited in their desire to establish the goal of 'moving forward'. The discourse followed an old tradition where women's 'respect' lies in the way they manage their bodies. This ultimately perpetuates the norm of seeing women as male property, enhancing stereotypes over female sexual modesty and male sexual aggressiveness. However, new articulations emerged in girls' desire for autonomy, also relating to their sexuality, most visible on social media. Nevertheless, the kinds of pleasure that were present in the consumer discourse but absent in every-day discourse provided conflicting messages for the youth. Girls equated 'sexual emancipation' with performing as sexual beings but they performed in ways that met the imagined preconditions of the 'male-gaze'. Still the attempt of reworking dominant gender norms was most successful in this new realm, indicating the ambivalent power that neoliberalism has.

The chapter has also highlighted that pregnancy may have been also a very pragmatic response to the every-day reality that the young women lived. As the literature on the feminisation of labour has stated, 'modernisation' has a tendency to downplay domestic work by putting work with direct exchange value on a pedestal.

For Pearson, it is increasingly clear that the concerns of women's employment need to be contextualised within the changing global economy. In this global economy, the bulk of the female labour force do not labour within the formal economy regulated by national laws concerning pay, working hours and leave. There is a need to dismantle the ideas of 'formal' and 'informal' as often these dichotomies have allowed a large part of women's paid and unpaid work to remain beyond the scope of policy (2007)¹⁸⁵. In line with the previous chapters, the formulations of formal and informal are inadequate to account for the complex ways by which power reproduces conditions like female subordination to males. In light of the physical, structural and symbolic violence (Scheper-Hughes & Bourgois 2003) against females, the chapter also highlights the ongoing importance of the state project in order to bring more security to young victims and distributing justice. This means that proposals such as basic income and postnational concepts of citizenship that would go beyond the boundaries of formal and informal, must also be accompanied by institutions and frameworks of justice that are effective. So far it has been the state that has been the strongest agent capable of administering justice, at least so in the city (although this too might be disputable, depending on the context). Thus far, however, the neoliberal project in Peru has only legitimized a common notion that 'feelings are made in China' and male privilege perpetuates at the expense of women.

¹⁸⁵ She proposes universal entitlements for female work done inside the household.

Chapter 8

Diverse Citizenship? or the colours of Global Capitalism



8.1 “I am proud to be Peruvian and I am happy.
Happy Peruvian Day”

Introduction

The discourse of ‘participating in globalisation’ that was present through the first decade of the new millennium was accompanied by various rights-based agendas, which included combatting racism, enhancing the rights of children, and other people listed as ‘vulnerable’. Hannah Arendt has proclaimed that law exists in order for us to equalize ourselves in the public sphere precisely because we are not equal, we all are born with distinct qualities (in Oboler 1996) and this was clearly the message promoted all over the Peruvian school curriculum and books, especially in students’ civic books. The author Hannah Arendt herself and her philosophy appeared also on some of the pages in the textbooks. Inequality was proposed to be combatted via ‘politics of difference’ a trend that appeared in Latin American countries in some form beginning roughly in the 1980s (Garcia 2005). The politics of difference fused with broader calls for respects of human rights. In the mid 1990s, the international donor community realigned their policies to place new emphasis on the promotion of globalised human rights, meaning that no longer were human rights an indicator of a certain level of development, but now they were a device that could be used to actively promote development, and the interlinking of human rights with development

and poverty reduction aims has now been adopted by multilateral agencies (Crewe & Axelby 2013). Peter Uvin describes that the end of the Cold War combined with the failure of structural adjustment programmes, prompting the push for ‘good governance’ and democracy because of what was seen as a lack of government accountability. This brought about the increasing prominence of ‘human rights’ in the development discourse. Development first entered the realm of rights however in the seventies, in the name of the ‘right to development’ (2010:165)¹⁸⁶.

At the UN 2005 World Summit, member states made a commitment to integrate the promotion of human rights into national policies and national and local level non-governmental and civil society organisations were mobilised to help advance claims to particular rights. The practical impact of this new fashion was a repositioning of UN goals away from ‘welfare’ and ‘well-being’ to ‘rights and responsibilities’ The idea here is that rights entitle citizens to make demands on their governments and to hold them to account, thereby giving poor people the potential to take decisions in their lives and become empowered (Crewe & Axelby 2013). Discourses of democracy and citizenship are to a greater extent focused on the notion of cultural rights or the right to cultivating identities for the deepening of democracy. Cultural citizenship requires that people are not obliged to conform to dominant cultural norms and that all cultures which exist within a state are valued by the state (Golash-Boza 2011).

Aside the promotion gender rights that we saw in the previous chapter which was promoted in order to prevent early pregnancies, the school curriculum promoted ‘diversity’, and the existence of cultural differences within a nation is understood and resolved with the notion of interculturality, *interculturalidad*, a term that has travelled to the Latin American public scene from North America, where it was implemented as a response to criticisms of multicultural policies serving global capital power structures.¹⁸⁷ Today subject areas such as civic studies and history specifically teach about the topic of *interculturalidad* to students and its principles are incorporated into the curriculum. The aim of the chapter is to examine how the discourses about diversity were received by the students, and to a lesser part, by the teachers. Moreover, how did the broader background of global human rights inform students’ ideas of diversity and equality? As it has been argued thus far, neoliberalism

¹⁸⁶ See also Cornwall and Nyamu-Musembi 2004

¹⁸⁷ See Zizek (1993). In the context of Britain, see work by Gillian Evans.

has been accompanied by some measure of destabilization of previous dynamics, through the access of cosmopolitan identities and circulation of consumer goods. In line with the approach taken in previous chapters, this chapter will demonstrate that the discourse of diversity too built on previously established norms. There were subtle and not so subtle elements present in the school that evidenced that schooling had not de-colonialised itself. Because of the mechanisms through which power reproduced itself, *interculturalidad* had both continuities and discontinuities from the political projects of *indigenismo* and *mestizaje*, and *interculturalidad* served to re-inscribe the previously existing racial hierarchy. However, just as we saw in the pacifying discourse of teacher Miguel in chapter six, who sought to make students aware they were equal to the people living and working in the upper-class areas, there was also a dimension in the discourse of *interculturalidad* that disrupted previous dynamics.

There is a telling anecdote that is related by James Ferguson (2015) that helps to illustrate some of the ambiguity around the discussion of human rights in the neoliberal context. In a meeting where several activists had gathered to discuss housing rights with people in South Africa, an old man who was present at the meetings and sat patiently through the hours of talks and discussions, raised his hand when he had the opportunity and said there seemed to be a misunderstanding. He didn't want a right for a house, he just wanted a house. Ferguson uses the example to illustrate the irony of much of 'rights talk' that has actually failed to deliver pragmatic returns. The point the old man was making resonated with events unfolding in Pachacutec in many respects. The Human Rights Declarations were printed on the back of each school-book, and many of the students knew them by heart. But pragmatic concerns such as a water supply, sewerage systems and house titling were always a future aspiration somewhere on their way to come. As we have seen thus far in the thesis, *Pachacutecños* described themselves very much in terms of this temporality of waiting for 'progress' and thus the active messages about progress in the here and now were sometimes ambivalently received.

The chapter will also pay attention to how the continuing presence of an anti-imperialist narrative in the students reasoning, as well as Peru's image on the world stage with migration to countries like Chile and Argentina in previous decades where Peruvians are perceived as poor and crafty with many allegations of thievery and informality. These circulating tropes complicated many of the messages of equality on the national level, demonstrating that equality was not necessarily measured in

national terms, but what really mattered were global inequalities. The purpose of this chapter is thus to demonstrate some of the continuing ambivalences of the state's development project that have not been able to transcend inequalities. The hypothesis is however, that despite the ongoing relevance of unequal power mechanisms, there is a dynamic generated by the human rights discourse that has a potential to transform things, while in pragmatic ways there are still too many obstacles for it to really materialize.

Right to be different, but culture belongs to regions

The Peruvian national curriculum today is based on a heterogenous concept of citizenship, at least in principle. This is viewed as a means to combat discrimination based on race, gender, disability or religion. While not explicitly stated as such in the school curriculum, the principles are adopted from the “politics of difference”, a political theory coming from countries in the Northern hemisphere, North America more precisely, that aims to address how countries should respond to the exclusion of people by colours, language etc¹⁸⁸. By law state can punish discriminatory activity. Following the Universalist approach, act of discrimination i.e. in resource allocation, is announced. Policies are not made for redemption, for asking apology for atrocities of before, in other words victimization, but the problem that is claimed to be solved is that of social justice. It is considered to be disadvantage to the state to allow discrimination and it is presumed that effects of social justice, or its processes can be documented. The presence of different groups are sought to be legitimized, and equality is sought after by bilingual education. In essence, it is a tool for inclusion and it does not question republicanism. Questions to be considered are should state allocate resources for saving a culture / language?¹⁸⁹

The universal social justice approach moreover views that bilingual education should be applied to everyone. In Latin America, the politics of difference is specifically using the term *interculturalidad*, interculturality, as a tool to achieve its aims and it is used in educational institutions. Along with interculturality, the textbooks in the Peruvian school curriculum circulate words such as “respect” and

¹⁸⁸ The struggle for rights via identity politics is an example of liberal individualism that emphasises the struggle of each group for their rights in order to ameliorate their condition (Guibernau & Rex 2010).

¹⁸⁹ These points were raised by David Lehmann in a lecture given at ILAS, Senate House London, November 2011

“culture of peace”, that were accompanied by pictures of children from all areas of Peru, but most prominently the Andes. *Interculturalidad* has also been promoted by more radical thinkers who have been inspired by strands in critical pedagogy (Garcia 2005; Trapnell 2011; Zavala 2011). Critical pedagogy aims to explain and understand societal events and make it more possible for individuals to act in the society and make it more just and equal. For instance, it promotes ‘dialogue’, and this word specifically was present in many of the students’ interpretations of the curriculum’s message, usually linking it with nature of the Peruvian society, and overcoming such things as theft and corruption should be made through ‘dialogue’. The emancipatory background in many writing of critical pedagogy and the thoughts of Freire, but also work by educational psychologists like Bruner and Vygotsky are present in the interpretation of politics of difference¹⁹⁰.

The interest in forming a new concept like interculturality also stemmed from the criticisms the project of multiculturalism received, specifically in countries of the Northern hemisphere, like the US. Whereas multiculturalism was founded more on the notion that people are by nature different and have different logics and epistemologies, *interculturalidad* tries to emphasize that different cultures are as equal in importance. In opposition to multiculturalism that saw ‘culture’ as an essential feature of the ‘other’, *interculturalidad* seeks to deconstruct ‘culture’ as a homogenous entity, and sees instead a complex and dynamic multiplicity (Kromidas 2011:75). Policy papers however take a ‘cultural relativist’ approach that is the approach of multiculturalism¹⁹¹.

In Latin America, the interest in ‘intercultural education’ emerged in the 1980s as indigenous leaders and their allies led a movement to promote bilingual education in Latin American countries with large indigenous populations. The idea of *interculturalidad* in the school is to counter the homogenisation and racism that the schooling system produces.¹⁹² Intercultural Bilingual Education (EIB), inspired by critical pedagogy and politics of difference, is about overcoming colonial legacy and

¹⁹⁰ These points were raised by David Lehmann

¹⁹¹ Raised again by David Lehmann. See Lehmann 2011.

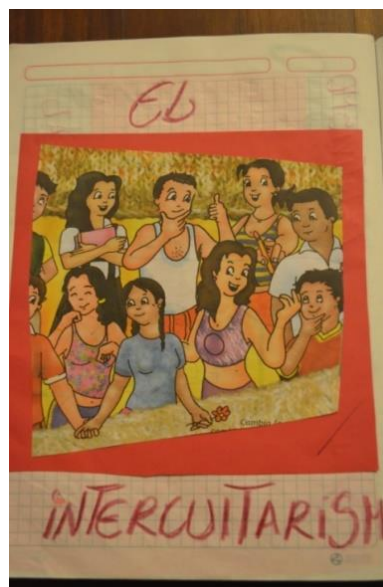
¹⁹² Scholars working on Peruvian education in the Andes who have carried out extensive fieldwork with students in rural areas affirm that the social status of a student is marked by such things as clothes and language spoken. Quechua is viewed as ‘only a peasant language’ and its use in class generates laughter. Prejudice also comes out in discourses of surnames and origins of ‘bloodline’, and in associations made with drinking alcohol to Andean heritage. Moreover, discussion on hygiene control in schools serves to disqualify those children who work in communal land (Ames Ramello 1999; Ansion Mallet 2005).

creating a more representative state by acknowledging that language use is embedded in power relations. A central premise thus is that education is not neutral, but is marked through Western conceptualisations based on epistemology (that gives preference to ‘rationality’ and ‘logic’) and power (Zavala 2011).

During the tumultuous period of the internal war, intercultural activism was reframed as language advocacy and it was supported by multilateral organizations such as the World Bank and international funding organizations such as Oxfam (Garcia 2005). Around that time, the concept of ‘indigenous’ gained more legitimacy in the vocabulary of international law with the creation of UN Working Group for Indigenous populations in 1982 (De la Peña 2005). *Interculturalidad* started to gain strength within state policy during president Fujimori’s government in the 1990s, while the state-agenda for creating a ‘multicultural’ Peru strengthened further during the government of president Toledo and his anthropologist wife in the early 2000s¹⁹³. Intercultural education was inscribed by law in 2002, identifying it as a right (*Ley para la educación bilingue intercultural*), while in 2003 the General Law of education (*Ley general de educación*) established that bilingual intercultural education should be offered in the entire education system (Godenzzi 2010; Greene 2007; Hornberger 2000).



8.2 “Cultural Relativism”



8.3 “Interculturality”

¹⁹³ In 1993 the Peruvian constitution established that every person has the ‘right to an ethnic or cultural identity’. In 1996 the National office for bilingual education, UNEBI, was created and in 2001 it was transformed into the national bureau of bilingual intercultural education, DINEBI (Godenzzi 2010).

The word *interculturalidad* was accompanied by a discourse of ‘conviviality’ and ‘diversity’. According to a narrative observed in one of the civic books used by students in Our Lady of Sorrows, citizenship values of ‘liberty’, ‘tolerance’ and ‘patriotism’ are necessary for the construction of pacific relations in local and national communities, and this constitutes ‘democratic living’. Part of it consisted of ‘constructing a culture of peace’ where the rights of everyone are respected. This should be put in practice in how community members treat each other on a daily basis. The discourse of ‘conviviality in a diverse society’ posits that diverse societies are made of individuals with different characteristics such as age, sex, ethnicity, religion, physical capacity, customs etc. This diversity makes the society richer. But it also implies that there may at times be difficulties with the acceptance of differences, making the rights of individuals more vulnerable. Hence, it is necessary to learn to value diversity by practicing respect and appreciation of others. These messages were imprinted in the civic education books the children used, along with pictures of various children from different backgrounds including children from the Amazon or the Andes and Afro-Peruvian children. There was also representation of children from different socioeconomic classes as they were pictured in public dining halls (*comedores populares*) in *asentamientos humanos* as well as disabled athletic groups.

