

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

INVESTING IN INDIGENEITY:
DEVELOPMENT, FINANCE, AND THE POLITICS OF ABUNDANCE IN ANDEAN PERU

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Investment (Two Scenes)

Singing out to the terraced fields below them and the immense valley unfolding beyond, in call and response—“*Hai le!*” “*Hai le!*”—the men blessed the earth so that it may nurture the quinoa and fava beans they had just sown. “*Hai le! Pachamamata!*” *Hai le* for the Pachamama, or living earth, they chanted in a Quechua sprinkled with Spanish, running through the Hialeo prayer in the late Andean afternoon’s tired light. “*Hai le! Diuspagarapusun!*” *Hai le!* May God repay you! Voices cracked with chicha, the sacred libation of fermented maize and barley that accompanies days spent working in the fields, reverberated into the depths. They continued: “*Ima sumaqta!*” What beauty! Their leader Don Gerardo Huaracha, the field’s proprietor, hesitated and improvised, straining to remember the Hialeo’s other verses in a place where songs like these have grown rare. “*Hai le! Mama Ch’elata!*” For Mama Ch’ela, the name of this *chakra*—Quechua for terrain used for cultivation or, more broadly, space of care. “*Hai le!*”

Offering nourishment to terrains like Ch’ela, five densely packed terraces carved into the slope of southern Peru’s Colca Valley, and reproducing one’s rootedness in land and community through a locally legible ritual idiom, is fundamental to maintaining agricultural livelihoods for many there today. These prayers were accompanied by burnt offerings of chicha, wine, the waxy flesh of an alpaca fetus, and coca leaves: a symbolic tableau ritually activated as contributions to the hot dry earth by a breath from each member of the group. Gerardo and his colleagues understood these offerings to be what the land required of them in order to continue sustaining their lives. His son in law would later describe the moral economy of this “*pago*” ritual: “if you don’t do a good *pago* then this land is not going to give. That is to say, the land gives you a benefit, a good product, and you, what are you going to give? So, it’s like an exchange.”

The *pago*—a term that in this context means “offering” but that also translates to the Spanish word for “payment,” as in the payment of a debt—was essential to the effort to reap sustenance and cash crops, and to express the land’s significance as part of an *ayllu*, or community of caring actors. Prayer songs such as the Hialeo, like the land’s fertility itself, are seen as endangered, which renders obligations to ensure the land’s abundance particularly urgent. If we see the *pago* as a kind of “exchange,” this scene also evokes a broader normative field of giving and receiving, endangerment and rescue, investments and returns: just as Gerardo oversaw the nourishment of newly planted seeds, other scenes of exchange in the valley involve seed capital, credit, and the financing of small businesses as part of a suite of development investments meant to cultivate indigenous entrepreneurs and revitalize a locally rooted economy.

This dissertation is an ethnography of investment in its multiple guises. Taking the agricultural *pago* to be as much an investment as the channeling of credit into a microenterprise, we can learn more about what it means to invest in indigeneity in the Andes, a space whose land and economy are both often “reluctant” to yield returns (Allen 2002: 149). This is also a context in which people have only recently come to see themselves as indigenous. The relationship forged through exchange between Ch’ela and its newly indigenous workers suggests that investment is a means of attachment to objects and ideas that both embraces and exceeds simple instrumentality, blurring distinctions between need and desire. It is a form of aspiring together, of taking on stakes in a shared future with like-minded allies. From farming to finance, and with technologies learned from ancestors, agronomists, and aid workers alike, investors must fully attach themselves to their objects in order for the investment to be felicitous and legible as such.

Investment can also look like this. “Presentation of the Stand: Cultural Maps, photographic displays, cultural elements, relevant information, binder with documentation,

others. 1 to 4 points.” “Originality of the dance, written reference about the dance’s significance, costume. 1 to 4 points.” “Written reference about the origins of the typical food, its use of local ingredients, and the way it is prepared. 1 to 3 points.” “Expressive abilities, clarity, coherence, participation of women and young people, time management. 1 to 4 points.”

These are a selection of the 50-point evaluative criteria for a massive contest, the final event the Sierra Sur development project held in Chivay’s public square in October 2014 (Figure 1). This daylong contest, judged by a panel of technocrats and local political figures, was the last in a cycle of fairs held periodically throughout the state-based project’s eight-year run, in which entrepreneurial associations had competitively to present how far they have progressed with Sierra Sur’s investment, along with the native “originality” underwriting their business success (Sierra Sur 2014). The winners, who showed judges the highest returns on investment, would receive a final prize of 7,000 soles (about \$2,500), whose minimal amount curiously belied the contest’s elaborate spectacle. Why were these investments so small?

Here, indigeneity was subject to a grade. It was parsed to render point value as an index of profitability, potential returns, and the felicitous display of the region’s historically rooted Collagua and Cabana identities. Being indigenous was a new way of being included in the financial embrace of a culturally rebranded Peru that, according to national messaging, has finally learned to develop its abundant human assets. Being indigenous became a form of excellence, a result of initiative and teamwork, and the simultaneous source and product of entrepreneurial ability. And crucially, being indigenous was something that low-budget technocratic development organizations like Sierra Sur did not need to pay for: they merely had to recognize it as an asset.

II PRESENTACION PUBLICA –CATEGORIA A (PIT: PGRN+PDN)

OL:.....

ORGANIZACIÓN PIT: _____

ORGANIZACIÓN PGRN 1
ORGANIZACIÓN PGRN 2
ORGANIZACIÓN PDN 1
ORGANIZACIÓN PDN 2
ORGANIZACIÓN PDN n

Criterios	Topes de puntaje	Calificación
PLAN DE INVERSION TERRITORIAL – MAPAS CULTURALES		
Presentación del PIT: grado de conocimiento del territorio a través de los Mapas Culturales (el pasado, presente y futuro) y la pertinencia con la ejecución de las Iniciativas Rurales, participación de la mujer y jóvenes	01 a 04 puntos	
Presentación del Stand: Mapas Culturales, paneles fotográficos, elementos culturales, información relevante, archivador con la documentación, otros	01 a 04 puntos	
PLAN DE GESTION DE RECURSOS NATURALES		
Presentación de los resultados obtenidos por el PGRN: manejo de información relevante (CIF, visita guiada, % de familias participantes, otros), paneles fotográficos, muestra de productos, beneficios que les brinda los temas implementados	01 a 04 puntos	
Capacidad expositiva, claridad, coherencia, participación de la mujer, jóvenes, manejo de tiempos	01 a 04 puntos	
Evidencias presentadas por la organización sobre gestiones desarrolladas que permitan la continuidad de sus iniciativas relacionadas con la gestión de RRNN (Coordinaciones, convenios, apalancamiento de recursos, otros)	01 a 02 puntos	
Documentación pertinente, actualizada y ordenada que sustenta la ejecución del PGRN	01 a 02 puntos	
PLAN DE NEGOCIOS		
Presentación de resultados obtenidos por el (los) PDN: cambios logrados en su producto o servicio al acceder a servicios de asistencia técnica, beneficios de la visita guiada y de la participación en ferias, nivel de conocimiento sobre precios, costos, articulación a mercados (ventas), paneles fotográficos, muestra de productos.	01 a 04 puntos	
Capacidad expositiva, claridad, coherencia, participación de la mujer, jóvenes, manejo de tiempos	01 a 04 puntos	
Evidencias presentadas por la organización sobre gestiones desarrolladas que permitan la continuidad de PDN (Coordinaciones, convenios, apalancamiento de recursos, otros)	01 a 02 puntos	
Documentación pertinente, actualizada y ordenada que sustenta la ejecución del PDN	01 a 02 puntos	
MANIFESTACIONES CULTURALES - DANZAS		
Coreografía, despliegue de participantes en el escenario, manejo de tiempos	01 a 06 puntos	
Originalidad de la danza, referencia escrita sobre el significado de la danza, vestimenta	01 a 04 puntos	
MANIFESTACIONES CULTURALES - GASTRONOMIA		
Calidad del (los) platos y presentación, capacidad expositiva de los participantes, uso de insumos locales, dominio de la preparación	01 a 05 puntos	
Referencia escrita sobre los orígenes de la comida típica, insumos locales utilizados y forma de preparación, vestimenta de los participantes, manejo de tiempos establecidos	01 a 03 puntos	
TOTAL	50 PUNTOS	

Observaciones	
Apellidos y nombres del Jurado	
DNI	
Firma	

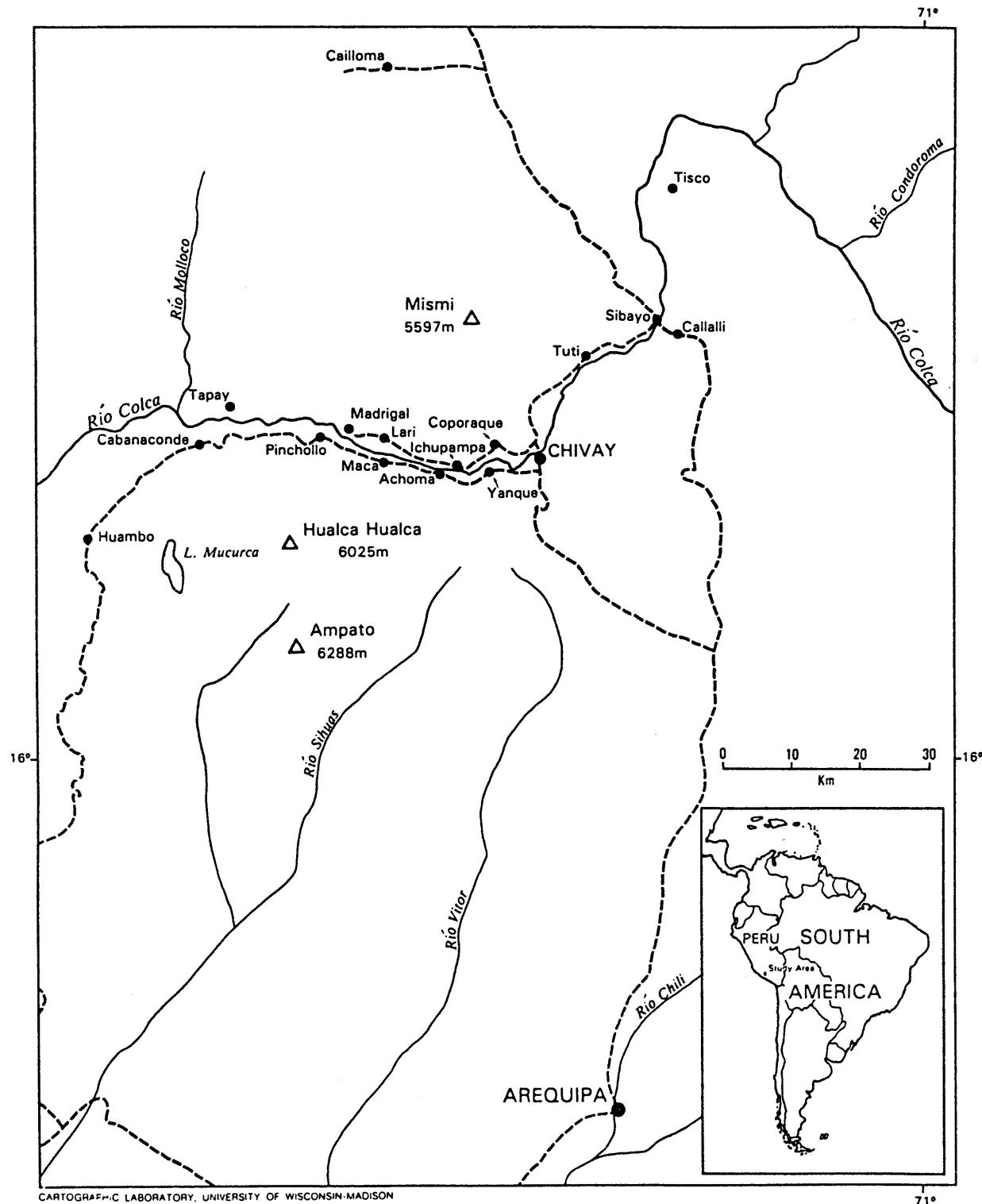
Figure 1. The fifty-point rubric for the final Sierra Sur contest in Chivay, Oct. 30, 2014. (Source: Sierra Sur 2014)

This dissertation investigates the way people invest in indigeneity, their own and that of others, with and without money, by marking the enlivening substance of their rootedness and inhabiting new roles on new kinds of stages. I explore moments like the two above in which a sense of indigenous rootedness, whether explicitly labeled or not, is shaped by, shapes, and comes to be at stake through investment (*inversión* in Spanish), itself an idea subject to a multiplicity of understandings, ranging from ritualized devotion, to small infusions of seed capital. This is also a study of development in its diverse manifestations, as they emerge in an Andean economic context in which formal project-based development intervention has ceased to be about the alleviation of poverty. Instead, as I will argue, development is being redefined as the management of abundance.

The *dramatis personae* featured in this study live in Southern Peru's Caylloma Province, the Andean backyard and breadbasket of the nation's second city of Arequipa 160 kilometers to its south (Maps 1 and 2). I also feature the acts and voices of NGO officers and policymakers based in the urban nodes of Arequipa and Lima who are attempting to improve rural life. Caylloma is home to a dense network of twenty village districts whose populations range from 500 to 6,000 people, and many annex territories and associated settlements, most of which occupy the province's Colca and Ampato Valleys. The Colca Valley in particular tends to center the intervention agenda, so the communities of Colca and the various ways Colcans became involved in development projects will occupy much of the ethnographic analysis that follows. For institutions that grant credit and hold contests to award seed funds to aspiring entrepreneurs, how does a donation become a unit of finance capital? How, in other words, does money become an investment?



Map 1: A map situating the Colca Valley, situated in Peru's southern Andes some 160 km north of Arequipa. (Google Maps)



Map 2: A map zoomed in to the Colca Valley and adjacent Ampato Valley that shows each of the micro-region's main village districts and key mountains. (Benavides 1994)

Just as crucial to a critical analysis of these interventions is a deeper study of the ways in which investment pervades everyday life as an idiom of forging attachments, rendering vulnerable things valuable, and organizing particular time intervals, like that between sowing and harvest, or between winning a contest and making a profit, or between receiving a credit and repaying it with interest. I thus pursued this research as a live-in guest and “youngest child” of Gerardo Huaracha and his wife Luisa Cutipa, living in their home, assisting them in agricultural work, following their various business ventures, and accompanying them in their municipal and ritual obligations. As I studied development’s dramas and the lives upon which its projects seek to intervene, I found investment to be a ubiquitous idea. Investment is an actor’s term used in contexts like pagos and communal work parties, though mostly by people in middle age and younger; not every actor invokes it explicitly. It is also widely used in development agencies and political campaigns to define a positive trajectory of support and growth. In the context of the mining industry, investment is a term invoked (positively or negatively) to denote both the laying down of extractive infrastructure and the industry’s corporate social responsibility initiatives. What else, besides money, can be invested? What does it mean for the *campesinos* (peasants), business owners, NGO staff, and ritual experts of Caylloma to reap an investment’s returns? In this dissertation, I follow the ways in which investment braids together an array of processes of self-fashioning, attachment, financial periodicity, exchange, debt, audit, and reconciliation.

This ethnography of investment centers on a set of development interventions meant to recuperate a strong and sustainable sense of indigeneity, in a place where being recognizably indigenous and taking pride in and reaping profit from that idea is something relatively new. These projects’ purpose is in part to awaken their policy audiences and participants to the remarkable compatibility between indigenous human capital and national financial inclusion

through entrepreneurship, in explicit contrast to the now-outdated impulse within rural communities to shed all visible and audible traces of being “*indio*.” They accomplish this in part by defining indigeneity with staged competitions and rubrics like the one quoted above, with winners emerging as the individuals and associations that most convincingly display the “uncanny convergence” (Povinelli 2002: 189) of their abilities to be themselves while being profitable. I argue that indigeneity is also taken to be a source of latent but always already present abundance of culture, human capital, and ecological access: an inexhaustible wealth that development institutions have led the charge to cultivate, manage, and promise. This abundance is actualized on dramatic platforms like the development contest stage: a scene of ecstatic dances, prayers, and costumed bullet-point presentations, dramas in which returns on investment are displayed as collective effervescence (Bataille 1991 [1967]; Chu 2010; Durkheim 1995; Schwittay 2015). It is also emergent as a broad paradigm of rural public policy that encourages individuals and families to cultivate their taken-for-granted creativity and innovative potential by looking within themselves and taking their chances with a microcredit institution before seeking handouts from a shrinking welfare state (Elyachar 2005; Harvey 2005; Scherz 2014).

Indigeneity, in other words, is imagined as an innovation and, in effect, the silver bullet, for today’s reigning vision of small-scale rural empowerment that entails using only the most minimal infusions of money to cultivate value that money could never buy.

The last decade has seen the idea of identifying as an indigenous member of Caylloma’s pre-Incaic Collagua and Cabana ethnic groups rather suddenly transform from a liability to an asset for development. Indigeneity has become a kind of Freudian “lost object” that NGOs, other project-based development initiatives, Peruvian leaders imagining a more inclusive vision of citizenship, and international tourists have only recently realized was what they desired. They

also recently realized that this could be attainable by transforming development institution support from supposedly inefficient aid into a financial instrument. As this paradigm impacts the projects through which development intervention happens, indigeneity and the diverse investments it requires have come to be at stake in local life beyond formal sites of development in both new and old ways. Here, I present an ethnography of those phenomena together.

This introduction will proceed as follows. First, I locate the study at the intersection of several important Latin American and global shifts, introduce the concept of “austere development” that this study develops, and walk the reader through my main arguments. Next, I discuss the economics of indigeneity in Peru, after which I contextualize the two interventions under study in a new national politics of inclusion. I then zoom into the Arequipa region, explaining why I chose to situate my ethnography in such a seemingly curious, out-of-the-way place. Lastly, I outline the study’s methodology and offer an overview of the chapters to follow.

Financializing and Democratizing Development

The communities of the Colca Valley are situated at the conjuncture of three transnationally significant political-economic processes: the union of development’s financialization and capital’s democratization; the transnational emergence of indigenous land, identity, and knowledge politics; and the “return of the Indian” (Albó 1991) as a category of influential political actor in Latin America.

First is development’s global financialization, or the turn to finance, financial measures, and often private and philanthrocapitalistic financing, in development work, under the broad policy argument that credit is a human right (Roy 2010). Philanthrocapitalists like Bill Gates, and pro-poor advocates such as Mohammed Yunus who achieved fame and a Nobel Peace Prize for

pioneering microcredit with his Grameen Bank, “argue that market institutions have neglected to see the poor as potential consumers” (Schwittay 2014: 32). The poor, for wealthy and small donors alike, are also potential entrepreneurs. Yunus’ notion of “social business” calls for enterprises built on a model of poverty-defeating entrepreneurship explicitly defined as *not* charity. They “call for a humane form of market capitalism that is thought to provide the necessary mechanisms, such as listening, distribution, and pricing, to alleviate poverty in effective and efficient ways” (*ibid*).

Intertwined with the power of financial tools to humanize capitalism and render markets more effective at bringing about equality is capital’s democratization: the idea that capital and the economic engagements it fosters ought to be open to all, underwritten by the assumption that every person, whether rich or poor, is a potential entrepreneur (Roy 2010). The intersection of development’s financialization and capital’s democratization constitutes an effort to take “the poor” seriously by extending the rights and privileges of financial citizenship. Through these intertwined policy ideas, markets can be gently engineered to extend “inclusion” to their least wealthy participants in national and global economies as citizens whose attachments and identities are co-constituted with their financial activity and their capacity to unleash new sources of prosperity. The premise of this interpretation of democratization is a vast neoliberal polity of market-ready entrepreneurs, whose economic engagement constitutes their citizenship: “strong, dignified, independent and powerful economic actors who are in charge of improving the lives of their families” (Schwittay 2015: 11).¹

The *second* major process that forms the context of this research is the joining of ideas about what it means to live an indigenous life to the politics of terrain and resource use. This is addressed in policy debates over issues ranging from land ownership claims (Hetherington 2009;

Li 2010; Wolford 2007) to political ontology (Blaser 2013; De la Cadena 2015; Graham and Penny 2014; Povinelli 2002). A particular figure emerged in the environmentalist movements of the late twentieth century that embodies this process: the “ecologically noble savage” (Conklin and Graham 1995). In Caylloma and throughout Latin America, that often-implicit figure has come to stand for innocence, primal plenitude, and a positionality outside of the space of politics, rendering it the perfect subject and object of development interventions calling for their gentle “introduction” into market life.² “Introduction” is in commas here because, as I show throughout the dissertation, markets and exchange networks in various guises are not new; they have long been a part of economic life in Caylloma Province and the Andes. Yet given Caylloma’s perceived geographic isolation—it was frequently described to me as one of Peru’s “últimas esquinas” or “last corners”—NGOs and microfinance institutions sought to paint the province as a flourishing untapped market frontier filled with promise and ripe for investment, as opposed to its former status as a site of abject scarcity at a nation’s distant margins. Today’s interventions seek further to integrate, commercialize, and financialize Caylloma’s ecologically rooted persons based on that rootedness, rendering them frontier figures in the quest to spread entrepreneurship.

Third is what Bolivian anthropologist Xavier Albó has called Latin America’s “return of the Indian” as a source of collective political alignment (1991), which was his diagnosis of the region’s massive mobilizations on the part of Andean people rooted in their indigenous self-identification (García 2005; Greene 2009; De la Cadena 2000; Lucero 2008; Ovhorn 2011). Results of this new visibility include the incorporation of indigenous ethics into laws and constitutions, as with the rights of nature and the *buen vivir* and *sumak kawsay* (or “living well”) constitutional amendments in Bolivia and Ecuador (Fitz-Henry 2015; Gudynas 2015; Kohl and Farthing 2012). Such ethics are not without ambivalence, as they have also lent these states the

discursive armature for driving “neo-extractivist” efforts to redistribute oil and mineral wealth. Nationalized extraction and “buen vivir” are tense together, but the former promises energy sovereignty against the imperialism of the United States and what Eduardo Galeano has called the “contemporary structure of plunder” (1973). While Peru’s own leaders have recently maintained their distance from the indigenous dimensions of Latin America’s so-called leftist “pink tide,” they have also pushed for more inclusive economies, as I describe in a later section. Other changes that reflect the “Indian’s” “return” in Peru include the growing fame of Andes-based ingredients as the constitutive (if often hidden or highly mediated) element of Peru’s high-end gastronomic boom (García 2013); a push to increase cultural tourism (Radcliffe 2015); and the enduring public idea, as problematized by Marisol de la Cadena, that women “are more Indian” (1995; see also Orlove 1998). But perhaps most importantly, in Caylloma, as in much of Andean Peru, we can see something playing out that is distinct from neighboring anti-imperialism and post-neoliberalism: the fantasy of resolving the historical problem of colonial and imperialist plunder by having indigenous people plunder themselves.

With these three emerging trends framing the dissertation, it is not only “ethnodevelopment” (Andolina et al. 2009) or “development with identity” (García 2005) that will be the focus here, but an investigation of specifically *financialized, democratized*, and highly *public* indigeneity-based development. I am preoccupied by the question of what finance does to the people, objects, ecologies, and concepts it targets and some of the key communal rituals and forms of interaction that underlie those concepts. What does financialized development do to, and for, the experience of a (re)new(ed) indigeneity? I am just as preoccupied by the question of how all of those things shape and remake finance. How does one become oneself when that self

is an indigenous one—and how does the indigenous substance to which a person potentially has access configure what it means to win recognition?

The puzzling answer to these questions is that financialized development at once recognizes and renders indigeneity as a source of abundance that it must manage. In order to do so, projects rooted in financial interventions depict indigeneity as always already a source of diverse forms of plenitude. Yet at the same time, as I argue, finance and indigeneity emerge together, co-producing one another, each affirming the other's relevance.

That dialectic fuels the curiosity to which this ethnography is an answer. Two initiatives, Desco and Sierra Sur, dominated the scene of formal development investing in Caylloma Province's Colca and Ampato Valleys during the research I conducted there between 2008 and 2016. They formed the institutional foci of my ethnography. The Center for the Study and Promotion of Development ("Desco," an acronym that originally stood for "*Desarrollo Comunitario*" or Community-based Development) is a non-governmental organization that has centered rural Arequipa's development agenda for the last thirty years (Mejía interview 2015). My ethnographic work with Desco most closely entailed following the NGO's "Development of Young Entrepreneurs and the Generation of Self-Employment in Caylloma Province, Arequipa" project, a program focused on young people between the ages of eighteen and twenty-nine interested in starting a business. This program began as a contest for seed capital investment, giving the contest's twenty winners a small amount of support (3,650 soles, or \$1,147.26 in June 2015) as a startup fund. These winners, along with thirty runners-up who did not win seed capital, made a total cohort of fifty young people who were awarded capacity building workshops, training sessions, and NGO financial advising. Desco's entrepreneurship initiative ran from early 2013 through mid-2014. The program was funded by the National Fund for Labor

Capacity Building and the Promotion of Employment (“Fondoempleo”), a government agency focused on development through job creation.³

The NGO project’s main goals included expanding existing opportunities for local employment and cultivating compelling business opportunities that would root young people to the region, stemming the tide of youth flocking to Arequipa. Indigeneity, which Desco staff saw as a fertile source of creativity as yet untapped by the local market, offered a principal means to that end. In what is perhaps a surprise to stereotypical understandings of finance as based on liquidity and, by definition, a rootless abstraction, the idea underlying this project was that financial instruments, notably microcredit and small seed capital infusions paired with generous capacity building, could be utilized to root people in place and use the resources already at their disposal to enliven a stagnant economy.

The other formal program on which my ethnography focused was the Sierra Sur Development Project (*Proyecto de Desarrollo Sierra Sur*, here labeled “Sierra Sur”), specifically the second three-year phase (2011-2014) of this eight-year government initiative, based in Peru’s Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation and co-financed by the International Fund for Agricultural Development. Sierra Sur is focused on aiding grassroots and civil society associations of entrepreneurs. It does so by convening massive public contests to award tiny shared investments.

Both of these interventions take place within Peru’s broad identity “revalorization” paradigm (Delgado interview 2012; Samayani interview 2014), a term common to Andean development that Sierra Sur facilitators like Leni Delgado and Lilia Samayani frequently invoked. The idea calls for promoting both local identity and financial citizenship—what I define as economic empowerment through leverage, agency, access, and inclusion in national economies of asset exchange. My analysis investigates what, exactly, constitutes an “asset” in

this context. In addition to ongoing accompaniment and observation with these two institutions, an important component of my research was the opportunity to observe aspects of how each of these projects closed down, as Desco did in July 2014 and Sierra Sur did in November of that year. These were meant to be brief projects, vanishing yet indispensable mediators sent from Peru's urban centers to confer the basic elements of empowerment. After their terms expired, both turned inward to engage in intensive self-evaluation, as their absences impacted former participants and the regional motivation toward entrepreneurship in various ways.⁴

How do participants in these interventions become financial actors by virtue of their indigeneity, and, as I argue, *indigenous by virtue of their financial action*? These two initiatives shared the baseline argument that finance and indigeneity can work powerfully together as a development strategy. Along with their thematic emphases on revalorization and financial autonomy, meant ultimately to render their own interventions obsolete, what these two initiatives also shared was a focus on competition, the idea that development investment is put to best use when it is won, conferred in a contest or contest-like environment upon the actors who are most motivated, just like the real-world markets in which its aspiring entrepreneurs would eventually need to compete. The contests held by Desco and Sierra Sur were distinct, as I detail in Chapter 2, but both emphasized a self-esteem measured by self-expression, the conflation and co-construction of economic and psychological development, and the stimulation of immense entrepreneurial creativity through the transfer of a minimum of material resources.

For Desco's "Young Entrepreneurs" project, the contest was a competitive application process before a panel of judges that weighed their drive and psychological capacities as heavily as their entrepreneurial abilities, their potential to create jobs for others, and their performed cultural legitimacy as indigenous Colcans. Sierra Sur's contests were regularly staged events that

were more clearly oriented to calling the public's attention to projections, results, and potential. This meant using visibility before the public as a kind of peer pressure, as a pedagogical push toward excellent performance. This is an elaborate and highly public variation on the recently well-documented connections between development and peer pressure (Schuster 2015; Schwittay 2015). Held several times a year over the course of the project's three-year run, associations of entrepreneurs from throughout Caylloma gathered in its public plazas to make their case for investment. With the stage as the Sierra Sur intervention's core symbol, the contest composed a poetic space whose currency was "expressive culture" (Cánepa 2008). Its dramatic, ritualistic, and regulatory elements mark the contest as a space both ethical and aesthetic, focused simultaneously on capturing excellence and on the rescue of indigenous hearts and minds.

These interventions root the figure of the indigenous entrepreneur in the context of a parsimonious, or what I call *austere* development, whose bare-bones budgets were not only signs of today's typical neoliberal withdrawal of the state from the field of welfare and service provision. Whether or not institutional project budgets were low to begin with, these tiny investments were also understood to be salutary in themselves, small enough to scaffold creative self-realization and individualized growth without making participants dependent on aid.

As in much of the Andes, the history of indigeneity in Caylloma is a history of ambivalence. The chapters that follow will demonstrate that such ambivalence has not disappeared, though it does take on distinct contemporary configurations. Until recently, many Andean people tended to self-identify as campesinos. This was a product of Peru's late-1960s Velasco administration reforms in which prejudices against ethnic "backwardness" were answered with class-based empowerment and even a ban on the term "*Indio*" as a policy category (García 2005). For example, Yanque-Urinsaya, a Colca village subdivision, changed

titles from “*Comunidad Indígena*” to “*Comunidad Campesina*” after Velasco’s 1969 National Agrarian Reform Law. A politics of class put indigeneity “under a peasant cover” (Greene 2009), for people changed little about their lives, values, and practices. So, although it conjures deep history—hence the “re” in revalorization—I argue that indigeneity in its current Colcan form is something new. It is both a re-turn and a new turn, an aspirational futurity emerging hand-in-hand with the financial instruments being used to cultivate it as a path to national inclusion.

Some Cayllominos now regularly reference their indigeneity in spaces beyond development’s ambit. Don Gerardo Huaracha has described himself as “*puro indio*,” pure Indian, and in other moments when asked, “*puro inca*,” pure Inca (Huaracha interview 2008). Others, like kindergarten principal Gloria Huerta in the community of Yanque, imagine the idea of Quechua instruction in schools as key to cultivating self-realized local citizens (Huerta interview 2012). Just years earlier, Spanish/Quechua bilingual education programs in Peru were floundering, in part because many Andean parents had understood Quechua instruction for their children as a means of exclusion rather than as a form of empowerment in their native tongue (García 2005). At least for some, Quechua has come to be aligned with the commercial and prestige languages of English, French, and Chinese as something that “young people here should know” (M. Isuiza interview 2015). Those are the words of Miriam Isuiza, the principal of one of Colca’s highly selective private schools, “*Hatarisunchis*” (Quechua for “Let Us Wake Up”) in the provincial capital of Chivay, in which Quechua instruction and local agricultural knowledge are key components of the curriculum. The newly flourishing institutions, interventions, and public impulses to empower people to cultivate their own indigeneity mean more than a cynical “invention of tradition” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) for monetary or political gain. Instead,

the new forms indigeneity has taken in the context of a public focused on entrepreneurial market development are essential for telling the complicated story of contemporary Andean belonging.

Given indigeneity's earlier, and in certain ways ongoing, abjection, how has it become an object of, and how can it be sustained as, an aspiration shared across the difference lines of class, race, gender, and institutional location? What might the way people invest and take on a stake in their shared aspirations tell us about what it means to be indigenous in Andean Peru? This dissertation's first argument, as iterated earlier in slightly different formulations, proposes that through Colca's official development investments, indigeneity and financial citizenship are co-produced (Jasanoff 2004). In other words, organizations are cultivating the unique pre-Inca indigenous person as a new kind of financial actor, just as extended access to finance capital and to the capacity for financial activity have become the principal forms of legitimating indigeneity, enacting indigenous agency, and articulating a new kind of Peruvian citizenship organized by an entrepreneurship-driven ideology of inclusion.

My second argument regards the increasing importance of empowerment, potential, and already-existing indigenous human capital and access to surrounding ecologies, especially in contrast to the increasingly infinitesimal amounts of money invested and material resources transferred according to the contemporary austere style of intervention. Development, I argue, is not about alleviating poverty or filling in the absences of material scarcity. Instead, it has become a form of dealing with abundance. Colca's development investments take their potential subjects to be a class of inexhaustible resource, targets of both financial speculation and risk. I trace these investments as they thread lives together through entrepreneurial activities, organization offices, and everyday economic choices, while also examining the ways in which indigeneity meshes with other forms of belonging.

A key characteristic of this form of development is the blurring of Albó's "returned" *indio* with a new kind of Caylloma indigenous person, a figure as much entrepreneurial and investable as it is rooted in a sense of historical emplacement and a locally valuable and self-sustaining form of life.⁵ For the two development initiatives I followed most closely, Colca and Ampato Valley indigeneity specifically meant rooting lives in Quechua language usage and rural Andean practices that encompassed mountain terrains as "earth-beings" or *tirakuna*, members of a broader community of caring human and non-human beings (see De la Cadena 2010, 2015), as we saw in Ch'ela. It also entails perpetuating a suite of classically Andean environmental adaptations such as the vertical archipelago, or the diversification of crops by maintaining land at diverse elevations (Murra 1972). It is the alchemy provided by this very rootedness that makes the Colcan indigenous person a regional model figure to aspire to, and a new target of investment.