In the UK in mid-20th century, T.H. Marshall coined the term social rights to describe the need for social protections for certain segments of the population such as women, the poor, minorities, and other groups that are vulnerable to gender, class, and racial discrimination that undercuts their standing as equal citizens (Ong 1999: 15)¹⁹⁴. The global pacific project promoted by human rights seeks to address these same dimensions, although it has been unable to promote equality by giving disadvantaged groups and citizens monetary contributions like the welfare states in countries of the North have done. In the introduction of the thesis it was mentioned that the current model in Peru addresses social protections to those classified as the most poor and vulnerable in the form of conditional cash transfers via a program called the Juntos, funded by the World Bank, and so far it is one of the few forms of monetary assistance that do exist. Each country applies the framework of cash transfers in their own way, for instance in South Africa, cash transfers are given to poor women and the disabled (Ferguson 2015). In Peru cash-transfers are given to

¹⁹⁴ This conception of citizenship was rooted in the assumption that the nation state controls a citizenry that is relatively stable and fixed to the national territory (Ong 1999).

poorest households in the Andes, and according to various reports, the results tend to be received positively¹⁹⁵. Yet during my fieldwork discussion around cash transfers as a form of social protection, or as a form of ‘social right’ did not occur, as such things were considered to be applied only for the poorest of the poor in the Andes, and they were strongly associated with charity, a form of temporary alleviation. Instead, the politics of difference and the pacifying discourse were the discursive frames that sought to remedy injustices. Cash transfers therefore remain apart from the rights agenda, as in other countries like South-Africa too (Ferguson 2015).

In teaching practice, the politics of difference principles are applied through ‘curriculum diversification’. While the concept of ‘interculturalidad’ and the politics of difference came to prominence in the latter half of the 20th century with the government of Fujimori, the principle of recognizing cultural diversity and curriculum diversification was first introduced in the school curriculum already in the 1970s during the Velasco’s reforms [see introduction] (Trapnell 2011), albeit some of its discursive frames have changed with the new strands of thoughts promoted by the UN, and politics of difference. The teaching law article n°33 enables teachers to diversify the content of the curriculum following the socioeconomic, linguistic, geographic and economic needs of the region/locality. Things to be taken into consideration when the curriculum is implemented are factors such as ‘the characteristics of the population’, ‘socio-economic character of the region’, ‘cultural/natural patrimony’ as well as ‘social problems’, such as alcoholism, malnutrition and endemic disease¹⁹⁶. In practice, this meant that teachers were allowed to ‘diversify’ the curriculum and use contents that were applicable to each locality. In some of the teachers’ narratives, this meant that a teacher in the Amazon would use different contents in their teaching practice than a teacher in the Andes or in Lima. Teacher Cinthia mentioned that the curriculum diversification proposed evaluating different capacities for students in different regions, and she saw this proposal as negative, as in her opinion students should all learn same skills and capacities.

Valeria was a new teacher in the primary grades, who started to work at Our Lady of Sorrows at the beginning of the new school year, transferring from a private school. She was hired to cover another teacher who was on maternity leave, and she

¹⁹⁵ http://www.juntos.gob.pe/modulos/mod_legal/archivos/Evaluacion_Cuasi-Experimental1.pdf

¹⁹⁶ *Diseño Curricular Nacional de Educación Básica Regular*, Ministerio de Educación, Perú 2012

was happy with her position at Our Lady of Sorrows. Valeria lived in Lima, and she was young and enthusiastic. She welcomed the idea of entering public education because teachers gained more state benefits like paid holidays in the public sector. In her words, the private sector ‘does not recognize all your rights as a worker’. Her views showed that contrary to the wide spread negative discourse about the state of public education and teachers, there was still some value that placed it above some of the institutions operative in the commercialized private sector. Valeria explained the curriculum diversification and the principle of interculturality in the following way:

Right. Talking about interculturality, I believe that it’s used in all areas, all. Because, for example, that for instance me and you are talking right now, that is already interculturality, sure! Because you perhaps have a different view of what we are talking about. Then, that is, we are exchanging (*intercambiando*). In the same way in my class, maybe one says, ‘miss, but I was in the *sierra*, and I saw...’, I don’t know, ‘that the animals were like this’. Another child can tell me, ‘no miss, I went to the *selva*, and the animals were like that, they were different’. And so there we are, exchanging cultures. That’s interculturality, learning from one another, right.

And that’s what education wants, it wants that. Because in general, prior to all the knowledge, all the teaching was centred around Lima, right. Everything was Lima, animals...everything was about the coast. And so you weren’t teaching what there was further away [*mas alla*] in Peru, that there is also *sierra*, there is also *selva* ...right?

You teach everything, obviously prioritizing your own environment. I have to prioritize for example those from the coast because we are on the coast, we are near, but I can’t go without mentioning the others that exist. Because maybe in my class they are going to say ... [...] because they come from other parts, their parents are also from other parts. They go for holiday [to the other parts] and they also tell about these places.

What we can observe in Valeria’s narrative is that the acknowledgement of students’ experience in the regions is incorporated as ‘valuable’, pointing towards an approach that distances from ridicule and shows that constructivist critique in the curriculum also serves a strong purpose. But it also shows how space appropriates ‘difference’. So while her approach reclaimed a value to students’ experiences of ‘difference’, it was also implying that these ‘differences’ only occurred when students were outside of Lima. Hence, the message of *interculturalidad* has not been able to transcend the very homogenization that it seeks to combat. While promoting ‘dialogue’, the

narrative at the same time assumes there are people who are 'different'. The civic book listed 'vulnerable groups' who live in a state of 'permanent exclusion', which entailed a long list of different groups like the elderly, disabled people, children, indigenous, Afro-Peruvian, sexual minorities and people with HIV. A sentence I picked up from one of the exercises stated: "To activate my citizen's conscience, how do I act in front of those who are different?" The individual was even given an 'action plan' on how to put conviviality 'into practice'. This was perhaps the most important contradiction in the message of *interculturalidad*. The implicit logic of normalisation in these messages, as well as in school assignments clearly meant 'difference' belonged to 'others,' and it was up to the aware citizen to tolerate that difference but these were not principles to be applied to one-self. The discourse of diversity thus built on previously established power relations, where 'whiteness'/Western standards continued to be the norm against which everything else was judged. Hence, as the discourse of diversity and its pacifying attributes is essentially also a (neo)liberal project, its aim gets constrained by its own logic. In the school-books, the discourse of diversity fused with the discourse of 'creativity' aimed at the popular sectors, thus having a strong commercial tendency. This meant that in the school curriculum and discourse, 'diversity' often translated into appreciation of food and touristic sites, and schoolbooks would frequently discuss archaeological sites that are destinations for tourists such as Machu Picchu, and they would focus on elements of folklore like traditional dances.

Some of the superficiality of the talk in the school curriculum about vulnerable people is exemplified in the failure to address the different pragmatic concerns of these vulnerable groups. A person with HIV has different monetary requirements than a person who is Afro-Peruvian, for instance, because of the need for medication. A disabled person needs possibly a wheel-chair and other equipment to assist them that may require large sums of money, as well as in most cases a person to care for them daily. Those who identify themselves in other categories of the 'vulnerable groups' quite simply do not need the same kinds of social protections. Figure 8.4 shows an example of consumer citizenship. A man in a wheelchair is selling candies in front of the entrance to a shopping mall in San Miguel, a district of Lima, in order to earn some kind of income as state benefits for disabled people do not exist. But as we have seen thus far, selling on the streets is quite a usual activity in Lima and other cities in Peru, so the seller could also be easily categorised as just another member of the

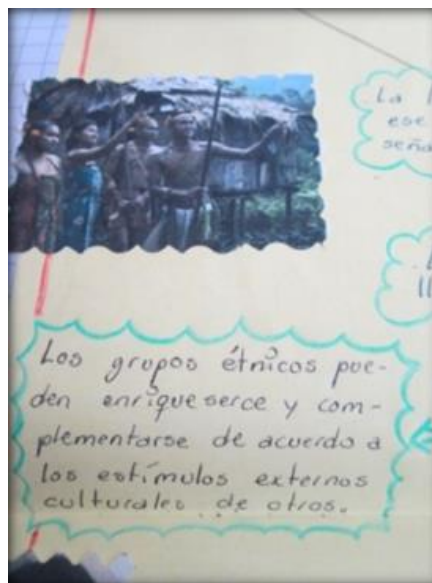
informal sector. The point is to highlight however the category of ‘vulnerable people’ makes little sense if monetary forms of social protection are not given to the vulnerable populations.



8.4 Consumer citizenship

The concept of *interculturalidad* itself did not engender much interest in the students, instead they were more concerned just with remembering what the ‘correct’ attributions to give it was, which included the emphasis on cultural dialogue. There was certainly a wide array of new words discussing culture in the curriculum (e.g. *pluriculturalidad*, *multiculturalidad*, *interculturalidad*) which made the students wary about remembering all the attributes given to each different idea. Learning about politics of difference was also confined by the mechanic aspect of copying and memorising, without deeper reflection on how some practices, such as demeaning the Quechua language in the classroom, might also be a sign of inequality and discrimination. The Quechua language was also looked down upon by some teachers too, therefore it is hardly surprising that students spoke very little about the Quechua language. There was some resistance however at times in students’ narratives and performance. Some of the rebellious girls who resisted classroom norms by being passive carried out an English assignment in-front of the class, where they had to say what language they spoke at home in English. To the surprise of the entire class, the girls said they spoke Quechua at home. It is hard to tell whether their act drew inspiration from the discourse of diversity, or whether this kind of resistance has always been present in the school, and I suggest that the latter may well be the case. Despite some of these minor resistances, the overall tendency was still to assume Spanish speakers as the protagonists in the school.

The message of diversity was also not always coherent in the school textbooks. Some of the books continued to associate indigeneity with historicity, displaying pictures of Andean people in relation with discussions about precolonial cultures. In another example, a story in a Communication books listed the physical characteristics of the Aymara-speaking Uros community on Lake Titicaca, reducing people to their physical features. These stories built on previous stereotypes appeared alongside other stories that were highly reflexive and adopted the constructivist point of view, using work by Peruvian anthropologists such as Juan Callirgos, whose research was discussed in chapter five. The result was a sometimes a peculiar combination of stories in the textbooks because they adopted a constructivist point of view with approaches that retained an element of essentialism. This may well demonstrate there is some resistance underneath the efforts to let go of the stereotypes and essentialism, as through the nation-building of the 20th century the essentialisms have served a role. According to Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, the politics of multiculturalism of the 1990s made indigeneity a theatre, and confined the past to the rural context. It neutralized the decolonizing impulses and permitted the elite to renew their legitimacy. Stereotyped as the ‘good savages, who finally get recognised’, the indigenous became confined by space and time, and their own participation in modernity was ignored (in Gago 2017:85-86).



8.5 “Ethnic groups can enrich and complement themselves in accordance with the external cultural stimulus of others”.

Indeed, an essential contradiction that the school's discourse of diversity had not been able to overcome was the discourse of development and national progress that also circulated parallel at the school. As shown thus far, the inhabitants of Pachacutec were rendered 'problematic' because of their family problems and the physical circumstances they live in. Valeria too resorted to describing how many parents in Pachacutec were young and thus incapable of looking after their children well. This problematic of 'being in development' was also instrumental in how the rights discourse was used, both in speech and in practice. Roberto who was introduced in chapter two, used to say that Peruvians were 'backward'. Gay rights were not as 'advanced' as they were in more 'developed' nations, such as the US or nations in Europe. He complained that people in Peru saw homosexuality as a *trastorno*, a disorder. His gay identity also evoked pity among some people he encountered. For example, religious evangelists would occasionally visit him, and they told him his 'ailment' was only due to the Devil visiting his house. They were fixated on the idea that Roberto could expel the deeds of the bad Devil by his own will. Roberto could do no more but use his high pitched laughter to conceal his hurt in such instances. But more often than pity, Roberto would encounter trouble when walking in the streets. People would make the sign of the cross when seeing him or shout insults at time. One time someone even threw a bucket of water at him. Once he became so fed up with the insults that he marched into the security office of Pachacutec, claiming his rights had been offended. Yet the officials were uninterested in helping him and were only somewhat bemused by his claims. On another occasion, when Roberto had been discussing the problems he often faced out in public with a group of evangelists, they gave him the contact information for an NGO working with gay rights. Roberto thought it was a way of getting rid of him. Therefore, it was not difficult for Roberto to lament the 'backwardness' of Peruvian people and compare their lack of progressive views when compared to other nations.

There were also other experiences, however, that affected Roberto's reasoning. Roberto was raised by his Quechua-speaking grandmother from Huaraz. Roberto's mother had died in childbirth, and he was left to be raised by his grandmother. It was his grandmother who looked after him and his brothers. Roberto's grandmother never learnt how to read, and she spoke Quechua to her grandchildren. Since he was little, Roberto has been his grandmother's 'pet', who, sensing his true gender identity, taught him how to perform different kitchen duties in

the house - to the dismay of Roberto's grandfather. Roberto's grandmother had met her husband in a *hacienda* by the coast where they had both gone to work. Roberto described his grandfather as 'an angry black' (*un negro amargo*) who made his grandmother suffer. Life was not easy for Roberto's grandmother, who struggled to make ends meet. She always kept guinea pigs and other animals in the house, and made regular visits back to her community in the Andes, where Roberto had also visited. He was however unimpressed by the *sierra* and lamented having to walk a lot and use a donkey to get to his grandmother's community. For Roberto, an Andean identity was equivalent to poverty, and his grandmother not being able to read made his eyes fill up with tears. For Roberto, Andeanness was ultimately something painful and something to disassociate from. He was raised on the coast and subject to socialization there. Eager to learn English because of his aspirations to escape to the US, Quechua played only the role of reminding of his childhood fraught with poverty. Similarly, Lobo recounts how speaking Quechua was symbolically associated with the isolated highland communities, and with a low status from which many migrants have attempted to escape. Many migrants hope that their children will be disassociated with the low status to some degree as well (1982).

Roberto however had also managed to use his transgender identity to his own advantage. As many of the evangelists were foreigners, or had connections abroad, he used information gathered from them to find schools where English was taught for free. Sometimes he found places where he could learn knitting. To confront people's attitudes, he turned to the notion of 'rights'. In his case, rights talk served as a tool to help him act out against the oppression he encountered in the every-day. Although rights was something that could be used to legitimate an individual struggle, like when Roberto went to the security office to claim his rights had been violated, the rights discourse did not necessarily transform the way that people thought, nor why they deemed some people worthy of ridicule, or pity. For Roberto, rights were better protected for people like him in other countries.

The rights agenda also circulates other discussions of particular rights, such as 'children's rights'. The rights of children were also a concern that was evident in the discourses circulating at the school, because the Sisters and the staff also fought to condemn rights abuses like child labour, whilst several of them engaged in some sort of labour activities in the small businesses run by their families, such as helping in their parents' shop. Similarly, Lobo recounts in her study how children were exhorted

by their parents to study hard in school, but families also made many demands on their children in the form of household responsibilities (1982). This also attests to the relevance of seeing rights as an agenda that is at odds with other forms of loyalties such as those pertaining to the family, or to the community. This clash can be potentially violent. In the picture below taken from students' civic studies book, the family where parents 'know how to look after children' are blond, whereas the family that 'exploits' their sons and daughters by giving domestic duties to children are Andean. The caption for the picture states: "Staying alone at home, cooking, looking after brothers and sisters are very dangerous activities for boys and girls. Parents are responsible for the care of the family, not the children."



8.6 "Child rights"



8.7 "A child worker"

Here, 'rights' turned into a language of discipline by insinuating that those who expect their children to participate in various forms of labour are exhibiting a type of 'backwardness', the message being implicitly racist yet legitimised by the very framework of 'rights'. There were also impressions among the students that women were exceptionally harsh in reprimanding their children in the Andes, beating them with sticks to such a degree that the children frequently escaped, and the rights talk was a way to easily help interpret and gain validation for these circulating stories. In the process the discourse neglected addressing the larger structural frameworks, such as low family income, that are the main reasons why children engage in working

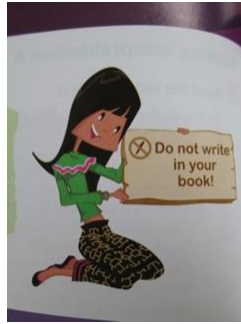
activities. One of Humala's governments' aims consisted of strengthening day care facilities for families. The day care-centres however face many of the same constraints as the school. In a field study of a state-implemented educational program aimed at 'marginal populations', Uccelli records how in a settlement town in Lima it was more difficult for mothers of Andean background to place their children into the school that was benefitting from the program due to staff prejudice (2010).

These types of prejudices were also manifested in the school of Our Lady of Sorrows. As repeatedly pointed out thus far, there was a stigmatisation of Andean backgrounds in school practices like making fun of the Quechua language and other non-Spanish speaking backgrounds. I asked the students in my questionnaire where they were born and where their parents were born, and whether there were other languages spoken in their families. More than 20% mentioned Quechua (see appendix). Students also mentioned other languages spoken in their families, such as Aymara. One student answered quite tellingly about his family that, "they used to speak Bora, but not anymore" *se hablaba Bora, pero ya no mas*. However, no student ever voiced any concern about language rights as a concern that was applicable to them; language rights were a concern of people living in the regions. Indeed, as demonstrated in chapter five, 'race' belonged to 'others', and to a certain extent, the discourse of diversity and *interculturalidad* built on these understandings as well. Golash Boza has argued there is a contradiction inherent in the idea of having a right to cultural identity because a racial democracy requires colour blindness, and even a cultivation of sameness (2011:176), and perhaps this was one reason why 'difference' continued to belong to 'others'. As we saw in chapter five, this cultivation of 'sameness' was manifested in the label of *mestizo*, which was the label the students were most comfortable with when describing their own 'racial identity'.

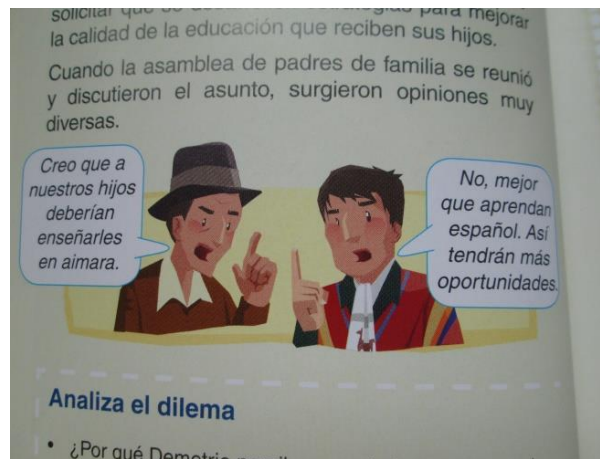


8.8 “Adolescents identify with the customs and place of origin of their parents. Adolescents combine traits of Western culture with the autochthonous culture”.

In examining how the students viewed the discourse of diversity, I took the liberty of assuming the students had internalised some of the messages in schoolbooks about ‘culture’ (associated with traditions and food), and asked them a somewhat cunning question about whether cultures existed in Pachacutec. The most frequent answer was ‘no’, some adding that certain beliefs or traditions do still exist, such as *pago a la tierra*, ‘payment to the earth’, which refers to such things as splashing a bit of maize beer on the ground before drinking it, a practice that is very common in the Andes. Yet as Pachacutec was a place deemed to be ‘in development’ it also meant ‘cultures’ did not exist in Pachacutec. One girl replied to me, somewhat bemused: ‘Can’t you see it’s all sand?’ The very materiality of sand and lack of infrastructure set limits to ‘culture’. ‘Culture’ was thus often interpreted in two ways: either as tradition belonging to regions, or as ‘high-culture’ existing in places like Lima thanks to its museums, architecture and parks. ‘High-culture’ also existed in ancient civilisations and students would associate the word culture with the ancient cultures of Peru, such as the Incas and the Paracas culture. But it was certain that culture was about other places and peoples in Peru and it was not something that could exist in Pachacutec.



8.9



8.10 “I think our children should be taught Aymara” “No, better they learn in Spanish. That way they will have more opportunities”.

An interview with two students from the 9th grade, Johana and Noeli, was more indicative of what the discourse about ‘culture’ and ‘interculturality’ was not doing. Johana and Noeli always sat together in class, and Johana was a constant concern for the teachers because she was very chatty. From my frequent chats with her I had come to learn she liked to visit the local church and played in the youth band. Johana had relatives in the Andes who spoke Quechua, but she herself did not speak it in her home. Johana’s parents wanted her to become a dentist, a professional position considered ‘decent’. It would assure a good income, while the qualification was not as difficult to attain as that of a doctor. However, Johana was not convinced that dentistry was the right path for her, as she preferred a job where she could move around. Therefore, she was inclined to study languages. She was not particularly excelling in her school-work, because she found copying from the whiteboard excessively boring. She often competed with Noeli on who was the slowest in finishing their school assignments. Because she had repeated a year Johana was sixteen while Noeli was fourteen. There was a considerable amount of energy

expressed on her freckled face, and her dreamy eyes would often scan people nearby to see if there was anyone in earshot she could talk to. The combination of her extroverted nature and conservative manners however made her somewhat of an odd case, and she was not usually surrounded by girls other than Noeli, whose delicate features and shy manners found protection in Johana's strong character. Noeli herself was not sure what she wanted to do in the future, and she often turned to Johana for assurance. I asked Johana and Noeli what they had learnt in civic formation as it was the subject area that used the word 'culture' the most. At first, they answered that they had mostly been learning that Peru has different languages that are disappearing, along with 'beliefs' (*creencias*) and 'cultures'.

Interviewer: ...what do you think of the future then, in relation to what has been taught to you... about languages changing...

J: What's gonna happen?

I: Yes.

J: [Could be that] in the future they will change, they will not speak their languages anymore, they'll change it to something like English. Above all, because every person wants to 'excel' (*sobresalir*), wants to move forward a bit more (*quiere llegar más allá*), wants to triumph, doesn't want to stay in one place (*no quiere quedarse en un sitio*).

I: And you can't do that by speaking Quechua?

N: Neither (*tampoco*).

J: Because people speak Quechua only in, like the *sierra*, and in the *sierra* there are no opportunities because education is low, there is no work, there is no way to 'excel' (*sobresalir*), only enough work to eat (*solamente trabajo para comer*).

N: ...to eat. Instead here, also, they have studies, they have more, the technology is advancing.

Hence, Quechua was marked as a language that 'got you nowhere'. The girls did however add that perhaps there may be a revival of the Quechua language because of the efforts of bilingual schools and foreigners studying it, demonstrating again the dominance of global capital in determining acceptable codes of behaviour. What was evident in their narrative, also demonstrated in the previous chapters, is that youth in

Pachacutec desired to be at the centre of 'movement'. This 'movement' was perceived to be absent in the regions, where there was 'only enough work to eat'.

Indeed, the notion of mobility and access to 'technology' was present in many people's narratives in Pachacutec. Daisy, a teaching auxiliary who came from the Andes and whose parents cultivated their own crops in the *chacra*, said she had initially come to Lima 'to see' what it was like here, then met her husband and decided to stay. One of the drivers that caused people to move out of the countryside was also access to different kinds of labour opportunities. Daisy was a nurse by profession. Her mother hated the heat of Lima, and only descended down from the Andes for brief visits. But Daisy's daughter did not like staying in the Andes for long either, as there was no electricity and she missed the television. The lightning during thunderstorms also scared her since she was born in rainless Lima. Daisy herself was not particularly impressed by Lima, but she still preferred staying there as life in the Andes could be monotonous at times: "you only eat *sopa de mote*" (corn soup) she said. Lobo recounts that migrants often viewed life to be more solitary in the Andes (1982), and this was the case with Daisy, too. These views point out the importance of 'movement' in defining the access to things we have come to understand as 'modern', such as technology. It also raises some of the more dubious interpretations of the politics of difference. Many of the messages in the school-books promoted a view that held there is a difference between 'Western' and 'scientific' knowledge as opposed to a holistic 'indigenous knowledge'. They seemed to suggest that those expected to learn via 'indigenous knowledge', e.g. children belonging to a tribe in the Amazon, should not be instructed to learn in a 'scientific' way. While it places value on other ways of knowing, the implication inevitably seems to be an indigenous child should not aspire to such scientific knowledge at all. While teaching in Cuzco, I asked my 10-year-old students the typical icebreaker question almost every teacher asks at school: what do you want to do you when you grow up? Vanessa, a restless girl who wore *ojotas* (rubber sandals) stated with gleaming eyes that she would like to become a pilot. Thus, for Vanessa, her place of residence in the Andes and her assigned status as a (possible) Quechua speaker should not cancel out 'science' nor 'technology'. But if interculturality means making the curriculum 'applicable to realities', which was

the narrative of the teachers in Pachacutec, this could be one of the interpretations, which may well feed the resistance to this perspective that emerges¹⁹⁷.

What also is revealed from Daisy's narrative is that things that make life comfortable were harder to come by in the Andes, such as electricity. This perception forms a part of how 'culture' was viewed in Pachacutec. 'Culture' belonged to those people who were not being reached by modern 'goods', such as schools, roads and electricity. As Lehmann puts it: "A member of the *mestizo* culture, perhaps, or of the dominant culture, has no reason, no need or maybe no motive to profess or confess a cultural identity. Cultural identity only belongs to – is only needed by – 'the other' – that is, to the oppressed other" (2011:17). The loss of language that was an inevitable process of moving to the city was not a voluntary process, however. Daisy expressed a certain nostalgia towards the loss of Quechua, contemplating the idea of writing down the songs her mum and grandmother used to sing in Quechua. Similarly Lobo recounts that Quechua was also viewed with nostalgia, and particularly when kin from the highlands make visits, Quechua is spoken with relish (1982). With a degree of resentment in her voice Daisy added "they come to your country and expect you to speak in their language [Spanish]". In similar vein, Roberto recounted how his grandmother used to reprimand her grandchildren who sneered at her Quechua language by stating: "This is the country of Indians, you should be speaking Quechua!"

Whereas on the practical level Quechua and other native languages continued to be associated with a way of living that excluded access to 'modern goods', there was also another layer present in the students' reasoning about 'cultural change'. As I have detailed in chapter five, hierarchical global structures dominated the ways in which students reasoned about the meanings of 'race', and I argue that the combination of these larger processes informed the way by which the discourse of diversity was adopted in Peru. Noeli and Johana drew on the discourse of diversity to legitimise their claim for sameness:

¹⁹⁷ Despite being inscribed in law, intercultural bilingual education has not gained much success even in regional areas where Quechua and other languages remain spoken (www.servindi.org). Part of this consists of the resistance of families themselves. More successes however have been made in the Amazon (see Garcia 2005; Trapnell 2011; Zavala 2011).

Johana: For example, in languages, let's say when one wants to move forward (*salir adelante*) speaking Quechua, sometimes you go to foreign countries and you are talking with your accent (*mote*)...

Noeli: Nobody's going to take you into account (*nadie te va a hacer caso*) [laughter]. 'What, what is she speaking'?

Johana: And you're speaking Quechua, or you talk with your *cholino* accent (*acento de cholito*), they take it badly sometimes.

Noeli: They humiliate you, and already, they leave you aside (*te dejan de lado*), they think they are superior to you, if you feel yourself black (*si tú te sientes negro*).

Interviewer: Where, here in Lima or...?

Johana: Sometimes here, the *pituca* people (*la gente pituca*).

Noeli: And in other countries too.

Johana: Sometimes, the *pituca* people say 'no, I am Peruvian, *Limeño*, *Limeño*, *Limeño*! [slaps hands together] While in reality, as long as he remains in Peru, he is *serrano*, he is *selvático*, well from everywhere (*de todo pues*), if he is from Peru.

Noeli: Well of course.

Johana: No matter how much you say you're from Lima. Sometimes they have their servants and they discriminate them.

Noeli: They treat them bad. The *regalada*¹⁹⁸ feel like treating us bad, like anything, because they think they are superior to one, because sometimes one...the 'little rich people' (*los riquillos*) come from 'nothing' without money. They need to excel just like a poor person. Or to struggle to be someone in life, and then finally already...

Johana: Because no one is born like that.

Noeli: Nobody is born rich, at least parents have to be-

Johana: Their parents also had to-

Noeli: move forward (*salir adelante*).

Johana: Move like... We all have been poor.

Noeli: All.

Johana: Every person makes her own destiny (*cada quien se hace su camino*), achieves her goals and with that, yes well...

Noeli: They accomplish it.... Yes, well, that's how the *riquillos* are.....bad [laughs]

¹⁹⁸ Another term used to describe rich people, coming from the word 'regalo' (gift)

Johana: They need to get humble (*Que se humillen*).

As the narrative of the girls indicates they were now the ‘same’ as the upper-classes, who needed to become ‘humble’ and thus, the discourse of diversity to a degree now enabled to claim more horizontal relations against the more abusive classes.