Investing in Indigeneity

How and why does indigeneity come to make sense as something to invest in? In a 2014 review article, historian Brooke Larson noted that the current wave of research on indigenous movements in Latin America has been characterized by a focus "on the intricacies of indigenous political subjectivity and contests over the political meanings of such key notions as citizenship, multiculturalism, autonomy, and territoriality, as well as the very meaning of indigeneity itself—all of which were up for hermeneutical grabs during the multicultural reforms of the 1990s" (2014: 224). This dissertation takes as its premise that the context of development intervention, and particularly in Peru, renders indigeneity still very much "up for hermeneutical grabs." Emerging along with a suite of financial investments and the increasing urgency of

environmental sustainability in light of global climate change, indigeneity is up for grabs wherever it emerges as something new and animates new frameworks of managing life.

Larson makes particular note of what scholars have glossed as a “Peruvian anomaly,” or that “putative absence of nationally rooted indigenous movements in highland Peru” (224). For example, the Peruvian anthropologist Luis Millones (2000: 79; cited in García 2005: 5), was drawn in 2000 to the curious fact that indigeneity was not institutionalized in Peru in the same way as it was in much of the rest of the continent:

A year ago, the World Bank decided to make funds available to indigenous populations in Latin America. These were very important funds that would be distributed between Mexico and Tierra del Fuego. To do so, the Bank went in search of the representative indigenous institutions in all of the Latin American countries. And it found itself with the surprising discovery that between Ecuador and Bolivia, there was a country [Peru] without indígenas.

In this case, indigeneity’s “absence” as an institutionalized organizing concept resulted in the absence of indigenous population-focused development investment. Of course, indigenous people did not evacuate the land, or die out, between Ecuador and Bolivia such that there should be a dramatic difference in ethnic makeup between those other Andean countries and Peru. But communities and institutions had not politically invested in an idea of their own indigeneity in precisely the same way as something they determined would be particularly valuable or strategic for them, or in a way that could legibly fit into the World Bank’s late-1990s scheme for funding indigenous agencies (García 2005, 2008).

Since then, Peruvian indigeneity in some parts of the country has begun to look more like it does all over the world (Greene 2009). Though it has not underwritten political mobilization in Peru with the intensity that it has in neighboring Andean countries, indigeneity is noticeable in a number of new aspects of public life. One particularly important political change in 2015 was the designation of Andean Quechua communities as indigenous in terms of mining companies’ prior

consultation obligations, which previously limited that designation to groups in the Amazon region (El Comercio 2015). Indigeneity's new emergences in Andean Peru have also been aided by reformulated development investments whose austerity captures the granular images of a neoliberal moment during which states are attenuating their presences as service and welfare providers in daily life. This is a trend that does not appear to be abating even in the context of Latin America's patchwork leftward turn. Indeed, the recent political shift left does not mean that neoliberalism has been completely discarded; rather, its emphasis on market tools and on encouraging states to emphasize decentralized autonomy in Latin America has meant a certain selective "synergy between neoliberalism and indigeneity," as the anthropologist Larry Nesper has observed.⁶

Investment entails recruiting and (re)signifying objects for a particular purpose, and occupying or filling in spaces with meaning. Drawing on its etymological root in the sense of "clothe" (vest; investiture), we can posit that it also means to dress, to endow, to infuse with value or the potential for value. The way people emotionally and conceptually invest in ideas of indigeneity is often deeply intertwined with the way they envision development intervention and progress more broadly in Colca. Like any identity concept, that which comprises the "indigenous" is something forged in sites of encounter that often have high stakes: as this dissertation illustrates, encounters from contests to communal labor present tableaus that actualize indigeneity's available conceptual archive in Colca and systematize and develop it as a world. As an example, the ritualized practice of executing development interventions on a stage and through choreographed performances configures spaces of encounter in which entrepreneurs, associations, development workers, and politicians take ownership of and take on various stakes

in indigeneity. In other words, the investments made in this space of encounter define what it means to be indigenous, just as indigeneity here shapes the parameters of investment.

The ubiquity of such encounters, especially during my concentrated period of fieldwork between 2013 and 2015, made clear that one could not think of indigeneity without thinking of development intervention in Colca. But people who may plausibly be classified or classify themselves as indigenous in Colca do not walk around every day simply “being” indigenous, nor do they tend constantly to think that they are indigenous or that they are not indigenous. Certain practices, like the pago ritual or the *ayni* reciprocity structure—which date back to pre-Hispanic and pre-Inca times—are sometimes described not as indigenous practices, but simply as practices, “things we do here,” for which my follow-up “why?” resulted in the oft-used phrase, “*así es*”: it is just this way. And that “*así es*” ethical bottom line in Caylloma is a point important to any study of indigeneity: by itself, isolated from points of encounter, indigeneity is an imposed conceptual abstraction that likely fails to capture the complete range of what is meaningful, and is something that not everybody engages with all the time. As Graham and Penny suggest, “Indigeneity is no one’s primary identity” (2014: 1). The concept of indigeneity becomes important and productive not as something ubiquitous or as a term that can easily describe entire communities as if they were homogenous, but rather in the places and moments in which it is judged, highlighted, appropriated, utilized as something to empower or disempower, or otherwise publicly at stake.

As mentioned earlier, indigeneity is something ambivalent in Caylloma Province. Most inhabitants of the Colca and Ampato Valleys have pre-Incaic local roots. They are descendants of the Collaguas and the Cabanas, two groups for whom documented charter narratives exist that establish their originality in the territory. In 1586 testimony provided to Spanish colonial

inspector Juan de Ulloa Mogollón (a character we meet in Chapter 1), residents of the newly formed Collagua-dominated *reducción* district of Yanque described their ancient ancestors' descent from a nearby volcano called Collaguata (Wernke 2013). Since long before the Spanish Crown's massive colonial audit, Collaguas orally passed down this narrative establishing their originality precisely through a history of springing from the land itself (Huayhua interview 2014). The charter myth was used to elaborate colonial knowledge of what was, for the Spanish, a pre-conceived notion of the *indio*. However, indigeneity as an initially Spanish-imposed, hierarchically low colonial demographic category had more often been a source of shame and something to hide rather than highlight, characterized by images ranging from the sinful colonial *indio* of the 1500s to the radical Andean culture-appropriating murderer in the form of the Shining Path group of the 1980s and 1990s.

That was largely the case until the past decade, when transnational multiculturalism and development agency support helped turn the idea into something positive. According to Marisol de la Cadena, people in the Andean city of Cuzco, the former Inca capital, in the 1990s tended aspirationally to "de-Indianize" themselves, utilizing the term "mestizo" as a way of identifying themselves as "literate and economically successful people who share indigenous cultural practices yet do not perceive themselves as miserable" (2000: 6). And as recently as the first decade of the 2000s, it was strange to use terms having to do with indigeneity, nativeness, or Indianness in a positive light in Colca; residents would actively resist doing so (Steven Wernke, personal communication). Yet just a few years after that, development policy has helped Peru to "reindigenize."⁷ The balance of my interviews and observations between 2008 and 2016 suggest that reindigenization, or in Desco and Sierra Sur's terms, an indigeneity "revalorized," means a

kind of magical total social improvement rendered through technocratic bullet points, in sectors ranging from agricultural sustainability to tourism, that offered the potential to benefit all.

Revalorizing indigeneity found synergies with a neoliberal push for economic autonomy, which came in the wake of the rural development policies of the Alberto Fujimori administration in the 1990s. By the end of that decade, Fujimori's interventions would bring electricity, schools, running water, and other key infrastructure projects to Caylloma. His administration was so engaged in the material development and modernization of rural Peru that many interlocutors there told me that were he eligible to run again and not incarcerated for corruption and human rights violations, Fujimori would easily win reelection. His popularity has been transferred to his daughter Keiko Fujimori, making her the 2016 election frontrunner until the very end of the second round runoff election, when she was narrowly defeated by the center-right Pedro Pablo Kuczynski, who assembled a politically diverse coalition of anti-Fujimori voters.

Ex-President Fujimori's displays of largesse through modernization projects in the rural Andes, along with the finance pioneers who brought banks and credit institutions to Caylloma (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of what I call “frontier finance” in the region), lay the groundwork for the province's incorporation into the national economy. The region “took off” by the end of the twentieth century, according to Engineer Aquilino Mejía, the retired agronomist who until 2011 had been Desco's Colca Valley regional director for nearly three decades, having arrived with national NGO staff in the 1980s in its pioneering effort to integrate what the organization saw as a frontier space into national economic life (Mejía interview 2015). Fujimori's massive state provision for certain patches of Peru's rural space offered a politically strategic contrast to the same administration's embrace of neoliberal shock therapy for the nation as a whole, a reaction to the country's massive inflation and a privatization-focused

implementation of International Monetary Fund structural adjustment (Murakami 2012).

Pleasing the rural masses with *obras*, or public works that usually meant the construction of infrastructure, schools, and health posts, and that came along with other kinds of handouts, was key to Fujimori's hold on power.

Fujimori-style handouts were seen to result in a parasitic *asistencialismo*, an idea that roughly connotes “assistance addiction” (Suni interview 2014; Dapino interview 2014), but which suggests that a project’s beneficiaries merely receive aid as if “attending” a game or show (*asistir* means “to attend” in Spanish) but not participating in it (Schuller 2016). As China Scherz (2014) and James Ferguson (2015) have suggested for various communities in Africa, dependence and patronage of the sort demonized by the insulting label of *asistencialismo* has long been an expected and valued form of wealth redistribution and poverty alleviation in Colca’s villages (see Chapter 5). Urban-based development professionals posted in Desco’s Colca branch, and professionals in other institutions, would consistently characterize rural people as suffering from an epidemic of *asistencialismo*. This is also an intersectional form of racial and class marking (Radcliffe 2015): the tinge of racism and classism that comes with a diagnosis of *asistencialismo* suggests the continued ambivalence that attends the effort to revalorize indigenous life by rendering its traditions palatable and marketable. The accusation, which would seem to ignore the profound local interdependence of development investors and investees that go far beyond economic backing, often comes in the same breath as technocrats’ indictments of over-investment in chicha, beer, and other forms of apparent excess.

Asistencialismo in Colca offers insight into why the smallness of *microfinance* investment matters.⁸ The tiny size of these investments suggested a direct intervention into that very dependence on aid from others, which, development staff suggested, keeps people poor,

their capacities latent, and their minds and environments unchanged. Small investments were seen to provide just enough support to spur the salutary motivation to creatively innovate, but sought to avoid the excesses of prior interventions thought to sap entrepreneurial creativity.

In reaction to asistencialismo, new ways of conducting a development intervention were imagined by institutional actors to thrive upon the auspicious convergence between the ideal of rural indigenous autonomy and the state's diminishing role as a mediator of material modernization. For Colca, rapid incorporation into the national and global economies at the most recent turn of the century, as the national economy emphasized less government-led integration, inaugurated a tension. On one hand, Cayllominos found themselves with unprecedented access to technologies of convenience and connection. However, on the other, the region was understood as an untapped frontier source of indigenous human capital whose remoteness was itself an asset. The result was a policy argument across development institutions that small-scale entrepreneurship could render the state obsolete as a provider of aid.

Through their work against the specter of the handout, professionals have retooled development as, explicitly, a form of exchange: of goods, money, and human capital; of investments; of languages and cultures; and of mutually beneficial, if vastly differing, forms of technical knowledge. Sierra Sur's contests were officially titled "knowledge exchanges." The "exchanges" that constituted the work of what I am calling "austere development" were seen by its Desco and Sierra Sur supervisors as egalitarian because their subaltern participants were imagined to have access to an untapped and inexhaustible abundance of capital, resources, knowledge, ways of seeing and speaking, and access to ecologies and non-human forms of life. These participants' technocratic counterparts had access to small pools of funding and complementary forms of knowledge. Given the transnational trend toward finance, credit, and

the cultivation of human capital at development's leading edge, I propose examining this fractal ideology of exchange to reflect the ways professionals and program participants in Peru are engaging in the development endeavor and aspiring for what it ought to accomplish. Taking development as an exchange allows us to treat these interventions ethnographically as a "category of practice" (Mosse 2013: 228), paying close attention to its practitioners' and participants' own nuanced personal investments in, and critiques of, the work that they do.

This also allows us to shed unconventional light on the anthropology of development, by now a familiar literature whose authors focus on the changes in reigning paradigms over the idea of contemporary Western development's seventy-year life (Rist 2007). Scholars and practitioners alike have amply tracked the paradigms of modernization and dependency (Apffel-Marglin et al. 1998; Cardoso and Faletto 1979; Scott 1998), technical improvement and capacity building (Li 2007; Cruikshank 1999; Elyachar 2002), and development's discursive practices (Ferguson 1990; Escobar 1995). My take on development as an exchange mechanism rooted in managing abundance, and unleashing hidden wealth as people realize who they are and what they contain within themselves, raises a number of old questions and a number of new ones.

In this dissertation, I most broadly raise, in several different ways, the question of development as an enduring civilizing project. Development interventions today have dramatically shifted, at least in their explicit institutional and policy identities. They were once rooted in the conferral of modernity's light to war-torn Europe and the newly decolonized nations of the "Third World" that posed security threats of their own, in the style of the Cold War "stages-of-development" scheme of Walt Rostow (1971). Later, "participation" became development's key word (Mosse 2005). Today, I suggest, it is empowerment, investment, and abundance that are organizing international development's diverse projects to strengthen and

revalorize that which already exists in a given place. But is development still a modernizing project? To clarify that question, Chapter 1 first suggests that colonialism may have been an early version of development. The dissertation's subsequent chapters offer further partial answers, suggesting overall that if modernization underlies these interventions, their investments require that participants learn the idioms of how to project it just enough, but not too much.

As I trace the vectors and trajectories of investment between institutions and communities, I build on classic research into exchange sparked by Mauss' *The Gift* (1925; see Bohannon 1955; Munn 1986; Weiner 1992; Zelizer 2011). Mauss famously juxtaposes commodity-based economies to gift economies, arguing that social and affective forms of investment drive the circulation of gifts, and that gift giving and commodity exchanges are not so different. Though gifts could have nothing to do with money, some of the "investments" Mauss parses do take a highly instrumental form, made in sites and circuits of exchange as a means toward the accumulation of goods and fame. Other literature in or tangential to that trajectory tells us how market spaces and sites of exchange such as the later Greek agora (Arendt 1958) and the Moroccan bazaar (Geertz 1978) are so often sites of information, publicity, and forms of interpersonal intercourse (Bloch and Parry 1989; Gell 1992; Graeber 2001; Guyer 2004).

I also build on more recent ethnographic studies that have found market exchanges—from the exchange of money to that of ideas—to be not only sites of trade in value and information, but also, key moments of ordinary self-making (Cattelino 2008, 2009; Freeman 2014; Ho 2009; Maurer 2005). I put that literature on exchange into conversation with recent research into the making of indigenous and ethnic identities (Andolina et al. 2009; Canessa 2012; Comaroff and Comaroff 2009; Graham and Penny 2014; Martinez Novo 2006, 2014; Povinelli

2002; Yúdice 2003). This way, we can analyze the exchanges that development investments configure in Colca as meaningful sites of indigenous self-fashioning.

This research began with the hypothesis that investment—financial and material, emotional and cultural and ritual, within and beyond formal settings of development intervention—is the key medium for imagining, defining, and experiencing indigeneity in Colca today. It became immediately clear during my research that the fecund excesses of financial investments and related official strategies for development have become particularly crucial to the forging of individual life projects and collective futures. Indeed, they have been key to the paradigm’s local success. By “excess,” I mean the way staff and participants took interventions beyond their explicit mandate—for instance, the way an investment of seed capital can orient a pathway of ritual activity to prepare an entrepreneur’s storefront for business. Desco staff members, in another example, were excited when Rogelio Taco Viza and Raquel Maldonado, project participants in the village of Lari, proposed putting local solidarity-based traditions, which today tend mainly to be practiced in religious rituals, to work for development. The Lari participants formed an entrepreneurial collective and built on Desco’s investments of seed capital and entrepreneurial training by engaging in resource sharing through *ayni*, a classically Andean principle of reciprocal exchange (Apffel-Marglin et al. 1998), and *faenas*, rotating communal work parties (Gelles 2000). By extending these technologies of mutual obligation, each entrepreneur was able to tap into the strength of the larger group, while diffusing a sense of competitive envy (Dapino interview 2014). This suggests that merging development financing and entrepreneurial advising with a concept of indigenous tradition offers a potent form of rendering them meaningful, and useful, together.

On the other hand, indigeneity imagined as an economic asset and development innovation—as something to be invested in—can also brush against more complex forms of that identity, and other ongoing engagements with whom one is in one’s context. Identity as “*Indio*,” a pejorative word still very much in use, was not always a simple development asset or object of successful revalorization, but something layered with contradictions for Colcans that investing institutions hoped would embrace with a simple pride.

Doña Luisa Cutipa, one of my hosts in Yanque and the wife of Don Gerardo Huaracha (the ritual leader in our opening scene), is an elderly woman who knows a handful of phrases in Spanish but mainly speaks Quechua. She spent her youth on long journeys with her father on foot and horseback to conduct barter in places as far away as Cuzco (Cutipa interview 2014). As she told her stories of these journeys, she would exclaim, “*Como sufriba* [sic]!” Oh how I suffered! According to Luisa, these journeys are responsible for the chronic pain she currently has in her back and waist. She would frequently speak of the time she and her husband were invited by the Rural Community Tourism (*Turismo Rural Comunitario*, or “TRC”) program, a state initiative (which most people involved in Yanque called an NGO) focused on using tourism to promote Andean identity, to a workshop in the northern Peruvian city of Trujillo.

They were brought there to accept a national prize they had won for the museum and archive they display for tourists visiting Yanque. The workshop also involved cultural tourism capacity-building sessions. The Huarachas’ museum is filled with relics and archival documents dating to the pre-Incaic era, and TRC noticed it for its ability to put a rescued indigeneity on display as a form of upwardly mobile entrepreneurship. Though TRC presented their invitation to the workshop as an opportunity for Andeans to be valued *for* their identity—and Luisa was certainly aware of this—she described the trip as an opportunity that came *in spite of* her identity

when, at her story's denouement, she addressed how she got there: by airplane. In a gathering of friends over chicha at her home in Yanque, she described the trip, giddily fielding questions about air travel, which she reported was scary at first, but then was fine ("*tranquilo nomás*"), and they arrived so quickly. "Look at me," she concluded triumphantly: "I'm a woman, I'm poor, I'm *india*, and yet there I was, *me*, on an airplane!"

In being granted the chance to see the country by air and rapidly journey as far as Trujillo, a destination they had never been, Gerardo and Luisa were able to mark a dramatic contrast to that arduous ground travel as an earlier era in lives that traced indigeneity's shift from a liability to an asset for prosperity. Yet they could not otherwise be considered poor. They have high status in Yanque, and they own a relatively large amount of land. Gerardo, currently president of the district's association of Senior Citizens without Pensions, has held many different leadership positions there over the course of his life, including the Ministry of the Interior-appointed role of District Governor. For many initiatives like the Rural Community Tourism program, Sierra Sur, and Desco, to "win" investment, one already had to be familiar with the role of investee: acquainted with the complexities of compiling a business plan and well-versed in the idioms of Colca's credit economy. At the very least, a successful initiative participant had to be able to draw on extensive networks, bringing to the table an already elaborated store of social capital. Such preparations for development investment that certain people could show already in-hand were essential to these initiatives' "social production of development success" (Mosse 2005: 157). This tells us that, unsurprisingly, interventions did not attempt directly to address deeper structural inequalities. Professionals like José Sialer Pasco, executive director of the Sierra Sur project, suggested that they did address those inequalities through job creation, the formation of entrepreneurial leaders, and prosperity's cascade

(interview 2015). They justified this through the often-explicit assumption that all individuals were potential entrepreneurs.

Instead of inequality, these institutions were interested in indigenous self-esteem. Desco employed a psychologist, Liliana Suni, who consistently told participants that their youth entrepreneurship project was as much about “personal development” as “economic development.” She framed the economic opportunity that increased income and market presence granted as a point of entry, an excuse, for more fundamental forms of positive change (Suni interview 2014). Her colleague Fabiola Dapino, a management expert, once surprisingly suggested, “poverty doesn’t really exist in Colca” after comparing an entrepreneur participant’s seemingly astronomical profit to her own low pay as an NGO staff member (Dapino interview 2014). She also pointed out that the intervention was not principally about poverty alleviation, but job creation through the artful mobilization of already abundant life contexts that allowed for the translation of things, possessions, and relationships into “resources.”⁹

Yet beyond the notion that entrepreneurs stimulate local markets, institutions on the whole do not directly deal with the deep structural problems that bar many from even a baseline visibility within the regional economy of indigenous empowerment. The public competitions in particular show that investors see the contemporary paradigm as the end of a transition in development practice from the historic handout to a new kind of handoff. Sierra Sur’s contests configure what the initiative’s regional director Leni Delgado calls development “by demand,” in which an intervention is sought and designed by those that need and want it the most. These ideal development subjects are also the most qualified to receive Sierra Sur’s help; their ability to improve their economic situations is imagined as happening not by external help but through internal motivation, as something that comes from the heart (Delgado interview 2014).

A development that comes not from the state but from the heart is harmonious with the new institutional vision of indigeneity, which development projects position at the origo and telos of the Andean historical timeline. Colcan investment constitutes a genre of intervention in which one entity inhabits the promises and risks of another, and in which the return is an abundance actualized, positioning indigeneity as investment's simultaneous subject and object.

The Will to Include

As the source of empowerment in Colca came to be understood to be an individual's heart and mind, what was the state doing? Upon his victory in the 2011 runoff presidential election over Keiko Fujimori, President-Elect Ollanta Humala announced that with the changes he planned for the next five years, "economic growth will become the great engine of social inclusion." His administration, which initially generated excitement among the Latin American left, adopted a motto of *incluir para crecer*, "include in order to grow," framing inclusion as the bedrock of growth. That slogan also strategically implied that the prior Alan García administration focused too heavily on market-based growth without expanding the ability to participate in that growth. In a concrete articulation of this agenda, the Humala administration made inclusion a cabinet-level priority. It split it split the functions of the former Ministry of Women and Social Development into the new Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion and the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations in late 2011.

What does it really mean to "include"? How might someone *feel* included at an indigenous frontier? Included in *what*? And what does framing investments in indigenous uniqueness as the cutting-edge form of extending inclusion to the people of Caylloma Province reveal about the practices, ramifications, and stakes of contemporary development?

I want to suggest here that the will to include in Peru is a frontier discourse that combines two scholars' prior plays on Nietzsche's "will to power" (1968). First, it is energized by what Barbara Cruikshank calls the "will to empower"—the drive to produce a self-governing and self-developing citizenry with high self-esteem that is "less a solution to political problems than a strategy of government" (Cruikshank 1999: 1). Discourses of inclusion splice this with what Tania Murray Li calls the "will to improve," or the idea that shared societal problems can be solved by experts, with technical solutions, in seemingly untouched marginal spaces, in a way that reproduces the need for such experts (Li 2007, 2014; see also Ferguson 1990). Inclusion frames self-governance as self-actualization, with "self" here denoting an ambiguity between the coherent individual and the bounded, autonomously acting collective; such ambiguity allows the concept of inclusive empowerment to accomplish a great deal of political work. At the same time, discourses of inclusion and empowerment, conferred by small and seemingly brief or one-off investments through diverse development projects, index an ideology of permanent (even if supposedly vanishing) managerial exception, justified paradoxically on liberal grounds.

If it is a strategy of government and a means of institutional reproduction (cf. Young 2002), inclusion, notably Peru's national discourse of "social inclusion," and the globalizing theme of "financial inclusion" (Schwittay 2011), is also a form of incorporation into inter-regional and transnational markets, national circuits of commerce, and fields of power. This is an incorporation itself seen to be empowering, as conveyed by policy researchers I interviewed in Peru's Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion ("MIDIS"; Faingold interview 2013). It is at best a kind of sharing, a collaboration with the potential to create waves of more sharing and an ever-expanding network of "weak ties" (Granovetter 1973) rooted in commerce. Inclusion ironically grounds expert claims to trusteeship of the self-actualization of others, placing certain

actors in positions “defined by the claim to know how others should live, to know what is best for them, to know what they need....The objective of trusteeship is not to dominate others—it is to enhance their capacity for action, and to direct it” (Li 2007: 4-5). As Lilia Samayani, the Colca director of Sierra Sur, would optimistically imply—inhabiting her role as development “coach”—an association’s mere effort to compete for investment is praiseworthy, for bringing one’s economic offerings into the public spotlight by competing in a contest is already a form of inclusion whether or not one wins investment. The idea that the trustees will soon vanish conflicts with their constant reproduction of problems that only they can solve, leaving no alternative in their wake.

The ethnographic question of what it means to experience inclusion underlies the chapters that follow. Here, I first want to dissect the definition from the official state authority on inclusion, and engage with some of the key critiques of inclusion and inclusive investment coming out of Peru. The stated objective of Peru’s Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion is “to improve the quality of life for populations in situations of vulnerability and poverty, and to promote the exercise of their rights, access to opportunities, and the development of their own capacities” (MIDIS 2013). The Ministry’s “model of social inclusion” posits food provision and other forms of “temporary relief” as its short-term goals. Its medium-term commitments have more to do with the “development of capacities,” which offers programs like Desco’s Young Entrepreneurs project and Sierra Sur’s Territorial Investment Plan a narrative basis for their own proposals for funding from the state—with both seeing indigeneity as a concept that cradles a plenitude of potential capacities. Its long-term vision is oriented toward securing “opportunities for the next generation” (*ibid*). In these efforts, the ministry posits the state as not among the structural causes of the absence of such opportunities, but rather, a source of guidelines, and at

best, a gentle curative instrument for an illness that seems to be an arbitrary curse: its mission is to ensure that Peru “celebrates its 200 years of Independence [in 2021] having broken the historical intergenerational transmission of poverty and social exclusion” (MIDIS 2013).

Inclusion is ubiquitously referenced in Peru, from the Ministry office itself (Faingold interview 2013; Luna interview 2013) to a wide array of development initiatives and specialists (Desco N.D.; Samayani interview 2014), to political candidates of all stripes that I encountered during and after the 2014 municipal elections (Quispe interview 2014; Tinta interview 2015; Isuiza interview 2015). It also appears to be a key message of Pedro Pablo Kuczinsky’s new administration.¹⁰ Inclusive growth, which assists people in not “transmitting” “their” poverty to their children as if they were somehow at fault, seems to have become Peru’s latest pathway to “a perfectible society” (Hirschman 1992), taking on the policy status of a magic wand. It is one of those dogmatic terms that cannot be argued with, much like the notion of “participation” in the development discourses of the 1990s and early 2000s (Mosse 2005; Schwittay 2011).

Today’s discussions of inclusion in Peru place it at the head of a cascade of improvements. These discussions show inclusion’s similarity to what Albert Hirschman calls the “*doux-commerce*” (or “gentle commerce”) argument for capitalism in Europe, which became widespread in the sixteenth century and never quite subsided in its influence. This was the idea that “commerce was a civilizing agent of considerable power and range,” restraining the arbitrary passions and impulses to greed and violence of both sovereign and citizen through the idea that market co-participants are invested in each other’s good behavior (1992: 107; see also Hirschman 1997). “Commerce attaches [men] one to another through mutual utility,” according to one French-language guide for entrepreneurs from 1704 (cited in Hirschman 1992: 108). “Through commerce,” that guide continues, “man learns to deliberate, to be honest, to acquire

manners, to be prudent and reserved in both talk and action...he would not dare make a spectacle of himself for fear of damaging his credit standing and thus society may well avoid a scandal which it might otherwise have to deplore." Commerce is a form of aligning mutual interests, whose exchanges breed good behavior. Although the *doux-commerce* argument focuses on an ethic of politeness and probity, it is not a far cry from the classically Western idea that any remote corner of life the market can colonize comes into the light of civilization, creating a virtuous cycle of mutual accessibility out of a once elite and exclusive circuit of exchange. Like that argument for the market's extension, inclusion is rendered uncontested, a correct "policy" which stands above "politics," whose "governance" transcends any particular "government."

Anthropologist Anke Schwittay is wary of the concept. "Just like 'community' and 'participation,'" she warns (2011: 395-96), "'inclusion' is rarely used in a negative sense, which makes it a dangerous term...the rhetoric of financial inclusion and its emphasis on technical solutions, such as better savings products and delivery channels, mask the political sources of global poverty and thereby also sideline discussions about necessary structural changes."¹¹ In a similar vein, Gustav Peebles suggests that the dyad of credit and debt, which over the past decade has been extended to what Colca's NGO pioneers call Peru's "last corners" (Puma interview 2014; Toro interview 2014), entails the making of boundaries and hierarchies at inclusion's frontier: they determine "who stands inside and outside of community borders or who stands above or below" (2010: 228).¹²

So, inclusion can bring about unexpected forms of exclusion, for it also demonizes those who cannot or will not be incorporated. Expanding opportunities for prosperity through the market, in Humala's Peru, theoretically meant making the nation's booming economy accessible to more than just its elites, who in actuality continued to benefit immensely from unequally

shared mineral and commodity export wealth. According to Germán Friere (interview 2014), a researcher who works at the World Bank office in Lima and has a doctorate in social anthropology from Oxford, *extreme* poverty has technically been eliminated in much of rural Peru. Income indicators for the Colca Valley suggest that extreme poverty was gone as of 2011 (Fuentes 2011); its rising prosperity was a fact readily apparent to me since I began visiting the place in 2008. Friere says that such a promising figure is cause for unwarranted optimism from the top. As we conversed in an elegant coffee shop near the World Bank offices in Lima's high-end San Isidro district, Friere joked that Peru's World Bank staff members genuinely think Peru is just about ready to join the G-20, imagining that the whole country must look like San Isidro.

But an improving poverty index, while important, is an incomplete measure of the challenges people face, says Friere. *Relative* poverty, in which inequalities come to affect actual costs, local hierarchies, and economic opportunities, is on the rise in much of the Andes. Furthermore, Peru's astronomical overall growth has meant a change in its status to a "middle-high income country"—defined by the World Bank as a country with a gross national income (GNI) per capita¹³ ranging from \$4,126 to \$12,745; Peru's GNI per capita in 2013 was \$11,160. Reaching this new geopolitical identity was cause for excitement, but in places like Caylloma Province, it has also meant cutbacks from international aid sources and multilateral funds. In public talks and conferences I attended throughout Lima and Arequipa during my fieldwork, I would hear constant invocations of the new "middle-high income country" category, as a point of pride but also as a source of new obstacles that attend the efforts to alleviate massive inequality in a country whose official geopolitical identity no longer designates it "poor."

Like the "will to improve" that Tania Murray Li investigates in Indonesian development work, the will to include in rural Peru is persistent despite "its parasitic relationship to its own

shortcomings and failures” (to use Li’s words; 2007: 1). Richard Chase Smith, a US-born anthropologist and the director of the *Instituto del Bien Común* (Institute for the Common Good) NGO in Lima, claims that in practice, inclusion in Peru often means little more than food provision (interview 2013). That reminded me of one sign of “inclusion” that caught my eye in the Huaracha home in the Colca community of Yanque in late 2013: a row of old cans of anchovies (not something people eat in Yanque!) dated from 2011, with the dust-covered MIDIS label and logo printed on it. The residents there had received the can in one of the MIDIS social security division’s intermittent food distribution sessions for the elderly. They later reflected to me that this provision of anchovies exemplifies how out of touch the state is from their lives.

Ideologies of inclusion can also constitute new forms of exclusion. September 2013 saw a scandal when MIDIS’ food distribution program for infants, Qali Warma, gave intoxicating food poisoning to many infants who ate its mass-distributed canned food. Sensational illnesses became signs of poverty and national moral failure that resulted in the minister’s resignation and populated the news media for weeks. In a second example of exclusion rooted in the inclusion ministry, the Lima-based investigative journalism outfit Cuarto Poder aired a story in 2013 on participants in the MIDIS-run *Programa Juntos* (“Together”), Peru’s conditional cash transfer program, in the northern province of San Marcos in the Cajamarca Region. The provincial mayor there mandated that all participating families had to prominently paint the program’s logo, a Peruvian flag with the word “JUNTOS” below it, and the family name written below that, on the front of their houses and also on walls inside their homes. Such a mandatory display of inclusion represented by recipient, and thus, official “extremely poor” status, may have been a misguided effort to display government transparency or the mayor’s largesse. But it generated a scandal and

a wave of media criticism. One journalist sensationalized this display to Jews being forced to wear the Star of David in the 1930s (América Noticias 2013).

Smith's characterization of inclusion as food provision was a tongue-in-cheek exaggeration, but he acutely captures frustrations over how seemingly harmless and uncontested terms can be strategically manipulated by those in power, papering over the contradictions of structural inequality. Inclusion may not be a viable term on the part of a community attempting to resist extraction by a mining company, for example. The term was, instead, frequently deployed to justify the state's permission for extraction to proceed, given that mining is a source of wealth, employment, market vibrancy, and development, not to mention its corporate social responsibility initiatives (see Chapter 5). Thus, mining industry growth grants "inclusion" rather than depriving people of it. Being an active citizen in a democratic society, argues Barbara Cruikshank, entails emplacement "in a tangled field of power and knowledge that both enables and constrains the possibilities of citizenship" (1999: 20). Peru's inclusion agenda configures the everyday life of development investment through the specific ways one becomes entangled within its fields of capillary power and knowledge as entrepreneurship and self-motivated financialized citizenship are actively forged as the means to prosperity.

Interventions under the rubric of inclusion—specifically of inclusion's "development of capacities" policy bracket, for those not or no longer in situations of extreme need—center on tutelage, behavior, the crafting of value, and the management of abundance that is seen to always already be and have been present in participants' lives. Those have priority over the provision of services and infrastructure, paralleling Peru's broader austere development emphasis on empowerment via restrained investments. Through this pedagogy, inclusion highlights the contradictions between service provision and the contemporary ideology of "letting grow" (cf.

Foucault 1976). As candidates in the 2014 municipal and provincial elections would often state, “development means more than iron and cement. It means capacity. We need to develop human capital” (M. Quispe interview 2014; see Chapter 5).