Citizenship was a trait belonging to everyone in Peru, not only to people in Lima. It could be argued that this reflected the broader destabilizing dynamics brought by migrations, and the valorisation of the popular classes in the discourse of ‘creativity’. However, we can also observe in Johana and Noeli’s narrative that there is a global dimension of the inequality they feel. Whereas the ‘pituca’ class was the abusive class in the national scale, it was the foreigner who had the ultimate upper hand, who also was perceived to mock a Quechua accent (the ‘*cholito* accent’). This means that the foreign interest in the traditional only re-inscribes the hierarchy, for it was a one-sided exchange. Foreigners are able to visit the Peruvian regions in the hopes of finding ‘tradition’, whereas going to other countries remained unattainable to *Pachacutēños*. The girls imagined that on a global level, ‘blackness’ retained a subjugated role. Thus the classificatory categories of ‘white’ and ‘black’ continued being symbols through which to make sense of the inequalities of access.

There is an inherent dilemma to the girls reasoning that deserves to be pointed out. Their narrative also legitimized the idea of linear progression through ‘merit’, where richness was earned through hard work. The income earned in this manner was hence deserved, neglecting all things inherited from a colonial order, where ‘the mystique of shared blood’ (De Genova 2015:12) and inheritance are what governed, more often than not. This in turn reflects the very model of citizenship that places the wage-earning (man) as the protagonist in the narrative. Ferguson describes how systems of social assistance have long been designed for an imaginary world where ‘able-bodied men’ are all employed ‘bread-winners’, women and children their presumed dependents and the state the residual provider for those who require a different sort of dependence. These ideas essentially presume a universal wage labour (2015) and thus far we have seen that this is far from being the case. As demonstrated in chapter six, the neoliberal narrative has sought to take advantage of this model by promoting the earning capacity of the informal sector, taking advantage of semi-servile labour performed by those traditionally subjugated: the lower classes that

continue to be excluded from citizenship because they do not have legal titles to their land, and women who carry out forms of labour that are not recognized. Hence, despite that the discourse of diversity fused with the broader dynamics brought by migrations during the course of the 20th century that had made relations more horizontal in regards to upper-classes in Lima, the underlying reasoning of the discourse still validated continuous labour exploitation as the only means by which equality was to be achieved.

The narrative of the girls as well as the recollections that Daisy and Roberto have of their grandmothers exhibit some of the paradoxes of the national project of integration and its ongoing violent nature. The difficulty in designing a coherent program for politics of difference lays in that citizenship in itself is a homogenizing project, where equality is sought to be achieved by a politics of inclusion, that runs counter to the differences that are the focus of *interculturalidad*. The question often overlooked seems to be, what are the pragmatic measures taken to address the differentiated citizenship aside from just the discursive frames about the power imbalance for the ‘vulnerable people’ within a nation state? So far, this thesis has demonstrated that through the course of 20th century, ‘inclusion’ occurred via land politics, and arguably it still is one of the main mechanisms by which citizenship is forged. Land has been the prime way by which ‘democracy’ has been delivered in Peru, and it has been one of the ways by which people have sought to destabilize relations of dominance and subjugation¹⁹⁹. Privileging land as a model of inclusion however meant that other monetary contributions, as well as creating employment opportunities are ignored. Thus far as we have seen in chapter two, redistributive land-policies are reaching their limits, the result being that the majority of the *Pachacutēños* remained without legal land titles. The ‘inclusion’ was not at all as inclusive as it was proposed to be. The differentiated citizenship thus remained differentiated and this I argue was a prime motive for the continuing language loss; cosmopolitanism was more important than the politics of difference precisely as it was needed in order to assure some kind of mobility in the class based hierarchy. As Johana and Noeli affirmed, this class based hierarchy is ultimately a reflection of global inequalities.

¹⁹⁹ Digital technology is used to facilitate the process. For instance, if one visits the website of the National Superintendency of Public Registries, SUNARP, one can check online the legal status of one’s lot.

Nation born out of conflict

Thus far we have seen that the most pervasive conflict in the discourse of diversity was that it gave very few tools to counter the dispossessing mechanisms of capitalism. As the narrative of Noeli and Johana demonstrated, the avenue to progress lay in their own hard work and humility. There was however other ways by which criticism was raised. During an interview I carried out with Jackie in the 6th grade who we got to know in chapter five, various students came to join in on the conversation. We were discussing what she had been learning in civic studies, and the conversation wandered into the environmental resources that are available in Peru.

Jackie: We have resources...we have the Pacific Ocean, we have the coast, *sierra* and *selva*. We have a lot of deforestation...

Sylvester, a boy in her year group, demanded back money that she had borrowed from him by placing his hand in front of her. 'Ah, I don't have money' Jackie replied, shooing him away, annoyed. She continued:

"We have flora, fauna, the mining industry-"

Joel: "The sixth wonder..."

Jackie: "Uhuh, the sixth wonder of the world, yet we don't know how to appreciate it."

Joel: "Now anyone takes it away..."

Sylvester: "Oil..."

Jackie: "...the oil, of course."

Sylvester: "...and... a lot of environmental contamination...uhm..."

Jackie: "She's interviewing me, not you!" [laughter]

What is to be observed in the narrative of the students is an anti-imperialist critique that has been recorded to be present in Peruvian schools at least since the 1980s. As nation-states base their economic power on resource exploitation, they need a narrative that justifies sustaining that power. Gonzalo Portocarrero's and Patricia

Oliart's study published in late 1980s introduced the concept of a 'critical idea' to describe the representations of the nation that were predominant among teachers at that time. According to the critical idea, what characterized Peru was 'frustration' and 'failure'. The teachers believed that Peru found itself in a position of poverty and under-development due to imperialism, even though it possessed many natural riches, especially mineral wealth. The teachers defended nationalism in the name of anti-imperialism. The critical idea emerged as a result of the evident contrast that the majority of the population perceived between their reality and the official *criollo* narrative that painted Peru as a *mestizo* nation without conflicts. This was juxtaposed with the Marxist literature in the universities, particularly in the faculty of Education. They looked for an example of well-being in the area in historical terms and the Inca Empire was painted as a 'just' and 'harmonious' society. This has synergies with Florez Galindo's texts, which showed that from the time of the conquest, the 'indians' idealised the imperium. In the collective memory this transformed the indigenous past into a 'golden age' of well-being and abundance to which one could perhaps return to someday (De Belaunde & Eguren 2012; Oliart & Portocarrero 1989).

The students at Our Lady of Sorrows would also refer to the history of colonialism in an attempt to understand the present. When I asked Kevin in the 8th grade if he would like to learn something more in civic studies, he said he would like to know why Peru had been so 'easily' conquered:

Kevin: Peru was stronger than Spain....but Peru let itself be taken (*se deajo llevar*). Peru let itself be taken because they thought they [Spaniards] were gods. That's why...that they were gods, that they were more important, it let itself be taken. Atahualpa [Inca emperor] also let it go, and in the end he betrays [Peru]...²⁰⁰

The constructed 'us' in Kevin's statement were the Incas, and the opposition or 'the enemy', were the Spanish. Yet, in his quote it is a primordial sin like Eve's bite of the apple that appears to explain the state of things at present. Cotler has recorded how in the Peruvian collective memory the state of things in the present is always been

²⁰⁰ By 'Atahualpa's betrayal' Kevin was most likely referring to the legendary civil war between Atahualpa and Huascar over the leadership of the Inca Imperium, Tahantinsuyo, which Atahualpa won. However, Atahualpa is also known to be betrayed by the *conquistador* Pizarro, who despite being provided by a room full of gold executed the Emperor. See Klaren (2004).

explained by ‘the Conquest’ (2005)²⁰¹. Similarly, linking present day discourses with the past, Degregori traces the very ideas of ‘development’ and ‘progress’ in education to the trauma of Conquest. This trauma led to the myth of ‘Inkarri’, which promised redemption through the restoration of the Inca Empire. At the beginning of the 20th century this gave way to the myth of ‘progress’ (in Starn 1999). In Kevin’s quote, it was Atahualpa’s betrayal that led them to lose the ‘abundance’ of former times. Now there is a linear, progressive time, where ‘Peru’ was taken advantage of and then ‘left behind’ in terms of progress.

In the previous chapters it was demonstrated that the discourse of values was something that persisted over decades in the school’s narrative, and here another discourse that persisted was the anti-imperialist narrative that recognized that Peru’s natural resources were not exploited ‘for the benefit of the Peruvians.’ There were new elements to both discourses, however. The damaging effects of resource exploitation came out in the discourse of ‘environmental contamination’. Whilst students were made responsible for ‘looking after the Earth’, in many cases it was foreign companies that carried out the ‘environmental destruction’, and it was largely the foreign markets that made resource extraction so profitable, and this was in conflict with the message of ‘equality’ promoted by the Human Rights agenda. Indeed, Keith Hart and Chris Hann argue that the premise in ‘sustainable development’ is that the poor cannot become like the rich since there is not enough of everything to go around. Yet the rich pollute the world fifty times more than the poor; and the latter are more likely to die from pollution (2011:104). It is wrong to make the ‘third world’ pay for the pollution caused by the ‘first world’ (Standing 2016), but it is clear that the pacifying discourse in the school curriculum was raising environmental degradation as an issue that needs change ‘from below’.

The neoliberal model does seem to generate a lot of ‘awareness’ surrounding issues but there is less attention to working out the pragmatics. Market forces make it more difficult to create tangible alternatives and concrete proposals that do more than just ‘awareness raising’, as capital pushes for value creation. It could be argued that ‘trickle down’ mechanisms are still the means of choice in many government policies to help resolve ongoing poverty. As it was recorded in chapter three, many of the

²⁰¹ Portocarrero and Oliart establish that in order for the Inca Imperium to be accepted in the Peruvian collective consciousness as *criollo* or *mestizo*, an ideological triumph of liberalism and the accompanying retrieval of colonial thought were necessary (1989).

students even rejected the assertion that their family lived in poverty. The more cynical interpretation of this narrative would say this is precisely what the neoliberal narrative wants; the less that the expendable or marginal classes want, the better because services and assistance is too expensive to just provide. Hart & Hann argue there is a great lie at the heart of the political economy of modern nation-states, because as self-proclaimed democracies there is a constant need to justify granting some people inferior rights. The existing economic equalities are functional to this kind of system. To battle against the evident contradictions inherent in national projects of modern Europe and North America, the authors introduce a concept of 'human economy'. In its simplest terms, it means an economy for everyone. They argue that the main fetter on developing the human economy today is the administrative power of the nation-states, which prevent the emergence of new forms of world economy more appropriate to the conditions of global integration that have arisen recently. The administrative power of nation-state also prevents implementation of a Keynesian programme that would alleviate world poverty by transnational redistribution of purchasing power (2010: 117)²⁰². However, the emergent cosmopolitanisms in Pachacutec and the continuing presence of the anti-Imperial discourse in the students' narrative affirms that the people do want more and they aspire to futures where they are more prosperous and more secure.

The global dimension of exploitation was not only expressed via reference to the Conquest, by also through such pragmatic measures as visa constraints that limited movement. Bianca and Yessenia were both students who had transferred from different primary schools, and they were put in a class that was especially for new students who are part of Our Lady of Sorrows only beginning in secondary school. The Sisters thought that this way they would make friends and find mutual support more easily. Their classroom was particularly popular with the teachers, as the students were less noisy and more eager to learn. Most of them had recently migrated from other areas, such as towns in the Amazon or the Andes, and hence, the teachers saw them as 'sweeter' (*mas dulces*), also falling into the stereotypes that saw people from provincial areas as 'more innocent' and 'hard-working'. Out of the two, Yessenia was more affirmative and affectionate in her behaviour, while Bianca was

²⁰² In the Great Depression, Keynes (1936) had offered a practical solution to national elites concerned that their governments would be overwhelmed by the poverty and unemployment generated by the economic collapse by suggesting governments should increase the purchasing power of the masses (Hart & Hart 2011).

more timid. Bianca knew quite a few things about Finland, since she was pen pals with a Finnish couple who sent her letters through Plan International.

Despite their reputation of being 'sweet', the girls expressed stark criticisms towards foreigners. When I asked them to describe foreigners, Yessenia used the word 'bad'. The reason for this was the apparent discrimination they perceived foreigners to practice. Somewhat intrigued by this, since perhaps the sole foreigners the girls would have encountered were the NGOs and charity workers they encountered in Pachacutec, I recognised that the girls' narrative must have held some elements of the anti-imperialist critique that saw the foreign nations as the source of blame for the country's 'lack of development'. In the girls' narrative, the foreign powers were oppressing the more 'modest Peruvians' because of the visa restrictions they imposed and other forms of disciplining, under the pretext that many people outside of Peru view the Peruvians as 'thieves':

Interviewer: What are the Peruvians like?

Bianca: They are good, they are friendly.

Yessenia: Some not, ah!

A boy had sneaked up to listen to the conversation.

Boy: She is not friendly, she is always hitting!

Yessenia: No! [...] you don't know me!

Bianca: They are good because, the Chileans come here....all foreigners come here to live because they know we are kinder (*mas buenos*) than them.

Interviewer: Oh yeah....they come here to live?

Bianca: Instead, other foreigners don't want you to go to their country. And we always-

Yessenia: Only with a permit.

Bianca: Uhum, and we always respect those who come.

Interviewer: Yes, that's true. In other countries-

Bianca: They don't let Peruvians enter.

Interviewer: Yes...

Yessenia: If we get to pass without a permit, they think we are thieves and... you have to have a permit...and if you have a permit, yes you get through, that's normal.

Interviewer: Yes...and why do you think it's like that? What do you think? Why don't they want to let-

Bianca: Peruvians enter? Because they say we are thieves....we are thieves.

Here the girls described the global citizenship regime as unequal and exclusionary. So far, all the policies discussed under the rubric of 'participating in globalisation' such as that of 'creativity', 'entrepreneurship' and 'diversity', had not addressed existing visa constraints that limit labour movement and other forms of migration. As we saw in chapter six, a third of the students considered moving to another country as a viable means to meet the needs of 'moving forward' and 'progress'. Their answers were however tentative, and they often added sentences like 'if [my personal] economy allows' or 'if I get the opportunity'. The girls were thus voicing a heavy critique of the existing system because it restricts the elementary freedom of movement that should be a basic human entitlement (De Genova 2007: 425). Whereas the foreigner was able to enter Peru when she pleased, this was a freedom that was denied most Peruvians due to their reputation (in the girls' estimation) that they are 'thieves'. In chapter four we saw that the 'typical Peruvian' was an internalisation of the problematic nature of Peruvian society, to a degree exasperated by neoliberal policies. Here the girls' narrative affirmed that the problematic character of the 'typical Peruvian' was measured in global terms. This means that the problematisation was ultimately a question of unequal power relationships that were unjust and built on relations of exploitation drawn from a colonial order, as the anti-imperialist narrative illustrates, as well as the stories that circulate about organ snatchers that were discussed in chapter five. In this sense, the girls' criticism affirmed that Peru had not been able to de-colonialize itself (Quijano 2000; Escobar 2010).