Inclusion is not the same thing as belonging. We could even claim that it is the opposite. Inquiring into the relationship between inclusion and belonging, between financial citizenship and broader forms of acceptance, we can ask how development interventions and trustee institutions, as facts of ordinary life, define and restructure relationships between people and the forms of living that surround them.

Why Peru? Why Arequipa? Why Now?

The politics of indigeneity, inclusion, and investment have taken on distinct, and in many ways subtler, forms in the Peruvian Andes than they have in places like Ecuador, Bolivia, or even the Peruvian rainforest. Similar to those other places, people currently identified as indigenous, natives, or *indios* in this mostly rural region were politically and economically oppressed since as early as the Inca Empire, in which the burden of forced labor for ambitious imperial projects was the tax for protection and toleration (Mumford 2012; Morris 2013). In the colonial era, as I elaborate in Chapter 1, Indianness was seen as a kind of spiritual raw material, a category that meant potential salvation, as well as a form of automatic eligibility for forced labor. Imagining that immense labor power, and eerily anticipating today’s language of human capital, colonial authorities believed that “Indians, and not silver, were the New World’s true riches” (Flores Galindo 1986: 132).

Since then, the category of indigeneity has undergone many historical twists and turns in Peru. It organized exclusion from creole-dominated power structures upon independence. It

organized the revitalization, at least in the abstract in the early twentieth century as *indigenismo* flourished in art and literature (i.e. Valcárcel 1927). Indigeneity provided, in that context, a source of inspiration for leftist thinkers like José Carlos Mariátegui (1971). This, even as most living Andeans failed to live up to its strict logic of authenticity (De la Cadena 2000). For colonial and postcolonial eras alike in Peru, the figure of the indigenous person was a mirror for elites who wanted to project their own agendas upon it. A longstanding indigenous identity politics became an explicit politics of class in the context of General Juan Velasco's late-1960s agrarian reforms that eliminated the hacienda system. In the decades that followed the Velasco administration's land reforms, even as "indios" became "campesinos," "Indianness never disappeared from highland Peru. In a long history of indigenous resistance...strategic adaptation has often been mistaken for silence and absence" (García 2005: 176).

This study is in part an ethnography of the ongoing effort of that calculated reworking, situated within the alleged "Peruvian anomaly" (Larson 2014: 225). Peru sees a distinct indigenous politics from those of Ecuador and Bolivia through the different forms by which indigeneity has been institutionalized and blended with class politics. Even in the absence of nationally prominent moves to incorporate Andean and other non-western cosmovisions into new laws and constitutions as in Bolivia and Ecuador, or an unambiguously indigenous-identified president like Bolivia's Evo Morales,¹⁴ indigeneity is by no means less real as a political phenomenon in Peru.

Nor is it necessarily less radical: indeed, given the recent history of internal armed conflict in Peru's central Andes that is still very much present, many Peruvian Andeans tend to be wary of calls to revolutionary overhauls of the structures in place. Orin Starn describes this caution in his book about the *rondas campesinas*, or peasant patrols, in the northern highlands

during the chaotic epoch of internal armed conflict and a local rise in robberies, violence, and instability. Starn argues that order, stability, and the maintenance of the local status quo were emancipatory for the community of Tunnel Six. As one of Starn's interlocutors there stated, "Imposing discipline frees us from injustice and self-destruction" (1999: 96). Kimberly Theidon corroborates this argument for the region directly affected by the Shining Path, suggesting that Ayacucho *campesinos*' "elusive search for justice was a feature of daily life" (2013: 4).

Peru's recent national history of mass violence is crucial to understanding its uniqueness as a site for financialized development, democratized capital, and the resurgent pride in and highly selective politics of indigenous identity. Adding another layer to the effort to theorize what it means to develop, I suggest that we imagine the contemporary development paradigm in Peru as in part a post-violence phenomenon. I posited above that institution-based professionals see development as a form of exchange and as a means of potentiating and unleashing abundance. At a broader historical scale, we can also understand it as an extended "reconciliation." Of course, that term means different things in different contexts, from the micro-level reconciling of debt (Schuster 2015) to the macro-regional and national efforts to heal through narrative (J. Weiss 2015). While most of Caylloma Province remained on the periphery of Peru's internal armed conflict, the region has come firmly within a policy paradigm directly informed by the national reflections that emerged in that conflict's aftermath.

"Everything was scarce following the war; only suffering was abundant," writes Kimberly Theidon of the devastated villages of Ayacucho, Peru (2013: 167). But also undeniable was the locally shared pre-war scarcity in these villages and others in the Andes that would come to be occupied by the Shining Path, making it a regional scene of political disinvestment and neglect that helped to foment the group's initial rise. The Shining Path inhabited a power

vacuum, in a number of cases offering municipal services for rural communities that lacked government help and authority, growing “in part because it filled the absence of the state” (Theidon 2013: 4). To prevent any possible return of such a violent movement, the economic, infrastructural, and institutional development of stretches of the rural Andes had to become a security priority. The state’s Fujimori-era presence in the Andes existed in part to address this (P. Harvey 2005). After Fujimori, in the telling of Eduardo Toche and a number of other Lima-based Desco staff who were associated with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission work in the early 2000s, many NGOs along with a host of other programs became implicit co-agents of security through their development work (Toche interview 2013). They also became the beneficiaries of what was then a wealth of international and private donor funding and supply of experts and knowledge workers to a newly open nation (De la Serna interview 2013).

One of the conflict reckoning period’s key ideological motifs was a failure to see multiple things. The Shining Path was initially dismissed as a fringe group and overlooked in intelligence reports (Theidon 2013). After a decade of underground planning, the group burst onto the national stage. They burned ballot boxes in the Ayacucho village of Chuschi on election day in 1980, the first election in which most Andeans were eligible to vote since the previous year’s repeal of Peru’s literacy requirement, which had kept millions disenfranchised. On the day that rural people would have become visible by finally being granted democracy’s elementary right, they received the first of many loud and clear messages that their lives did not matter. As the dust cleared in the wake of the Shining Path and state violence of the 1980s and early 1990s, one of the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s most striking revelations in the early 2000s was that the casualty count was not the commonly cited figure of 35,000 deaths, but double that, at 69,280 deaths (or what the report says is a range between 69,000 and 77,000

deaths; PTRC 2003; Theidon 2013; Postigo interview 2014). This offered devastating numerical support for the argument that the violence was allowed to reach such an extreme because poor people in the rural Andes were a forgotten part of the Peruvian nation. Cynical appraisals of the response to the conflict like that of Desco's research director Werner Jungbluth further suggest that it did not become an important public issue until car bombs began exploding in Miraflores, an upscale Lima neighborhood (interview 2013).

A development paradigm so focused on valuing indigeneity thus seeks a change that is even more basic than “recognizing” it (Povinelli 2002). This policy focus calls for the heavily urbanized national public simply to *see* indigeneity, to notice that there is a significant population of rural people in the Andes, in a country where policymakers and development's most powerful agenda setters are blinded by their Lima-centrism (Dapino interview 2014). “What does it say about our political community now that we know another thirty-five thousand of our brothers and sisters were missing and we never even noticed they were gone?” asked Salomón Lerner, the TRC director (Theidon 2013: 7). As the report indicates,

Of every four victims, three were peasants whose mother tongue was Quechua. As Peruvians know, that entails a sector of the population historically ignored by the state and urban society, who do enjoy the benefits of our political community...these two decades of destruction and death would not have been possible without profound contempt toward the country's most deprived population. (PTRC 2003)

In addition to direct reparations, which explicitly accounted for past wrongs and which were paid out to only a meager number of families, the Andean region saw new forms of attention by development projects focused on the future—“reparations, in scare quotes,” as a Peruvian UN official described it (Postigo interview 2014). The long-term policy addressing the

shock of allegedly “forgotten,” excluded victims was to cure their deprivation by rendering Andean life economically valuable, by giving them the tools to create their own prosperity and security. Development investment is thus a form of “reparations” for the southern Andes, in the form of aid and new media for economically building self-esteem in the region (Postigo interview 2014). Despite the interest in uplift, another impact of the conflict was a profound public fear of mobilization and leftist movements, which were key to the surge in indigenous politics in Bolivia and Ecuador. Thus, Peru’s interest in making Andean Quechua speakers feel like a valuable part of the nation also entailed a concerted effort to anticipate cultural politics with cultural economics. Peru’s Ministry of Culture has recently overseen the opening of a museum and memorial site for the internal armed conflict in Lima, embedded in the cliffs overlooking the Pacific Ocean such that almost anybody traveling by car to the elite San Isidro and Miraflores neighborhoods is forced to see it. The site is called the Place of Memory, Tolerance, and Social Inclusion (*Lugar de la Memoria, la Tolerancia, y la Inclusión Social*), making apparent how the themes of visibility and frontier development are intersecting with aspirations for collective national memory in public culture today.

So, Peru gives Andean indigeneity a unique national context, where indigeneity sees distinct forms of urgency and is put to work for development intervention as something that depends on drawing out certain aspects of history while erasing others. Before turning to a description of my methodology and the organization of this dissertation, I address one final question. If Peru offers a compelling site for exploring these problems, why the Arequipa region specifically, instead of the rainforest, Cuzco, or Ayacucho—places within Peru where the question of indigeneity has garnered significant attention (Greene 2009; De la Cadena 2000;

Theidon 2013)? What is it about contemporary Arequipa that advances our understanding of how investment works to develop the world's once-“poor” and once-marginal places?

Arequipa, Peru's second largest city, and the region of the same name that spans from high Andean plateaus to the east to Peru's coastal desert, has much to tell us about the problems and promises of development and indigeneity, past and present (Cook 2007; Gelles 2000; Paerregaard 1997; Stensrud 2016; Wernke 2013). Arequipa has been home to a startling amount of change in recent years. As a region, it is one of the frontiers of Peru's controversial mining boom, which has been essential to the country's recent astronomical growth and uneven wealth. Due to its proximity to Bolivia and Chile, it has consistently functioned as an international crossroads region. The place is not only close to those countries, but, at present, two hours' drive from the coast and accessible to much of the Andean region, so internal migration renders Arequipa a cross-section of Peruvian society. Arequipa city also forms a node on the in-progress Interoceanic Highway, which means that its international migrant population is likely to increase.

The region has an independent streak, home to a series of movements (of varying levels of credibility) to become an independent state in the twentieth century. Tourists can buy shirts that read, “I'm not *peruano*, I'm *arequipeño, ¡carajo!*” and false passports to the Independent Republic of Arequipa in gift shops throughout the city. Like the villages of Caylloma Province, Arequipa has changed dramatically over the eight years I have been visiting: the city's population is growing rapidly, set to approach one million inhabitants in the next several years, with an expanding *Cono Norte*, or Northern Cone, of *pueblos jóvenes* or shantytowns jutting into the desert and reducing the distance between the city and the Colca and Ampato Valleys.

In the context of the region's booming economy, Caylloma's story of integration is in some respects a recent one. Mining and irrigation projects, in their contemporary incarnations,

began there in the context of Peru’s late-1960s Velasco-era infrastructure projects (Benavides 1983; Gelles 2000). The Majes construction project brought—some say “stole” (R. Checa interview 2015)—water from Colca and its surrounding mountains to irrigate land in the remote and arid lowland Majes pampas, now a bustling population center. An abundant source of jobs throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the Majes irrigation project also brought together many thousands of manual laborers and national and foreign irrigation experts (Huaracha interview 2014). In order to facilitate the transport of resources, experts, and other forms of capital, the state built an asphalt highway between the city of Arequipa and Caylloma Province’s villages where construction sites were located. That ambitious highway project created elaborate mountain passes and traversed the hostile highland desert, and has been improved upon over the past thirty years. As recently as the 1990s, though, it took up to twelve hours to journey from Arequipa to Colca by car or truck (Gelles 2000). Since the last decade’s enhancements to the highway, it now usually takes a mere three hours, which means that city and country are more accessible to one another than they have ever been. Homes in Yanque and other Caylloma villages did not have electricity until 1999. In the early 2000s, markets, tourism, and new extractive enterprises began to converge there.

Once an extremely marginalized site, Caylloma has in the last sixteen years quite quickly been drawn closer to the city and, as Desco’s Aquilino Mejía suggests, into the eyes of the world. Therefore, asking about what is new there is a fruitful way of tracing the changing ways in which development and indigeneity are being imagined together in contemporary Peru, and of learning what it means, in new scenes of abundance, for investment and indigeneity to shape one another.

Methodology

The field research I conducted over the course of two years total between 2008 and 2016, with a fifteen-month period of concentrated fieldwork in Peru between 2013 and 2015, had two main methodological goals. My ethnography began with three months in Lima, where I spent workdays at Desco's national headquarters and conducted interviews at the city's other state entities and organizations involved in rural development, including the Spanish Agency for International Development, the Instituto del Bien Común, and the Ministries of Culture and of Development and Social Inclusion. Then, the main goal of my extended stay in Caylloma Province was to track concepts of indigeneity, finance, and citizenship through two exemplary cases of development investment, Desco and Sierra Sur, along with smaller initiatives that fell within that revalorization paradigm. While there, I made sure grounded my study of investment in scenes of daily life in which institution-based development was only one of the many relevant forms of investment; I have consistently chosen to live with Gerardo and Luisa Huaracha in Yanque during every visit I made to Caylloma since 2008.

I regularly circulated through the province's twenty village districts and several smaller population centers to follow trajectories of development investment. I often but not always accompanied initiative staff, paying particular attention to the genres of activity these investments constituted, which included the contest, the community meeting, and the surprise site visit. The research entailed conducting semi-structured individual and group interviews and recording life histories with actors involved in all aspects of the work of development, from participants, to staff experts, to those in between, who positioned themselves as "brokers" (Scarritt 2011).¹⁵ In my examination of those two principal investments, I scaled back and forth between specific interventions and their encompassing investor entity offices.

I looked more briefly at a number of other initiatives in Yanque and Chivay to get a sense of the broader development context. These included the Spanish Agency, whose shrinking Andean portfolio is a result of Peru's economic rise and Spain's profound economic troubles (De la Serna interview 2013). It has a few remaining staffers running an architectural revalorization project, in which homes are being rebuilt to better fit an indigenous image, and decorated with thatched roofs and Collagua and Cabana adobe and stone motifs (Cayllahua interview 2015). I spent additional time as an interpreter with a US-based Christian non-profit, Quechua Benefit, which runs an orphanage and an annual mobile clinic in the province. Examining this array of civil society, municipal, national, and international interventions in Caylloma afforded a cross-sectional perspective on the multivalent ways in which institutions at the local level have converged upon and grown out of concepts of indigenous identity.

I set out to learn more about development interventions, ritual investments, and daily life by taking testimonies and observations with a variety of actors based in the broader Arequipa region and throughout Peru, in organizations ranging from municipalities to the local offices of global multilateral entities. I also followed a sample of the sprawling array of other actors in Caylloma devoted to investing in indigeneity. Here, it is not only NGOs, international aid programs, and state initiatives that are active participants in development investing, but also a newly flourishing network of credit institutions, like Fondesurco (see Chapter 3), and corporate social responsibility offices like the Tintaya Foundation (see Chapter 5) focused on local small business. These have helped to create what is today a bustling regional economy rooted in the financial cultivation of indigenous human capital in which knowledge workers and agricultural laborers sit next to one another on inter-village vans and at lunch counters.

Concurrently, I have sought to contextualize these various initiatives in daily life within Colca's communities. How far does the idea of indigeneity reach as a source of empowerment? How important is the “will to empower” and the will to be empowered beyond the walls and gates of formal development? To answer those questions, I participated with the Huaracha family and many other Yanque residents in agricultural and farm work, town meetings, gatherings of Yanque’s civil society organizations, ritual work parties, and fiestas as part of the ritual calendar. My residency in Yanque also afforded ready access to Gerardo and Luisa’s family archive and museum and their extensive network of influential friends in Yanque and throughout Peru.

Chapter Overview

This dissertation proceeds in two parts. Part I, *The Stages of Development*, inhabits the life of financialized development investment in its official, authorized spaces of intervention. Part II, *Activating Indigeneity*, asks how the values of those investments come to life, travel, spread, and are talked back to, moving outside of formal spaces of intervention to examine the everyday economic lives upon which institutions seek to intervene.

Part I opens with Chapter 1’s selective historical background, in which I historically trace several of the key motifs of development intervention today to a cast of colonial characters and a number of colonial practices. There, while I follow Quijano’s “coloniality of power” argument (2000), I focus not on how development is neocolonial, but most closely on how Spanish colonization became a kind of development *avant la lettre*. Doing so allows us to examine development’s deep historical precedents that long predate Harry S. Truman’s “Four Points” speech and the Marshall Plan. That first chapter, “Mediating Indigeneity,” analyzes the link between public space and public ideas, opening the study in the historical scene during which the

Spanish invaded and audited the Colca Valley, a territory dominated by the Collagua and Cabana ethnic groups, previously part of the Inca Empire. It examines the historical legacy of public space as configured during the Spanish colonial *reducción*, a process in which dispersed Inca-era settlements in Colca were consolidated around a public square and a church. I interrogate the ways in which Colca's public squares, and other features of the built environment that saw their start during Spanish rule, continue to be essential to mediating ideas about indigeneity and the ends to which it is put to work. Tracing publicly communicated ideas about improvement from Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's colonial *reducción* project to today's development projects, the chapter also offers more recent historical context, considering the late-1960s Velasco-era agricultural reforms and other moments that have come to define the way contemporary development interventions are carried out.

Once the Andes' famous *plazas de armas* are historically contextualized in terms of their relationship to the making of indigenous subjects, we linger in those public spaces, watching the way they become contemporary stages of development intervention. Chapter 2, "Economies of Empowerment," delves into the policy motif of the development contest. In doing so, I advance and unpack the concept of austere development. Competition has become the defining genre of development intervention in Peru's southern Andes. Contests also take place beyond such institutions as emerging sites for the market advancement of abundant culture and ethnicity, entailing massive fairs with a locality's gastronomy, dance, agricultural techniques, and even the girth of its guinea pigs, all up for a competitive vote, and with some form of investment as the reward. These competitions suggest a number of transformations at the nexus of culture's market centrality in Peru, astronomical national growth, and the increasingly infinitesimal scale of micro-development: in that space, the invisible hand meets empowerment's handoff, a

replacement for welfare's handout. I ask why and how development investment happens this way, investigate what contests produce, and explore their implications for national inclusion. Here, I argue that through the contest form, indigeneity is at stake as a product of individual excellence and corporate-like teamwork. This chapter offers several ethnographic answers to one of the study's key animating research questions: How does money become an investment?

Chapter 3, "Future Pasts," zooms into the financial mechanisms of development investment, suggesting that an ethnography of rural development today has a great deal to contribute to the anthropology of finance. I argue that finance's periodicity uses indigeneity to orient time and space, which in turn configures the contemporary development agenda. By following several entrepreneurs along the basic timeline of development financing (credit, audit, and debt), I argue that microfinance, co-financing, and the various other small and informal loan opportunities animating the provincial economy anchor people to time and space, crafting a particular relationship of capital to autochthony. In other words, credit, audit, and debt configured a local arena and an interval in which participants had to generate enough returns on investment to repay creditors or justify their support, with repayment taking on new meaning as a measure of one's success as an indigenous innovator. Microcredit NGOs like Fondesurco (the Southern Regional Fund) rely on neighborhood vouching, for example, to determine a participant's creditworthiness, an advance form of "return" on one's existing investment of social capital that tests, indexes, and reinforces a person's place within his or her community. Financialized interventions, I also found, engage a long-term temporal trajectory with a self-sustaining indigeneity posited as both the idealized past and an ultimate horizon of expectation.

Part II, *Activating Indigeneity*, contains three chapters that move beyond these formal sites of development intervention. Chapter 4, "Making Change," takes one particular road out of

such formal initiatives by following large units of cash, which are infusing local markets in newly high quantities as a result of an influx of tourists and rapid integration into the national economy. The puzzle of the big bill in settings where most items and services are exchanged using coins is that it is not instantly fungible. This chapter offers an ethnography of the interactional and technological infrastructure required to render money fungible in practice, arguing that big bills cannot be spent without mediation by certain social relations and structures of affective investment. That mediation, I suggest, reveals key aspects of the way indigeneity becomes relevant to peoples' lives. I take examining the social meaning of denomination here to be a revealing site for how the financialized development interventions detailed in Part I are changing the ordinary forms in which people relate to one another and conceptualize themselves.

Chapter 5, "The Other Investors," examines investments in ideas of indigeneity by actors removed from formal development interventions: a large mining enterprise engaged in corporate social responsibility efforts; religious organizations large and small; and political candidates' narratives and promises in their campaigns for municipal and regional office. There, I describe how, in taking on the welfare contributions that were once the obligations of a provider state, people who work on behalf of private companies and institutions not directly associated with development work express profound ambivalence between tiny empowerment-based investment programs and more substantial welfare aid. Complicating that ambivalence is the idea of the "social license to operate," a concept mining firms use to denote a surrounding community's acceptance, which we can extend to a broader analysis of institutional acceptance. I propose understanding social license as the initial gift from a community to the institution seeking to benefit from that community, which sets off a chain of obligations that the institution then owes.

Chapter 6, “Ritual in Vestments,” moves even farther beyond sites of formal economic intervention. It focuses on the annual community work party in Yanque-Urinsaya¹⁶ to clean the community’s water source near the village’s most important *Apu* or mountain earth being, Mount Mismi, and maintain its fragile irrigation system up in the surrounding mountains. I suggest here that the ritualization of labor offers irrigators the opportunity to determine and stabilize their own terms of investment, and to create a suite of staged compositions or tableaus constructed in sacionatural space that offer collective articulations of those investments.

“Returns,” the study’s conclusion, explores the implications of revalorizing indigeneity through investments of various forms by asking what comes next. What futures and returns do these investments seek? What does indigenous abundance look like in the future? I approach these questions by offering visions collected from local interlocutors of what the village of Yanque might look like if the community images these investments structure are carried to their logical endpoints. I also briefly analyze the Desco entrepreneurship project’s closing internal evaluation for clues to answers to these questions, before offering a final picture of what happens to a place like Caylloma after development.

Part I *The Stages of Development*

In W.W. Rostow's book *The Stages of Economic Growth*, a seminal text for twentieth century theorists and practitioners of development as a modernizing tool, the reader may note the use of a curious metaphor. The fourth "stage-of-growth," Rostow argues, coming after "traditional society," "preconditions for take-off," and "take-off," is what he calls "the drive to maturity" (1971: 4). This argument that the world's societies occupy different places on a linear march toward modernization, but are all essentially the same, relies on personifying those societies. As if it were a young person discovering what it means to take care of oneself, a society is capable of developing not only economically, but at the same time, psychologically. "Maturity," he suggests, "is the stage in which an economy demonstrates that it has the technological and entrepreneurial skills to produce not everything, but anything that it chooses to produce" (10). Of course, Rostow's narrow westernizing evolutionism has long been discredited. However, the idea that ostensibly economic development means the simultaneous development of psychology, the reorientation of the collective and individual mindset toward a particular image of productive activity, has not disappeared.

This first part's title is a play on that "stages-of-growth" argument, suggesting that the modular formula of cultivating entrepreneurship contains within it certain elements of the civilizing agenda of modernization theory. This, especially at the nexus of urban-based technocrats and their effort to orient collective life in Caylloma Province toward the figure of the indigenous entrepreneur of indigeneity—a model person who has successfully developed, both economically and psychologically. The three chapters to follow ask what it means for economic and personal development to be so closely intertwined. They do so by examining a different kind of stage: the physical stage where development contests take place; they also follow the various other dramas through which investees are tasked with proving their maturity.

Chapter 1 Mediating Indigeneity: Public Space and the Making of Political Identity in Peru's Andes

This chapter investigates the relationship between political identity and public space in the communities of Caylloma Province by examining two historical moments in which the built environment was used as a medium for formatting and engaging a local indigeneity. The first is the colonial invasion, when the very idea of unruly native subjects motivated an ambitious resettlement plan, the reducción, in which dispersed settlements were condensed around a public square and a church. The second is the contemporary moment, in which that same space is being used to stage audits, evaluations, and competitions in the context of a development paradigm shifting from modernization and service provision to a focus on investing in indigeneity—specifically, by financing the promotion of entrepreneurial and agricultural practices that organizations classify as typically indigenous. Through an ethnographic reading of the Andean built environment, this chapter offers two specific arguments: (1) Notions of indigenous identity have rested at the core of efforts to improve, organize, and regulate daily life—in other words, to achieve development—in the region since the colonial era. (2) Through changing historical contexts, the same physical space has been consistently used as a medium for configuring ideas about the Colcan indigenous person, for deploying that category to generate strategic knowledge and regulatory force, and for investing indigeneity with the potential for various kinds of salvation. These arguments afford a rich historicization of contemporary development, with an ethnographic approach suggesting that transnational paradigms do not merely touch down, but also draw upon and push existing dynamics through the local media at their disposal.

In 1586 and in 1999, Spanish rulers came to the public squares of the Colca Valley to learn about the indigenous condition. They saw indigeneity, in both encounters, as a messianic ethical disposition: the raw material for various forms of salvation, and, as such, a target for investing their resources. In the first, they came to expand the colonial frontier; in the second, to open new frontiers in development intervention. This chapter grounds the dissertation in a selective historical context by examining the relationship between what they found in each of those moments. I argue that a key legacy of the *reducción* (resettlement and conversion) process essential creating the Spanish colony in the Andes, which was largely accomplished by reshaping public space, has been the built environment's long history as a medium for producing, undoing, and remaking indigeneity. Today, this relationship lies at the root of a suite of investments, conferred in that very same space, that seek to put Colcan indigeneity to work for development.

Encountering Indigeneity

On January 20, 1586, some twenty community leaders, several of whom had been born before the Spanish invasion of the Andes, were assembled in the brand new *plaza de armas* (public square) of the recently created reducción village of Yanque in the central Colca Valley, in contemporary Peru’s Arequipa region. This encounter was part of the *visita general* (General Inspection), a massive colonial audit of Andean territory whose registries and information collected are currently housed in the Parochial Archive of Yanque, in Arequipa (Pease 1977; Robinson 1977).¹ These leaders had first been sent to Mass in the ornate Franciscan church, a structure at the village center whose doors opened onto the square. Afterward, Spanish inspector Juan de Ulloa Mogollón led them out to the square for questioning as part of King Phillip II’s inquiry into the resources of his realm and the potential Christians within it.

One witness, García Checa, testified about life before Spanish rule. He had lived in an *ayllu*—a “unit of relatedness” between kin, landscape, and other nonhuman and spiritual beings that anthropologists tend to gloss as “community” (Allen 2002; see also Salomon 1991 and next section)—on the other side of the Colca River until Viceroy Francisco de Toledo’s mass resettlement policy took effect. The elderly Checa had become the *kuraca* (local chief) of Yanque-Urinsaya, the new district’s downriver sector. Checa offered a history of the region’s ethnically predominant Collaguas, their agricultural and ritual practices, and what life was like under Inca rule, which the Spanish had ended just decades earlier (Cook 2007). As Ulloa Mogollón reported in 1586, based on the testimony he heard that morning:

Some are called Collaguas; they call themselves this since ancient times; they have passed the name on by inheritance from parents to children, which came from a *guaca* or ancient shrine...that is a snowcapped mountain [shaped] like a volcano, distinguished

from the other peaks around there, which is called *Collaguata*; they say that from around or inside that mountain many people came out and descended to this province and its valley, of this river that they populated, and conquered those that were natives and threw them out by force, while they remained; they prove this with forts, which they call *pucaras* in their language, which are built on some of the high peaks of the valley, from which they descended to make war. (Ulloa Mogollón 1586; Quoted in Wernke 2013: 91).

Ulloa Mogollón here records the Collagua charter myth, describing descent from mountain peaks and the conquest of nameless inhabitants, while emphasizing the importance of extant marks in the land that authenticate their emergence. These symbolic marks were (and for many, still are) sacred sites that continually relate the Collagua community to its territory, history, and kin, animating what Peter Gose calls the “*ayllu* landscape” (2008: 165-66). Yanque resident Natalio Huayhua corroborates this origin story, narrating Collaguas’ descent from the eponymous volcanic peak to settle the fertile valley (Huayhua interview 2014). Ulloa Mogollón’s contribution to Spanish knowledge, based on the cultural audit he orchestrated in Yanque’s new public square, suggests that from its colonial inception, the idea of Andean indigeneity has been both intertwined with concepts of inhabiting space and generated through the deliberate staging of physical encounters.

The *reducción* was a project of fundamental change, a violent reorganization of land, life, and subjectivity intent on improving what the Spanish perceived as spiritually and racially inferior natives through Christian order and its physical, surface manifestation that at the same time served as an instrument of that order: Spanish-style villages centered on a church and a plaza. This was also a project to recuperate some of what earlier colonists destroyed, having failed to appreciate the Incas’ impressive political organization and environmental adaptiveness,

meant benevolently to “restore” a vision of prosperous Andean life. “Paradoxically,” argues Jeremy Mumford, “the Resettlement’s radical restructuring was designed to *preserve* certain aspects of indigenous culture,” such as co-opted Inca-era leadership structures and the “vertical archipelago,” the colonization of land at multiple altitudes to ensure crop variety (Mumford 2012: 2; see Murra 1972 and 1984 for discussions of the vertical archipelago). This, “even while destroying others...until they were brought together in towns they could not be true Christians or, indeed, fully human” (Mumford 2012: 2). Violently resettling Andeans simultaneously in the name of conversion and cultural recuperation, destruction and the benevolent empowerment of a new kind of self and subject, offered a founding image of indigeneity’s legacy of ambivalence.

Generations later, in 1999, Hilde Checa, one of García’s descendants and a young Yanque entrepreneur, stood in the very same public square. She faced not a Spanish colonial inspector but the monarch herself, Queen Sofía of Spain, answering similar questions about origin myths and ritual practices. The encounter is memorialized in a photograph displayed in Hilde’s home, which now doubles as Yanque’s most successful cultural tourism hotel. A young Hilde is pictured standing next to the queen wearing in her traditional Collagua-style embroidered skirt, vest, and sombrero (Figure 2). Upon her arrival, Queen Sofía was greeted in Yanque’s plaza with ceremony: *Wititi* dances, a drink of *chicha* (fermented maize), gifts from local artisans, and nearly the entire village population (Checa interview 2014).



Figure 2: Hilde Checa, pictured next to Queen Sofia of Spain as part of the delegation of entrepreneurs that greeted her upon her arrival. (Source: Hilde Checa)

Checa, with a group of local entrepreneurs, gave Queen Sofía a tour of the community, leading her outward from the plaza, along the grid, to several homes recently retrofitted with adobe bricks and freshly thatched rooftops in a new effort to showcase Yanque's indigenous identity. By staging Yanque as a site of abundant indigenous culture to a fascinated political figure, who was an archeologist by training, these entrepreneurs deployed the town's spatial layout to inaugurate a new kind of relationship with their ancestors' colonizers: Spain would now become an investor in the community.

The purpose of Queen Sofía's visit was to announce funding and offer her blessing for the Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation, an international organization

(IO) with regional headquarters in Chivay, the nearby provincial capital. The agency invests in the restoration of Spanish colonial heritage as a means of attracting tourists and creating jobs by hiring Colcan laborers to renovate poorly maintained churches, crumbling public squares, and other structures that have configured local space since Spanish rule. Emerging as part of the policy reaction to Fujimori-era dependence at the turn of the century moment when neoliberal decentralization had begun to reorganize public life in Peru, the agency's effort to refurbish spaces of worship and attraction suggests that development can be achieved by cultivating entrepreneurial indigenous selves, which meant tapping into and actualizing the already present plenitude of cultural assets. The agency also promoted the "revalorization" of indigenous tradition by sponsoring training sessions, projects, and enterprises that take advantage of the booming demand for "authenticity" and "traditional knowledge" in the tourism, gastronomical, and agricultural export sectors (Ampuero interview 2012).

Although its completed restoration projects and Spain's poor economy meant the agency's massive drawdown in Peru by 2013, its current presence in Colca has taken the form of an architectural revalorization project that involves financing the retrofitting of homes with thatched roofs and adobe bricks, effectively to indigenize them. Spain's aid agency, active in Colca for fifteen years, is one of a vast array of development initiatives that approach investments such as these as a means of inculcating practices vital to sustainable economic growth.

From the time of García Checa to that of Hilde Checa, how has indigeneity come to be at stake through Colca's built environment? What is it about colonially configured public space that transforms Colcan indigeneity into a contemporary resource? In this chapter I examine the conspicuous continuities between these two encounters to contextualize contemporary

development policy within Colca's *longue durée* history of using physical space to create and manipulate indigenous subjectivity. Drawing on archival documents, archeological and historical scholarship, and ethnographic fieldwork I conducted in Yanque between 2008 and 2015, this chapter historicizes and tracks the co-production (Jasanoff 2004) of indigeneity and public space. As I illustrate in what follows, I see that historical co-production as essential to the contemporary one between indigeneity and finance that is the dissertation's principal focus. Indigeneity has a long, variegated history in Peru as a political identity deployed, repressed, and reshaped in various ways since the colonial era. Such history cannot exhaustively be covered here. This chapter, instead, offers a partial picture, tracing analogous scenes in which public space mediates indigeneity during the colonial era and in the present.