There is also a broader function to this problematisation and allegations of 'thievery'. Capital welcomes migration because it brings low-cost malleable labour. Whereas in the early twentieth century most migrants were settlers, today a rising share of migration consists of 'circulation'. Undocumented workers provide cheap

labour and can be fired and deported if necessary, this way constituting a shadow reserve army (Standing 2016). Their possible deportability facilitates their labour exploitation; hence, it is precisely this state of vulnerability (for their disposability) that maintains capitalist economies going (Anderson in De Genova 2015; De Genova 2005; 2007). However, in a broader scale we could argue the neoliberalism is being eroded by its own very principle, as people vote with their feet (Ferguson 2006). The ongoing visibility of migrants makes the ‘West’ either respond by ignoring them or in some cases removing them forcibly or using violence in confrontation. Yet it seems every-day that forcible removal is less and less feasible, as when deported, people often find their way back anyway. Neoliberalism has a certain power that as shown in this thesis so far, emerges intermittently in the every-day practice and ideas of the youth in Pachacutec. This power has a potential to rework some dominant power mechanisms and make relations more horizontal. It also produces value. Gago records that in Argentina, consumption is no longer the product of income from wages but also results from money that the state transfers to peripheral neighbourhoods through benefit packages, and principally, from the multiple modes of income that residents gain through multiple forms of industriousness. These types of interactions between the citizen and the existing structural frames are calculative measures. But when Gago says calculation (characteristic of neoliberalism) is a *conatus*²⁰³, that calculation also includes stealing, working, making neighbourly bonds, and migrating to live. The calculation does not accept life reduced to a minimum of possibilities, nor even dying. It is intimately paired with the production of subjectivity, of ‘wanting’ (Gago 2017). In pragmatic measures, those who defy the rules of legality through their act of migration and claims, sometimes readjust some of the mechanisms in the receiving countries.

Neoliberalism offers a type of cosmopolitanism that is able to transcend national boundaries and makes one feel one pertains in a global world where the norms are less rigid. In other words, the message seems to be that once you have all the privileges of cosmopolitanism (and money), you are equal. This is perhaps the strongest power neoliberalism has; it is both perverse and seductive at the same time²⁰⁴. But by ignoring all the sacrifice that living in this cosmopolitan way entails --

²⁰³ Gago (2017) defines *conatus* as the perseverance of being. She builds on Hobbes and Heidegger.

²⁰⁴ See Montoya, A. 2014 “Ethnographies of the Opportunities and Risks of Neoliberalisation” *Anthropology Matters Journal* Vol. 15 (1)

i.e. living in an illegal settlement, sweeping sand away, possibly moving illegally to another country, getting cancer as a result of toxic housing materials used in settlements, etc. -- one has to admit that neoliberalism is a profoundly exploiting project. There are ways to make neoliberalism less demanding which require reconfiguring many of the models present nation-states hold dear.

The narratives of the students and teachers have repeatedly stressed the relevance of dependent relations that are ignored in the neoliberal model. As it was demonstrated, this is nothing new per se, but a strong discourse that gained its strength during the era of Velasco, a key stage in history that saw the transformation of previous oligarchic relations into an economy depended on global financial institutions (see introduction). In the meantime, however, claims have always been present. As Ferguson points out, those excluded from the world of wages are making increasingly vocal claims to other sorts of distributive shares, often based on criteria such as histories, identities and experiences that make them rightful recipients of national resources. These claims are based on how value is out of proportion with effort (2015) and the anti-imperialist narrative, already present in discourse for decades, as well as the youth cosmopolitanisms emerging in the data are an evidence of such claims. The chains of economic dependency are nicely illustrated in the graffiti by Alvaro Portales that is pictured in the next page and published on his blog.²⁰⁵ The chains that bind the hands in the image are based on the logo of *Marca Peru*. The letter P in the logo imitates the circle of life present in pre-Incan architecture and mythology, such as in the Nazca lines.

²⁰⁵ In 13.7.2012 <http://www.alvaroportales.pe>.



Figure 1 “Marca Peru”

Conclusion

This chapter was an interrogation into how the neoliberal project proposed challenging inequality in the class-room. It has argued that there appeared to be two trends in relation to discourses around ‘equality’. While on the one hand, the ‘discourse of diversity’ reified the notion that ‘difference’ existed in the provincial areas and not in the vicinity of Lima, on the other hand it also gave agency for the youth to claim ‘sameness’/‘equality’ with the upper classes. Whereas *mestizaje* had previously allowed people to avoid directing addressing questions of ‘race’ with the claim that everyone was ‘equal’ in *mestizaje*, the discourse of ‘diversity’ allowed people to address the misbalance perceived to exist between the treatment of people with different skin colours more directly. This was partly legitimated by the agenda of global human rights. However, in this narrative the polar opposites of ‘black’ and ‘white’ came to be correlated with a hierarchical global structure, where the foreigners (‘white’) were also discriminating against the ‘black’ and problematized the latter as ‘thieves’. As it appeared in the narrative of Noeli and Johana, ‘blackness’ remained a category not to be identified with. This demonstrates that the global human rights agenda has not been able to transcend the reproduction of inequality based on colour lines, despite the valorisation of ‘difference’ (diversity) in the discourse. ‘Difference’ continues to be associated with lack of technology, and

‘historicity’, a condition to move away from, as set by the narrative of moving forward, *salir adelante*.

The chapter has also argued that the categories of vulnerable people make no sense if their vulnerability is not addressed in monetary form. Ferguson points out the peculiar taboo of discussing money, and the persistence in the belief that it should be ‘earned’ (2015). In this chapter, the same reasoning was prevalent in the students’ opinions. However, as it has been argued in this thesis, trends of youth employment and crisis’ in many parts of the world dispute the possibilities of full wage-employment for everyone. Remaining blind to this fact allows neoliberalism to exploit the labour of those who have traditionally been subjected to exploitative work. Consequently, the new emphasis in the curriculum placed on ‘environmental contamination’ was interpreted through the lens of the anti-Imperialist critique, that saw foreign powers as the source to blame and ‘the Peruvian’ as the ‘exploited’.

Conclusion

Democracy? ... There's not much democracy. I mean, *legally* there is democracy in our country but if we look with our own eyes, there isn't.

-Cassandra, 3rd grade

For the purposes of this conclusion, I would like to go back to Cassandra, the girl who wanted to migrate to Japan to work and learn aside of Japanese both Chinese and Quechua. She was a perfect case that demonstrated what neoliberalism from below might mean in this thesis. She was cosmopolitan as she knew that China and Japan were both countries with strong economies in the world stage. She also knew how to value the Quechua language as it was for her something fundamental for the Peruvian national identity. For her, the message in politics of difference had enabled to reclaim pride to Peruvianness. Indeed, while this thesis has argued that cosmopolitanism is not equal, it has also shown that cosmopolitanism is a lot about pride and respect in an imagined global world. The hierarchical structures of the global world system are reworked by cosmopolitan playfulness and values. Sometimes these cosmopolitanisms yielded concrete results, as we have seen in the case of Rosa in chapter seven, who eventually moved closer to Lima. Similarly, I would not be surprised if Cassandra eventually did get to migrate to Japan. Yet as her opinion above in regards to there not being “much democracy” illustrates, democracy was not something that existed in Peru, despite her cosmopolitan aspirations. There was a certain negativity evident in her narrative about the nature of Peruvian citizenship.

As shown in the thesis, the emotions expressed by Cassandra are a common way by which people in Peru have sought to understand and justify the present state. During our interview, Cassandra drew my attention to the surrounding sand mountains dotted with multiple shabby houses. As the school was located on a hill top, we had a panoramic view of a great expansion of the settlement from the corridor we were standing in. In order to follow up with her on her comments about the ‘lack

of democracy’, as well as other negative aspects that were raised by Cassandra, I asked her if she thought it was possible to change these factors. Cassandra responded in the following manner:

We [the youth] are the image of the nation [laughs], as they say. To be able to change, it could, but it has to, it would be... ‘uff’, a work of many years! Because already, look how many houses, how many families. It would be something difficult to do, from one day to the next.

In light of the overwhelming obstacles, symbolised by the precarious houses scattered across the land-scape, there were obviously limits to the narrative of progress. There seemed to be on one hand a powerful, and in this case, neoliberal, discourse in the school-curriculum, to which the practice of the youth did not really conform. It demonstrated the peculiar logic by which education operated in this setting; its role in promising ascendance on the social ladder was embraced, while the learning process itself was secondary. Given also some of the more moralizing aspects of the messages in the school-books, this logic perhaps was also entirely justified. But what the common-sense in Cassandra’s view-point, coupled with the function of education does demonstrate is that Peru at a certain level has not been able to de-colonize itself. And this has important wider implications, to which I will return by the end of this conclusion.

There were two threads followed in the thesis. The first showed how there are contradictions generated by the neoliberal model of progress. The model of entrepreneurship was heavily present in Peru in the promotion of citizenship via land-ownership, whether legal or not, as well as in the idealisation of ‘creativity’ in the school curriculum as a means to overcome poverty. At the same time, “the regulating state” (Martucelli 2015) sought to establish respect for the rules of the society. The School of Our Lady of Sorrows had emerged as a suitable mediating institution to take care of the needs of the population, exploiting the principle of religious sacrifice that was a characteristic of the leaders and some of the workers at the school. At the same time, the neoliberal rationality aspired to make people responsible for their progress, which included focusing on family problems and other difficulties arising in the social context at the expense of a better teaching practice, or focusing on early pregnancy prevention without giving real power to girls to over-come the male gaze

that dominated the public (and private) spheres. The continuing valorisation of 'whiteness' operating in the school occurred through notions of decency that was also disguised in such discourses. The normalisation that continued to privilege maleness and 'whiteness' (or *mestizo* status) as the standard by which everything else is measured, including femaleness, indigeneity and blackness, demonstrates the ambiguities inherent in the neoliberal model and the ongoing relevance of the colonization project. Finally, the circulation of stories about organ snatchers displayed the imbalances in the local and global world.

The second thread that is followed throughout the thesis is the way by which neoliberalism is instituted 'from below' as Gago terms it. The neoliberalisms from below here were the ways by which youth appropriated cosmopolitanisms as their own. The thesis argued that these were the precise things by which dominant power mechanisms were slightly reworked. The youth displayed cynical tropes and jokes on Facebook that gained them respect. Girls reworked dominant patriarchal roles by displaying themselves as sexually emancipated, taking some power boys had away, by not agreeing to the promises of 'love'. Yet, the real opportunities and risks that arise within the neoliberal framework are unevenly distributed and incommensurable at times (Montoya 2014). This was evident in the examples of youth cosmopolitanisms that emerged throughout the chapters, like the cosmopolitan preferences for a future abroad that was desired by Cassandra. At the same time such preference had the function of bringing destabilizing social capital to the youth; hence, global cosmopolitanism was part of the neoliberal narrative that they accepted.

These processes also destabilize previously established dynamics and by the first decade of the 21st century, social relations between classes were made more horizontal (Martucelli 2015) and the thesis has looked at the global dimension of these destabilizations. At the time the fieldwork was conducted in 2013, smartphones were only just becoming popular, so social media did not form part of my research design or my initial research question, but rather, as many researchers in Peru at the time, I was interested in the politics of 'interculturality', and the newly emerged discursive frames through which systems of inequality were confronted. As my data suggest, the 'politics of difference' was of little concern for my students. Rather, the new landscapes and spaces created through social media were immediate changes that gave the youth a new outlet of expression, as opposed to the remoteness of discourses about the politics of difference. The reason why these new landscapes were more

immediate is the question that this thesis has tried to answer. The thesis has suggested that the answer lays in the ongoing relationships of power that were also subtly present in the youth cosmopolitanisms. Neoliberalism means wanting, and it also promises, and this is why neoliberalism persists despite all the negative implications it brings for many people (Montoya 2014). Neoliberalism is instituted 'from below' through youth cosmopolitanisms that do not have great loyalties to any nation, nor do they necessarily comply with all the ideas of progress (Gago 2017). The youth were rearticulating some dominant power relations in social media, but only in a way that was permitted by the accepted codes of behaviour. These codes of behaviour were legitimated not only through market forces, but also through globally circulating ideas and values, such as concerns about the environment or pragmatic tropes that criticised the dominant structures that had only generated increased precarity. But they also often complied with what neoliberalism wants; there are examples where the youth retain women as objects of the male gaze for instance, or they are identifying with a street culture that reinforces the idea there are many 'problems' in poor communities. The dynamics are thus ambivalent, but it demonstrates that neoliberalism is not just an all destroying force, it also brings some power to individuals and groups. This logic of compliance then in turn showed how individualism accompanying neoliberalism brings some forms of power, but it does not necessarily change the essential dynamic of those wider or deeper power relations. As we can see in Cassandra's quote, there seemed to be no solution to the dilemmas faced by the ever increasing sizes of the city, as well as the needs of people.

The introduction set out the historical context for this research to demonstrate how the current project of citizenship cannot be separated from the relationship of unequal power relations nor the ongoing relevance of dependent relations between nation states, and the analysis of this thesis affirms the relevance of seeing nation states not as standing autonomously on their own, but always in relation to other nations and their historical processes. The thesis took the position that citizenship is differentiated from the start in that some people are excluded from certain rights, like right to land or water, while others are not. The thesis has furthermore argued that the inequalities persist despite the efforts in the school curriculum to address them precisely because these unequal conditions are something that (neo)liberal capitalism needs. Whereas Ferguson argues it is wrong to view the marginalization and

impoverishment of so many people today as ‘a strategy of global capital’ (2015)²⁰⁶, this thesis has hypothesized that there is some relevance of capital in the processes of marginalization that are at work. In chapter two for example I showed how value is created through the land-market that then is exploited by those who have more capital. It was also pointed out that women seemed to labour the most, as they performed communal duties in the school, as well as participated in the informal sector in selling merchandise and foodstuffs and were largely burdened with the domestic duties that are also their labour by tradition. The conundrum of unequal citizenship is perpetuated in the schooling system that privileges some people over others through the subtle means by which power operates in the class-room. Students themselves play into this reproduction and legitimize certain types of dominant relationships in the class-room’s hidden curriculum.

As argued in chapter two, it has become evident at the turn of the new millennium that the policies promoting citizenship and progress via land-ownership are limited. As capitalism functions in such way that it gives priority to individual ownership, the result was that land was being hoarded, not only by those who needed it, but also by people in Lima who sought to take advantage of the increase in the price of land. However, the labour of settling onto the land was largely done not by the investors out to hoard properties but by the community settlers who lived there. As a measure of discipline towards people invading more and more land, authorities stopped granting more legal titles to the people in Pachacutec and thus 80 percent of people lived on a plot without official land-titles. This means that the multilateral funding geared towards strengthening land-ownership, while producing results in some cases, had also functioned within the logic that places some people at the margins of citizenship. The ephemeral spaces created by neoliberal citizenship however have potential to transform into something else. There is a strength in the action of the masses, who despite prohibitions continue to carry out land invasions. The people without land titles even actually live in the settlements ‘all the same’, and gain services, whether the land is legalised or not. This may well point to a need for another kind formalisation of ownership, as the binary of formal and informal allows the state to discipline the *pobladores*, but it does not grant them protections. This space of ambiguity runs thereafter through the different chapters of the thesis.

²⁰⁶Here he builds on work by Tania Li in South Asia

Chapter three looked at the adoption of the linear logic of progress in the discursive frames of the people in Pachacutec captured in the concept of ‘moving forward’. This is contrasted to ‘sand’ on which the houses are built, and which threatens the houses and needs constant sweeping and watering. Fundamental to ‘moving forward’ was education and its promises of breaking asymmetrical relations, which to some extent overrode the concern over sand. The increase of ‘well-being’ present in the way by which poverty is measured also contributed to the ways by which youth subjectivity was formed. Much of the Peruvian educational development since the 1990s has been off-loaded to intermediary agencies and religious congregations, like that of the reformist Catholic order of the Sisters leading the school. The ethic of the Sisters was inspired by the need for a social transformation in order to insert humanity in the world. Yet the very way by which capitalism operates combined with the ethic of the Sisters into a peculiar mesh where the *pobladores* came to be seen as undisciplined.

In chapter four I suggested that the ‘road to development’ was accompanied by ‘the street’. I examined the most prevalent citizenship discourses in Pachacutec (decency, humbleness and bad behaviour) that were the way by which youth in Pachacutec negotiated the every-day conflicts encountered in accessing citizenship. They derived their legitimacy from previously established norms, showing how neoliberalism is not really something that functions in its own right, but it always builds on and becomes mediated by previously established power relations. I argued that the ‘modern’ school’s ambition to build citizens on principles of ‘merit’ was built on prior discourses of ‘decency’ that have roots in colonial relations (De la Cadena 2000). This meant that education retained some of the ‘whitening’ goals, building upon oppositions inherited from history. At the national level, discourses of ‘citizens lacking values’ continued to build upon these long-established dichotomies so that values remained at the heart of the schooling project. The school instead, while incorporating some of the communitarian values in mobilising students work, retained a distinction between the ‘informal’ (communitarian/ humbleness) and the ‘formal’ (professional /decency). However, in the everyday, students and teachers joking behaviour towards notions of ‘the typical Peruvian’ suggested that the tensions underlying the lessons and the messages were not necessarily ‘bought’ or accepted by the young in particular. ‘The typical Peruvian’ challenged the norms of the formal world because of a willingness to circumvent the system and to use illegitimacy, yet

the illegitimacy remained subordinate. It was embodied in a negative value associated with Peruvianness, showing how the conflicts generated by the model of progress and accessing formalisation were internalised as one's own fault.

Neoliberalism is also complex in that it is resisted in various ways, through its own principle, as Gago demonstrates. While neoliberalism exploits the new micro-scale economies, also the popular classes and the city's poor, challenge the city, and in many cases, struggle to produce situations of urban justice, conquering a new right to the city, and in that sense, redefining it (Gago 2017). At the same time the concept of humbleness was a resistance to the exploitative dimension of capitalism - it did not comply with the logic of individualism, it was more communitarian. Yet the communitarian ideals also allowed extreme exploitation. Hence, different moralities ran parallel to the hegemonic model that was presented in the school, showing the ambiguities of the model and how *Pachacutecños* challenged and re-articulated it.

Chapter five evaluated some of the racialized dimensions of every-day politics in Pachacutec. The national and global discursive influences that shaped youth's subjectivity had destabilizing effects, creating more horizontal relations. A language of 'sameness' was adopted via talking of class more than 'race'. Cosmopolitan identities exhibited by the youth in social media allowed something new to emerge. It was a space where youth participated in a global world in motion by the ability to engage and to "have fun". Students mobilized cosmopolitanisms 'from below' through transnational performances on social media, and on the street. Here too we see the tensions between agency and creativity, resistance to power structures and dominant narratives on the one hand, and the redefinition of relations of exploitation and appropriation at local, national and global levels. For the young in Pachacutec, frequently disadvantaged by a rhetoric of 'manners', access to global cultural artefacts provided opportunities to challenge the rhetoric. In particular, the young derived value from transnational ideals of Blackness in order to propose alternatives to the racialization of Pachacutec as a space where people 'lacked manners'.

Circulating racial labels and giving them new meanings allowed the youth to destabilise previous racial hierarchies. This also suggests that questions of 'racial formation' (Omi & Winant 1986) are not confined solely to nation-states, and the young in particular are drawing resources through which to express their identities via globally circulating ideas of 'race' as resistance rather than oppression. Indeed, whereas previously the *pishtaco* was a White 'bogey' man, today the *pishtaco* is the

organ thief, macabrely supplying body parts to markets in wealthy sites across the globe. This signals a new dimension of capitalism and the ‘unequal exchanges’ that surge out of the commercialisation and commodification of bodies (Scheper-Hughes 2002), showing another of the profoundly unequal dimensions of transnationalism. The youth’s cosmopolitan racialisations existed together in a world where unequal transactions were pervasive, thereby demonstrating the dispossessing dynamics of the global neoliberal project.

Chapter six dealt with how the neoliberal curriculum sought to valorise the entrepreneurship of the informal sector, but this was in conflict with the traditional role given to school and the aspirations of the youth and their parents. On one level, education was about breaking asymmetrical social relations and about status, the role assigned to it during the course of 20th century. This role was increasingly questioned through the commercialisation of education and continuing precarious labour conditions. On another level, the sources directed at the school were built on previously established views, such as strengthening the ‘values’ of the students. The new pedagogical sources also sought to make relations more horizontal among the students from different neighbourhoods and schools in Lima. However, the ongoing emphasis placed on values shows that education was not really equal, as students were to be taught self-esteem rather than subjects requiring more demanding academic skills. This demonstrated how the neoliberal rationality not only makes people feel responsible for their successes and failures, but how it also filters into the ways by which education is transmitted.

All the while the concern over values and ‘problems’ of the youth have increased state’s investment in education has decreased. Teachers in particular feel the burden of it. The teaching profession too manifests certain legacies of colonialism in that education has traditionally been more about status than about pedagogy, and education continued to be poor for poor people. The commercialisation of education exploits the value creation/labour of those who want to ‘get ahead’ in the game. People enact neoliberalism from below by buying into the promises of private education. At the same time, the school’s curriculum also helped to perpetuate elements of neoliberalism by proposing that the youth’s value creation potential laid in ‘creativity’ in the informal sector.

Chapter seven turned to look at the gendered dimensions of neoliberalism through the discursive frame of ‘love’, arguing that much of the gendered imbalances

occurred via the ways by which love was performed and heteronormative gender roles reproduced. Neoliberal transformations had brought an understanding of romantic relationships that rivalled with the idea of a more traditional love, which was that ‘feelings are made in China’. Women’s presence in the informal sector and as the head of households, coupled with the communal labour duties that were expected of her in school and in the community constituted a woman’s triple role, all which helped to shape her discourse of fleeting relationships and distrust towards men. However, young women found agency in some commercialised performances of female sexuality that they exhibited on Facebook, where girls battled against the norms of ‘decency’ by promoting a model of a provocative woman who is open to male attention, but she also chooses who she will establish those relationships with. This model gave some power to the girls to transcend the moralizing discourses over female chastity under the rubric of cosmopolitanism. However, it also reduced female agency into body parts, perpetuating a logic where the public and private is dominated by the male gaze. I argued that it remained so because the other ways of making relationships more equal, e.g. via sexual education in the class-room, were too uncomfortable and confronting, indicating also the continuing insecurities women feel in terms of their (sexual) identities and roles.

Chapter eight looked at the discourse of diversity and how it was received by the students and the staff. Although the human rights agenda has some destabilizing effects in that ‘rights’ were mobilized as a claim against certain kinds of inequalities experienced in the every-day, the human rights sphere had not managed to really create pragmatic effects that tackle the widespread injustices that occur. ‘Culture’ and ‘difference’ was attributed to areas outside of Lima, as while the politics of difference gave a scope for understanding the difference of others it was not used in a self-reflexive way. The presence of an anti-imperialist narrative in the students’ discourse that criticised ongoing resource exploitation combined with the criticism of visa restrictions, displaying the deep power imbalances in the global world. This was something that the rights rhetoric had not been able to change to date. Consequently, there was little faith placed in the power of discourses like *interculturalidad* and other pacifying means that purported to be new approaches to address inequalities based on ‘difference’.

Flexible citizens versus Ephemeral citizens: new polarisations in a global world

One morning I was sitting in a *combi* on my way to the school in Ventanilla next to school-children each dressed in their colourful school uniforms. A big man in his forties or fifties, who was wearing clothes that looked they hadn't been washed in a few days entered the bus to sell candies. His mature age and large belly made him a rare case to have to extend charity to, and this was made clear after he made his narrative plea for help to the passengers and no one bought candies as he went around the passengers in the bus. He startled everyone when he suddenly started hurling candies at the floor in frustration, some of the candies even whipping against the passengers as he shouted: "They say Peru is advancing, it is a lie!" People were put off by this act, and the seller seemed to realize its inappropriateness and tried again to call for contributions. No-one said anything to him even after his outburst, not even the bus driver. He got off the bus having sold only one candy, to me, for a 10 *centimos* coin which was the only change I had left in my purse. This event stuck in my mind for a long time because it demonstrates part of neoliberalism as a failed project. But this assertion does not mean that the neoliberal project cannot be made better. What the man was desperately after was money, a mere 10 cents, and his act demonstrated the severe humiliation that happens when a person has no money. This points towards the ever-present need of creating pragmatic results to counter the more devastating effects brought first by 'modernisation' and second by neoliberal restructurings. It also brings forth the need to go beyond a model where the man is the successful actor *sine qua non* and all the feminized others are in need of assistance.

The man with the outburst on the bus did not raise any feelings of empathy or pity and hence his plea was disregarded. This thesis has argued that policies should not function on the basis of pity, nor on the basis of deservingness. As Ferguson notes, charity is accompanied by a stigma rooted in the assumption that a man must earn his living. The potential beneficiaries of programs often feel shame and this inhibits them from taking advantage of programs that could be available to them. Part of this is a shame they perceive because they are not able to conform to the model of a hard-working citizen (2015). The thesis has furthermore argued that both the logic of deservingness and 'needs' (which often translates to pity) that are present in policy and institutional practices have a moralizing background that potentially legitimizes distinctions that ultimately distinguish us with structural and symbolic violence.

Instead, what Ferguson argues is a claim at a 'rightful share' sounds like a more suitable background for understanding exclusion and marginality. Ferguson argues that those excluded from the world of wages are making increasingly vocal claims for frameworks based on other forms of distribution which would consider a right to income based on shared histories, particular identities and significant experiences that would make a beneficiary a rightful recipient of national resources as well as land. The aspiration of people is not simply to democracy or political equality, but also to ownership. Ferguson records that social policy experts around the world use the language of 'aid' and 'assistance' in favour of more neutral terms such as 'social payment' or 'cash transfer'. These ideas also imply a certain shift in the rights rhetoric; duty is placed before right, and the key theme is that sharing must be understood as both an obligation and virtue (2015). These are interesting proposals that might help to mitigate some of the more devastating effects of exclusion that are currently manifest in the global system and many national economies.

The thesis demonstrates that a wide array of moral backgrounds circulated in Pachacutec, combining elements of deservingness, needs, communitarianism as well as rightful share. I argue that the youth's cosmopolitanism was more of the latter, a claim for a rightful share. The narratives of the youth in Pachacutec repeatedly exhibited a global dimension, and they were demanding their share to participate in a global world. And as we have seen, land ownership has been something that has shaped the way by which citizenship has been forged throughout the 20th century. It could also be viewed as a type of claim for a rightful share. Indeed, invasions that the settlers use to appropriate private land testify to it.

While neoliberalism has been associated with structural adjustment programs, it can also be associated with globalisation and the expansion of financial capitalism. But the processes of neoliberalism cannot be necessarily evaluated in the same light in dependent contexts as in European or North American countries for example. Many might say that dependent contexts are for the first time seeing more wealth than what they ever did in the 20th century. The problem seems to be more that the wealth that has been generated in many countries in the Global South has involved the exploitation of minerals, and the wealth is unequally distributed in extreme ways. Examples repeatedly raised in the Western media for example are minerals like coltan in Africa, which is a material used high-technology goods like ipads and smartphones. Hart & Hann describe it the following way: "There are two pressing features of our

world: the unprecedented expansion of the markets since the Second World War and massive economic inequality between rich and poor nations” (2011:104)²⁰⁷. The baseline seems to be that since the poor are perhaps seeing some slight improvements in their standard of living because they have access to more consumer items, the capitalist system can keep enhancing their growth. In other words, the lowest and most marginal in the global capitalist system are subject to a logic of ‘give them the minimum to keep them satisfied’. But not all are satisfied with the minimum. Hart and Hann continue by stating that: “becoming closer and more unequal at the same time is an explosive combination” (2011:104). There might be a degree of hyperbole in this tone of writing, as this ‘explosive combination’ generates a degree of fear characteristic of the neoliberal project itself. This fear is present in the acts of migration themselves, by actively invading lands in Lima, for example, or jumping in a group of five hundred or so migrants over the Melilla fence that separates Spain from Marocco in the continent of Africa, accompanying their jump with tribal songs.