In Peru, the Spanish invasion entailed “gathering under one term”—indio—“a great number of ethnically distinct peoples” (Gelles 2000: 29). Spanish colonists opportunistically naturalized the contingent finding that most of these groups were under Inca rule at the time, and took advantage of this homogenized group as a source of labor for empire building. Indigenous people, at the moment the category was born, were an army of disposable, pagan bodies that could be sent to the Andes' mines to find gold, silver, and copper (Nash 1993; Flores Galindo 1986). Their indigenous race became a founding principle of colonial domination that, as Anibal Quijano notes in his discussion of the “coloniality of power” in Latin America, changed in its contours but did not disappear as formal colony became formal republic (Quijano 2000). But indigenous Colcans were also, from the beginning, sources of potential, subjects of transformation into fully human selves. Indigeneity, in the 1999 visit, was a concept that most broadly implied rootedness in the territory since before the Spanish invasion. Yet its specifics reveal that its commonalities to the colonial visita run deeper than that. For yanqueños after

1999, indigeneity, to the extent that they imagined themselves in relation to that category, was beginning to mean the ability to identify with an ayllu, to claim a close and knowledgeable relationship with the surrounding ecology, and to display dimensions of a non-*mestizo* culture and tradition that could be taken to markets and other sites of exchange as assets.

At its core, though, indigeneity was made to mean something else, its framers indicating more than a passing historical resemblance between Spain's Catholic colonizers and its contemporary development investors: it meant a self worthy of salvation, an internal transformation which could be accomplished through a set of prescribed translations in space. Together, these related transformative projects to which Andeans were subjected gave rise to particular forms of expression and expressiveness. Also essential to the way indigeneity worked in these two scenes of inventory was its profound openness, the radical possibility it suggested. Beyond the specific idea of historic emergence from Collaguata, the concept of nativeness was up for grabs as a vague and malleable source of plenitude. Its colonial and contemporary emergences suggest that space, its uses, and the deep relationships its local "users" forge with it and within it as they transformed themselves internally, offers us a means of analyzing the time and history of development since the Spanish invasion, development's founding modern moment in the Andes.

I suggest that scenes of contemporary development practice invite a rereading of the colonial intervention into indigeneity; at the same time, the *reducción*'s powerful legacy in Colca can illuminate how contemporary "development with identity" (García 2005) is more than an example of a transnational paradigm "touching down," but also, a genre of intervention with deep local history. It shows, under examination, a number of the contours of colonial power rooted in racialized difference (Quijano 2000) and the specter of an ongoing logic of

civilizational improvement (Rostow 1971) arguably born with the project of modernity itself (Galeano 1973). Cradled within the figure of the *Indio* (who later took the more publicly palatable label of “*indígena*”), that ample subject of development, human rights, and humanitarian aid discourse, the concept of Collagua and Cabana ethnicity becomes specifically relevant to Colcan development projects as a community-specific idiom for performing, articulating, and displaying culture and identity. Comaroff and Comaroff note that “Ethnic identity, by contrast to race, may manifest itself primarily in expressive culture, in collective practices and products...But it also betokens a unique, innate substance, a substance that inhabits individuals and communities alike, a substance that congeals in ‘traditional’ objects and activities and expertise” (2009: 37). While it is sometimes difficult to distinguish, today, which specific traditions and cultural forms come from the Collaguas and the Cabanas in Colca, development intervention projects today urge their participants to make as many distinctions as they can, with ethnicity distinctions between villages coming to matter for entrepreneurs as each tries to fit into narrow market niches.

In using the term *political identity*, I intend to convey the notion of a group’s form of alignment before, or categorization by, authorities in a way that configures the construction of a polity. While many scholars have documented how identity-based empowerment actually depoliticizes indigeneity by rendering it ineffectual as a vehicle for meaningful structural change (Hale 2002; Povinelli 2002; see below), it remains political in other crucial ways by affording particular forms of engagement with and recognition within broader political projects. Reducción space was a tool for creating a class of political subjects in order to confer Christianity, extract labor and mineral wealth, and expand the realm. Today, the built environment sees an analogous role in mediating between the state and its effort to extend “inclusion.” This is now widely

imagined as a market-based, financialized update of the idea of public welfare in Peru, visible in development investments in indigenous enterprises and institutions, and backed by a thriving economy of IOs, NGOs, and government entities like Peru's Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion. Indigeneity is not exclusively a political identity. It is also an economic and spiritual identity. But its value as a kind of capital, as a source of self-worth, and as a relationship to divine entities, is exactly what has made indigeneity the vehicle for embodied encounters with, and inclusion within (or exclusion from), encompassing political entities.

Of course, Spanish colonization and contemporary development investment are distinct. While contemporary development investment certainly carries forth shades of the coloniality of power—indeed, some of my interlocutors explicitly labeled it “neocolonial”—my focus here is the way development’s desires are not new, but were at the very core of the colonial project. In other words, my focus is not colonial racism directly, but the deeply racialized colonial emphasis on improving hearts, minds, and souls. Claiming too easily that development in Colca is “neocolonial,” as does mapmaker, tour guide, and local celebrity Zacarías Ocsa (interview 2008), risks overlooking development’s complex place in daily life. It also implies that people who ask for investment are dupes blinded by false consciousness, or cynical gamers of the system, attempting to render themselves authentic to secure development cash. Instead, I want to suggest that colonization can be reimagined as a kind of development *avant la lettre*: a hierarchical exchange, reconfiguration of values and selves, and regulation of what is seen as an abundant supply of resources meant for subjects’ benefit which, as it unfolds, crafts those very subjects. Colonization was a modern effort to unlock already present capacities that used space as an instrument for creating a new kind of person.

Using public space as a medium for transforming local subjectivity has been essential to civilizational projects and political reforms meant to “improve” Colca’s communities for at least as long as the historical record there exists. The Spanish were not Colca’s first colonizers. The Incas also did major work to “develop” this region, one of their most resource rich (Benavides 1983), by reconfiguring lived space in the name of economic and ritual efficiency.² Yet for the Spanish, indigenous difference was special. By constructing spaces meant to regulate that specific difference, to frame it as the starting point on a moral trajectory toward religious salvation, and to put that difference to work for the realm, Toledo’s colonists founded an enduring spatiotemporal relationship between physical structures and indigenous selves.

Forging Selves in Space and Time

A number of the most canonical theorizations of the public sphere and the birth of collective imaginaries (Arendt 1958; Habermas 1989 [1962]; Warner 2005) do not analytically attend to built space in an extensive way, tending to overlook the political implications of physicality, materiality, and embodiment. This chapter joins the dissertation to the empirical studies by anthropologists and historians that interrogate the materiality of public space and the way it specifically relates to mechanisms of self-realization and the public forging of identities (Corrigan and Sayer 1985; Comaroff and Comaroff 1997; Mazzarella 2013; Nuttall and Mbembe 2008; B. Weiss 1996; Wright 1985). The early colonial and late capitalist moments in Andean Peru invite an analogous exploration of this embodied, spatial dimension of public life, which stands to illuminate a history of the subjectivities that the concept of indigeneity has grounded since the Spanish invaders reached the Colca and Ampato Valleys—a founding, definitional moment that associated the indigenous self, from the start, with abundant potential.

Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) explicitly addresses how collectives produce space and how spaces configure certain kinds of collectivity. He is concerned with “the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and utopias” (12). A built environment’s users, through these products of the imagination, are at once configured by and creatively engaged with authorized spatial projects. In his ethno-history of Troubles-era Northern Ireland, Allen Feldman describes space as a “force” (1991: 41; see also De Certeau 1984). There, insurgents’ navigation of urban battlefields entailed investing potentialities into a space’s physical limits—and thus into themselves as politically aligned “users”—through their strategic production of visibility, concealment, echoes, and obstacles. Justin Richland (2008) traces a distinct set of spatial engagements: his ethnography of the Hopi tribal court shows space at work as a regulatory medium, where the legal authority collectively generated through the ritualized court site is co-constituted with the ongoing effort to define what it means to be Hopi.³

In Colca, the ayllu, a widely recognized pan-Andean institution, illuminates the specific ways public space and indigenous political identity actively co-produce one another, even as the term has ceased to be an official community designation. Ayllus are flexible units of relatedness. It encapsulates relationships between human and nonhuman actors such as the *tirakuna* (earth beings)—for example, sacred mountains like Mismi—whose “constellation of sentient entities” animate daily life (De la Cadena 2010: 341). Catherine Allen defines the Ayllu as “a group of individuals cohering as a social body around a place, ancestor, or task that provides a unifying focus” (2002: 108). Marisol de la Cadena narrows Allen’s definition to focus on its spatial dimension, suggesting it is the ayllu that marks “a given territory...as a specific place” (2010: 353), and, quoting an indigenous-identifying teacher’s definition,

a dynamic space where the whole community of beings that exist in the world lives; this includes humans, plants, animals, the mountains, the rivers, the rain, etc. All are related like a family. It is important to remember that this place...is not where we are from, it is who we are. (De la Cadena 2010: 354)

Bringing together these scholarly definitions, Yanque resident Gerardo Huaracha defines the ayllu as a group of people with whom one says, “Let’s work on this task, let’s go do this,” and as the site marked by that collective task (Huaracha interview 2014). The 77-year-old recounted memories from his childhood and young adult years when houses had only thatched roofs instead of the now-dominant corrugated tin. Upon finishing a rooftop, which required a large team of workers, all would sing in Quechua, ritually marking the investiture of the newly constructed space and its workers as an ayllu while praising its beauty:

Ay, ayllu

Ima sumac ayllu (what a beautiful ayllu)

Ay, ayllu

Ima sumac ayllu.

He sang this to me with a quiet, plaintive melody that contrasted with the Hialeo’s raucous chant down into the valley, evocative of the fragile threshold that a straw rooftop provided between the warm living space within and the stark dry cold of the Andean night. The first “ay” was the highest note, from which the rest of the song cascaded as it traced an ambivalence between major and minor tones; the second line ended tentatively, unresolved, and then the repeated third and fourth lines resolved on the song’s lowest note.

In the creative animation and imposed reconfigurations of the ayllu that characterized both colonial and contemporary interventions into the idea of indigeneity, temporality also

comes to be at stake. As a medium for constructing an indigeneity meant both to manipulate and empower Colcans, reducción space configured an Andean version of what Benjamin (1968) called “messianic time”: a temporality that was not merely about the passage of minutes, days, and years, but also a pathway drawing Christians ever closer to the coming of the Messiah. In their spatial trajectory from home and field to square and church, newly minted “indigenous” Andeans had to be prepared for this coming, simultaneously placed on a temporal trajectory toward salvation and Christian morality.

Development interventions offer a contemporary iteration of that messianism in the sense that they similarly entail preparing souls for a potential moment of redemption. If colonial Spain’s Colcan subjects were trained, as a result of their characterization as indigenous, to become Christian as ultimately a kind of preparation for salvation, today’s “development with identity” paradigm entails the unfolding of the indigenous self’s inherent potential, an unfurling of embryonic capacities: it is focused on utilizing latent capital lodged within that self to achieve economic salvation, preparing an intervention’s participants for market day, the customer’s arrival, the creditor’s deadline. It means priming subjects for inclusion.

More than a simple historical resemblance, this priming is a direct legacy of Catholic messianic time. According to Molvina Zeballos, national president of Desco—the NGO I discuss in detail in the next two chapters, and one of Peru’s largest such organizations—many projects under the contemporary paradigm originated in mid-twentieth-century Peruvian church-based organizations promoting Catholic liberation theology, which intertwined spiritual preparation and class uplift with development (Zeballos interview 2013). Even as their overt spiritual backing faded, what endured was a concept of interventions structured by an “intersubjective spacetime” (Munn 1986: 10) that engaged predictable action in particular project sites and

networks, all bounded by a temporal horizon oriented toward saving the poor by democratizing entrepreneurship.

At the end of both interventions lay not only salvation (as either religious or economic redemption), but also, in the words of Peruvian historian Alberto Flores Galindo (1986), an “Andean utopia.” The colonial intervention happened in a milieu in which Thomas Moore’s *Utopia*, published in 1516, fueled Spanish fantasies about the Americas as a “place outside of time and space” (Flores Galindo 1986: 17). Toledo’s own “utopia” entailed a reconfigured spacing of bodies that left “nothing to chance” (Cook 2007: 84) while recuperating what he imagined to be the most useful dimensions of Inca heritage. Since then, diverse calls for social and economic change throughout Andean Peru have centered on the messianic return of the Inca—a figure strong and strategic in war, knowledgeable and egalitarian in collective life—and his realm, the Tawantinsuyu: “a kingdom without hunger, without exploitation, and where they ruled once again” (Flores Galindo 1986: 27). By investing in the promise of Andean indigeneity, and by making their investments public in reducción space, practitioners today are consciously replacing the conventionally linear march toward developmentalist modernization. Implementing one politically palpable interpretation of a revived Tawantinsuyu by reconfiguring Colcans as resourceful entrepreneurs, practitioners are repurposing development as a path to recovering the idealized figures and traditions of the pre-Hispanic indigenous past, that “ancient order puncturing the present, often hybrid and degenerate, indigenous social horizon”—as Beth Povinelli describes analogous authoritative takes on the Australian Aboriginal population (2002: 35). Bracketing the present and near future as a moment of transition requiring temporary interventions, the effort in Peru’s Arequipa region to recuperate the cautious and responsible dream of an abundant, entrepreneurial, politically palpable, and ecologically sustainable

indigenous past entails placing Andean utopia at the origo and telos of Colca's historical timeline.

Christianity “By Demand”: Colonial Conversion and Recuperation in Reducción Space

Toledo's ambition to reorganize the residential arrangements of every colonial subject called for “social engineering on a scale previously unthinkable,” as residents were forced to leave their ancestral ayllu settlements for dense villages, which they had to build themselves (Cook 2007: 82-83). The reducción was “one of the largest resettlement programs in history— affecting some 1.5 million native Andeans” (Wernke 2010: 52). As this physical removal suggests, defining the Andean indigenous subject as a category of self in need of moral and economic management meant engaging a fundamental concept of space. The 1493 papal bull *Inter caetera divinae*, in describing Spain's evangelical mandate, employs the Latin word *reducere* for the idea of conversion. “Reducere” most literally translates to “bring to” Catholicism (Cummins 2002: 203). The term thus connotes a pathway in space and also within the self, a kind of purification of that which was sinful and inessential. In the words of Steven Wernke, an archeologist who has studied the material dimensions of colonial settlement and conversion in Colca, “reducere” meant “both physical centripetal movement and the sense of bringing about a new state or condition closer to divine unity” (2013: 161). In doing so, resettlement deictically constitutes natives as a class of spatially removed persons to “bring to” the Church.

The centripetal order of reducción districts simultaneously imposed and indexed the deployment of space as a civilizing medium. Each district's centerpiece was a large open plaza, with the parish church taking up one side of the square, which by municipal law had to be the

tallest building in each Colca community. Harmonious with the imperative of efficient tribute collection, the new jurisdictions were determined by a sonic discipline: subjects had to remain *bajo de la campana* (within hearing of the church bells; Rafael 1988: 89). The church's chimes limited this newly indigenous space, suturing together a Spanish and Christian temporality by reconfiguring the daily rhythms of rural Andean life. That life suddenly entailed regular walks to the town center for Mass at the bells' command. In this new routine, residents became part of regular gatherings of the reducción population in the church and plaza, which rescaled kinship interactions and organized new forms of belonging and "stranger sociability" (Warner 2005: 122). These gatherings positioned the assemblage of church and square as a kind of figurative amphitheater, as a center of action, and as a stage demanding one's gaze and exerting an inward, centripetal force.

The reducción established a public spacing of bodies that facilitated the moral policing of behavior, hygiene, and appearance for those categorized as "Indian." Facing the plaza were homes of Spanish authorities and sites of municipal governance, where Spanish-style *cabildos* (councils) were installed (Cook 2007). Beyond the square, houses for resettled subjects were built in a strict grid pattern along wide, straight streets from which family plots would be visible. "You shall lay out the Indians' houses with doors opening onto the streets," Toledo commanded, "so that no house opens into the house of another Indian, but that each have a separate house" (Toledo 1986 [1570]: 3435). In this way, built space also built life (Wright 1985; Fennell 2015): it organized an intimate morality that entailed the remaking of personas not only as superficial masks in the space of appearance, but also with renovated souls and spirits in the newly atomized household and the deep recesses of intimate life. Still, such remaking was less a process of erasure than one of negotiation (Wernke 2013). Opening Colcans to the gaze of new "eyes on the

street" (Jacobs 1961: 56), this spacing distinguished and disciplined the "Indian" populace through the perpetual possibility of colonial surveillance (see Foucault 1995 [1975]).

Spanish aspirations to utopian visibility and regulation linked moral management with the colony's economic imperative, the fantasy of creating a total archive of every household, inhabitant, and exploitable resource to maximize tribute collection and indigenous labor extraction. Foreshadowing the contemporary rhetoric of human capital (as quoted in the Introduction), authorities asserted that "Indians, and not silver, were the New World's true riches" (Flores Galindo 1986: 132).

In these ways, conceptions of indigeneity and the usage of public space were mutually configured. Tying together moral, religious, and economic imperatives, the *reducción* was couched in a benevolent paternalism, an early ideology of "development" that entailed rendering subjects fit for inclusion in the realm by altering the way they used the built environment. Toledo conveyed this in his instructions to inspectors:

The principal reason for the visita general is to provide order and structure so the Indians may have competent doctrine and be better instructed in the elements of our Holy Catholic Faith and we will be able to administer them the sacraments with greater facility and advantage and they may be maintained in justice and live politically as reasoning people as the other vassals of His Majesty. In order to achieve this end it is convenient for the Indians who live dispersed and spread about to be reduced into villages with design and order, in healthy places and of good disposition. (Toledo 1986 [1570]: 33; my translation)

Violence was fundamental to configuring this new space, with some subjects literally dragged out of their precolonial homes to the places designated for their resettlement (Mumford

2012). But at a subtler level, *reducción* towns were also intricately designed so that space would “assert” certain ordinary encounters while “negating” and “denying” others (Lefebvre 1991 [1974]: 99). This rendered supposedly sincere acts of free will, such as conversion, effectively compulsory. Priests saw evangelizing the indigenous as a generous extension of Spanish spiritual insight. Many religious colonizers believed that opening native eyes to the choice between salvation and their impending damnation meant that conversion could be something they genuinely sought and “came to” themselves. In this way, an ideology that structured a seeming choice between Catholicism and paganism was backed by compulsion.

Forced conversion, balanced by the locally powerful Franciscan order’s strategic permission of select precolonial spiritual practices (Benavides 1983, 1994), was thus couched in a notion of Christianity “by demand,” ideologically framing it as something optional, open, and tolerant through the subtle use of space. As Vicente Rafael argues in his history of Spanish colonial evangelization in the Philippines, Spain opportunistically saw Catholicism’s “rapid spread...as the inexorable manifestation of divine will pulling to itself the diverse peoples of the world,” despite anxieties that “natives were incapable of—or perhaps resistant to—‘sounding the depths of its mysteries’” (Rafael 1988: 87).

In light of this force disguised as disinterested benevolence, and this strategy masked as magnetic divine will, what did Toledo actually disrupt in Colca? The *reducción* project certainly entailed resettling people into new residences, but evidence suggests that it rearranged, rather than completely destroyed, Colca’s ayllus. To precolonial ayllus, new layers of political complexity were added, as the scope of spaces and built objects that ayllu relationality could activate was expanded, while other ayllu sites were usurped and deactivated for new extractive institutions such as the colonial mines. This project also engaged a spiritual mixing that,

according to some, amounted to a superficial acceptance of Christianity that masked an enduring Andean relationality (Mercado interview 2014) and showed a moment of tactical resistance within an accepted imposed framework that parallels Jean Comaroff's findings from Tshidi Zionism (1985).

The example of Yanque demonstrates this layering. There, the reducción center was located across the Colca River, far from the precolonial settlement's ayllus and agricultural fields. Such uprooting may seem counterintuitive because agricultural labor was vital to tribute collection, but the need for expansive space and an altar facing east, a feature of Franciscan architecture, took priority in coordinating the construction of church and village (Benavides 1983). The new site was probably chosen because its flat, open land better suited the required form of church construction and the expansive gridiron design radiating from the plaza. Much of Yanque's farmland, a noncontiguous extension of the community's ayllus that makes Yanque today the only village in Colca that possesses land on both banks of the river, still surrounds the pre-Hispanic settlement site, called Uyu Uyu, which the municipality has recently branded as a tourist museum and site. Because farmland is less fertile near the reducción village, many families kept their land, but ever since the resettlement have regularly made an arduous commute across the river to access it. The water scarcity that has long characterized life in Yanque is a further legacy of resettling people far from what was a well-organized irrigation system at their old population center (Escalante and Valderrama 1987; Huaracha interview 2014).

This embodied legacy of Yanque's colonial resettlement, in which Church, municipality, and plaza spaces are readily accessible while farms and fields lie at the end of a difficult journey now layered into daily local commutes and routines, endures as a feature of daily life (though footbridges recently built as part of a Canadian development project facilitate that commute

today). “Indian” status thus activated a lasting set of reconfigured spatial trajectories that brought new political, spiritual, and economic subjectivities to life in Colca.

Development “By Demand”: Putting Indigeneity to Work in the Public Square

Long after Spanish rule, Colca’s colonial churches, squares, and grids remain. Until 1968, “Indians” were housed in regulated plots while the colonists’ creole and mestizo descendants throughout the Andes inhabited haciendas on massive tracts of land, and employed peon laborers in feudal fashion. The Velasco government’s late-1960s land reform outlawed the hacienda, and with it, the “Indian” or “native” as a policy category, and devolved considerable authority over territory to historically marginal rural populations (García 2005). Traditionally large haciendas were rare on Colca’s rugged terrain, but the reform was still deeply significant there in its creation of “peasant communities,” new institutional bodies meant to increase local authority over land issues (Benavides 1983). Perhaps the most ambitious intervention into the idea of Peruvian indigeneity since Toledo’s reducción, Velasco’s reform was meant to improve life for Peru’s rural citizens by eliminating a disempowering category that indexed territorial subjection.

Through this revolution in what counted as legal power over and usage of land in Peru, *indios* (Indians) became *campesinos* (peasants). This allowed them to frame struggles for territory and resources with the lens of class, which at that time offered an opportune form of aligning with a political culture that was both leftist and racist (De la Cadena 2010). But as María Elena García maintains (2005), a sense of Andean indigeneity endured in its adapted form, even if it took on a new label. In pushing rural Andeans to adopt the vocabulary of class and strategically self-identify as “peasants,” Velasco’s reforms illustrate the enduring importance of

collective space in mediating political identity: it was through reconfiguring territory that indigeneity was unmade as a national policy category, with people long-identified as indios targeted for empowerment by way of that category's very unmaking.

Thirty years later, the indio “returned” (cf. Albó 1991) to Peru, with Andean public space put to work as a medium for selectively recuperating and displaying indigeneity. Transnational cultural politics by the 1990s put new emphasis on the human right to self-determination, on the autonomy of communities, and on the celebration of multicultural difference, which were all rendered compatible with neoliberal economic decentralization (Hale 2002). Meanwhile in Peru, celebrated difference took on a restorative dimension in the wake of years of rural violence, when the emerging Truth and Reconciliation Commission document—in tandem with the reopening of the Andean region, newly deemed safe for tourism—showed a national culture uniting around the idea that remote Andean peoples could no longer be ignored (PTRC 2003; Toche interview 2013). At the intersection of transnational and national tendencies, certain forms of openly exhibited indigenous life became acceptable and specifically encouraged in rural Peru, where municipal authorities, representatives of state projects, and the emerging NGO economy started to recognize those elements of indigenous traditional practice that could drive rural entrepreneurship to new forms of commercial circulation and market exchange. Those practices included festivals and other spectacles (like *pagos* or offerings, see below) that national and international tourists could observe, for a fee; the transformation of a night a tourist might spend in a Yanque home into premier access to indigenous authenticity; the display of relics and Andean heirlooms in museums; and the sustainable cultivation, organic certification, and export of crops such as quinoa. Queen Sofía’s 1999 Colca visit and the rise of culture-oriented

development heralded an era in which claiming indigeneity means a claim to legitimacy, visibility, and national inclusion.

Hilde Checa, in a 2014 interview, described the queen's presence in Yanque, and those of the many tourists she hosts, as opportunities to strengthen her own investments in Collagua life. She defined Collagua identity today as an active commitment to community activities simultaneously through claims on local space and a purchase on transnational markets. Being a Collagua person, Checa indicated, means maintaining her chakras,⁴ membership in Yanque's water resource distribution committee, and participation in the annual pilgrimage to Mount Mismi to clean Yanque's reservoir (which as a woman, means joining the labor party as a cook or offering support on the last day's fiesta from the village; see Chapter 6). She also embraced a politics of constructing her living space with locally available resources—adobe, stones, and eucalyptus wood—joining an increasing number of Colcans bucking the trend of building aspirational cement homes, known as “*material noble*” (noble material). In other words, for Checa, Collagua political identity meant engaging in activities that continually reactivate nested ayllu-like relationships with her family, neighborhood, household, and network of chakra sites on which it thrives, as well as the nonhuman and spiritual world. Just as important was her ability to strengthen her indigeneity by putting it on display as an entrepreneurial selling point (Checa interview 2014).

Identity-based development interventions meant to create more entrepreneurs like Hilde Checa are anchored in a discourse of “revalorization,” a term encompassing both the value of marketability and the recuperation of intangible cultural value. Since Queen Sofia's visit, perhaps the intervention most directly involved with this goal in Colca has been the Sierra Sur initiative, started in 2005. It is based in Peru's Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation, and is co-

financed by the International Fund for Agricultural Development. Sierra Sur’s mission statement on its website conveys the institutional argument that development is not about imposing improvements and offering handouts, but now entails “facilitating” growth for Andean “citizens, *agents of their own development*” through competitively awarded investments and technical assistance in agricultural, veterinary, gastronomic, and other skills (Sierra Sur 2011; emphasis added).⁵

Crucially, interventions like Sierra Sur are sometimes the only welfare option for Colcans just above the extreme poverty line and unprotected by dwindling government safety nets (Fuentes 2011). Though professionals imagine this form of intervention as an entirely optional resource, in practice, “winning” development investment in Colca often means accessing a rare source of essential aid. This suggests that reframing development intervention as a form of investing in indigenous human capital and abundance rather than as a means of fulfilling specific human needs substitutes an overtly modernizing project with the imposition—expressed in part through public space—of the imperative to identify with and display, onstage, a recognizable Colcan indigeneity. In these spaces, indigeneity, long reviled by Peru’s urban mestizos and elites, and long strategically masked in much of the rural Andes by people like Gerardo Huaracha and Hilde Checa, enters its latest chapter in a substantial Andean history of ambivalence. To the extent that it can withstand institutional interpellation, performing indigeneity is imagined by development’s NGO- and state project-based practitioners like Sierra Sur’s Arequipa regional coordinator Leni Delgado as the secret weapon for growth, and by many Colcans on the receiving end of such interventions as the secret to accessing basic resources.

Sierra Sur’s Colca office is located in the reducción community of Ichupampa, a village that borders Yanque. It sits in the town square in rented municipal space adjacent to the Spanish-

style municipality building and several meters from the church. The cement structure's walls are covered with a brightly colored mural that depicts a thriving agricultural economy. Its situatedness in Ichupampa's reducción square expresses the institution's importance in community life and its power to define and teach what is locally valuable, a power largely generated by tapping, however inadvertently, into a colonial legacy of deploying space to categorize people as indigenous and to distinguish among them via technologies of conversion and extraction. Through a competitive resource distribution system based on drawing explicit distinctions between persons to identify the most ideal indigenous entrepreneurs for investment, and in using these exemplary entrepreneurs as highly visible pedagogical models, Sierra Sur exacts a degree of conceptual and emotional violence, brought into relief against the backdrop of material necessity. The rubrics that determine contest winners (see Figure 1) suggest that a measure of indigeneity is a moral judgment of worth. However, Sierra Sur's public contests also offer hope, for its pedagogy suggests that indigeneity is something one can acquire.

The publicity and physicality of the institution's encounters with Colcan subjects is apparent from its headquarters, to the squares where it stages its investment contests throughout the region, to its use of the word *visitas* as a term of art for its follow-up inspections with project staff. These materials frame today's iteration of the imperative for Colcans to perform the recuperation of "their" indigeneity by reconfiguring highly specified dimensions of their everyday lives.

Gloria Dueñas, Sierra Sur's Colca director in 2008, showed me a video of a massive *pago a la tierra* (offering to the earth) ceremony the initiative had recently composed for a cultural tourism experience and produced for commercial sale. Reviving the pago and other

“endangered” rituals, she explained, can at once validate indigenous identity and relieve extreme poverty. Dueñas expressed the initiative’s concern that

in some places for example these practices of pago a la tierra are being lost. A number of families do it, but many are leaving it behind. Why?...I know that the thing they want is for those ancestral practices to return because it is part of their identity. We want to give them the freedom to seek these traditions—for those who practice, it is there...So what Sierra Sur helps with is valorizing what they have. (Dueñas interview 2008)

“Valorizing” rituals like the pago had to happen with market mechanisms if indigeneity were to be at all promising as something that could sustainably generate income and improve local standards of living. Indigenous life had to be rendered legible for media circulation, and therefore learned, shaped according to Sierra Sur’s image of indigeneity. Leni Delgado, the initiative’s Arequipa regional coordinator, explained that Sierra Sur’s goal is to “motivate and incentivize families to rescue and revalue their culture, but at the same time, to develop products that serve to augment their incomes” (Delgado interview 2012). “Culture” is tied, with Delgado’s caveat “but at the same time,” to financial investment and marketable media that promise to yield growth by putting the quotidian onstage—and thus reconfiguring it as a performance. Delgado continued:

Videos, books are produced, and then that serves to generate income for rural families...[W]e want to see how their culture also contributes to improving the way they live as something meaningful...their tradition, their history, all of this. Those are what we call “cultural products.” (Delgado interview 2012)

Sierra Sur is currently involved in a number of income-generating projects that place the burdens of development on its participants. Its key intervention is the Territorial Investment Plan, for

which entrepreneurs compete for investment in activities involving sustainable land use and recuperated indigenous agriculture such as the use of yoked bulls instead of tractors, tools like the *chakitaklla* or foot plow, and regular pagos. These crowded, festive contests were routine public events in Colca's refurbished reducción plazas. They are named INTERCONs, an acronym for *intercambio de conocimientos* or knowledge exchanges, which suggests an institutional vision of development as an exchange that happens at sites of collaborative and egalitarian cross-cultural encounter.

I attended a 2014 INTERCON in the Colca reducción community of Madrigal. There, as Sierra Sur mediated between “cultural products” and everyday life, Madrigal’s square became the region’s public stage for indigenous self-fashioning (Figure 3). It provided a platform for the encounter in which the potential for indigenous human capital would be judged: a panel of political leaders, sociologists, agronomists, and economists sat behind tables on an elevated, tented stage, and facing them from the square’s ground level, entrepreneurs competed for funding and technical assistance. The gathering began with rousing speeches from Sierra Sur’s directors and Arequipa-based politicians praising the people and culture of the Colca Valley. It continued with competitive presentations. Alpaca herding associations, aspiring quinoa exporters, and others made pleas for investment, peppering their presentations with songs, dances, sufficient Quechua language use to demonstrate indigenous identification, and technical Spanish to evoke entrepreneurial competence. The panel then interrogated each contestant, micromanaging their performances of indigeneity and ethnicity (see Figure 1 for a sample Sierra Sur contest rubric).



Figure 3: The Huanca village team presents an inventory of their entrepreneurial success at the Madrigal INTERCON. (Photo by author)

During a break, Sierra Sur had contestants conduct a pago in the square, which involved burning a bundle of ritual goods, including coca leaves and alpaca fetus pieces, followed by rowdy dancing. This was both a public projection and a public recognition of what it means to be indigenous today in Colca. It was also a ceremony many Colcans agreed was needed after months of drought. Lilia Samayani, Sierra Sur's Ichupampa-based director in 2014, was in the middle of the ritual action, constantly intervening to calm the collective effervescence and ensure it did not go beyond its allotted five minutes, maintaining its legibility as indigenous tradition “so long as it does not go too far” (Hale 2002: 490).

When not presenting, each competing association was responsible for hosting a booth that lined the square, offering further detail on its proposed enterprise. One requirement for these booths was to demonstrate the investment’s projected impact with a diorama mapping in three dimensions the land where the enterprise would intervene. These displays offered a compelling visualization of the temporality of finance, which tasks the people to whom it offers credit idealized depictions of the distant past to structure an image of a post-NGO, post-development

project future (as I explain at some length in Chapter 3). First was a map labeled “before,” which tended to offer images of sparsely populated, abundant precolonial terrain. Next was a display labeled “now,” interpreting the problematic contemporary situation, which tended to characterize Colcan territory as decaying and unsustainable. One “now” map devastatingly displayed Colca’s famous farming terraces in decay and desuetude. Last was the “after” or “future” display (Figure 4), showing fertile terrains dotted with straw-covered adobe houses and other indices of a dynamic indigenous economy spurred to life by the contestant’s entrepreneurial contribution, featured at the map’s center.

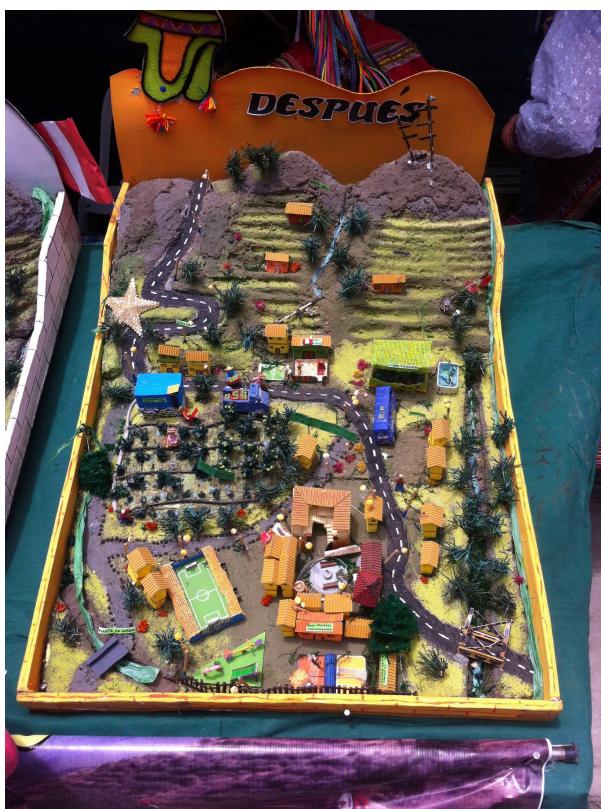


Figure 4: The “Después,” or “After” diorama at one of the presenting team’s booths in the Madrigal INTERCON. (Photo by author)

These displays indicate that indigeneity was not only something mandated and judged. The terrain that the colonial *reducción* configured—the enduring relationship it initiated between

plaza and chakra, family home, and ayllu landscape—became a medium through which Colcans could imagine their own indigeneity, creatively engaging it as a development tool. An example of this is an association of Ichupampa families who in an earlier contest won investment to increase their agricultural yields by composting on the small plots around their homes, in addition to their chakras farther outside of the town space. When I joined Sierra Sur staff on their follow-up visita to the association’s households, I saw these entrepreneurs displaying higher yields while framing composting as a way to nurture their abundant chakras and ayllus, articulating an explicitly indigenous relationship to their gridded parcels.