Indeed, global capital has already changed national dynamics in such a way it requires some re-thinking of what we mean by national citizenship. In Ong’s analysis about the global operations of neoliberalism, flexible citizens are those who are able to display their cosmopolitanisms and accrue sufficient capital, not necessarily from labour, but by acquiring money and other forms of capital, e.g. through possession of houses in various locations. In her words, the educated and self-propulsive individuals can claim different citizenship like entitlements and benefits as they take advantage of global circuits, even at the expense of territorialised citizens. Rights and benefits are distributed to bearers of marketable talents and denied to those who are judged to lack such capacity or potential. Instead the neoliberal exception are the citizens (low-skilled citizens and migrants) who are constructed as excludable populations in transit, shuttled in and out of zones of growth (1999; 2006). They are the ‘dangerous underclass’ described by Standing (2016). In one sense, they may be ephemeral citizens because they entered a country illegally and they make a life avoiding the legislative frameworks that might identify them. Their strategies may be ‘illegal’ in other ways in their own country too, such as in the case of people in Pachacutec. I suggest that the cosmopolitanisms the youth employ to talk about what they like about

²⁰⁷ Hart & Hann record a data given by Forbes magazine that the top ten richest individuals had a net worth between them of 250 billion dollars. The same sum equals the total annual income twenty-six sub-Saharan African countries with a combined population of almost half a billion (2011:104).

in their lives now and their plans for the future show they desire to be flexible citizens, but given the constraints, the possibility they may someday still be ephemeral citizens loom large. If they are not sufficiently cosmopolitan, the chances they may become ephemeral citizens are greater.

Furthermore, recent economic downturns in the Western world also put the promise of modernity and welfare in this part of the world under scrutiny. As Ferguson (2015) describes, wage labour is the form of livelihood that has been understood both as a historical telos of economic development and an anchor of progressive politics involving a social contract where labour served as the basis of membership in society. Standing and Ferguson, amongst several others, propose to go beyond labour as an anchor for livelihood in favour of a basic income. The basic income would be a non-labour based distribution, a proposition that is often strongly rejected by the left (Ferguson 2015). What poses the greatest challenge to basic income proposals, just as any other forms of welfare programs, is the way by which power operates in a nation-state, as well as even more importantly perhaps, the rivalry between nation states²⁰⁸. Hart and Hann point out that since the formation of the United Nations in 1945 it has become convention to collect statistics, although thinking about humanity as a single entity has not yet taken hold (2011:103). This could be changed with a realignment in the traditional philosophical understanding of citizenship and membership, to a more globally oriented understanding. Indeed, according to Thomas Pogge, justice requires a view that would be longer in terms of history and broader in terms of geography than has been typical of philosophical treatments thus far (in Ferguson 2015). But it is also important not to reduce well-being solely to income. It is susceptible that there will always be people who would reject any type of money, which is perfectly fine as well. It does not however mean, that basic income should not be offered.

In order to address how these alignments could be developed in practice, a global perspective might help. Ong has advocated a shift from discussing citizenship as simply rights endowed by the nation-state to a focus on broader solidarities with non-citizens (1999). For this end, the global nature of capitalism has created a global consciousness that perhaps could be mobilised for the cause. Global Forums discuss

²⁰⁸ Money is not a problem, as a summary given by Ferguson for example details varied proposals listed by authors of how money could be gained, one of them even being taxing people in the West (2015).

these things, and proposals for debt arbitration, tax on foreign exchange transactions and tax on carbon dioxide are matters that have been repeatedly raised (Hickel 2017; Patomäki & Teivainen 2010). The underlying idea in these proposals is that an international tax can be used for strategies to address exclusion and counter the neoliberal hegemony. Proposals of a global parliament and a global federation have also been put forward. They would not function as sovereign entities, but would be spaces where the coordination of different systems of authority can be discussed, and such federations or parliaments could take series of initiatives to improve global governance (Patomäki & Teivainen 2010).

Sassen however asks the question where citizens still have to sit back and wait for a 'global state' to evolve, or is there a possibility for this to exist in the here and now with the national institution channels already in place. Are there channels to demand some accountability from global economic actors? In Latin America, US based 'imperial globality' has been countered with the emergence of self-organizing social movement networks that operate with a new logic and foster forms of counter-hegemonic globalization (Escobar 2010; Daza et al. 2012). However, as the examples discussed in this thesis have shown, especially in the last chapter, some well-meaning principles like *interculturalidad* often become absorbed in a neoliberal agenda that seeks to place responsibility for misfortune on the person themselves. For Gago, a global perspective that goes beyond the nation-state as a privileged axis of political, economic and social organisation is indispensable. However, it is also important not to abandon the need to discover how the state has been reconfigured and what processes it has used to imbricate with the growing globalisation of capitalism (2017). There is a potential to counter the hegemony of neoliberalism, as neoliberalism can also be countered starting with smaller measures, like monetary social protections that would eventually become universal. As the numerous works cited here demonstrate, there are a lot of good proposals that have the potential to account better for those people who are left lingering.

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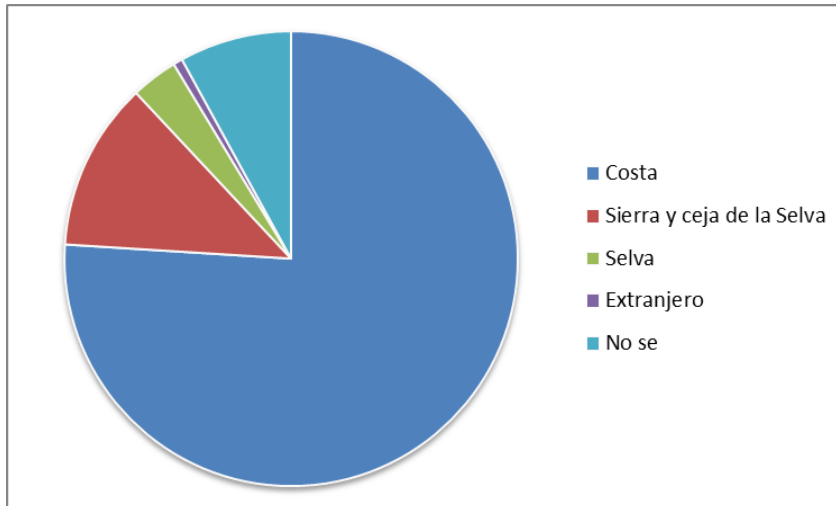
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Appendix

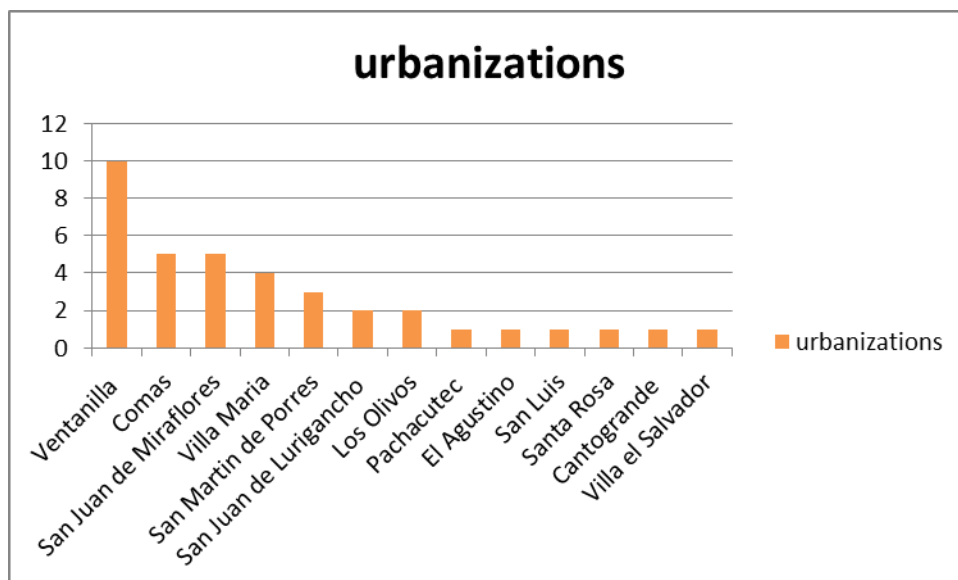
Students' birthplace



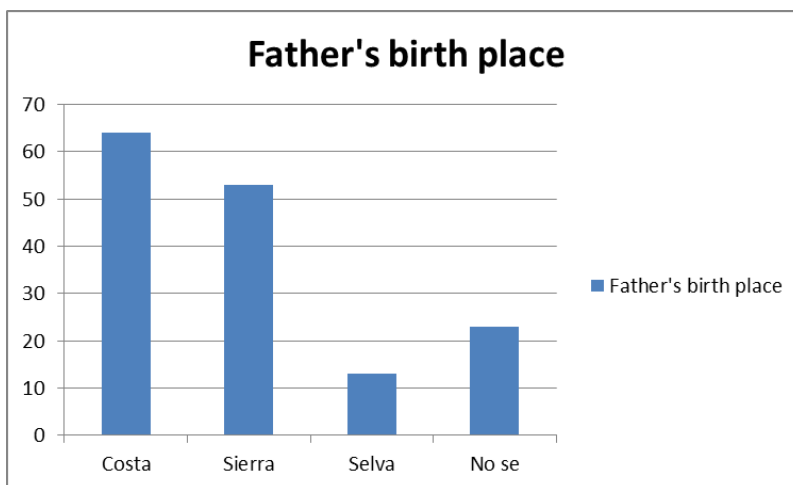
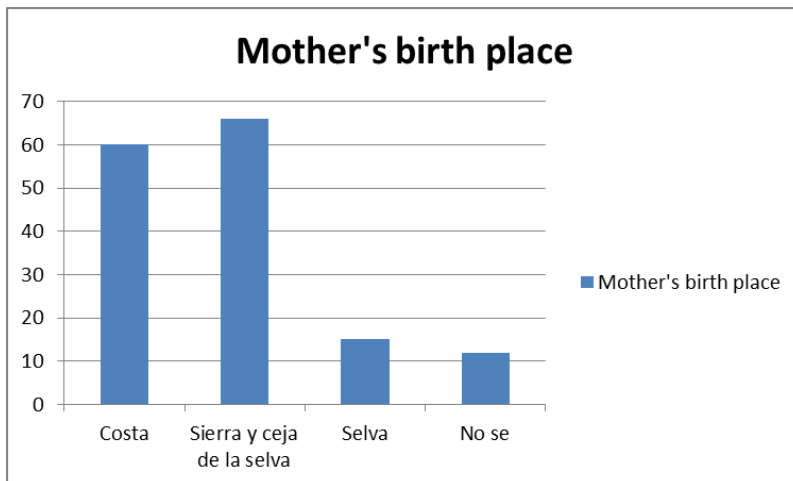
Coast (costa); Highlands (sierra y ceja de la selva); Lowlands (selva); extranjero (abroad); no se (don't know)

Costa	117
Callao - Lima Metropolitan area	108
Callao [city]	23
Lima Region	85
Costa del Norte	9
Chiclayo	5
Piura/Tumbes	4
Extranjero	1
Chile	1
Santiago de Chile	1
No se	12
No se	12
No se	12
Selva	5
Bellavista	1
Bellavista	1
Pikanaki	1
Pikanaki	1
San Martin	3

San Martin	3
Sierra y ceja de la Selva	18
Ancash	3
Ancash	3
Apurimac	1
Apurimac	1
Cajamarca	1
Cajamarca	1
Cerro de Pasco	1
Cerro de Pasco	1
Huanuco	8
Huanuco	8
Junin	4
Junin	4
Total participants	153

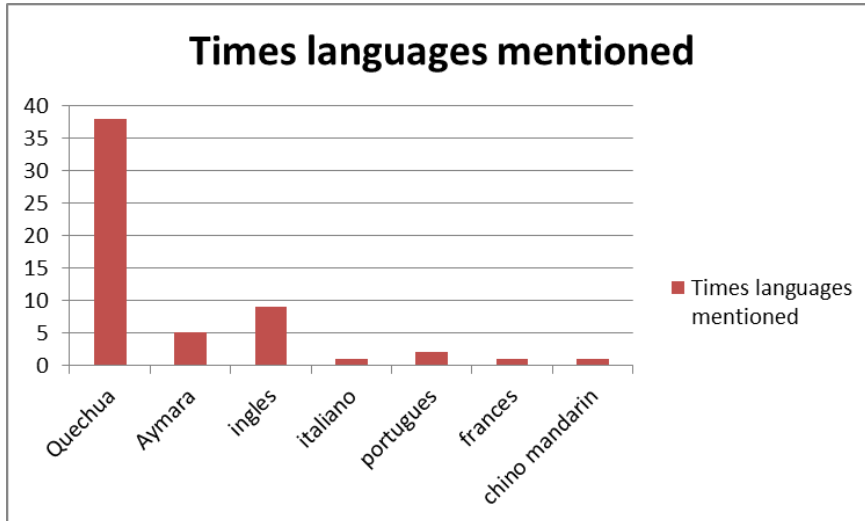


Parents' birthplace



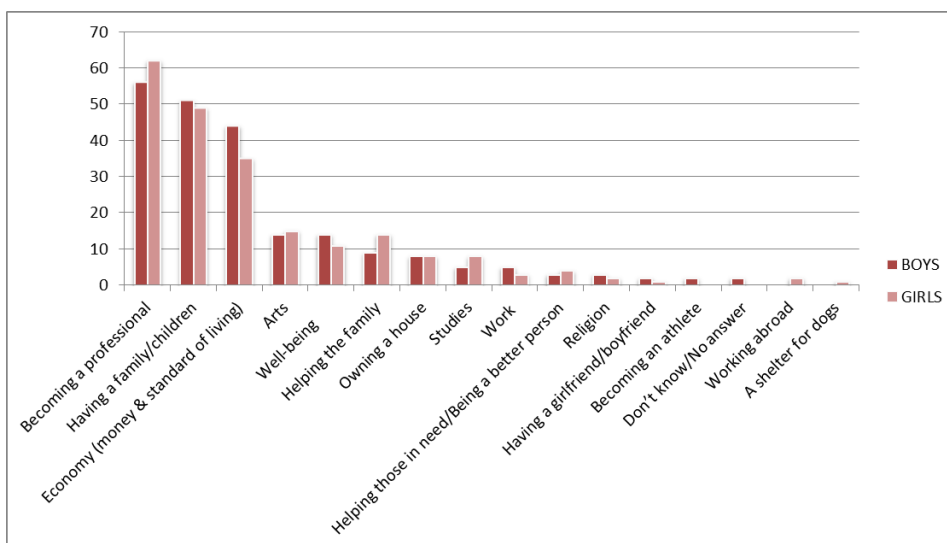
Coast (costa); Highlands (sierra y ceja de la selva); Lowlands (selva); extranjero (abroad); no se (don't know)

Other languages spoken at home

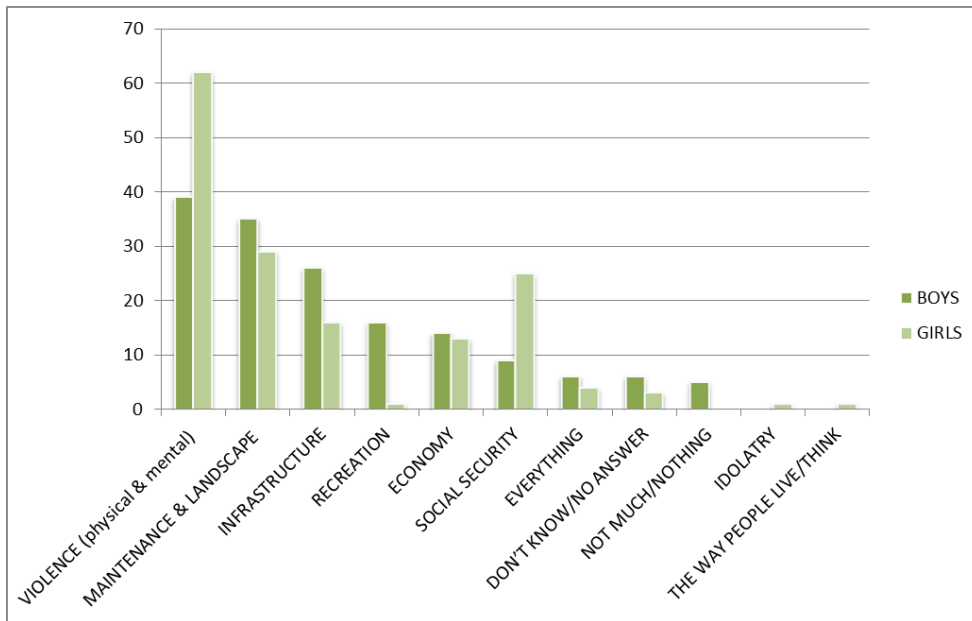


Quechua, Aymara, English, Italian, Portuguese, Mandarin Chinese

Major Aspirations



What would you change in Pachacutec?