Most entrepreneurs and associations competing in the 2014 INTERCON won some investment in the amount of several thousand soles, which tended to be earmarked for basic business resources, educational excursions for the association, and technical consultants. These investments were small, paradigmatic of Sierra Sur’s emphasis on “austere development,” a concept I elaborate in the next chapter. Some contestants won nothing, but all received feedback for improving their proposals. Those who won the most funding tended to have prior entrepreneurial experience, consistent access to Sierra Sur staff—which meant not living too far away from the Ichupampa office or the provincial capital, and the political savvy to strategically orient their “identities toward the nation’s image of traditional cultural forms” (Povinelli 2002: 8; see also Markowitz 2001). Because of the difficult balance required between displaying a recuperated Colcan indigeneity and reconfiguring oneself as entrepreneurial through a viable business plan, many are barred from entry into development’s “spaces of appearance” (Arendt 1958: 204) as anything other than spectators. Yet the contest’s amphitheatric visibility entails a kind of pedagogy for all, suggesting that spectators, too, can learn to cultivate their own human capital and prepare themselves for national inclusion.

Delgado emphasized that Sierra Sur’s investments and assistance were only conferred “by demand. This is a project by demand. So, we do not really go and offer [our resources]. They have to come to us. They have to present their proposal and we are [just] facilitators, we are promoters of development” (Delgado interview 2012). This is a point many development professionals made: as long as people sought investment, organizations could justify their ongoing presence. It was not an imposition, but “the freedom to seek these traditions” (Dueñas interview 2008). Like Christianity in the colonial moment, Sierra Sur’s investments in indigeneity set up a choice they understood to be free, but one fundamentally organized by unequal access to the space of appearance.

Development by demand is certainly distinct from the compulsion that modernization-based development entails, which anthropologists have incisively critiqued (Escobar 1995; Ferguson 1990). However, in practice, the ongoing mediating work of reducción space and the broader distributional politics of interventions happening within that space complicate notions of “demand” and “freedom.” Though Sierra Sur’s interventions are not imposed by force on Colca’s communities, public space makes participation more compulsory than its staff appear to believe. Sierra Sur exerts a centripetal force that pulls people toward the institution, compelling them to enroll in its “exchanges,” in Ichupampa and as its evaluators circulate throughout Colca’s homes, municipal meeting rooms, and plazas. Engaging the indigenous self as the new, unrivaled strategy for achieving prosperity also masks the force of need. As nationally decentralized initiatives increasingly supplant conventional welfare institutions, projects like Sierra Sur focused on inclusion use space to mask ongoing needs for essential goods and services. Like the Latin “reducere,” Delgado’s “come to us” deictically constitutes and reproduces a social group “demanding” development. Through this spatialized rhetoric of

“coming to,” both colonial Christianity and postcolonial development disguise the obligation to become a certain kind of self—enforced through distinct forms of violence and spatial force—as an opportunity to join the saved.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have tracked the co-production of indigeneity and public space through the *longue durée* history of Colca development. This has not been an effort to indict contemporary development. Indeed, initiatives like Sierra Sur also bring much good to the region. Rather, I have sought to convey how today’s dominant approaches to development shape public life in Colca. Doing so has entailed describing distinct historical scenes, as they unfold on the same stage, to show how one spatial assemblage of built objects, the reducción, mediates the ways in which selves appear in Colca’s spaces of appearance. A notion of sinful and potentially subversive natives, also engaged in cultural practices whose recuperation could theoretically prove useful to the realm, led the Spanish fundamentally to reconfigure the space and time of Andean everyday life. Today, as Queen Sofia’s visit and Sierra Sur’s contests suggest, the square remains a site of power-laden managed encounters in which investors and investment seekers are sharply distinguished.

However, as Lefebvre argues, it is impossible to “produce a space with a perfectly clear understanding of cause and effect, motive and implication” (1991: 37). As much as reducción space stages formalized encounters, it is also a site of backtalk and creativity, which is often equally essential to indigeneity’s public production, such as the non-Hispanic practices and Quechua language used in Yanque’s colonial church, newly refurbished, thanks to the Spanish

Agency. Or, a recent fiesta, when yanqueños poured chicha on the plaza's ground to toast Tayta Mismi, Yanque's chief mountain deity.

Tracking the uses and users of built space over time enables us to situate contemporary development in its deep ethnographic context. Investing in indigeneity has a long history. The built environment is a crucial site for observing indigeneity in the making, allowing us to historicize its contemporary importance as far more than an “invention” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) or the touching-down of a transnational paradigm. Andean space and time were radically reconfigured as Toledo’s reducciones took form. The reducción’s messianic bent, its horizon of salvation, and its staging of an unfolding indigenous potential count among its most important long-term legacies. With a flourishing, self-reliant indigeneity—an Andean utopia—now imagined as the beginning and end of Colca development, messianic time is again being layered into calendar time. Development there today is a supervised internal progress, organized by the time it takes the residents of Colca’s communities to deploy their human capital for salvation through the market, to be primed for inclusion, and to come to the public square as fully developed indigenous selves.

Chapter 2 Economies of Empowerment: Austerity and Abundance in Caylloma's Development Contests

At once the free market in miniature and contemporary development writ large, a strange new form of investing in indigenous entrepreneurs has taken hold in rural Peru: the contest. Competition has become the defining genre of what I call “austere” development intervention in Peru’s southern Andes, where state-based initiatives look like non-governmental organizations, NGOs look like investment banks, and all are based on extracting maximal creativity and abundant profit out of tiny, limited budgets. Contests also take place beyond such institutions as an emerging field of activity for the market advancement of culture, entailing massive fairs with a locality’s gastronomy, dance, agricultural techniques, and even the girth of its guinea pigs, all up for a competitive vote, and with some form of investment as the reward. What does it mean for indigeneity to be at stake in a contest—where (a) people can win and lose, with their adequacy to and in local development up for a vote? These competitions suggest a number of transformations at the nexus of culture’s market centrality in Peru, a backdrop of astronomical national growth, and the increasingly infinitesimal scale of micro-development: in that space, the invisible hand meets empowerment’s handoff, a replacement for welfare’s handout. The contest form positions a financialized Andeanness at the cutting edge of Peru’s new emphasis on market “inclusion.” It articulates the indigenous entrepreneurial association as a collective figure of admiration and emulation, rendering the procedures, performances, and values of financialized development explicit matters of local public culture. And most importantly, its balance of salutary parsimony with aesthetic ambition foists the obligation to become empowered onto aspiring entrepreneurs themselves. I argue that through the contest form, indigeneity emerges as a cultivable form of individual and teamwork-based excellence.

Introduction

The last chapter suggested that the Andean built environment shapes Andean political identity, tracing a trajectory from the colonial use of the public square as a site of formatting and regulating indigeneity to its contemporary engagement as a site of competitive “knowledge exchanges.” In this one, I return to the *reducción* square of Madrigal, in the central Colca Valley, to linger by the Sierra Sur contest stage. Then, I analyze that strange new form of investing in indigenous entrepreneurs, its participants and their communities, the professionals who set its terms, and the economies of empowerment that thread these *dramatis personae* together.

Against the backdrop of a devastating drought mixed with a series of unusually fierce late-season thunderstorms that would destroy much of the year’s harvest in Colca, the February

2014 Sierra Sur INTERCON (“knowledge exchange”) in Madrigal took on a buoyant urgency. That bright, scorching morning, Madrigal’s public square was put to work as a stage for this highly public development intervention. Like they had done for all of the Sierra Sur contests,¹ which were held several times a year, members of each village’s “Territorial Investment Plan” team, the organizing unit that received Sierra Sur’s investments, capacity building, and business advising, waited their turns to gather in the plaza before the judges.

“Plan” teams consisted of entrepreneurial associations grouped by industry. For example, Cabanaconde’s village team included the *Maiz Cabanita* (Cabanita Maize) Farmers Association, the Cultural and Experiential Tourism Association, the King David Association of Ovine Livestock Caretakers, and aiming for a special separate investment for local “Natural Resource Management Plans,” the Half-Moon Subsector Irrigation Committee. Each team offered a twenty-minute inventory of their achieved, imagined, and projected entrepreneurial interventions into the regional economy, with presenters in elaborate colorful costumes whose embroidered designs served as a village signature. Then they danced and sang. They also had to host booths where their “value added” was inventoried, mapped, and displayed with an indigenous aesthetic. Each village’s best cooks assembled in those booths on the other side of the plaza, preparing their community’s most important ceremonial dish, which had to differ from those of other villages, marking each proximal village of 500 to 3,000 people as a site of unique and historically deep heritage, authorized by some kind of evidence in the written record (see Figure 1). Then, teams were subjected to questions, commentary, and critical feedback from the local dignitaries and development experts that made up the panel of judges.

Judges and spectators would later tour each booth to learn more about the various small businesses and entrepreneurial actors the villages receiving Sierra Sur’s investment had on offer,

to attain a sense of the particular flavor of indigeneity each marketed in a slightly distinct way. They could see this indigeneity in full performance, for example, in the pago a la tierra ritual that Miguel Quispe and a group of his cultural tourism entrepreneur colleagues demonstrated by their Huambo village booth. And in the Lluta booth, where Martín Flores discussed his sustainable mountain lake trout fishery business. Judges could also take in the Barbie dolls that sat upright and dressed in local blue and white dance apparel at the Huanca village booth, which Huanca Beekeepers' Association co-president Mercedes Mercado Gonzales hosted as she wore the very same outfit (Figure 5). Indigenous excellence of a different kind was on display in the scarves that Narcisa Cusi, president of the Tuti weaving collective, was knitting from wool sheared from local Tuti alpacas. Narcisa's own entrepreneurship had once taken her to display her products before an international delegation in Lima that included former US president Bill Clinton.



Figure 5: Mercedes Mercado Gonzales and Barbie doll, both dressed in traditional Huanca apparel. (Photo by author)

These massive, colorful festivals tasked associations with performing their progress toward small business success, and their potential for excellence in using indigeneity to corner markets. Participation was mandatory for all associations that had received project support; in addition to competing for a team prize of several thousand soles, Sierra Sur's judges used the periodic contests as checkpoints to determine whether they would continue to offer each association their very small financial investments, which amounted to just several hundred dollars total per entrepreneur over three years.

What was it about this spectacle that made so much work, for such minimal support, worthwhile? Why not, instead, “just give money to the poor” (Hanlon et al. 2010)? As the contest’s rubric criteria indicate (Figure 1), contestants had to highlight the “originality” underwriting their promise as financial actors. In the context of a national program that sutured financial and market inclusion to a revitalized Quechua culture, the contest suggests the profound abundance of human capital and cultural access that the professionals of Sierra Sur and other development institutions think reside at the core of indigenous life, and the place of that abundant indigeneity at the heart of Peruvian development dreams.

Indigeneity here was not simply a form of self-identification—indicating affiliation with the Collagua and Cabana ethnicities, groups living in Colca since before the Incas stormed the Andes (Huaracha interview 2015). The broad institutional interest in local “revalorization” driving these contests (Samayani interview 2014) in its multiple senses of market value and dignified validation meant that it was not purely a staged or “invented” idea (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Walker 2013) commodified for simple cynical gain—although commodification and cynicism certainly played a role in motivating some contest actors. Nor was indigeneity some ineffable essence. Rather, the concept of the indigenous self was at stake as both an

instrument and a goal. Its parameters were learnable and measurable, meticulously defined and regulated, with its performance subject to a grade. It was a matter of portfolio value, a frontier object of financial speculation and national promise. Framing indigeneity as not a sign of poverty but an index of wealth and a ticket to abundance, as I argue in this chapter, rendered its felicitous display an explicit measure of a contestant's adequacy to, and in, local development.

Why the contest? Who are its champions? And what are the stakes of losing—is it possible to “fail” to “be oneself”? This chapter answers these questions, zooming most closely into the lives of contest participants and the professionals tasked with supervising their empowerment based in the Sierra Sur project (an initiative of the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation) and the Desco NGO. Posited explicitly against what development professionals see as an epidemic of dependence, aid, and passive asistencialismo (the expectation of unearned handouts, Suni interview 2014; see Introduction), interventions have shifted from the supposedly indiscriminate handout to the highly selective competitive handoff. Competition enables development professionals to target only those people who are able to show that they are willing to work hard for any help they receive, however small the amount, and are willing to transform themselves in the process. This model, a kind of “austere development,” mandates small, restrained investments in development project participants that mean banking on that which money cannot buy. The contest, it turns out, is—for development projects—an extremely inexpensive way to modify peoples’ consciousness. For intended investees, it is immensely and often prohibitively expensive. This creates a barrier to entry against people in positions of need and deprivation that helps the host organization accentuate the sense of growth and hearty initiative the contests are meant to stage. Yet as one Ministry of Agriculture report on a prior contest in the Huancavelica region states, the farming strategies, traditions, and touristic appeal

“that form part of the Andean soul” required minimal resources, and a great deal of affective validation, to bring a productive windfall for the local economy in the aggregate (Wiener 2007).

This chapter suggests that the development contest has become the principal mechanism for legitimating indigeneity in Colca as a form of self-realized excellence and as a means of access to a plenitude of skills, idioms, ecologies, and worlds, activated by the empowering material and affective dimensions of investment. It also, I maintain, uses a cultural economics to divert indigeneity away from political engagement, advocacy for fundamental structural change, and forms of associativity that resembles anything like the Shining Path or other threats to security in a still traumatized region. Investing in indigeneity, in other words, has become the cutting-edge form of extending national financial inclusion. Here I focus on the antagonistic displays, competitive audits, and other forms of “performance philanthropy” (Scherz 2014) that comprise this curious cycle of contests, which through 2014 formed Caylloma Province’s most publicly visible opportunity for achieving or extending inclusion in formal Andean development.

I also look offstage, following the uncharismatic drudgery these contests require. I track Sierra Sur, host of the above contest, and Desco, tasked by a Ministry of Labor fund to invest in young, rooted, job-creating entrepreneurs through a contest for seed capital. The model of development on display in these competitions assumes that indigeneity’s varied forms of abundance are unleashed and validated through tiny investments and only the gentlest scaffolding, almost automatically. However, in contrast to the seamless market flow that institutional ideologies suggest, in practice it takes a great deal of management and effort to make the market appear as if it is functioning seamlessly. In their focus on highly delimited forms of empowerment, these institutions foist the high costs of development’s massive spectacles of giving onto the recipients of their small investments, in a kind of reverse potlatch

(Bataille 1991 [1967]). Here, I juxtapose the aesthetic ambition of development contests to their tiny investment amounts, and then analyze the difficult daily work, beyond these explosive competitions, of making the market look seamless. In the next chapter, I linger in that uncharismatic daily work, zooming into the pedagogical efforts of Desco and its companion microfinance NGO Fondesurco to instill financial knowledge and financial habits into their contest-winning entrepreneurs over the “life cycle” (Schuster 2015) of a loan.

In its examination of the development contest stage and its offstage supports, this chapter offers one road out of recent critiques of multiculturalism’s double binds and the commodification of ethnicity and indigeneity (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009; Hale 2004; Martinez Novo 2006, 2014; Povinelli 2002, 2011; Tucker 2011; Wroblewski 2014). I first discuss the “bundle of generative possibilities” (Pratt 2007) indigenous selves hold, whose release Colca’s development institutions seek to empower. Then, I turn to the chapter’s ethnographic core, focusing first on Sierra Sur’s contests and the preparations they entail, and second, on Desco’s own version of competition and its behind-the-scenes pedagogical audits. I conclude by assessing the implications of salutary austerity as a tool of economic empowerment.

Setting the Scene: Small Investments, Massive Spectacles

If we define *empowerment* today as the idea that economic and personal growth are not gifts from a state or a donor but achievements from within (Cruikshank 1999), the specific identity-based investments we see in Colca’s competitive development produces empowerment by proposing that a healthy austerity breeds creativity. Indigeneity in this Andean setting is rent from its post-Cold War context of Latin American leftist identity politics. Indeed, those politics have taken distinct and sometimes more disguised forms in Peru in part because of an Andean

history of conflict and trauma; as recently as the 2016 election, Verónika Mendoza, the leftist candidate focused on indigenous mobilization, was smeared with the label *terruca*, or “terrorist.”

Today, Andean “reindigenization” (in the words of Peruvian anthropologist Alejandro Diez Hurtado; personal communication) is reentering Peru’s national conversation through a different door, this time as a development innovation, a concept fundamental to the effort to render human capital accumulation a local and sustainable task, and to further decouple neoliberal development from material resource redistribution. As I am arguing here, indigeneity finds itself at the heart of development’s financialization in the distinguished figure of the culturally rooted, excellent entrepreneur. Graham and Penny suggest that “indigeneity is no one’s primary identity” (2014:1). How, then, do the economies of empowerment that small investments engage recompose Andean lives on development’s competitive stages?

The Sierra Sur and Desco interventions suggest a definition of investment that is not simply about using goods to produce more goods, the term’s basic economics definition (Hassett 2008). Nor is it only about forging emotional attachments for instrumental purposes. Investment in the context of Andean austere development means making money in any amount meaningful by using it to structure an ongoing connection, in which one entity has a direct affective stake in the growth, success, and risk of another.² This definition, which renders inextricable the financial and affective dimensions of investment, is perhaps best exemplified for Colca’s own intimate competitions in a motto that staff from both organizations would routinely repeat: “*apostamos por ustedes*,” or “we are betting on you.”

My definition builds on Anke Schwittay’s mobilization of the term “affective investments” in her examination of microlending through Kiva.org, and the new emotionally driven market in “microfinance tourism.” She suggests that this profoundly intimate

development tool, and the subsequent effort by some Kiva users to visit the people and small businesses in which they are investing, embeds financial contributions “in a moral grammar of affective sentiments and relationships, which sometimes spurs financial donations in the first place” (2015: 6). Here, I take Schwittay’s idea a step further: I see affect as an alibi. In other words, it is that very promise of the affective dimension for investor institutions that constitutes the smallness of a microfinance or microdevelopment investment. The idea is that affect can accomplish the work of development. It works at least as well as money or material goods, if not better. Investment in the context of austere development is rooted not in the generosity of an Internet user but in the desire of a parsimonious, low-revenue state to create jobs and extend its human and ecological resource frontiers and to appear maximally generous while doing so.

Liliana Suni, a psychologist who works for Desco, told one participant that the intervention was really about taking on a stake in participants’ “personal development,” framing “economic development” as just the means to a deeper kind of maturation: in other words, self-realization and economic development were co-constructed. Sierra Sur’s Arequipa director Leni Delgado glossed her own initiative as development “by demand,” whose participants were not poor people in need, as outdated intervention models might suggest, but creative financial actors who can convincingly display that they can turn a profit and are worth the risk (interview 2012).

Conveying a sense of personal investment and motivation in the style of a coach, a role that Suni deployed her expertise in youth psychology to take up, the “apostamos por ustedes” refrain also evokes the speculation underlying these investments, however low-stakes these “bets” are in terms of monetary value transferred. Sierra Sur’s Colca director Lilia Samayani explained that her project was engaged in a broad—and certainly risky—effort to “revalorize” indigeneity through market means, enabling Colca residents to achieve development on their

own terms, which she assumed to be the recovery of an idealized Inca, Collagua, and Cabana-era glory (Samayani interview 2014). According to Raul Mamani, a candidate for provincial mayor in 2014's municipal elections, a revalorized local culture "is the principal asset for which we should be working" (Mamani interview 2014; see Chapter 5). And Desco's regional director, Delmy Poma, posited indigeneity's revalorization as a "transversal theme" underwriting all of the NGO's interventions in the region (Poma interview 2014).

I want to suggest here that unlike their neighboring nations, Andeans in Peru are becoming indigenous by virtue of their financial action. Indigeneity is newly available through the expert grading of Andeans' already accumulated personal portfolio value, which just needs to be harnessed and released. In other words, indigeneity is rendered most recognizable by its investors, policymakers, and market consumers when articulated in the idiom of human capital. Contemporary economies of empowerment engage financialized development not as an equalizing remedy for poverty, but instead, as a form of distinction, a reward for excellence and resilience, and a pathway to abundant capital and to the abundant raw material that could be transformed into capital, meant to make champions out of model entrepreneurs. As such, financialized development is a tool for actualizing individual potential.

Caylloma Province's aggregate economic development has seen an especially rapid integration into national circuits of commerce, capital, and infrastructure since the arrival there of the pioneering Desco in 1985. It was considered agriculturally productive (Wernke 2013), but until 2000, did not have regular electricity or running water, and was not connected by a well-maintained highway. The financial turn in Colcan development intervention began in the mid-1990s, emerging as staff at the Desco and microcredit-providing Fondesurco (Southern Regional Fund) NGOs sought to expand the frontier of financial inclusion into what they saw as Peru's

“últimas esquinas,” or its last or farthest corners. That oft-repeated phrase captures both the spatially remote and temporally backward senses of a wild frontier (Ballón interview 2013; Puma interview 2014; Toro interview 2014; Trelles interview 2014). Beyond just finance, Colca was long imagined as the frontier space of a nation dominated by coastal cities, the site of mineral resources, small villages, and nearly empty land. From a different perspective, as local tour guide and mapmaker Zacarías Ocsa puts it, “Peru is in Lima,” while Colca is his “patria chica” (Ocsa interview 2008).

Less than twenty years after finance took root, the picture looked very different. Local NGO researchers argued in region studies (*diagnósticos*) that as of 2011, Colca had eliminated its extreme poverty (Fuentes 2011). This meant that triage-based service provision at the thin line between development and humanitarian aid that characterizes interventions in other parts of Peru became a largely outdated model. Despite Caylloma’s enduring “relative poverty” (Friere interview 2014), it is national poverty data that matters for securing state, international, and private cooperation support. Since 2013, the Spanish aid agency, the Peace Corps, and many other initiatives have shuttered their operations.

Tight budgets, competitions, and highly restrained transfers of funds and expertise have become the norm in Colca development planning, as responsibility for growth is transferred to communities and actors themselves. In lieu of services and infrastructure, the ability to win investment has become key to empowerment in today’s Andes. According to Reynaldo Churro, a winning entrepreneur in both Sierra Sur and Desco contests from the village of Tuti, “everything is a contest” (interview 2014). The motif of competition is not restricted to spectacular contests among entrepreneurs. It is also visible at multiple scales of intervention. The contest is a horizontal and vertical phenomenon, at work within communities, local fairs, and expos.

Contests are at least a feature of many fiestas, often serving as a form of entertainment. The contest is also an important form of relationality for NGOs and development organizations throughout Peru as they engage in their own institution building: given the competitive funding model that many state programs, international aid schemes, and corporate donors use in Peru, institutions themselves must constantly jostle with one another for their own scant investments. Thus, the more program costs they can foist onto participants, the more likely they are to win funds, which are often essential for these institutions to continue to exist.

This ethnography is not a simple tale of neoliberal deprivation, then, but a critique of what small budgets in many ways exemplary of the neoliberal project are thought to build, augment, contribute, and conjure. It is a study of how investments structure financialized identities, fully realized selves, and new and often nuanced forms of structural inequality; and also, of how actors recruit the minimalist tools of empowerment in the effort to make their ethnicity-based enterprise meet demand, transforming themselves into development's champions. With small sums of money, and much of the financial burden placed on participants' backs, agencies like Sierra Sur and Desco used development contests to shape ordinary life in dramatic ways. Contests are what Arjun Appadurai calls "tournaments of value," or ritualized events that explicitly define the worth of the assets involved: "what is at issue in such tournaments is not just status, rank, fame, or reputation of actors, but the disposition of the central tokens of value in the society in question" (Appadurai 1986:21).

The high expenses and commitments of time, energy, and labor that these tournaments' participants had to take on meant the tightening of their own budgets at home in the hope of being spurred into successful entrepreneurship, as Mercedes Mercado Gonzales suggested to me (interview 2014). Some project participants, like restaurant owner Pati Cusi in Desco's Young

Entrepreneurs program, would reroute their family structures toward their business ventures, with family members transformed into entrepreneurial “team members” (Brown 2015; see below). Others, like Reynaldo Churro, a winner of investments from both Sierra Sur and Desco, used their newfound publicity to launch local political careers. Participants who had joined Evangelical and Pentecostal churches like Desco’s Rogelio Taco Viza would layer ideas about entrepreneurial success onto personal narratives of sacrifice and redemption.

Initiative staff members have sutured the precise moment of development intervention to the staged moments of contest and audit, where the market’s invisible hand meets empowerment’s handoff, the replacement for welfare’s handout.³ This was the key mechanism in an effort to cultivate the financially competent and culturally legible—and thus “includable” and “investable”—indigenous self as Andean development’s simultaneous subject and object. To draw on Foucault’s genealogy of discipline (1995 [1975]), this suggests that the canvas upon which development interventions work is no longer the body, but the (Andean) soul.

Austere development’s champion, the *indigenous entrepreneur of indigeneity*—that frontier figure of financialized micro-development in the Andes—exemplifies some of the globalizing particularities of economic life today and its shifting relationship to concepts of abundance. Wendy Brown suggests that the entrepreneur has been updated. No longer only the classically liberal “figure of enterprise and production,” this subject is now “built on an investment portfolio model in which (human) capital appreciation replaces production” (2015: 66; see also Freeman 2014).

But beyond entrepreneurship, the speculation and asymmetric risk that Colca’s contests involve exemplify, as Mezzadra and Neilson suggest in their gloss of the contemporary “operations of capital”: “the ongoing and violent tendency of finance to penetrate and subsume

economic activity and social life as a whole" (Mezzadra and Neilson 2015: 2). This is a tendency that intersects with "unprecedented and critical levels" of extractive activities, "as the rush to convert materials, both organic and inorganic, into value has escalated with expanding populations, new technologies, and green horizons of capitalism" (*ibid*; see Gago 2015). In my ethnography of competitions and the broader structures of austere development, it became clear that the smaller such revalorization investments get in their dollar amounts, the more investors rely on affect. And the smaller the investment, the more these potential indigenous entrepreneurs of indigeneity are taken to be inexhaustible sources of their own human capital: human frontiers in the boundless exsanguination of Latin America's "open veins" (Galeano 1973).

The Development Contest: Indigeneity as Excellence

I now turn to my ethnographic focus on Sierra Sur's contests, the offstage efforts they entail, and this institution's vision of austere development to unpack the processes through which indigeneity is legitimated. To do so, it is first necessary briefly to parse some of the details of the Madrigal contest described at the start of this chapter that are generalizable to the Sierra Sur initiative's contests held in Caylloma Province between 2011 and 2014.

Each Madrigal team encompassed several entrepreneurial associations. Some twenty teams were required to present their entrepreneurial progress. Because of this high number of presentations, the presentations, each constrained to twenty minutes (though many would exceed their allotted time) turned out to be less about specific advances. Instead, presentations offered a display of what was special about each village, a performance of that which was uniquely traditional, historical, and indigenous, all in decidedly idyllic contrast to modernized urban life. Ethnic distinctions between villages were especially encouraged as entrepreneurial associations

made their claims to specific niche markets: there were Lari-Collaguas that lived in one part of the valley but were (at one point) distinct from the Yanque-Collaguas, Cabanas from Cabanaconde, Cabanas from Huanca, and many other forms of designating ethnic difference. Distinctions were also emphasized between embroidery designs, particularities of dress, and the nuances of several villages' *Wititi*, a regional dance recently recognized by UNESCO as a piece of "intangible cultural heritage," that a number of different villages claim as their own. These characteristics had to be rigorously inventoried, in a process that for each ethnicity, forged a group "whose identity is its difference" (Spivak 1988: 285). Thus, mandated performances engaged a notion of indigeneity that was so hyper-local that it could only become meaningful—which here meant marketable—as difference.

Therein lies the contest scene's operating distinction between indigeneity and ethnicity: while Andean *indigeneity* frames the intervention, Collagua and Cabana *ethnicity* affords each contestant and competing entrepreneurial association the media and the tactical means for wringing affective value out of infinitesimal difference. Those particular ethnicities, like emerging ethnicity categories around the world, have become forms of capital that both embrace and exceed the economic realm (Bourdieu 1986; Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). Every narrated difference was deployed as an abundant store of development assets. Some of the judging criteria mimicked, nearly word for word, that of the late-1950s Cuzco beauty contests that De la Cadena describes, in which indigenous women had to wear costumes "*characteristic of the place*" from which they originated (2000: 178; see also Davila 1997; Faudree 2013; Wroblewski 2014).

The contest's micro-refractions of difference also suggest a notion of culture that does not signify "innate traits," as De la Cadena writes: rather, "the definition of culture underlying fractal hybridity highlights the capacity of individuals to *achieve*" (2000: 319; see Gal 2002).

Central to each association's entrepreneurial performances of business success were their abundant musical, dance, and gastronomy components, which set the scene, filling the square and the senses with vibrant colors, sounds, voices, and scents mediating an authorized aesthetic claim to what Colcan indigeneity looks and feels like. In the Lluta team presentation, a representative backed by an ensemble of Andean string instruments sang in Quechua and Spanish of her village, a land of "pure poetry." The financial component entailed a presentation of budgets and projections (Figure 6).



Figure 6: Representatives from a Lluta gastronomy association account for their production costs. (Photo by author)

But the Lluta performers leaned more heavily on an ambitious aesthetic vocabulary, mobilizing the place's romance, beauty, and the sensual experiences of music and gastronomy as media of revalorization. Like a number of the other village performances, they made clear that they understood the contest as a chance to show off their own pride in Lluta. Unlike the Desco project that specifically demands that its participants remain rooted in their communities, many of Sierra Sur's contestants conduct their entrepreneurial work and family lives in a "multisited"

fashion (Peluso 2015), moving back and forth between Caylloma Province and Arequipa. Several multisited dwellers I interviewed indicated that their constant mobility augments their senses of emplacement (see Chu 2010) and, essential to their roles as rural job creators in these contests, allows them to highlight the contrast between the frenetic, alienating, and crime-ridden Arequipa and the tranquil romance of a place like Lluta. In a later contest, Lluta's team representatives offered the panel of judges samples of Lluta-made cheese and shots of *kachi kanka* (roasted salt), their strong local cocktail. The Madrigal judges praised the Lluta group, expressing admiration that its members were in early 2014 at work on several Sierra Sur-authorized ventures, despite the steep odds of success in a part of the province that saw comparatively “little traffic.” This offered the team motivation, while discursively reinforcing Sierra Sur’s own importance for Caylloma’s development, following the institutional self-reproduction strategy that Ferguson describes in *The Anti-Politics Machine* (1990).

Cultural revalorization, a priority constantly invoked by Colca’s development professionals, contestants, and politicians, has several implications as the central theme of these competitions. It identifies value that is intangible and inalienable, but at the same time, profitable and marketable. Samayani and the other staff did not see these as contradictions, but as part of a balance required in order for performances to be felicitous. The adequate public display of “identity and culture” and a painted or diagrammed “cultural map” of the association’s impact in village life were official components of the scoring system. As the rubric made clear, judges—local agronomists, technocrats, and politicians—had to “evaluate the sociocultural aspects reflected in the Group’s presentation” (Sierra Sur 2014).

Beyond the choreographed moments of the contest, my ongoing conversations and extended 2014 interview with director Samayani, and months spent participating in and

observing daily life in the project's Ichupampa village office, made clear just how much work these competitions entailed. Contests were the most important events, nodal moments in a complex three-year timeline during which participants' indigenous and entrepreneurial characteristics were meticulously cultivated and monitored, and their performances rehearsed. The conferral of financial investment was far from the only moment participants would meet Sierra Sur personnel. The typical Sierra Sur investment would only begin when an association of entrepreneurs sought it out, traveling the long distance to the relatively isolated village of Ichupampa to meet with staff. Ichupampa was not isolated by the lack of roads or transportation infrastructure, but by the low frequency of *combi* van and other transportation routes between it and the provincial capital of Chivay. Thus, what was initially an effort by the institution to connect more closely with smaller down-valley communities like Lluta (Samayani interview 2014) resulted in another barrier to entry into Sierra Sur's spaces of appearance. In a feature particular to this second three-year phase (2011-2014) of the project, Sierra Sur staff sought to highlight communities that tended to receive less attention from development institutions because of their distance from the provincial capital. Despite the obstacles it created for some, this effort spurred praise from some contestants, who repeated the popular phrase lauding Sierra Sur's generous frontier interest in Peru's "forgotten" or "last corners."

Staff would set them on a trajectory toward formalization as a state-recognized collective. Associations had to secure formalized juridical personhood for tax payment to SUNAT,⁴ with a founding document and elected president, secretary, and treasurer. Then, each association had to draw up its business plan. They would offer a first draft, but the final version was only approved after staff revisions, which could sometimes mean a weeks-long back-and-forth process between staff and the association. For the budget each association created, Sierra Sur's grant funded 80-

85% of approved activities, co-financing the association's 15-20% contribution. Sierra Sur did not ask to be repaid: their returns on investment would be job creation and a stimulated economy for southern Peru. Instead, investees were obligated to show up, inhabit their designated roles, and perform Sierra Sur's success when directed to do so. In Cabanaconde, for six associations and an entire team of more than 200 people, Sierra Sur contributed 100,564.00 soles (83.35%; about \$31,608.97), to the associations' 20,086.00 soles (16.65%; \$6,313.37), for a total budget of 120,650.00 soles (\$37,925.97; 2012). This amounts to a strikingly low budget of less than \$200 per entrepreneur over three years.