N°	Asentamiento Humano	Lotes Aprox.	Zona
1	1 de Noviembre - Los Angelitos	140	Oeste/Formalizados
2	12 de Diciembre	367	Oeste/Formalizados
3	7 DE JUNIO - Enmanuel	60	Oeste/Piloto
4	18 de Febrero	92	Oeste/Piloto
5	19 de Agosto	80	Oeste/Piloto
6	20 de Agosto	74	Oeste/Especial
7	31 de Diciembre	621	Oeste/Formalizados
8	6 de Abril	110	Oeste/Piloto
9	6 de Diciembre	549	Oeste/Especial
10	7 de Junio - Enmanuel	230	Oeste/Formalizados
11	8 de Agosto	40	Oeste/Formalizados
12	A.H. Mini Parque Industrial Cerro Cachito	155	Oeste/Especial
13	A.P Santa Patricia II Etapa	41	Oeste/Especial
14	A.P. 7 de junio - Confraternidad	300	Oeste/Formalizados
15	A.P. 8 de Diciembre	125	Oeste/Piloto
16	A.P. Alan Garcia Perez	85	Oeste/Especial
17	Ampliación 15 de Abril	41	Oeste/Piloto
18	A.P. Ampliacion B - 3		Oeste/Piloto
19	A.P. Buena Vista	200	Oeste/Piloto

20	A.P. Familias Unidas 4 de Setiembre	83	Oeste/Especial
21	A.P. La Unión Tahuantinsuyo		Oeste/Especial
22	A.P. Laderas de Cerro Cachito	100	Oeste/Especial
23	A.P. Las Brisas I	108	Oeste/Especial
24	A.P. Los Andes de Pachacutec	45	Oeste/Especial
25	A.P. Los Constructores de Pachacutec		Oeste
26	A.P. Luz y Paz		Oeste/Piloto
27	A.P. Marcelina Caballero de Moreno	200	Oeste/Formalizados
28	A.P. Omar Marcos Arteaga II	180	Oeste/Formalizados
29	A.P. Proa Chalaca	40	Oeste/Especial
30	A.P. Sector Cerro Cachito		Oeste/Especial
31	Ampliación 5 de Enero	270	Oeste/Piloto
32	Ampliación B - 4	150	Oeste/Piloto
33	Ampliación Heroes del Cenepa	208	Oeste/Formalizados
34	Armando Villanueva del Campo	200	Oeste/Formalizados
35	AVIMAPA	274	Oeste/Especial
36	Balnearios	1350	Oeste/Especial
37	Brisas II	117	Oeste/Especial
38	Carlos Garcia Ronceros	456	Oeste/Especial
39	Chavin de Huantar	132	Oeste/Formalizados





40	Construcción Civil	105	Oeste/Especial
41	Cosmovision	385	Oeste/Especial
42	Costa Azul	167	Oeste/Especial
43	Cueva de los Tallos	520	Oeste/Formalizados
44	El Mirador	180	Oeste/Formalizados
45	A.P Felix Moreno Roldan	200	Oeste/Formalizados
46	Formalizados de los 16 Pueblos Parte Baja	4486	Oeste/Formalizados
47	Grupo Residencial A - 1	500	Oeste/Piloto
48	Grupo Residencial A - 2	500	Oeste/Piloto
49	Grupo Residencial A - 3	500	Oeste/Piloto
50	Grupo Residencial A - 4	520	Oeste/Piloto
51	Grupo Residencial B - 1	190	Oeste/Piloto
52	Grupo Residencial B - 2	530	Oeste/Piloto
53	Grupo Residencial B - 3	530	Oeste/Piloto
54	Grupo Residencial B - 4	523	Oeste/Piloto
55	Grupo Residencial C - 1	513	Oeste/Piloto
56	Grupo Residencial C - 2	520	Oeste/Piloto
57	Grupo Residencial C - 3	500	Oeste/Piloto
58	Grupo Residencial C - 4	190	Oeste/Piloto
59	Grupo Residencial D - 1	400	Oeste/Piloto



60	Grupo Residencial D - 2	540	Oeste/Piloto
61	Grupo Residencial D - 3	500	Oeste/Piloto
62	Grupo Residencial E - 1	500	Oeste/Piloto
63	Grupo Residencial E - 2	480	Oeste/Piloto
64	Grupo Residencial E - 3		Oeste/Piloto
65	Grupo Residencial E - 4	500	Oeste/Piloto
66	Grupo Residencial E - 5	523	Oeste/Piloto
67	Grupo Residencial E - 6	430	Oeste/Piloto
68	Heroes del Cenepa	259	Oeste/Formalizados
69	Hiroshima	481	Oeste/Formalizados
70	Inca Garcilazo de la Vega	105	Oeste/Especial
71	Inca Pachacutec	116	Oeste/Especial
72	Inca Wasi	500	Oeste/Especial
73	Jaime Yoshiyama	447	Oeste/Piloto
74	Jenny Bumachar de Kouri	300	Oeste/Piloto
75	Jose Maria Arguedas - Parcela C	240	Oeste/Formalizados
76	Jose Olaya Balandra	1010	Oeste/Formalizados
77	Kawachi	428	Oeste/Especial
78	keiko Sofia Fujimori II Etapa	600	Oeste/Formalizados
79	Urbanizacion Popular de Interes Social "Libertad"	172	Oeste/Especial



80	La Union	418	Oeste/Especial
81	La Victoria	465	Oeste/Especial
82	Las Casuarinas	400	Oeste/Formalizados
83	Las Flores		Oeste/Piloto
84	Las Poncianas	65	Oeste/Especial
85	Leandra Ortega Espinoza	657	Oeste/Piloto
86	Los 4 Suyos	342	Oeste/Especial
87	Los Alamos - Pachacutec	164	Oeste/Especial
88	Los Cedros II Etapa	1423	Oeste/Formalizados
89	Los Jardines del Mirador	140	Oeste/Formalizados
90	Los Jazmines	94	Oeste/Especial
91	Los Naranjos	310	Oeste/Especial
92	Los Olivos de la Paz	657	Oeste/Formalizados
93	Los Pinos	180	Oeste/Especial
94	Los Proceres Parcela I	220	Oeste/Piloto
95	Maria Jesús Espinoza	675	Oeste/Formalizados
96	Mercado Central	289	Oeste/Especial
97	Micaela Bastidas	64	Oeste/Especial
98	Miramar	193	Oeste/Especial
99	Nueva America	230	Oeste/Especial



100	Nuevo Horizonte	80	Oeste/Especial
101	Nuevo Pachacutec	720	Oeste/Especial
102	Oasis de Pachacutec	1000	Oeste/Especial
103	PACOP	105	Oeste/Especial
104	Las Brisas Parcela C	329	Oeste/Formalizados
105	Paz y Union	270	Oeste/Especial
106	Pedro A. Labarthe	217	Oeste/Especial
107	Pesquero Avanza	155	Oeste/Especial
108	Pesquero I	257	Oeste/Especial
109	Pesquero II	480	Oeste/Especial
110	Pesquero III	214	Oeste/Especial
111	Pesquero IV	300	Oeste/Especial
112	Puerto Pachacutec	700	Oeste/Piloto
113	Sagrado Corazón de Jesus	82	Oeste/Formalizados
114	Sagrado Corazón de Jesus II Etapa	160	Oeste/Formalizados
115	San Carlos	730	Oeste/Especial
116	San Martin de Porres	87	Oeste/Especial
117	San Pablo	107	Oeste/Especial
118	San Pedro de Israel	243	Oeste/Especial
119	Santa Patricia I Etapa	57	Oeste/Especial



120	Santa Rosa de Lima - COVIPOL	251	Oeste/Especial
121	Santa Rosa de Pachacutec	322	Oeste/Formalizados
122	Santisima Cruz de Motupe	43	Oeste/Especial
123	Señor de los Milagros	114	Oeste/Especial
124	Señor de los Milagros II	70	Oeste/Especial
125	Shalom	230	Oeste/Especial
126	Sol y Mar	375	Oeste/Especial
127	Techo Propio 1ra Etapa El Mirador	200	Oeste/Piloto
128	Techo Propio 2da Etapa El Mirador	200	Oeste/Piloto
129	Techo Propio 3ra Etapa El Mirador	200	Oeste/Piloto
130	Techo Propio 4ta Etapa El Mirador	200	Oeste/Piloto
131	Techo Propio 5ta Etapa El Mirador	200	Oeste/Piloto
132	Tupac Amaru	169	Oeste/Especial
133	Villa Rica	160	Oeste/Formalizados
134	Virgen de Guadalupe	408	Oeste/Especial
135	Vivienda Taller Señor de los Milagros	385	Oeste/Formalizados
136	AP Keiko Sofia II		Oeste/Formalizados

1. Sexo (circula): Masculino

Femenino

2. Edad: ~~XXXXXXXX~~

3. Lugar de Nacimiento ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

4. ¿Has vivido en otro lugar(es) además de Pachacutec? ¿Dónde?

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

5. Lugar de nacimiento de mamá: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

6. Lugar de nacimiento de papá: ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

7. ¿Si tus padres vienen de otros lugares diferentes a Lima, ¿conoces estos lugares?

no los dos viven en lima.

8. ¿En tu familia se habla otros idiomas además del castellano? ¿Cuales son?

Si, se dejo de hablar mi mamá hablaba pero solo era ella

9. ¿Cuáles son tus deseos después de terminar la secundaria? Por ejemplo: ¿ir a trabajar (¿en

que?), a estudiar (¿cuál colegio/universidad?) u otro? ser profesional estudiar en una universidad y cumplir con las metas que me he trazado.

10. ¿Qué tipo de trabajo no te gustaría hacer? ¿Por qué? ni uno porque si es que no soy profesional tengo que buscar cualquier trabajo.

11. Enumera las mayores aspiraciones en tu vida. Por ejemplo: tener familia, ser profesional, ser

artista, tener dinero u otro: ser profesional y luego formar una familia unida.

12. ¿Te gustaría viviren Ventanilla, o afuera de Ventanilla en el futuro? (puede ser adentro o

afuera de Perú) Lista las mayores razones: en un lugar donde no habia pobreza y que sea en el Perú.

13. ¿Hay discriminación en Pachacútec o Ventanilla? ¿Que tipo de discriminación existe?

Si, machismo

14. ¿Hay discriminación en Lima? ¿Qué tipo de discriminación existe?

Si el machismo, el racismo, origen del lugar de nacimiento

15. ¿Qué cosas cambiarías en Pachacútec? Que no habia muchos pandilleros, orientarlas contaminación

MAPA DE LENGUAS Y DIALECTOS DEL PERÚ EN EL 2000

LENGUAS	FAMILIAS LINGÜÍSTICAS	NÚMERO DE DIALECTOS	POBLACIÓN QUE HABLA LA LENGUA	%
1. Castellano	1	3	20 619 000	78,40
2. Quechua	1	8	4 740 000	18,02
3. Aimara	1	2	526 000	2,00
4. 42 lenguas en la Amazonía*	12	49	315 600	1,20
5. Lenguas de colonias extranjeras				
. Japonés			45 000	
. Chino			15 000	
. Italiano			7 000	
. Árabe			7 000	
. Otros			25 400	
Subtotal	05		99 400	0,37
Total general de lenguas	50	62	26 300 000	99,9

* Amazonía, familias lingüísticas y grupos étnicos: 13 familias lingüísticas y 42 lenguas: I. Arahucua: 1. Amuesha, 2. Ashaninka, 3. Culina, 4. Chamicuro, 5. Machiguenga, 6. Nomatsiguenga, 7. Piro, II. Cahuapana: 8. Chayahuita, 9. Jebero, III. Arakmbet: 10. Arakmbet, IV. Huitoto: 11. Bora, 12. Huitoto, 13. Ocalna, V. Jibaro: 14. Achual, 15. Aguaruna, 16. Candoshi, 17. Huambisa, 18. Jibaro, VI. Pano: 19. Amahuaca, 20. Capanahua, 21. Cashibo-Cacataibo, 22. Cashinahua, 23. Isconahua, 24. Mayo-Pisabo, 25. Mayoruna, 26. Nahua, 27. Sharanahua, 28. Shipibo-Conibo, 29. Yaminahua, VII: Peba Yagua, 30. Yagua, VIII: Quechua: 31. Quechua lamista, 32. Quechua del Napo, 33. Quechua del Pastaza, IX: Tacana: 34. Ese'Ejja, X: Tucano: 35. Orejón, 36. Secoya, XI: Tupi-guaraní: 37. Cocama-Cocamilia, XII: Záparo: 38. Arabela, 39. Iquito, XIII. Sin clasificación: 40. Taushiro, 41. Ticuna, 42. Uruina.

NOTAS: Inés Pozzi Scotti, *El multilingüismo en el Perú*, 1998./ Naciones Unidas, GEF, PNUD, *Amazonía peruana, comunidades indígenas, conocimientos y tierras tituladas*/ Censo de Población de 1981, 1993./ Informaciones de Amalia Morimoto, Humberto Rodríguez Pastor, Giovanni Bonfiglio, Juan Abugattás, León Trahtemberg y cálculos tentativos del autor.