Figure 7: Tuti representatives, wearing the traditionally decorated Collagua woman's straw sombrero, parade to the stage carrying an embroidered binder ("Business Plan Documents"). (Photo by author)

Associations had to maintain a binder (Figure 7) in which they collected every document and every draft document that provided evidence of association proceedings. Aside from their obligations to appear at the project's regular contests, all teams were obligated to make budget transparency a priority. This was a dimension of the project geared as much toward the effort to

teach good bookkeeping habits as toward the burdensome transparent reporting requirements Sierra Sur itself faced as a government initiative. Dealing with those requirements was usually what kept staff inside the office mired in paperwork instead of circulating to their various investee associations. The mandated binder had to include: attendance lists for every association meeting—which implied the demand that associations hold meetings as part of their collective professional formation; information about the consultants each association was tasked with hiring (i.e. gastronomy experts, cultural tourism consultants); receipts for all association expenses; and photographs documenting members’ non-falsifiable presence at guided field trips to the sites of model enterprises and associations elsewhere in the Andes.

Six months after the contest in Madrigal, Sierra Sur staff meticulously prepared its investee association leaders for the project’s final October contest in a meeting that combined elements of a pep rally with those of a test review session. Several days before the final fair, association leaders were gathered in a Chivay gymnasium. Each was given a copy of the rubric document that judges would use to rank them. These actors were painstakingly walked through their lines and their roles in the contest’s elaborate ritualized performances, with staff explaining almost down to specific words themselves what the contestants ought to discuss in their twenty-minute presentations and emphasizing that they had to respect that allotted time. For example, Lilia urged contestants to “be sure to thank Sierra Sur for making this possible.” She made clear that contest participation was strictly mandatory and that Sierra Sur’s own funders would be present. She also suggested that this would be a great opportunity for local publicity, both a contest and a trade show. The gymnasium setting was fitting, for Lilia took on the demeanor of a coach, repeating the refrain that she was “betting on” their success.

While the priorities of an organization's investment are condensed and rendered explicit in the contest, this elaborate behind-the-scenes procedure makes clear that a broader and deeper "intersubjective spacetime" underlies a seemingly spontaneous competitive development investment (Munn 1986). In other words, if winning is framed as a measure of excellence, it can only happen by activating a particular structure of value and valuation. This also offers a sense of how many distinct investments are layered into winning an investment for indigenous entrepreneurial legitimization: a contestant's victory is in large part the result of self-selection and rigorous preliminary investments they must make of their own time, energy, and money. The possibility of a business failing makes clear that "demanding" development can be a true gamble, for the risks of competing for Sierra Sur's investment and of meeting the project's subsequent checkpoint contests and requirements are borne almost completely by aspiring entrepreneurs. Unlike any conventional image of poor people seeking resources, entrepreneurs sought out the Sierra Sur project to pitch their ideas as if they were business leaders seeking out venture capitalists, though under conditions that many participants saw as particularly infantilizing (i.e. Mercado interview 2014), and with the main alternative for many being unemployment or precarious urban labor.

In the days leading up to the final contest, I observed several moments of discontentment, which accentuated how important the optics of a seamless public gathering and, more broadly, a seamless market flow, were to Sierra Sur. I joined staff on their pre-contest site visits, and met a number of participants that found the incessant rescheduling of the contest date and the institution's unapologetically short notice when the date was finally determined to be extremely unfair to them. This made clear Sierra Sur's power through its command over time and space. Saida Mendoza, president of Cabanaconde's maize association, told promoter Rafael Hanampa,

“You only contact me when you need me.” Some participants were hesitant about the high expense that preparations and transportation would entail, which staff member Yeny Romero told them to reimagine “as an investment,” given that the fairs also offered them a chance to publicize their business to a large public audience of (at least) several hundred locals, as well as potential investors and international tourists. The line urging contestants to see the various burdensome expenses as investments was a refrain of Yeny’s in our weeklong round of site visits prior to the final Chivay contest.

Other potential contestants were entirely excluded from competing because their own terms of “demand” were incommensurable with Sierra Sur’s own superficially hands-off but, as close ethnographic inspection has revealed, highly particular, scheme of “development by demand.” My conversation with Feliciano Rodriguez revealed that development by demand only worked when that demand was formatted and ritualized in specific ways. Feliciano was an entrepreneur who had seen a modicum of success as a vendor of delicious *sancayo* (cactus fruit) ice creams, cocktails, and other products that are hard to find in the valley market, and which offered him a clear path to aesthetically enlivening a contest with a fruit that is easily marketable as famously Colcan (*sancayo* is the defining additional ingredient in the “Colca Sour,” the local take on Peru’s national Pisco Sour cocktail). He hoped to expand his business to the Cruz del Condor, a popular tourist site several hours away from Chivay on the newly paved road to Cabanaconde. But his specific request did not fit the initiative’s investment structure. He needed a freezer and a generator, which would amount to a onetime payment of several hundred soles.

This small cash infusion that would activate his profit, he believed, nicely fit Sierra Sur’s overall logic. He did not need to hold meetings, receive capacity building lessons, or hire consultants to get his business off the ground; he simply needed a tiny investment to buy basic

appliances, something consistent with the basic concept of austere development. But because this was outside of the highly regulated contest framework, it would have been a handout. I took the request to Rafael, who replied with an immediate “no,” as if this should have been obvious: Sierra Sur does not simply give gifts. Feliciano expressed frustration that a project willing to invest in technical consultants was so unwilling to make the ad hoc investments he was certain would bring a more immediate return (Rodriguez interview 2014). Although he needed money for appliances, this did not allow for the cultivation of the indigenous entrepreneurial self in the manner that the contest prescribed.

* * *

On another bright morning, village teams reconvened, journeying from far and wide to Chivay’s public square in contracted buses and vans that cut deeply into their savings. There they assembled for Sierra Sur’s last regional tournament before a crowd of hundreds of Colcans, tourists, judges, FIDA officials, and other visitors.⁵ The judges’ panel included Romulo Tinta Caceres, the new Provincial Mayor-Elect, mapmaker and tour guide Zacarías Ocsa Ocsa, and Porfirio Pillco, the local agricultural extension agent.

The competing associations brought inventories of their assets, bearing alpacas, guinea pigs, and textiles; “typical” food; photographs of thriving tourism; freshly printed banners detailing their associations’ ventures; large three-dimensional painted maps; elaborate costumes depicting their village’s distinct and inimitable traditional dress; and the ritual binder, without which entry would have been barred, its exterior painstakingly decorated with embroidery or images, depending on the business niche (Figure 7). In a day as full of ritualized activity as a Catholic patron saint festival or soccer championship, each of the fourteen community teams that

worked with Sierra Sur between 2011 and 2014 presented the final rendition of its investment story, competing to show who had reaped the highest financial and affective returns.

When it was a team's opportunity to present, its association members, ranging from 15 to 40 people, paraded with grandiosity toward the stage to the music of the village brass band that they were asked to bring. Leading them were two mayors: the incoming one, recently elected in the October municipal elections, and the outgoing one, in some cases freshly defeated by the former in an election whose hostility to incumbents was related in part to a feeling of decreasing local support from initiatives like Sierra Sur. The mandatory role of these elected village mayors in the contest, and their subordination to the unelected staff members of a state development project, illustrates the interweaving of economic and political life, positing the contest as a ritual of democracy's political supplication to development.

The team would fan out onstage, displaying samples of its wares, as association presidents spoke of the activities Sierra Sur has helped to launch, meshing various genres of expressive performance. In line with Lilia's coaching, they thanked Sierra Sur, while describing their progress as entrepreneurs in a versatile range of registers, from technocratic to traditional and from Spanish to Quechua, with media ranging from whiteboards to *qina* flutes.

Contestants then descended to perform their dance, a requirement suggesting that a market-driven entrepreneurship should not be compartmentalized or alienated from the other activities that Sierra Sur understood to characterize indigeneity. Indeed, their indigeneity was presupposed and entailed as a naturalized part of these contestants' ability to display their village roots through song and dance. Per the rubrics circulated in advance, each dance had to be distinct: the more indigenous, "original," and "typical" a team's dance was, its "significance" measured by its "written reference" in the scholarly record, the better.

When each village team concluded its presentation, Lilia would complete the ritualized hand-off by having each new mayor formally commit to supporting their village's entrepreneurs after Sierra Sur's closure. Teams would use their time onstage to perform interpretations of what it meant to be indigenous financial actors. For Tuti, this meant describing association members' dazzling array of experiences winning top prizes in national contests. One boasted of his travel to a conference in Italy sponsored by the Slow Food movement. Another young chef had just returned from travel to a conference in Thailand, which she won as part of a national gastronomy contest. A third, the weaver Narcisa Cusi (introduced above) who is pictured holding her association's binder in Figure 7, has shown her products to world figures. The Tuti team's "typical" dance depicted a wedding between two Collagua peasants, making light of radical difference: they evoked laughter in the contest's majority Quechua-speaking audience by poking fun at a Spanish-speaking priest confounded by Collagua customs and unable to understand their language.

For the Lluta team, which we saw perform in February's Madrigal contest, a representative took the Chivay stage. She spoke in a highly formalized register, addressing the importance of "recuperating and revalorizing customs and ancestral traditions. We have opted to recognize our archeological areas so that we can offer the local, national, regional, and international tourist" that which is "ours" (*lo nuestro*). Concluding, she asked the expiring Sierra Sur initiative to return, so that they may "continue investing in the quality and the knowledge of our land's products." Presenters would invoke the explicit categories for which their teams were being judged, with frequent uses of terms like "development with identity" and even the highly specialist "autochthonous."

As contestants performed, judges marked time with rhythmic sighs of disappointment, murmured critiques, and approving nods. They were harsh and suspicious, poised to root out any seeming misuse of government funds. They evaluated every element of each performance, from time management to choreography to the extent to which a team felicitously captured the nation's commitment to inclusion in the dynamics of its presentation. The judges parsed details such as how many people had the opportunity to speak as opposed to how top-down and hierarchical these teams were, and the extent to which each association incorporated women and youth into its leadership. During the question and answer sessions, contestants from many teams shrewdly attributed shortcomings in their results and presentation to Sierra Sur's own incompleteness as an initiative, strategically urging the project not to close yet.

The contest continued well into the night, some eight hours past its planned 2pm finish. When it ended, staff tallied the evaluations and prepared the prizes (1,000 soles for fourth place, 2,000 soles for third, 4,000 soles for second, and 7,000 soles for first). With the gusto of a sports announcer, Lilia maintained dramatic suspense until she finally announced the winners, starting from fourth place: Taya, Huambo, Huanca, and taking the grand prize, Tuti. The champions received thundering applause and stormed the plaza, cheering their victory.

Meanwhile, Martín Flores, leader of Lluta's trout fishing association, and so many other losing contestants, left disappointed, with long return journeys ahead, in some cases large debts, and the hope that their performances at least gave them the chance to publicize their incipient brands. The indigeneity in which they had invested themselves, a role that they had cultivated and performed, turned out to be insufficient for recognition. Some of the losing contestants suggested to me that this was just the latest development "game," and that their senses of self remained intact; others acknowledged their inexperience as entrepreneurs, and (like any hopeful

athletic team that came up short) vowed to do better the next time they had the chance to compete. Yet others made clear that speaking about ancestral connections and personal experiences, dancing, and even using the formerly (until quite recently) maligned Quechua before a public audience in addition to the already difficult task of public speaking, put them in enough of a vulnerable position that losing was devastating and even humiliating. Thus, historical selves were at stake here, as structures of Andean inequality elaborated over centuries helped to configure the deep significance of not being recognized as an excellent indigenous entrepreneur of indigeneity. Mercedes Mercado Gonzales, from Huanca, was particularly demoralized. In a follow-up interview with her on Facebook (2015), she told me that she was living full-time in Arequipa and looking for work.

Contests have a seductive pull for development organizations. Such an elaborate, colorful, high-participation fair can be organized so inexpensively for them, making clear austere development's immense productivity. The contest form is suggestive of the anti-asistencialista agenda that structures development as only for the people who want it, deserve it, and felicitously demand it in institutionally countenanced terms. Teams were ultimately measured by the ability to learn, meet, and creatively exceed the requirements laid out for them. The winning Tuti team had a well-crafted culture map and an engaging dance performance. But their contestants could also boast travel around the world marketing Tuti's indigenous brand, and could frame the rural site as an emerging hotspot for sustainable agricultural, ecological, and tourism development whose business leaders were well-organized, energetic young Andeans.

The Sierra Sur annual report for 2013 explicitly states that its contests are meant to be reproducible "scenes of learning" (Sierra Sur 2014: 23). In performing an image of the market in miniature, Sierra Sur's contests teach market skills. They reward the teams that have been able to

articulate themselves into local, regional, and national markets as competent actors that can perform their promise by displaying themselves as cultural assets and visionaries with keen eyes for community demand. The contest also communicates to the crowd of spectators that every Colcan is a potential indigenous entrepreneur of indigeneity, or at least, a potential employee of one of the job-creating visionaries, and thus, a potential financial citizen, somebody able to articulate with broader circuits of commerce.

At the center of this tournament of value is a stage. This device functions as a space for the regulated, micromanaged hand-off—the highly ritualized exchange—between intervening institution and community. It is the space in which Sierra Sur uses a transfer of funds to collaborate with these communities in aspiration, enacting the institution’s definition of investment. The stage is also a platform for public indigenous self-fashioning, rendering the contest a site of elaborate “expressive culture” (Cánepa 2008). This contest builds on “the liberal tenet that everyone is equal,” which, as Harry Walker describes in his ethnography of sporting contests in Amazonian Peru, is “an important explanation for real inequalities, because unequal outcomes are tolerable so long as the fiction of the level playing field is maintained. Inequality is based...on merit, insofar as everyone has the same inalienable rights and same basic potential” (2013: 393). In other words, reframing inequality as excellence and distinction neutralizes fundamental forms of structural and economic inequality.

Austere development, generously elaborated and placed onstage, opens a new competitive arena for Colcans to prove their excellence, where doing so requires performing a co-produced ethnic and financial competence, and translating need into legitimate “demand” and investable potential. The preparations, ritualized management, and energy that the development

contest entails make clear that despite resistance to asistencialismo's handouts, financialized development's allegedly invisible hand is actually quite visible.

Empowerment Work: The Trajectory of a Development Investment

In the Colca Valley village of Lari, Fabiola Dapino lifted a hammer and broke a bottle of rum hanging in a net from the lintel of the doorway to Rogelio Taco's guinea pig farm, gleefully shielding herself from the spray of glass and alcohol. "Stories like these make what we do worthwhile," she excitedly announced, ritually declaring the enterprise, which had won seed capital investment from the Desco NGO, open for business. Months before, Desco had held a different contest, in which small investments were distributed to Rogelio and nineteen other young Colcan entrepreneurs.

Dapino, a staff member with Desco, praised Rogelio before an audience that included Fernando Gonzalo, a visiting representative of the Ministry of Labor agency sponsoring the NGO's competitive entrepreneurship project, other Desco staff, and a crowd of Lari locals that were gathered for the opening. Rogelio then took the floor, thanking the NGO and its backer. He noted his start as one of the program's least promising contestants, who with Desco's investment matured to become one of the region's most successful guinea pig vendors (Figure 8).

One year earlier, in early 2013, Rogelio Taco, Anacé Condori, Pati Cusi, and hundreds of other contestants heard the call, from their villages' municipal loudspeakers, for aspiring entrepreneurs to compete for small investments. The initial call for applications was held in each Colca district that January. Desco conducted its own contest on a significantly less public and spectacular scale than Sierra Sur's highly visible investments in entrepreneurial associations.



Figure 8: Rogelio Taco Visa wearing a sash and ribbon he was awarded for success in a guinea pig breeding contest. (Photo by author)

They had presented their business plans before Desco's panel of evaluators, and were eagerly awaiting results from the NGO. Contests have a way of incorporating suspense, along with a form of excitement and stress Rogelio had not experienced before, into development work. The project, "Development of Young Entrepreneurs and the Generation of Self-Employment in Caylloma Province, Arequipa," involved fifty young people between the ages of eighteen and twenty-nine with business ideas required to deploy cultural rootedness in the Colca Valley as a growth medium, positing job creation as the most tangible return on NGO investment. The NGO awarded investments to the top fifty proposals in the form of technical support, capacity building, and ongoing advising over the eighteen months between January 2013 and June 2014 in a contest held at the provincial level, in a competitive pool of some 350

contestants. In the contest's second phase, the top twenty of the fifty winning participants each additionally won 3,650 soles (\$1,147.26) in seed capital for plans that were especially promising in their capacity to create jobs and promote the market value of indigeneity.

Key to the program was its emphasis on generating profitability through the local resources at contestants' disposal, which often meant drawing on and drawing out each aspiring entrepreneur's indigenous tradition and identity. The NGO team saw an indigeneity that could be invested in and put on display for agriculture market improvements and tourism commerce as a model for sustainability. The project's support for young entrepreneurs who lived full-time in the valley established a contrast with many of today's most profitable enterprises in Colca, whose owners come from abroad and the elite sectors of Peruvian cities, while youth tend to out-migrate to Arequipa in droves.

Desco's principal purpose was not to eliminate extreme poverty in the region but, explicitly, to create jobs and cultivate entrepreneurs as role models (Desco 2012). Backing the intervention was a Ministry of Labor initiative called Fondoempleo, the National Fund for Labor Capacity Building and the Promotion of Employment, devoted to "financing projects destined to empower workers and promote sustainable job opportunities" (Fondoempleo 2014). Like its participants at the local scale, Desco's Chivay branch had to compete at the national scale for Fondoempleo's investment, and perform their success for regular visits from that initiative's supervisor.

According to Desco's winning proposal to Fondoempleo, its contestants were asked to describe their "academic and personal formation with respect to the theme of running a business," outline their "motivation to build an enterprise," and offer a rough initial sketch of what their business would look like (Desco 2012: 36-37). Contestants were not constituted as,

nor did they imagine themselves to be, a group of extremely poor people, as seed capital winner Anacé Condori emphasized (interview 2014). Rather, each contestant, in order to be a viable contender, had to begin the competition with a baseline level of human capital, education, familiarity with what it means to be an entrepreneur, and political skill—another dimension of their prefabricated entrepreneurship—in dealing with NGOs. Then, these contestants had to travel to Chivay and Cabanaconde, the valley’s two largest towns, where a pool of potential participants with, as the project proposal puts it, “the best business ideas,” was selected through one-on-one interviews. Three professionals made up the selection panel: a “psychologist with knowledge of the region and [of] the characteristics of young entrepreneurs,” who would turn out to be Desco staff member Liliana Suni; an expert in entrepreneurship, Fabiola Dapino; and a third judge, a municipal representative engaged in fomenting local development who was not employed by Desco (2012: 37).

In the contest’s final stage, fifty entrepreneurs competed for twenty seed capital awards. The panel of judges this time was more technical, consisting of knowledge workers and consultants who had been contract employees in Desco’s other Arequipa region offices and Caylloma’s municipality: a finance and business plan specialist, a marketing expert, a production specialist, and a business management expert. The most important component of each thirty-minute presentation that judges were asked to assess was “the person,” the aspiring entrepreneur him- or herself. This entailed evaluating their life experiences, sense of creative potential, “reasons for starting his or her own business,” ability to invest personal resources and put forth physical assets as collateral, and other characteristics that amounted to the contestant’s initial measure of viability (Desco 2012: 47). In comparison to Sierra Sur’s public and relatively rapid determination of investment winners, Desco’s rubric was significantly more elaborate, and its

panel of judges took several days to determine their winners, on a timescale similar to that of Colca's microfinance NGOs deciding whether or not to offer credit to a new applicant (as I detail in the next chapter).

Other priorities enumerated in Desco's contest rubric included the presence of demand for the proposed market activity and a given threshold of financial competence demonstrated in the business plan. Desco's contests did not require the level of sensuality and color that Sierra Sur's did. Instead, Desco would task its entrepreneurs with participating in a number of important public municipal and regional festivals and events like the 2014 Holy Week crafts and gastronomy market and a press conference in Arequipa to advertise it. There, with their presence mandatory, these participants displayed their wares, services on offer, food, and dances. Still, an organizing frame for this selection process was the view that indigenous culture, tradition, and attitudes were untapped sources of abundance and growth, and that those young people who had shrewdly decided not to out-migrate had the unique capacity to corner and exploit their respective local markets.

Desco's seed capital investments were conferred in the form of cash whose expenditure was closely supervised. Each participant had to draw up a budget in his or her business plan for 3,650 soles' worth of tangible materials, equipment, and other "fixed assets" needed to start the business (Desco 2012: 46). These might have meant a budget for building a state-of-the-art guinea pig barn as in Rogelio's case, or merchandise and rent for Anacé's tourist gift shop and restaurant plan, or Pati's new oven. Though the proposal document does refer to the investment of seed capital as a "donation" (2012: 46), these funds were clearly understood to come with substantial obligations, chief among them the responsibility to develop a profitable indigenous business and to thus offer Desco the numerical indicators it needed to show Fondoempleo it was

adequately empowering its participants. As capacity building coach Antonio Rojas put it at a Desco staff meeting, “there’s a reason we call this ‘seed capital’ and not a ‘seed gift!’”⁶

January 2013’s high-pressure competitions for small individual investments began an eighteen-month trajectory in which Desco’s austere development intervention reached deeply into the mundane routines of daily life in the Colca Valley. What did it mean for an institution so meticulously to scaffold the emergence of the locally rooted young entrepreneur as a model indigenous figure, whose contributions are seen as vital to apparently seamless market fluidity?

The NGO tracked its participants’ entrepreneurial self-development through the surprise audit visit (Figure 9). In contrast to competitions and market fairs, these visits did not allow participants to prepare and perform. They produced a kind of Foucauldian discipline, as a supervising NGO staff member could arrive at any moment to inspect. Freddy, one participant, described how chills would run down his neck at the sight of a Desco evaluator; Silvia, another entrepreneur, offered a similar sense of dread. Rogelio shared that anxiety, but suggested that this was healthy, an excellent way to keep participants truthful about their progress.



Figure 9: Liliana audits Rogelio at his guinea pig barn. (Photo by author)

I accompanied the staff on many of these fear-inducing surprise audits. They forced participants to stop what they were doing, whether that was washing clothes, engaging in childcare, or attending to other entrepreneurial projects that did not have Desco support. Perpetually possible monitoring ideally motivates one toward a high level of engagement all the time, but in practice, this indexed the economy of power between staff and participants. The latter could not always expect the same attentiveness when they “surprised” Desco staff in the office with a question or worry.

Deploying surveillance as a strategy of financial tutelage makes the elaborate daily work of austere development a stressful affair for both participants and staff, who together must expend a great deal of energy to make a purportedly self-regulating market function. For many valid reasons, participants were often unable to tend their enterprises with constant effort. The surprise audit also raised the possibility that staff would fail to recognize a participant’s own entrepreneurial investments (for example, in Raquel’s small pig farm in Lari) if they were not adequately performed through active effort and an undisturbed focus when inspectors showed up (i.e., if Raquel was tending to duties as an elected *regidora*, or town councilwoman). It also made the workday stressful for staff that had to spend hours in public *combis* (minivans) and contracted trucks traversing the valley’s unpaved roads, often failing to locate their participants.

Visits would begin with an audit of the income and expenditure notebook Desco provided each of its fifty participants. More than a simple measure of progress, this was the entrepreneurial technology that anchored Desco’s intervention. It was also the narrative device that opened each visit. The notebook’s role as an explicit symbolic focus suggests that the metapragmatics of development intervention—talk about the practices through which adequate development is meant to occur—are themselves key to the empowerment arsenal. Fabiola would

examine the way each entrepreneur kept their books, using its spreadsheets to teach lessons in savings and spending, offering suggestions for how they might arrive at budget equilibrium in the effort to instill financial habits into daily lives (see Martin 2002; Freeman 2014; Chapter 3). If a participant's business were making a profit, like Anacé's restaurant and tourist gift shop, Fabiola would urge that participant to invest. If there were a shortfall, as with Zineyda's party planning company, she would as a rule tell the participant to take out a credit, and offered to facilitate the process. Given their close institutional relationship since Desco helped to found the Chivay microfinance NGO Fondesurco, Fondesurco agreed to offer any required additional credit to the Desco project's fifty finalists with interest below market rate. Desco maintained a secret emergency fund in the event that a participant defaulted on a project-related loan.

Fabiola counts over a decade of experience with development projects based on cultivating entrepreneurship, most recently with youth in the Andean city of Moquegua to Arequipa's south. She confessed to me that in her experience, only a small percentage of participants were ever likely to see long-term, post-intervention success (Dapino interview 2014). Thus, for project participants, austere development can be a high-risk venture.

The visit would continue as staff members, closing the notebook, transitioned out of the income and expenditure audit with a phrase like this: "okay, we see how your business is going on paper. But how are you *really* doing?" This emphasis on the whole "entrepreneurial self" (Freeman 2014) was clear during a March 2014 visit that psychologist Liliana Suni made to Pati Cusi's restaurant, a venue devoted to traditional organic cuisine that marketed the nutritional value of its "natural" and "local" foods for their indigenous roots. Pati is the well-known Narcisa Cusi's daughter and thus has linkages among development organizations and Tuti citizens, suggesting the importance of the social capital she was able to bring to the Desco contest. After a

brief audit of Pati's notebook, Liliana turned to questions of the pregnant participant that a report on incomes and expenditures could not cover, suggesting that those questions were what the intervention was really about. She pushed Pati to speak of a personal connection to the native organic food she had on offer for a brochure the NGO was composing. Then, intervening directly into the space of the family unit, Liliana asked if Pati's husband was helping her with business tasks. She gently advised Pati not to be excessively critical of her husband's help when she receives it. Liliana also wanted to make sure that the family was functioning as a "team." That included Pati's three-year-old child, whose role could be as simple as cleaning up his toys or doing basic chores. But the point was that he too had to learn responsibility.

Here, as economic development and personal development collapsed, interventions would become more about the actor than her specific activity. Liliana was frequently able to connect to participants by subtly tacking between the NGO's disciplinary technologies and a profoundly personal intimacy. She suffused their conversations with affect, staging the development intervention as a kind of impromptu therapy: in this case, in the form of advice from an experienced middle-aged woman to a younger one. Making the allegedly seamless market work here required immense labor and affective investments—shared stakes in a co-produced economic and personal growth—that Desco's formally mandated intervention tools could never alone capture.

I initially found it strange to encounter a psychologist in the employ of development NGO focused on the economic improvement of rural life. But following Liliana during these audit visits revealed the depth at which the NGO sought to empower its investees beyond the job creation numbers and prevention of urban migration their project supervisors sought. Many of these participants, Liliana told me, came from tense family situations. Some suffered sexual

abuse from family members. Others faced psychological difficulties: one Lari entrepreneur named Mayde was a candidate for Attention Deficit Disorder. Thus, Liliana took the NGO's job to mean, in large part, helping these onetime victims struggle and overcome obstacles to their intricately joined economic and psychological flourishing.

Although affect is an alibi for rendering budgets tight, employees like Liliana who have no control over the project budget can also deploy affective intimacy as an additional form of much-needed aid. Desco's project is rooted in a model of institutional restraint and tight budgets. However, suffusing these audits with intimate tutelage fosters the cultivation of a class of indigenous entrepreneurs of indigeneity through austere development's oscillations between the personal and the impersonal, performative cultural excess and financial rationalism, affective and financial empowerment. The intervention confounds any simple boundary between the alienable and inalienable dimensions of selfhood, and blurs any discernible line between the stinginess and the generosity of NGO staff.

In Lari, where the young entrepreneurs were particularly well organized, Fabiola used the power of affect in a different way. She sought to highlight the non-monetary dimensions of Desco's investments in indigeneity, bringing to bear that "transversal" identity theme. Although the amount of funds allocated by the NGO to Lari's participants (based on the money allocated by Fondoempleo to the NGO) was fixed, Rogelio brought to her attention the potential market benefits of engaging two local traditions to get the most out of them: *ayni*, a system of ongoing reciprocal exchange between individuals used throughout the Andes, and *faenas*, communal work parties for large municipal projects that also function according to a logic of reciprocity (Gelles 2000; Wiener 2007). With these tools, entrepreneurs could cooperate in a way that had the potential to benefit all. For example, they could contribute their physical labor for the

construction of Mayde’s barn in one given month, and assist Miguel in assembling or cleaning his museum of Andean sombreros in the next. Fabiola sought to resuscitate these two reciprocity traditions—now (in her telling) mostly used in Lari in the ritual context of Catholic fiesta sponsorship—as values in daily life. Uncanny fits with the structure of austere development, *ayni* practice and *faena* work parties only cost entrepreneurs their time and effort, and the NGO nothing, yet they promised to increase profit while aligning them more closely.

Desco’s intervention entails a pedagogy directing its participants’ mastery and self-realization as indigenous financial actors. For those actors, this means putting excellence on display while showing devotion to Desco’s rubrics of performance. Rogelio’s speech to Desco evaluators as he opened his guinea pig farm invoked the trajectory of enlightenment that the NGO’s staffers imply characterizes their empowerment efforts, narrating his transformation from immaturity to taking the intervention seriously. In a later interview with me, Rogelio suggested that he was only successful because the NGO’s capacity building workshops “opened his mind” (Taco interview 2014). Elmer Quispe, a seed capital winner who runs a llama trekking and tourism business in Yanque called *Puriq Masiy* (“Fellow Traveler”) echoed that message. In a closing interview with Desco staff, Elmer reflected on his initial decision to compete for investment. He said: “The word ‘entrepreneur’ was something that was always within me.” Jessica, a staff member, nodded knowingly. “Right,” she said: “it was something in your heart.”

Conclusion: Austere Development

This chapter has focused on interventions low in monetary support that render themselves dizzyingly productive by relying on the indigenous self as, simultaneously, a development instrument and development goal. The contest is a key institutional site for legitimating that

uniquely productive Andean indigeneity, authorizing it as one of an arsenal of financial habits.

As austere development's simultaneous subject and object, indigeneity is a form of financial action and the index of an ethical commitment to personal excellence, cooperative teamwork, and local distinction. I have also hoped to convey that as the highly ritualized event of the contest ramifies into the daily labor of development intervention, a great deal of effort and affective labor must be engaged to make a market look like it is dynamically and seamlessly functioning.

Perhaps Rostow's stepwise civilizational project, and after the 1990s, the provision of services and the state-driven extension of infrastructure, were discarded (at least as reigning ideologies) as a development future in Caylloma because these were seen as too ambitious, too all encompassing, and insufficiently democratic. James Scott, rooted in a distinct politics to be sure, has critiqued such state development projects for those reasons (1998). Or, perhaps such a development approach was seen to be wasteful in its failure to account for local practical knowledge—an argument where Scott converges with some of the architects of neoliberalism (i.e. Hayek 1973). But I have argued here that austere development combines minimalist budgets with a different kind of overpowering, maximalist ambition. Its small budgets are engaged to do big things. Despite Sierra Sur's and Desco's stated openness to creativity and the freedom to be oneself, the mode of empowerment to which they subscribe entails elaborate productions of indigeneity through highly specified rubrics, procedures, and stage directions organizing its tournaments of value and the precise forms of selfhood and characters to be revalorized. The composition, valuation, and harnessing of indigenous human capital through the nested affective technologies of the contest, the exhausting site visit, the terror of audit and surveillance, and the creative rerouting of tradition suggest an even more ambitious form of development.

Interventions today may be meager in material supply, but their everyday functions extend to many corners of community life. Development professionals like Lilia, Rafael, Fabiola, and Liliana viewed their work as exceeding any institution's formal mandate, with interventions ultimately about the personal development of responsibility, competence, and confidence, all packaged as benefits of learning indigenous entrepreneurial identity. Beyond their job descriptions, project staff would unofficially serve as financial advisors, business consultants, legal advocates, accountants, social workers, teachers, psychological counselors, and motivational coaches. So as their organizations shifted the costs and burdens of development onto their participants, they posited empowerment as a response "to the sufferer as if they were the author of their own misfortune" (Rose 1996: 59). Yet at the same time, these organizations also found themselves entangled in webs of local obligation, compelled to provide for Cayllomino's welfare with unpaid labor beyond the mandate of their jobs, securing for themselves a kind of tacit "social license" (see Chapter 5).

Austere development means an everyday workload consisting of constant audit, tracking, and coordination. It also stages those many additional therapeutic, welfare, and civic interventions that augment a budget's reach without adding anything to its expenditures. For participants, engaging austere development entails negotiating what it means to be indigenous and an entrepreneur of indigeneity within performative settings and outside of them. This form of development also compels reflection and interiority (much like the deeply neoliberal empowerment programs Cruikshank details [1999]), asking participants and potential participants to negotiate with themselves and their kin about how their market-based rootedness in Caylloma Province squares with their range of possible futures in and beyond the rural Andes.

Of course, “austerity” here is distinct from what we have recently seen in places like Greece, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States (Brown 2015). For Peru, it is in part a democratic result of voter-approved political and economic decentralization within Peru, as one Desco veteran made clear (Mejía interview 2015). Yet in Peru’s contemporary development practice, the degree to which public funds have been reduced and conventionally public responsibilities outsourced to private and civil society entities is nonetheless striking as a fact of daily life. This, especially given the 2011-2016 Ollanta Humala government’s initial promises of alignment with the “inclusive” resource politics and redistributive neo-extractivism of Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela. It is not simply the reduction of support, but that reduction’s positive aspects that characterize the nexus of development’s increasingly infinitesimal scale and the new market importance of cultural and ethnic goods in Peru (Andolina et al. 2009; García 2005).

Austerity with respect to the distribution of resources is not being branded as a crisis of necessity, for Peru’s recent growth has been astronomical. Instead, austerity has become a *virtue*, a salutary opportunity for ethical self-fashioning: it has created an opening for the revalorization of indigeneity as a development innovation and a condition of possibility for national inclusion. In the effort to cultivate this virtue, the state works here as a conservative investor, expecting much while giving and risking comparatively little.

Colca’s contests thus suggest that austere development gives us not only tiny investments and drab rubric documents, but at the same time, a creative and spectacular development that mobilizes the senses and emotions. There, the line between empowerment and abandonment is a thin one. However, this is not simply a story of voracious neoliberalism “reducing all social values to one market value” (Povinelli 2011:134; see also Brown 2015; Elyachar 2002). Of course, the economization of social life, the idea of the social as a kind of economy, and the

notion of empowerment based on exploiting oneself, one's assets, and one's property, are not new to the social sciences (Locke 1988 [1689]; Rousseau 1988 [1762]; Smith 2003 [1776]; Marx 1990 [1867]; Durkheim 1995 [1912]). Nor is economization necessarily unique to neoliberal or post-Enlightenment Euro-American milieus (Malinowski 1984 [1922]; Sahlins 1972; Livingston 2009; Comaroff and Comaroff 2012). However, I want to align this chapter with the scholarly argument that the economic and the affective, or the instrumental and the non-instrumental, dimensions of investment should be analyzed dialectically. Rather than a simple or unidirectional commodification of culture, as John and Jean Comaroff write, "commodity exchange and the stuff of difference are inflecting each other, with growing intensity: just as culture is being commodified, so the commodity is being rendered explicitly cultural" (2009: 28).

The "social inclusion" that Caylloma's competitive initiatives seek to extend reconfigures old and new forms of exclusion in complex ways in the effort to replace growth's material media with the tutelage of commodification and capital accumulation. As contestants become empowered development engines, institutions take for granted that their revitalized self-expertise means expertise in performing a recognizably indigenous aesthetics. Projections of local color, scent, and taste as indices of marketability are thus not the intervention's garnish, but its fundamental substance.

Earlier arguments in the anthropology and history of development railed against modular development policies in the style of Rostow that imposed homogenizing forms of material modernization (Ferguson 1990; Escobar 1995; Rist 2007; Scott 1998). However, the case could be made that improved infrastructure might at least sometimes level the economic playing field, whereas improving marketable behavior and providing empowerment's conceptual tools are meant to achieve just the opposite. This is far from nostalgia for development's old structures: in

the course of my research, people in Colca's communities routinely called on the state to provide more services and infrastructure. Like Feliciano, they would often ask state projects and NGOs focused on complex investment and capacity building schemes for immediate tangible help instead of empowerment-focused pedagogy; these requests were usually countered with accusations of asistencialismo.

Empowerment as we see it here does not intervene in the problem of structural inequality. Its main opportunities for material and structural uplift emerge in the promise of job creation. When I finished my fieldwork in Peru just months after Sierra Sur's final contest and Desco's last audit, it appeared that those new jobs were slow to come. Desco's later project evaluation, to which I return in this study's conclusion, would show that most of the jobs that were created went to an entrepreneur's kin and friends, suggesting a conservation of existing structures of social capital. My follow-up interviews revealed that some contestants did find economic success, like Reynaldo Churro and Anacé Condori Palma. But many businesses shuttered, as Fabiola predicted they would. Others were inconsistently run, even as entrepreneurs continued to drain their limited personal budgets by paying their rent on a storefront and their taxes on a SUNAT-recognized venture.

So, in the absence of booming prosperity, what have these decentralized state investments given to the Colca and Ampato Valleys? According to Sierra Sur's mission statement, harnessing human capital by investing in indigeneity as such allows Cayllominos, for the first time, to be the "agents of their own development" (Sierra Sur 2011). And many of Desco's urban researchers are left-leaning intellectuals, well aware of current critiques of development and identity: books like Rist's *History of Development* (2007) and Comaroff and Comaroff's *Ethnicity, Inc.* ("Etnicidad, S.A."; 2009) circulated at the NGO's Lima headquarters, which often looked more

like a research-intensive public think tank than a center for project-based development. But the approach visible in Desco's rural units has firmer roots in critiques urging individual freedoms and capabilities (Nussbaum 2002; Sen 1995), so Desco staff like Liliana Suni also saw their empowerment as extending the capacity for indigenous agency.

Amartya Sen, for example, introduces *Development as Freedom* with a meditation “on the terrible burden of narrowly defined identities, including those firmly based on communities and groups” (1995: 8). In today’s Peru, those “communities and groups” that Sen shuns receive support rooted in their indigeneity if they are posited as state-authorized business collectives that deemphasize advocacy, identity politics, and leftism, with which they would otherwise recall the national trauma of the internal armed conflict of the 1980s and 1990s. They must reframe themselves as local institutional advocates for enhancing the success of individual and team-bound entrepreneurs, rooting a cultural economics of indigenous excellence instead of an identity politics of indigenous resistance.

Fernando Gonzalo, the representative of the Ministry of Labor agency that funded Desco’s intervention who was present at the grand opening of Rogelio Taco’s guinea pig farm, offered me a sense of development’s baroque conceptual architecture in Peru today. I asked him, somewhat bluntly, whether he thought there existed any single paradigm organizing Peruvian development work. He told me no: “it’s really about what the funding organization wants” (interview 2014). The development financier dictates the paradigm, Fernando conveyed, suggesting that the power of many diverse investors scales up to a baroque assemblage of diverse and shifting priorities. What aligns these priorities is that they are at once baroque and austere: minimal budgets that go hand-in-hand with a tendency to lean heavily on the idea of the self, on

the ambitious and colorful and personal things no budget could ever produce on its own, on the development potential that participants themselves bring to the table.

This chapter has been ethnographically situated at the end of development's long Andean journey from the civilizational project of provisioning, enhancing, regulating, converting, and saving bodies to the remaking of how subjects feel about themselves and their own interventions upon the world. Financialized interventions entail a pedagogy that encourages project participants to learn about themselves, to expend effort forging an internal "relationship of self to self" (Cruikshank 1999:102) as they map out their empowered ventures. Indigenous entrepreneurs of indigeneity are tasked with knowing themselves in ways that the process of competition helps them learn. This self, and not infrastructure or aid, is the defining instrument and goal of austere development.

From an ethical project striving for an excellence that is simultaneously indigenous and entrepreneurial, to civic and ritual duties that exceed any budget or job description, development's contests open public spaces for new and often creatively improvised ideas about empowered human capital to come alive. Indigeneity in the contest setting is validated by virtue of its ability to ground financial action and, therefore, to "include" actors in national market society. Crucial to this process, in Colca's communities, is the simultaneous counter-legitimation of financial action. Finance must also be recruited, made part of the counter-project of those who seek to be empowered, who take on and own the institutional moves that turn materials and nature into assets and resources, engaging, on at least partially one's own terms, the processes that transform money into an investment. The next chapter delves into how that happens at the level of financial tools themselves, to inquire into the specific role of money's abstractions in the effort to put indigeneity to work.

This chapter investigates the use of finance as a tool in the effort to put indigeneity to work for economic development in Andean Peru's Colca Valley. Much of the recent social studies of finance literature keeps finance in a black box, analyzing the role and the work of finance in the world, especially in the global north, asking how finance configures particular professional arenas and cultural dynamics. My interest is in the way finance becomes a growth medium for indigeneity, and indigeneity a growth medium for finance, in the context of a paradigm that suggests that rescued or revalorized culture, identity, tradition, and history are powerful sources of human capital. Here, both finance and indigeneity are relative newcomers to the scene of development intervention, at least in their current forms: indigeneity is emerging as one local answer to development's outmoded discourses of modernization, while the extension of financial services is understood as vital to inclusion and empowerment, as credit is increasingly understood around the world as a new human right. I parse a sample of interactions that finance organizes through the phases of credit, audit, and debt, inhabiting its specific mechanisms by continuing my analysis of the Desco NGO's investments in young local entrepreneurs that are in various ways deploying their indigeneity as a market good. I also look at finance as an idea that is spreading beyond the contexts of development into community institutions, sometimes taking on an economic and cultural life of its own as Colca's credit economy booms. I ask how finance configures the ways individuals and communities imagine and invest in a sense of themselves. How are finance and indigeneity deployed together as media for endogenous growth by development investors, project participants, and community members in Colca? How does finance help to rescue an idealized remote indigenous past while, simultaneously, pushing this once-remote, former frontier region into increasingly dense circuits within capitalism?

Time and Development

Two NGO staff members traveled to the rural Colca Valley village of Lari in March 2014 to interview Rogelio Taco, one of the local entrepreneurs they were sponsoring, as part of a routine audit of the organization's investments. Lari was cold, wet, and muddy, victim to an erratic rainy season delayed by three months that answered a long drought with unusually intense thunder and hail that would kill livestock and devastate what was left of an already poor harvest.

At twenty-one years old, Rogelio was one of the Desco NGO's most surprising stories. He began his time with Desco as a winner of seed capital investment in the NGO's region-wide young entrepreneurs contest, but was one of the least promising participants: unenthusiastic, slow to complete the NGO's assignments, and not meeting his benchmarks. Then, in December

2013, it seemed as if he pulled his business and his life together overnight: taking out a large (“*fuerte*”) credit to employ local laborers, he built a massive barn and was already filling it with guinea pigs. By March, he was the owner of one of the largest guinea pig farms in the province. Guinea pig studs, it would seem, are excellent investment pieces: they give rapid and abundant returns, require minimal overhead, and have ancestrally-elaborated breeding practices in Colca. In their visit, Desco staff audited Rogelio’s books, remarked upon his astounding success, and then quizzed Rogelio, to see whether he knew what to do now that his business had taken off.

“Okay,” said Fabiola Dapino, the NGO’s business development expert, testing the newly successful Rogelio. “So the next step is? In—?”

She awaited the rest of the word, the entrepreneurial ethic’s core strategy, to no avail.

Fabiola finished for him: “—vestment!”

Here we see a pedagogical quizzing employed in the effort to render participants financially adept small-businesspeople and, ultimately, champion indigenous entrepreneurs of indigeneity. Rogelio’s silence opened a teaching moment for Fabiola, who laid bare the financial mechanisms that energized Desco’s model of self-development.

Another day that month, Luz Marina Rosas, one of Fabiola’s Desco colleagues, addressed the residents of Yanque gathered in the municipal hall’s assembly room to celebrate International Women’s Day on March 8. Various speakers addressed the progress women in the region have made, along with continued challenges to women’s empowerment. Coming from Caylloma Province’s largest, most historically rooted, and most influential NGO, Luz Marina spoke as the civil society representative, alongside the mayor and several other municipal authorities. Her intervention in the meeting was to announce to the group that credit—its availability and ease, its importance for realizing big dreams and seizing individual autonomy, its

user-friendliness—went hand-in-hand with the empowerment of women in today’s Colca Valley economy.

Credit was framed here as a gendered human right (Roy 2010), by a group of female technocrats similar to what Carla Freeman has called a “pink collar” sector of feminized labor (Freeman 2000). Credit was an obvious resource given how easy it is to access, assumed to be helpful, and impossible to argue with: every woman, Luz Marina said, should be taking out small amounts of credit. This way, they could set aside and independently manage savings for themselves and their households, making their own decisions about how to invest in their futures and live their lives. This is a familiar scene to the field of “gender-and-development” interventions around the world (Radcliffe 2015). The credit economy in Colca at the time was also booming, which meant that every woman would be able to augment her home’s self-determination with this translocal tool, and with exactly the right package from a burgeoning supply of community oriented institutions with names like Caja Nuestra Gente (Our People’s Bank [“Chest” or “Savings Box”]), Proempresa (Proenterprise), and Caja Los Andes: Banca de Inclusión Social (Andes Chest: Bank of Social Inclusion).

These moments suggest that the idea of financial services fundamentally orients contemporary imaginings of inclusive development in Peru. Financial language and financial tools are so important that their unquestioned usefulness, and unmentioned risks, have become a kind of intervention doxa in Colca development discourse. “Investment” should be something Rogelio already knows he has to do; he should have been able to complete Fabiola’s sentence. Fabiola’s argument that investment was the answer to Rogelio’s economic development suggests an effort to push along his personal development by socializing him into mature business practices that would legitimize his role as a responsible indigenous actor within the nation’s

busily expanding ambit of financial inclusion. And in Yanque, credit was the obvious answer for changing the fate of what was understood to be an historically disempowered gender sector of an already marginalized rural population by articulating women to a broader regional and national economy. Doing so would pull rural women out of the stereotypically limited occupational spaces and dependencies on men—figures cast as irresponsible and dependent on the bottle—thought to plague their lives (see Bedford 2005).

And in the overall intervention approach of Desco and other local development institutions like it, indigenous selfhood rests at the heart of locally oriented sustainable growth and financialized national inclusion. What is it about finance that makes it the legitimate medium of indigenous empowerment, the premise of and answer for this genre of intervention? Why is finance imagined as such a powerful tool for improving economic lives? How do financial investments in ideas about indigeneity become forms of ethical work on the self?

Until this point in the dissertation, my partial answers have focused on that which financial tools were attempting to unleash: indigeneity, entrepreneurship, belonging, excellence, and a flourishing abundance. This chapter shifts our focus to the specific financial tools themselves, asking how ideas about indigeneity, entrepreneurship, and abundance at the same time unleash finance. Answers to the above questions have to do with the way finance orients development interventions in time and space. I argue that finance is the contemporary “grassroots” or “small-scale” development sector’s principal medium for transforming the past into the future. By that I do not mean a simple march forward in linear time, but rather, the positioning of a rescued past that is idealized as sustainable and uncontaminated at development’s horizons of expectation. And finance is envisioned as a kind of restorative medicine for the once thriving, past indigenous culture that is at present sick and contaminated.

Finance serves as that medium for transforming the past into the future by way of its structure of recruitment, in which it links risking everything to a particular activity that depends fundamentally upon an entrepreneur's identification with a historically elaborated indigeneity. Through the importance of the *stake* a credit client is required to take, finance unleashes history.

Development projects render the distant past as the ideal imagined future for the purpose of putting indigeneity to work for development. As they do so, they overlook much of Colca's history—a trajectory of colonialism, modernization, and structural inequality and relative poverty in which those institutions have in some cases played a major role. Finance configures not a comprehensive historical recovery but a hinge, by which a long-forgotten, fantastically imagined past, captured at several distinct points in time—the past of the Collagua and Cabana communities that inhabited the Colca and Ampato Valleys before the Incas arrived, the Inca era, and even elements from Spanish colonization and evangelization—becomes the endpoint, the *return*, of a credit or seed capital infusion. It is an institutionalized medium of selective recuperation that helps NGO practitioners and financial analysts imagine an Edenic moment as development's telos, before centuries of “bad” (modernizing, unsustainable) development and “bad” (inauthentic, mestizo-aspiring) indigenous people (Curatola, personal communication).

This suggests a dramatic reversal of Reinhart Koselleck's image of “futures past” (Koselleck 2004 [1985]). Instead of trajectories abandoned and futures discarded, financialized development gives us a dream of the past reborn, a *future past*. If Koselleck was most interested in what the future could have been, financial services and development investments in Colca raise this question instead (see Povinelli 2002, 2011): what will the past have been?

Finance ties together the seemingly hands-off support through which a person can empower him or herself with highly specific ideological images of the kind of Colcan person

capable of managing and benefiting from financial services. Greta Krippner defines “financial” as a term indicating “the provision (or transfer) of capital in expectation of future interest, dividends, or capital gains” (2011: 4). Through the mechanics of seed capital investments, microcredit, loans, collateral, and their accompanying gift economies, obligations, and legitimization techniques we see throughout Colca, finance offers the tools that enable organizations and communities to imagine a future in which economies and ecologies are self-sustaining and beautiful (again). To do so, it conjures histories of ancient technological “innovations” and a sense of timeless ingenuity. It also evokes images of thriving agricultural household economies and harmony in mutual aid that financial accountability has presumably liberated from the possibility of corruption. Such images can be found on credit institution brochures and websites, as well as in the images that development projects like Desco and Sierra Sur ask their participants to construct of their enterprises’ impacts: for example, Sierra Sur’s requiring contestants to construct “before,” “now,” and “after” dioramas (see Chapter 1).

These visions, together, structure an ever-receding future in which development organizations, municipal and state projects, and financiers render themselves obsolete, framing such institutions as simple scaffolding—development’s vanishing mediators. However, this is also a future that renders these refocused development interventions presently indispensable. And they appear to be here to stay for any immediate future imaginable in Colca’s communities.

Financial tools also help to reinscribe what Jane Guyer calls “the temporal doxa” (2007: 411) of daily life in communities increasingly dominated by financialized development in another way. If they orient development to a far away, long-term horizon that looks like an idealized indigenous past, they just as importantly limit each step toward that horizon to the extreme short-term interval between the moment at which the credit or investment or project

begins, and the time in which the credit or investment period ends and is expected to show a return, a dynamic evocative of Zeno's paradox. These periodized intervals rarely last more than two years. During their temporal course, the institutionally regulated financial media of investment and credit are meant to show legible progress toward development's new horizon. Credit, interest, and debt configure an arena and a schedule in which investees had to generate sufficient returns to repay their investors or justify their speculation. Reconciliation here took on new meaning as a measure of one's success: one's felicitous ability to prove oneself as an indigenous entrepreneur of indigeneity.

Reading finance with the hermeneutics of generosity I hope animates this dissertation, I do not intend for this chapter's critique to suggest that such tools and services necessarily disempower people. Rather, I argue that the focus on digestible steps that is a clear temporal feature of financial culture in Colca likely does more work to reinforce financial institutions' importance and keep project participants economically afloat than it does to implement a self-sustaining regional network of communities in which interventions have become obsolete. What this means is that through its short-term and long-term temporal orientations, financialized development sets up two forms of incompleteness: unsettled debt, on one hand, and on the other, a past that will return and will have been, still under construction and achieved through the formulaic periodicity that organizes the financial intervention. Thus, through the play of periodized time in both the extreme short-term and the extreme long-term, the interactions, exchanges, and allocations that happen under the umbrella of development finance suggest an attempt to construct a Colca resident capable of using her indigeneity as an innovation, a person as rooted in tradition as she is forward-looking and original, a person whose social capital is her history. This indigenous entrepreneurial self is ultimately one that no longer needs development.

Frontier Finance

Social theorists have long been drawn to questions of money and finance in frontier spaces, at least since Mauss' *The Gift* (1990 [1925]) suggested that indebtedness is not always and not only a negative, undesirable, and powerless position in which to find oneself. Mauss' seminal work, along with ethnographic research by Bohannon (1955), Appadurai (1986), Weiner (1992), Guyer (2004), Cattelino (2009), Graeber (2001; 2011), Hart (2000), and Zelizer (2011), employs strange and seemingly counterintuitive ethnographic examples to call into dispute the classic theses by thinkers like Marx and Simmel on money's homogenizing toxicity: although they offer nuanced analyses of money usage, they also quite memorably suggested that money was a socially empty medium without "color" (Simmel 2004 [1907]) or "smell" (Marx 1990 [1867]: 205). Instead, even the most ordinary exchanges are situated in time and chock-full of obligations and implications. These exchanges range from gift giving and trade as evidenced by the Kula and Potlatch systems, to the use of money to demarcate what Viviana Zelizer calls "circuits of commerce" and "circuits within capitalism"—her scaled-up, translocal update (2011: 316) of Paul Bohannon's "spheres of exchange,"¹ to the elaborate ritualized procedures and personal investments that attend seemingly one-off cash purchases in Colca's rural markets (see Chapter 4). Thus, the relationship between the abilities of money, capital, and finance to ground and, simultaneously, to abstract can reveal the value-making agendas that dialectically enliven and are forwarded by exchange.

This interest in ethnographically thickening the processes of exchange, in seeing even the most seemingly alienated transactions as part of a deeper and longer trajectory than conventional wisdom once suggested, has turned many contemporary anthropologists to the study of finance, a category of activity that has to do with the management of money and the allocation of value

over and in time. With the same etymological root (*fin*) as the word “end” (like the words “finish” and “fine”), the term originally referred to the process of settling a debt. Its contemporary focus on capital transfers and future returns now encapsulates multiple aspects of the ongoing management of often-unstable sources of value at many scales (Krippner 2011). Still, finance fundamentally has to do with incompleteness, imbalance, and a kind of striving within an unsteady state; it thus continues to grip the ethnographic imagination (Ho 2009; Maurer 2005, 2012; Miyazaki 2003; Peebles 2008; Schuster 2015; Zaloom 2006).

In his *Annual Review* article on the anthropology of credit and debt, Gustav Peebles observes that the most important scholars in this area “have insisted that the crucial defining feature of credit/debt is its ability to link the present to the past and the future” (2010: 226). But which past and which future does the credit/debt dyad end up linking? What does that dyad do to time? These questions of what specific eras and moments are being linked are crucial for understanding how finance is configuring the way communities imagine themselves. Jane Guyer advances this point of the analysis, characterizing the present historical moment by the “evacuation” of the near future and the near past. There has been a shift, she argues, “toward both very short and very long sightedness” (2007: 410). Time has become “punctuated rather than enduring,” and is now more about “fateful moments and turning points, the date as event rather than as position in a sequence or a cycle, dates as qualitatively different rather than quantitatively cumulative”; for example, “[a] date is the day that debt payment is due to avoid a hike in interest payments” (416).²

Guyer suggests that a key effect of the contemporary era’s “punctuated” temporality is a mass overlooking of the “midrange” period, during which “personhood, history, and reasoning is profoundly attenuated and seen as morally dangerous” (415). The new punctuated temporality

that we see in the world of Colca development investment, for example, is immediately enclosed in the short-term vision of project goals and debt repayments, and then opens up in the very long-term to a vision of cultural and environmental sustainability. Here, Guyer's "midrange" period would connect the hoped-for immediate success of specific project participants and the broader ongoing success of the economy and community for which these participants are seen as the engines of growth. But having communities and publics overlook this period is in many senses strategic. For the midrange also covers the time of the growing pains it takes for a place once again to become itself, for a community to outgrow its outdated developmentalist desires to be modern and urban and instead to become a warmer home for tradition and environmental harmony. Alternatively, the midrange could mean only pain, the period during which it becomes clear that an intervention did not work; that a sacrifice failed to pay off and an investment did not yield a return; that financial actors in unexpected default would be blacklisted and locked out of official credit, with their stores and homes repossessed by the microcredit institutions whose advertising suggests their unwavering devotion to social inclusion; that financialized development has indeed meant those debts that cannot be repaid.

If finance is rooted in the promise, in an anticipated exchange of obligations over time meant in Colca to inculcate a universalizing entrepreneurial and indigenous subjectivity, its work is also spatially encompassing, drawing boundaries and articulating forms of belonging and collective memory, and of inclusion and exclusion. As Peebles writes, "credit/debt as a dyadic unit helps to determine who stands inside and outside of community borders or who stands above or below" (Peebles 2010: 228). Anke Schwittay explores this point in her focus on the contemporary concept of financial inclusion, the idea of extending financial services and tools to the "materially poor" and "unbanked," a group that is increasingly seen "as a development

problem and a market opportunity” (2011: 382). Financial inclusion is, Schwittay argues, an encompassing “global assemblage that constitutes materially poor people as fiscal subjects, financial consumers, and monetary innovators” (*ibid*). This concept encompasses in its applicability across scales and in its ability to tap into economies of scale, from mobile money usage and other burgeoning technologies for making money more fungible at the interpersonal and network levels, to the extension of microfinance banks and credit-focused NGOs—a sector that is currently booming in Colca, to philanthrocapitalism and international aid regimes now intently focused on extending financial services.

It is also animated by a discourse of frontier exploration. A constant spatiotemporal motif in the Colca-area financial service sector, and in broader discussions of social inclusion in Peru (apparent, for example, in Ollanta Humala’s final Independence Day Address to the Nation in 2015), is the idea of “*últimas rincones*” or “*últimas esquinas*” (“last corners,” with *últimas* carrying the connotation of both remote and temporally behind; see Chapter 2), which inclusive services like microcredit are triumphantly bringing in to the light of contemporary national life.

A core problem of financial inclusion, which Ananya Roy points out in her research on microfinance (2010), is the slippage between two things: the frontierist extension of financial services and a financialized kind of citizenship to the world’s most materially poor (what she calls “the democratization of capital”), on one hand; and the profit motive and potential exploitation of extractable personal and environmental resources that comes from seeing investing in poor communities as capitalism’s newest frontier (“the financialization of development”), on the other. Surely in Colca, for example, the booming credit economy would seem not only to be about improving lives mired in scarcity. The expansion of financial services there is also an exciting new business opportunity in itself, thriving upon the idea of Colca’s

abundance. This is also the case in the southern Andes more broadly: 2014 saw the expansion of one of the Arequipa region's first micro-loan organizations, *PrestaSur* (LoanSouth) into *PrestaPerú*. At the nexus of capital's democratization and development's financialization, and as a reaction to large-scale development's long history of sociocultural micromanagement in the name of growth, "financial norms come to supersede social norms" (Roy 2010: 47) as that upon which development investment must intervene.

However, by broadening financialized development to investigate how its tools are working with time and history, we see that this frontier colonization narrative is not the entire story. Extending credit to groups like Yanque's women or Desco's young entrepreneurs means inviting these future entrepreneurial subjects to join a community in which value is translatable and fungible, whose inclusion offers the point of intersection at which indigeneity and finance become mutually intelligible.³

This is an idea that works well within the current development framework in Peru and much of the global south. While those professionals directly responsible for carrying out grassroots development interventions have pinpointed a set of measurable and manageable indicators for cultivating "entrepreneurial selves" (Freeman 2014), in so doing, they are creating more business opportunities for Colca's financial sector while answering decades of criticism of development as imposing a vision of alienating modernization and the top-down micromanagement of everyday behavior (Scott 1998; Easterly 2006). The question that now needs asking is what these new "financial norms" mean for the construction of selves and how an attention to such norms still does mean policing participant behavior and subjectivity, especially as economic development becomes more tightly aligned with the road to individual maturity.

Like much recent anthropological work, my ethnographic focus here is the basic tension that finance configures between the urgency of settling up and the productivity of unsettlement. I want to ask how this tension articulates with development's long game of sustainability and institutional obsolescence. Unsettlement means obligation, its own category of engagements and exchanges within the ongoing credit-debt relationship. It also means expansion and openness, occasioning the value-transforming power of what Munn has called "self extension" in intersubjective spacetime. In hand with uncertainty, the unsettlement of finance offers a maturing entrepreneur and her enterprise time for creativity and innovation. Development financing, as we saw in the previous chapter's investment contests, can stage a performative negotiation between the assets and liabilities of a financial actor or financed enterprise. Putting these together in the specific context of Desco's effort to cultivate indigenous small business suggests investment's key role in the making of identities, communities, histories, and selves over and in time.

The Anatomy of an Investment

The previous chapter focused on the development contest and the current broader approaches to empowerment observable in the Colca Valley region. Here, I analyze the language of using, teaching, and learning financial skills and of establishing and following institutional rules at the heart of cultivating indigenous entrepreneurial selves. As I suggested in the last chapter, the metapragmatics of finance provide the site at which much of the development intervention takes place, and even amount to the very inter-discursive substance of financialized development. Metapragmatics, or explicit talk about practice, captures how speakers "reflexively determin[e] what one can do and make with words in addition to what one can say with them" (Carr 2011: 158; see also Silverstein 1993). Desco staff members' extensive explicit talk about

the intervention during the intervention will be subject to ethnographic scrutiny here. Povinelli defines metapragmatics more polemically, highlighting how laden with power metapragmatic talk can be, but giving short shrift to its unexpectedly productive and creative aspects, which is part of my own focus below. She suggests that metapragmatics mean “moments in which speakers, texts, or discourses indicate to others how to speak or produce proper or improper social forms and the means by which speakers, texts, and discourses signal a sense of ending or beginning, of narrative form and flow and of the routine and remarkable, and thereby indicate what we should do or say or act if we know what’s good for us” (2002: 135).

In this core section, I analyze the key activities of intervention along the timeline of grassroots development financing.⁴ The three basic phases of development financing I detail here—credit, audit, and debt—are hardly discrete. But as an analytic, juxtaposing these categories in order gives us a point of departure for a close reading of development intervention in Colca. I hew most closely to the stories and experiences of the participants in the Desco youth entrepreneurship project. I draw on my interviews with these participants: the twenty seed capital winners and thirty more winners of NGO training and support who did not win seed capital, with Desco staff, with financial clients not directly affiliated with Desco, and with people who work in Colca’s burgeoning microcredit and financial services industry. I also draw on seven months following the Desco project in the NGO office, in the “field” where enterprises were underway in twelve different Colca communities, and on my everyday experience living in Yanque, where credit, debt, loans, and investment are unavoidable themes in daily conversation and public institutional life.

Credit: Responsibly Dreaming Beyond One's Means

“The only way out of this poverty,” consultant Antonio Rojas told the participants gathered at one Desco training session—referring with his deictic demonstrative *this* to a characteristic the group of young people were supposed to already know they shared—“is independent work, starting a business.” Antonio said this in a session with fifteen participants in Desco’s young entrepreneurs project, officially titled the “Development of Young Entrepreneurs and the Generation of Self-Employment in Caylloma Province, Arequipa.” The group included both funded winners and unfunded runners-up in the NGO’s competition for seed capital. Of course, entrepreneurship and self-employment may strike the reader as highly particular ideological solutions to poverty, far from “the only way out.”⁵ But the fact that this was seen as the only path—that there existed (to invoke Margaret Thatcher’s infamous words) “no alternative” to entrepreneurship—was a key danger of this supposedly innocent, light-touch style of intervention.

Antonio’s urging here captures something of a formula, employed in Colca by a number of organizations and also a key component of a transnational development paradigm (see, i.e., Sen 1995 and Bryant 2014; Roy 2010 also offers an extensive analysis of the paradigm). According to the formula, entrepreneurship solves the triple problem of individual “poverty,” broader market stagnation, and—as the Colcan case especially shows—the problem of disempowered confusion about whom one *really* is. The formula also suggests that entrepreneurship begins on its best footing when spurred into action by credit. Taking out credit, investing resources one considers to be valuable, and going into temporary debt, is according to Antonio and capacity builders around the world the best way to dream. These are the essential sacrifices needed to cultivate “the hidden entrepreneurial qualities of the Third World poor”

(Elyachar 2002: 496), and thus, for those “poor” people simultaneously to realize themselves and their abundant market worth.

In other words, Desco is at the head of an institutional push in Colca to urge people to bet on themselves with the help of financial tools, and in doing so, become better versions of themselves. This “self” is both the object of ethical work as an entrepreneur, and historical work of rescuing a connection to indigenous life. And doing so with the sacrifice of going into debt means having something at stake, risking something, in the linked games of market exchange and self-realization. Globally, these basic financial services are what allows the world’s “bottom billion,” which business professor C.K. Prahalad famously called the “bottom of the pyramid,” to become “a giant laboratory in which new business models, and a new kind of business infrastructure, could be found” (Elyachar 2012: 110).

Desco saw credit as a frontier innovation. The NGO was responsible for laying the groundwork for today’s thriving credit economy in what was once a geographically remote and hostile highland valley. Intervening in Colca for thirty years, the NGO was almost singlehandedly responsible for bringing credit to Colca, just before the most recent turn of the century when water, electricity, and transportation infrastructure opened the region up to the national economy in an unprecedented way (Mejía interview 2015). Over the last twenty years, for example, the trip between Arequipa and Colca was cut from an arduous and in many parts treacherously unpaved twelve to fifteen hours to a usually easy three, with buses and sleek minivans running every half hour.⁶ Desco today continues to set Colca’s development agenda, a potent force in the vibrant tangle of donor investment, microcredit institutions, and today’s new, economically vital appreciation for natural and cultural resources. Desco helped establish Colca’s first and still most prominent credit institution, Fondesurco (the Southern Regional

Fund), in 1994. Today, Desco remains a kind of parent organization to Fondesurco, with Desco's southern regional director, Rodolfo Marquina, also a member of Fondesurco's board of directors.

Fondesurco began its work in the highland Colca village of Callalli by providing small group loans based on social collateral (Trelles interview 2014; see Schuster 2015 for more on this particular microloan structure). Since then, as Colca has become more integrated into the national economy, clients are increasingly able to offer physical collateral such as formalized property titles and other assets, and so as a reflection of this new abundance of assets, Fondesurco has moved firmly to the individual loan model. Group loans are now only granted by one NGO, ProMujer ("ProWoman"), devoted exclusively to women's economic issues, located like Fondesurco, Desco, and most other development institutions in the bustling provincial capital of Chivay. Fondesurco's agency director, Plinio Trelles Mamani, describes the last decade as one in which the financial sector has taken off in Colca: if Fondesurco was alone for its first ten years (1994-2004), "now there's competition" in a region characterized by an increasingly strong "culture of credit" (Trelles interview 2014).

One of Fondesurco's key goals, according to its mission statement, is to "achieve social inclusion, for which [the organization] prioritizes access to credit for people excluded from the financial system, for people that live in conditions of poverty" (Fondesurco 2014a). It has reached over 12,000 clients. Whereas in Fondesurco's initial years the economy was almost exclusively focused on agriculture and livestock care, "the families here have diversified...their activities," and the agency has "grown a lot" (Trelles interview 2014). According to a post on its website titled "Fondesurco: First in Financial Inclusion," the organization prides itself in heroically "taking microcredit to those areas where before, nobody would dare go"; it repeatedly,

almost fetishistically, refers to Peru's "most obscure places" and remote corners (Fondesurco 2014b).

As an institution, Fondesurco approaches credit as a conservative enterprise, in that clients ask for credit to help them do things they have to prove they would already be good at but do not immediately have the means to accomplish. In other words, credit occasions a kind of responsible dreaming. Fondesurco does not create: in line with the regional development approach focused on cultivating human capital, the institution uses credit to unleash and to potentiate. The institution also (unlike Antonio Rojas) does not see its clients as poor. They are merely unable to pay certain expenses at the moment. Yet despite its conservatism, Fondesurco's focus on remote corners—and its representatives' excitement that coming to a place like Colca in the 1990s was itself a risky innovation—suggests that the very idea of extending credit's flow is a radical enterprise that uses finance to multiply economic resources while avoiding mass redistribution.

Taken together, Fondesurco's blend of conservative and radical understandings of financial services indexes a restorative, recuperative approach. As we see with development intervention strategies around the world, and even with a capitalism in general that calls for the glorification of small business and individual initiative, extending financial infrastructure is understood in Fondesurco as a means of allowing timeless selves—in this case, selves meant to be deeply engaged with local culture and ethnicity—to flourish. This approach suggests a frontier contradiction: on one hand, indigenous communities are sites of abundant, self-sustaining, past glory. On the other, before Fondesurco reached them, these selves were crushed by the disempowering economic scarcity of remoteness, of not being adequately plugged in to Peru's circuits of commerce.

Desco's entrepreneurship project emphasized extending credit to a different sort of "remote" population: young people, who tend to escape Colca in droves to Arequipa and other urban centers by the time they finish secondary school, if not before. The young entrepreneurs project was initially focused on tourism. Desco staff then augmented its scope of intervention to any potentially innovative business idea, but maintained the fundamental focus on flourishing culture. An aspiring entrepreneur competing in Desco's contest was at an advantage if she showed that the proposed enterprise would help to recuperate and validate a sense of local identity, one of Desco's key "transversal" foci as an NGO (Desco 2012). For the NGO's September 2012 project proposal, Desco staff put together a table charting the various regional actors involved. One of the most important potential sources of institutional support they identified was the local financial sector. Desco staff explicitly indicated that their project would address the challenge of "low demand for credit on the part of young people. Financial evaluations [by local credit-granting institutions] do not consider business proposals in tourism due to the lack of opportune and viable business plans" (ibid). A cornerstone of Desco's intervention, especially in the first six months of the eighteen-month project, was to teach participants how to put together a business plan adequate to Chivay's credit-granting institutions, as seed capital-winning participant Anacé Condori Palma, who had also taken out a loan from Fondesurco, told me (Condori interview 2014). Through configuring and performing an entrepreneurial vision according to the requirements of making a good case for credit from a local institution, participants were articulated into the financial economy.

So, debt is far from simply a powerless positionality, as anthropologists from Mauss onward have sustained, especially when being in debt is the concurrent and opposite process of taking out credit.⁷ Indeed, the presence of people in debt can drive an entire economy, for better

or for worse (Krippner 2011; Vaccaro 2014). Going into debt allows a person to buy things that are beyond his or her immediate financial means. It allows that person to invest what needs to be invested, in order to create goods and offer services out of the always already abundant capacities of his or her inner creative entrepreneurial self and his or her inner culturally and historically elaborated personhood. By doing so, this actor also paves global market infrastructures. In this way, credit and debt offer the potential to be economically productive and personally empowering. Thus, finance potentiates indigenous self-realization; yet at the same time, and as I am arguing throughout this dissertation, indigeneity also potentiates the substance of finance, enlivening it as an active component of the region's economy.

Going into debt for a small amount of credit or a small loan is seen in Colca as a kind of activation energy for starting a profit-making machine. One may not yet have the means, but taking out a credit entails a bet that precisely because of that credit, one will be able to *generate* the means to settle up by the time payment and interest are due. This is, also, a future orientation that is guaranteed by a debtor's immediate past. Another of Fondesurco's slogans is "Farmers, we bet on you" (*Apostamos por ustedes*), a refrain that will be familiar to the reader of this study (see Chapter 2). That line pervades its advertisements, web presence, and the brochures circulating throughout Chivay as part of its vast paper-based campaign to promulgate the importance of credit.

A great deal has to happen within that microfinance NGO before a credit is granted. Fondesurco staff members described the process to me. Aside from the necessary documents proving residence (such as a national identity card and electricity bill) and illustrating the business plan, potential clients are burdened with proving their creditworthiness. In the Colcan context, where people reside in close-knit villages, creditworthiness often depends on a person's

most important and immediate relationships. The agency checks out the potential client's family, visits the home, and speaks to his or her neighbors and friends. "We evaluate their income, the experience that they have in their business area," Plinio described, "from whom they buy their materials," but also, "how they are in their community," whether they "are responsible or have bad habits...perhaps they owe their neighbors and don't pay their debts" (Trelles interview 2014). As Fondesurco financial analyst Emeterio Puma Quicaño put it, this was the best way "to see the client's attitude" (Puma interview 2014).

Credit here, in other words, rides on one's already established social capital and goodwill. Thus, access to financial services in Colca is not a direct intervention into structural inequality beyond the vague possibility of benefiting the market environment and opening up job opportunities for others through one's business success. Certainly at its outset, the process can seem somewhat exclusive. If a potential entrepreneur has nobody to vouch for him or her, it is nearly impossible to take out a credit and start a business. This suggests how essential Fondesurco sees social capital—a network, a potential clientele, a web of trust-based relationships already in place (Bourdieu 1984; Putnam 2000)—to be *anyway* if one wants to start a business, with or without Fondesurco's credit. Credit gets superimposed onto the social investments a Colcan entrepreneur would ideally have already made. If one has not put in the work with friends, neighbors, and family members to make those investments, and cannot appear as a responsible and capable member of one's immediate community, one will have difficulty making the case for one's responsibility when it comes to settling debts.

Once this responsibility is formalized in the documents purveyed and the informal trust that the potential client is able to convey, the credit application goes to a committee of

Fondesurco analysts, and at that point is approved or disapproved. If approved, the assigned analyst and client agree upon a disbursement and repayment schedule.

For its youth entrepreneurship project, Desco selected fifty finalists from more than 350 interested participants; from there, twenty won seed capital investment, and thirty more did not, while all fifty received training, support, advice, and consistent follow-up audits for their incipient businesses. The seed capital investment amounted to 3,650 soles (\$1,147.26) in material purchases (for example, ovens, bricks, labor, rent). This was conferred as a prize that did not have to be paid back. However, nearly all fifty participants had to take out additional credit. Fondesurco agreed to offer credit to the project's aspiring small business owners with interest far below the market rate. As I followed Desco staff member Fabiola Dapino during a round of visits to what she called "our entrepreneurs" in Chivay, the first entrepreneur we happened upon in the street was Zineyda, who ran a catering business, which entailed cooking, assembling supplies and music, and producing parties for diverse fiesta hosts in Chivay and throughout the province. We met her just outside of the Fondesurco office, where she had just finished a meeting with her financial advisor. Zineyda did not win seed capital, but Desco made sure to set her up with all that she needed to begin her production enterprise. She was also able to draw on her own store of social capital, getting her business started by initially putting together a handful of pots, pans, and other cooking supplies that her mother, sister, and other family members owned, along with enlisting their help cooking. She was proud to tell Fabiola that she was putting on an event that very night.

Desco, Zineyda told me, offered her "moral support" (interview 2013). I do not want to make too much of that phrase, but the idea that assistance with taking out credit became moral support deserves some attention. Indeed, credit was exactly where Desco's morality of

development was symbolically condensed and most dramatically and explicitly articulated. As a session with Antonio Rojas made clear, credit was intimately tied to the NGO's package of pedagogical training and capacity building. It was always the service that required the application of the "best practices" participants would learn, from maintaining tight control of one's accounts, to knowing intimately the kinds of investments and expenses it takes to get a business off the ground, to setting reasonable goals and achieving them on time because creditors were people who depended on their participants, to being able to navigate the complex maze of authorities and institutions necessary for running a business such as SUNAT (Peru's tax collecting agency), SUNARP (the organization that grants juridical personhood to businesses), and the various municipalities. The training sessions also made it clear that their preexisting social capital was in fact a potent kind of credit: participants were encouraged to reach into their network of family, friends, and other labor associates to make their businesses successful. "Nadies están solos," Antonio said: "None of you are alone." This reflected the idea that Desco was supporting and "betting on" them, but also, that their kinship and other social ties should be seen as an already abundant source of entrepreneurial raw material.

Fabiola suggested that Desco's own help was part of a deeper moral commitment required of both the NGO and its participants. "We can't do anything more for you if you don't help us help you," she told a group of participants. She made clear to them that although "you are the chosen ones" ("Ustedes son los elegidos") as contest winners, the seed capital and access to Desco's expertise will be given over to somebody else if a winner failed to put these resources to use. This happened with Rubén, a seed capital winner who enthusiastically opened up a promising "fast food" sandwich shop but who quickly burned out and decided to abandon his

business. He was forced to return the seed capital money to Desco. After his burnout, his name frequently came up in training sessions as an example of letting Desco down.

Lusgardo was another of the thirty participants who won advising but not seed capital. He was still in the early stages of putting his carpentry business together. In an audit meeting in the village of Achoma, where he studied at the *Escuela Taller* trade school, Desco staff members Fabiola and Liliana quizzed him on where the demand was for his product. They forced him to focus on tailored marketing strategies in Colca that would allow his business to flourish. Then, reflecting the idea that this was part of their formula, they asked, “will you need credit to get this business off the ground?” He answered, not having thought of this before, that that sounded like a good idea, “to complement what I can afford.” Credit here was understood to initiate the relationships necessary for starting a business. Fabiola intensely pushed the credit angle. For her, credit occasioned a pedagogy of business planning. In order to take out credit and receive Desco’s technical assistance with it, Lusgardo would have to put together an inventory of what he had and what he needed. For this to work, he had to make, Fabiola told him, “a series of commitments,” and set concrete, achievable goals.

The goals he set for the following three months were to have a fully operational carpentry workshop and five customers by the end of January, which is when he would be able to receive his initial credit. Thus he had first to show his own investment of energy, labor, and affect in the enterprise before he could receive Fondesurco support. As a device to commit Lusgardo to these goals “he” set “for himself,” Fabiola had him write down each goal and sign his name in the notebook. She then took a picture of his signature with her digital camera. In a place where writing and, especially, the signature, are seen as particularly binding and authoritative (see

Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011; Cody 2013), this disciplinary practice made any violation of Lusgardo's agreement with Fabiola a moral failure.

Indeed, the emphasis on viability as a form of responsibility meant that dreams had to be contained, even if they could be expanded later with the right kind of care. Anacé, for her part, won seed capital for a shop selling local artisan-made goods, which she called “Kaypi” (Quechua for “here,” “in here,” or “right here”). Months later, she decided that she could do more, and moved her shop to a larger space that her in-laws owned. With her savings from not having to pay rent, Anacé turned the second room behind the shop into a restaurant that quickly became one of the most popular in Chivay, especially as a lunch spot for the town’s burgeoning class of financial, technocratic, and NGO professionals, including people who worked at Desco. Rogelio, the guinea pig farmer, told Desco staff that the requirements for his guinea pig nursery had far exceeded what his seed capital could provide as soon as he realized he needed a space larger than the shed with which he proposed his reasonable goals for viability. So, he took out a much heavier loan to build an impressive new barn the size of a gym, purchasing materials and employing local labor to do so.

This was, of course, far from an airtight system. I was not privy to any firsthand stories of credit institution exploitation. But rumors of people unfairly losing everything circulated at fiestas and in conversations I had during my two years of ethnographic study. Fear of such exploitation certainly existed, as did palpable *feelings* of exploitation from failed entrepreneurs blacklisted and shut out of the credit economy, as I discuss in a moment. The rise in credit institutions also, surprisingly, sparked participants’ spinoff entrepreneurship in informal moneylending. When I conducted a follow-up interview with one seed capital winner, Freddy, I

learned that he was supplementing his appliance resale business with small, informal, social collateral-based credits.

My rounds with Desco staff made clear to me the idea that they did not simply see development investment as a way out of poverty or a pathway toward job creation. Indeed, the former had dropped from the NGO's focus by the time they began the project evaluation and future project-planning phase, where "leadership," "role models," and "prosperity" were one May 2014 meeting's key terms. Rather, investment and credit, as they saw it, offered the activation energy for a full life empowerment, both external and internal, such that the economic success of making an income and skillfully articulating oneself to market life was just the intermediate step toward a more profound empowerment (Suni interview 2014). This was about enabling these young men and women to take pride in themselves and the value they were capable of creating. And while seed capital for the lucky winners was certainly empowering as a prize that did not have to be repaid, taking out credit was seen by the NGO as a moment when these entrepreneurs could earn a deeper pride in themselves and their cultural contexts by taking financial responsibility for their dreams. This, in other words, was the site at which entrepreneurs demonstrated their investment in the future, for themselves and for their communities. With Desco's help, they would acquire the skill and competence needed to navigate the complexities of holding a credit.

Audit: Pedagogy of the Financed

The initial brainstorming and credit disbursement phase was about forging dreams, creativity, vision, moral commitments, and learning to set reasonable goals. The following phase, when financial services clients and Desco's participants were responsible for using their credit to

get their ideas off the ground, was the stage when finance more clearly became a form of education. This was when people had to begin demonstrating that they were financially responsible, and thus deserving of their financial inclusion, while still rooted in a place and a history. Just as important, however, was the idea of learning from that inclusion. So, in the audit stage of development investment, which took place between the first disbursement and the final repayment, accountability and pedagogy were the key impositions. As in many places, money in Colca is usually something intimate, something that people prefer not to discuss. But when it is channeled through credit and aid by an institution, a client or participant's accounts become an open book for that institution. Opening one's life to inspection is one of the costs of technical assistance and aid in forging financial relationships and gaining returns on investment.

According to my interviews with Fondesurco staff, inspections of clients tended to occur by surprise, through improvised visits (“*visitas improvisadas*” as Fondesurco staff put it, or “*visitas inopinadas*,” as the Desco staff called them; recall from Chapter 1 that “visita” was also the term used in Spain’s colonial inspections). “The analysts are always visiting” their clients’ businesses, Fondesurco director Trelles told me (Trelles interview 2014). His colleague, financial analyst Puma, stressed the centrality of “follow-up” work (“*seguimiento*”) in the everyday requirements of his job, visiting clients “to verify whether they made the investment correctly” and in the way they said they would (Puma interview 2014). Credit and the institutional support that came with it meant that staff’s intimate access was not only to clients’ money, but also to the entirety of their daily lives, allowing everything to be disciplined and open to supervision and policing in the name of an ongoing test (by the financier) and performance (by the client) of creditworthiness. As such, financial inclusion articulates these daily lives to the process of development investment and to the goal of reaping a return, where every activity is judged to that

end, open to questions and examinations in relation to the investment. Even seemingly remote dimensions of daily life, like alcohol consumption, were sometimes seen as directly related to one's creditworthiness and responsibility in Fondesurco's pre-disbursement inspections. This meant that once the organization decides to finance a local venture, the client's daily life—from work on the venture to time spent with one's family to engagement in rituals, fiestas, and drinking—is framed as a performance of entrepreneurship (or its failure) that happens around, through, toward, and against his or her development financing.

Fondesurco's analysts like to see their clients in action and at work, both before granting credit and during the term of the credit. For Fondesurco, the length of the term is “a function of the economic activity we're investing in,” rooted in the temporality of the venture, so if it is for a cash-cropping farmer growing potatoes, the credit interval lasts from planting to bringing the harvested potatoes to market. If it has to do with raising livestock, the term is configured by the time it takes for the animals to grow and fatten up (Trelles interview 2014). A surprise inspection that finds a client drinking in the middle of the day for what seems to the staff to be no good reason, by contrast, would lead to Fondesurco's increased worry and scrutiny. This is a paradox of professional class aspiration: though many analysts at Fondesurco and Desco came of age in Colca in peasant households, where opportunistic drinking tends to be a conventional component of agricultural rhythms, people in positions of power often inconsistently approach alcohol as sometimes representative of provincial excess and sometimes ritually legitimate.

The principal purpose of the Desco staffs visits was to help each of their entrepreneurs correctly account for their incomes and expenses and set adequately specific goals. The principal audit team members consisted of three women (whom we have already met), which reflected Desco's countrywide efforts to hire an equal number of women and men, even if its leaders and

loudest voices aside from the female national president tended to be older men. This also reflected the growing importance of women in rural development staff jobs in the Andes as a kind of “pink collar” sector (Freeman 2000; Schuster 2012), similar to Colca’s NGO and state project staff members and a high percentage of teachers, a professional group that would take the weekly bus commute between Colca and Arequipa city.

Along with their gender, Desco staff members’ professional backgrounds each reflected a crucial dimension of what it meant for the Desco institution to intervene. There was Luz Marina Rosas, who was trained as a secondary school teacher, Fabiola Dapino Picardo, an expert in entrepreneurship and business management, and Liliana Suni Condori, a psychologist. Delmy Poma Bonifaz, who was initially trained in the biological sciences, led the group but because she was also the NGO’s Chivay office director, Delmy rarely participated in the day-to-day work of the intervention, often to the lower-level staff’s annoyance. Contract consultants Antonio Rojas, Sergio Calderón Rivera, and Romina Gonzales aided the core group.

Each visit centered on the incomes and expenses registry that all fifty participants were required to keep. This review of the books served as the point of departure for monitoring how interventions were working, usually presenting the opening for teachable moments as individuals accounted for their activities within the scope of Desco’s project. After the initial period of training and capacity building, when most of its project participants were taught how to take out credit, Desco staff—much like Fondesurco staff—expended the bulk of their time and energy following up with these participants and examining how each enterprise was progressing, spending their days traversing the valley from village to village.

The ongoing evaluation of these incomes and expenses registries combined training in the relationship between investment and profit with a legible record of a participant’s needs and

progress toward the goal of profit and sustainability as an enterprise. The evaluation closely resembles the scene of Foucauldian pastoral care that Summerson Carr compellingly lays out as she introduces her study of American addiction treatment: “This rigorous pedagogical program, which you have been told is therapeutic, is also the specialists’ means of evaluating you” (2011: 1), allocating essential resources like housing based on that evaluation. The audit is at once about teaching the participant how to put together a business and about marking a temporality of progress by evaluating that participant’s ideally increasing responsibility, testing for the emergence of his or her abundant “hidden entrepreneurial qualities” (Elyachar 2012).

For some participants, filling out the notebook was not intuitive, even though most had a system for keeping track of money coming in and money going out. Many participants would have blank notebooks when Desco staff came to inspect. Staff had to use the visit once every three months from Fondoempleo, the project’s sponsor—a government fund devoted to job creation and self-employment (see Chapter 2)—to scare or shame participants into filling out the notebooks, which the Fondoempleo supervisor would nearly always check. When Fabiola was able to locate her elusive participants, sometimes a difficult task for well-connected young people whose lives were filled with obligations from church duties to trade school to the help on the farm their families required, she was readily familiar with a fear in participants akin to that of a student who has not done his homework.

For others, the audit became a tool for putting both business plan and attitude on track, while forcing external eyes on participants to keep them accountable for the credits they had taken out. Rogelio, for example, offered his narrative in a register that he knew would please the Desco staff: when he ritually declared his guinea pig farm open for business during a planned audit from Desco’s Fondoempleo supervisor (a scene I describe in Chapter 2), he drew on his

experience in the Evangelical church, using the language of religious conversion and redemption to narrate his progress from a child who first “took this as a joke” to a serious entrepreneur, devoting himself completely to the dream of producing a classically Andean cultural good (Rogelio interview 2014). That same day, the supervisor and Desco team were treated to a feast of guinea pig from Rogelio’s farm, in a clear attempt to offer the supervisor typical local flavor.

“Rather than simply silencing or excluding actors,” Carr writes, institutions like treatment centers—and certainly development NGOs—“assign ways of speaking to the identities they forge and therefore pre-establish ways of hearing the people who come to inhabit them” (2011: 154; see also Yúdice 2003). Though Carr’s research investigates “empowerment” in the context of addiction treatment, her insights into the particular encounters with subjects through which an institutional intervention justifies and reproduces itself readily applies to Desco’s process of auditing its grassroots development investments. Carr continues: “And although institutional power is thereby regenerated when these ‘subalterns speak’ (Spivak 1988)” according to the identities that they have been assigned, “people can also inhabit such identities, and speak effectively from these designated locales, in politically efficacious ways” (2011: 154).

These inspections tied accountability to pedagogy by channeling the metapragmatics of intervention as a vehicle of empowerment. We see this in the way Fabiola questioned Rogelio, for example, as described in the surprise visit featured at the chapter’s opening, teaching him that investment is a key part of running a business. The staff’s focus on the registry also occasioned lessons channeled through metapragmatics, as participants were taught how to draw categories between “incomes,” “expenses,” and “net profit,” while being constantly told that a requirement of their participation in the intervention was to keep the registry up to date and honest.

In another surprise inspection, Liliana, the Desco staff member trained as a psychologist, visited Pati Cusi Cusi's restaurant business in the village of Tuti, conducting an audit of Pati's registry of incomes and expenditures. Liliana asked Pati to walk her through each expense, and checked to see whether there were any errors, and to make sure that everything was running smoothly with Pati's loan disbursements from Fondesurco. Liliana then turned to asking questions about intimate family life for which her instructions in adequate bookkeeping were the point of departure (I analyze parts of this interaction in Chapter 2). Liliana suggested that it was these deeper questions that were really what development intervention was about. She modulated the financial audit meeting into a kind of counseling session through metapragmatic moves like instructing Pati that she ought to be grateful for her husband's help with the business and to engage her child as a responsible actor, framing family life as itself the core of entrepreneurial economic life. Liliana's meeting with Pati quickly traversed the terrain of Desco's intervention from the realm of financial inclusion that followed modules common to each participant to a highly specialized, intimate intervention into personal development focused on the young mother's parenting strategies.

Having been born and spent much of her childhood in Yanque, Liliana was seen as the NGO's authority on what it means to be an indigenous young person there. She was trained as a psychologist, but also saw some success during her childhood and upbringing as an entrepreneur, selling candy in order to pay her way through school after her economically overwhelmed family sent her to live with relatives in Callao, Lima's gritty sister city. As an adult back in Yanque about a decade before her employment with Desco, Liliana played an important role in the recuperation of indigenous identity in Yanque as a *regidora* or town councilwoman. Seeing a growing market for tourism during the early 2000s, she recommended that every morning,

interested primary and secondary school students could dress up in traditional clothing and perform the *Wititi*, a traditional local dance, while merchants sold artisan-made goods in Yanque's plaza. These students could then put together the tips collected from their dances and organize their end-of-year class trip. This dance and market has happened every morning in Yanque, from six to eight o'clock, now for over ten years and often to an audience of at least several hundred tourists, or more during the April to August high season (Suni interview 2014).

Liliana's working definition of development suggested a core theme of Desco's project: she would continually assert that the economic development a participant would achieve from letting his or her entrepreneurial self flourish was merely an excuse for this young person's "real" personal, psychological development, the development of self-esteem and maturity and the ability to lead. This was as much about "personal development as economic development," Liliana explained to Edwin, another participant in Lari who was having trouble getting his enterprise off the ground. She would repeat this phrase in a number of Desco staff meetings. When examined ethnographically instead of only on paper (i.e. Desco 2012), these interventions had as much to do with building confidence and invigorated, motivated persons as they did with creating self-employment and an invigorated local identity economy. If each NGO visit would begin with pedagogy centered on this incomes and expenditures notebook, which would rarely be filled out adequately, they would often continue as they did with Liliana and Pati: participants would talk through individual problems and struggles, and seek motivation that included but also went far beyond strategies for better integrating and articulating themselves within local and regional circuits of commerce, seeing NGO staff as people who could be there for these participants. They were among the few people available to talk to, especially when parents, siblings, and significant others lived elsewhere, were abusive as was the case with several

participants, or were unavailable. Fabiola's meetings would often end with her young participants in tears (Dapino interview 2014).

Liliana explained that even as Desco staff saw these participants as having great potential for leadership and competence, many participants came from tense family situations, which for some meant physical and sexual abuse (Suni interview 2014). Thus, Desco's intervention into people's lives, in the guise of simultaneously teaching and testing financial inclusion, and transforming indigeneity into an innovation for job creation and local sustainability, went deep. My observations revealed that Desco's initial investments of money and advice to help participants build a business captured so little of the actual practice of development. Desco turned out to serve not merely as a job-creating development NGO, but also took on many other functions for which Colca residents sometimes had nowhere else to turn.

Desco's staff, in practice, also functioned as unofficial financial advisors, business consultants, management assistants, connections to credit institutions and other local organizations, networking gurus, legal advisors and advocates, accountants, tax experts, social workers, teachers, psychological counselors, and motivational coaches. This reveals that to invest in indigeneity means to take on comprehensive stakes in a place and its future, with the aim of transforming that place through alliances and returns reaped according to a particular temporality of urging people to cultivate relationships to the local past. And when municipal and institutional budgets are tight, as so many people complain, investing in a place means, in effect, being in charge of the economic and affective sprawl of everyday life at multiple scales. NGOs like the deeply entrenched Desco offer to their surrounding provincial community the power of their budgets (however small they are), resourceful employees, their effort to aid in welfare obligations beyond the state's meager programs for the very young and the very old, and ability

to mobilize local will for basic services like garbage collection and municipal government transparency. In doing so, these institutions also often represent to their participants the local face of authority and governance.

What the intermediate audit or visit phase shows us is an interval when inchoate ideas must begin to achieve results and must be channeled toward a performance which felicitously argues that the original investment was a good idea. During this period, work must be in progress. The credit and seed capital must be transforming themselves into material business assets. Signs of an indigenous, entrepreneurial self must start to reveal themselves: first on paper, but then, in the physical setting of the business, as with Anacé's crafts store and restaurant that offered local gastronomical favorites to tourists and residents alike. These are the indices of participants' motivation, of their ability to overcome personal and psychological obstacles, and ultimately, of their human capital. The key indication that investments were being put to work, what Fondesurco analysts and Desco staff appeared ultimately to be seeking, was an entrepreneurial spirit, and ideally an entrepreneurial excellence, that had the power to reinscribe and strengthen what it meant, according to these institutions, to be locally rooted in indigenous history and in community. So, audits, visits, and financial pedagogy were together ultimately about measuring a client's progress toward the future of his or her past.

Debt: The Anxieties of Settling Up

Credit is frightening. Mayde, one of the Desco project participants who did not win seed capital, was asked by staff in early 2014 if she planned to take out a Fondesurco credit for her own guinea pig barn. She resisted, saying that she did not feel confident that she could pay the credit back or follow the creditor institution's intricate rules. It made her uncomfortable to

commit to going into debt until she made a profit, and it was also stressful to commit to ongoing supervision by another powerful institution, with Desco's regular monitoring already a source of anxiety. Participants' stress about eventually having to be accountable for their credit and settle their debts was intense, and was one of the Desco staff's key challenges. This, even though credit, as mentioned above, also condensed all of the NGO's lessons about being a responsible subject of development: as Liliana told Mayde, she was over eighteen now and at the end of her years of "security" in the home, and thus had to "assume responsibility" for herself. Desco staff would eventually succeed in convincing Mayde to take out a modest credit. At the project's end, their final interview with her revealed that although she would have liked more capacity building sessions, she was happy with what the intervention did for her, enabling her to feel like an entrepreneur. Yet after centuries of dispossession, from colonization (see Chapter 1), to the exploitation of property and persons that was the hacienda system, to today's often sketchy land deals with mining companies, many people here and throughout the Andes like Mayde and Lusgardo have a profound and justified distrust of signing their name on a formal document. One of the key problems characterizing the intervention, according to the concluding internal evaluation Desco conducted of its project ("sistematización") as the intervention came to an end in late May 2014, was the "fear of formalization."

In the context of a financialized development initiative where credit is pushed as the assumed, default resource all empowered people ought to utilize to improve their lot, it can sometimes be a hard lesson when one learns they have depended too much on the benefits of credit, and have not listened to Desco staff's advice with sufficiently critical ears. One April afternoon, Anacé, the seed capital winner who owns the Kaypi crafts shop and restaurant, ran flustered to a capacity building session. She had learned at the last minute that she was missing a

document that she did not know was required to take out a Fondesurco credit for an urgent payment, and that her assigned Fondesurco analyst had left for the day. She was depending on the credit for equipment purchases and payments she urgently needed to make in order to host a large group of tourists in her restaurant. Romina Gonzales, a tourism consultant who worked with Desco at the time, had to run to Fondesurco to coax a different analyst into disbursing Anacé's credit that day. But this need for a technocratic authority figure to intervene on her behalf did give Anacé a sense that things came too close to disaster and that she would have otherwise been powerless (Condori interview 2014).

At the end of the schematized credit process, a client settles up after the agreed-upon term of the loan. He or she repays the amount of the credit plus the interest either on a periodic basis, or all at once, until repayment of both is complete. Failure to pay is extremely rare, Fondesurco director Trelles said. If a client cannot repay, they are encouraged to sell off their assets such as livestock and property, which are inventoried at the start of the credit period. Homes can also be seized, as Yanque-based restaurant owner Yeny Huánuco explained to me gravely (Huánuco interview 2014), although my impression is that this is even more rare. Even though it must remain solvent itself as an institution, and is an organization that pays its staff with its interest, Fondesurco as an institution is aware of the optics of exploitation, and cannot appear to be an organization that increases poverty in the region. If liquidating assets is impossible, a client is blacklisted.

Plinio described it like this: if somebody wants to take out a loan, “the client always has to keep the future in mind. If a client can't repay his or her credit, all of the institutions close their doors. They won't give him or her credit again, not a single institution” (Trelles interview 2014). This is the “future” of what Guyer calls the “midrange,” the time when the pains of failure

or growth can happen. People like Plinio try to avoid talking about that possibility, while institutions like Desco insulate their participants from this worst-case scenario by maintaining a secret emergency fund (Dapino interview 2014). If failure to repay happens with Fondesurco, the doors are closed forever. And if it happens with any credit granting institution, the client's name goes into a national database of insolvent debtors for five years, and is unable to take any new credit during that time. "They just about always pay us back," Plinio said, and when they fail to do so, it is most often because of health problems, or that the client has died. "We always follow up," looking at options for refinancing and restructuring the loan; there is a great deal of flexibility for a client, much he or she can do, before his or her credit future is closed (Trelles interview 2014).

Vanessa, a friend of Anacé's unaffiliated with the Desco intervention, did experience the closure of that future. She is a middle-aged merchant who rents a small artisan gift shop in Chivay. She had to declare bankruptcy in 2010 and as of 2014, remained closed out of all access to financial services. This was particularly oppressive because she was divorced and had teenage children who depended on her. She had owned several jewelry stores in Arequipa before this current venture in rural Chivay, which is completely self-funded. In those Arequipa stores, she was also robbed several times. Vanessa conveyed to me that if she only had access to credit again, she could finish making the investments her business needed and could finally put her broken life back together, revealing the sinister side of the logic that there is no alternative to credit/debt. Here, her words are evocative of the argument from Desco staff members like Liliana that development is simultaneously economic and personal. With credit, Vanessa conveyed, her business would take off instantly (Rodriguez interview 2014). Without credit, on the other hand, she had difficulty dreaming of a future for herself, and prospects looked bleak for

her children as well. Vanessa failed to settle up. Because of the importance credit has in Colca's economy, as the assumed fuel for any business engine, this failure locks her out of the magical flow of financial services, and for the time being appears to have ruined her life.

Pedro and Felix, two of Desco's Lari participants, tell the opposite story. This pair of enterprising twin brothers was flush with credit *and* profit, having gone outside of the program's mandate and becoming, in a sense, too autonomous. This worried the staff because of the frequency with which Fernando, the Fondoempleo supervisor, would visit to audit the project as a whole, to see whether its entrepreneurs were conforming to the ventures for which they were being sponsored. Fabiola and Luz Marina were astounded to hear from this pair of brothers, on a visit to Lari, that they had taken out a 75,000-sol loan, and would feasibly be able to pay it back. "It's hard enough just to put 5,000 soles together" for a loan repayment, Fabiola later remarked to me, thinking of the loans she herself has taken out (Dapino interview 2014). Pedro and Felix had largely neglected the milk collection and dairy products business for which Pedro won Desco seed funding. Instead, they had cornered an unexpected market, operating a lucrative internet café and electronics business in a prime location at the corner of Lari's central plaza.

Despite an intervention ideology that, as I have proposed, was focused on empowerment through the actualization of already existing abundance, my sense here is that Desco staff did not expect this level of material and immaterial wealth from their participants. These participants had many of their expenses already covered, with access to a far different species of capital that in some ways gave them a higher structural position than the NGO staff, at least when it came to investing credit in enterprises and being able to pay it back. Living in homes their family has owned for generations, they paid no rent, often ate from the products of their or their families' own land, and never really had to start a venture from scratch. They lived in Lari, a town where

their parents had raised them, their lives abundant with social connections, local trust, and long-standing relationships of their own obligations to and with others.

“There’s no poverty in Colca,” Fabiola provocatively stated in reaction to Pedro and Felix’s profound success, suggesting several things at once. First, it should be noted that this development intervention’s direct goal was not to relieve poverty, but to create jobs. My argument in this dissertation has been that institutions like Desco were not approaching development as the work of alleviating poverty. Instead, their mission was to make people and economies grow by unleashing the latent abundance of indigenous communities, cultures, and capacities for social and ecological relationships. As a March team meeting I attended between Desco staff and the Fondoempleo supervisor made clear, empowerment was a “product” funded by Fondoempleo that Desco was supposed to manufacture through the cultivation of locally oriented entrepreneurship.

At another level, though, Fabiola here is working through her own shock that what looks like poverty on shallow inspection is not always what it seems. She conveys that she had the wrong idea about what it means to live in poverty, and simultaneously, that these participants in particular have failed to hit the sweet spot of being just impoverished enough to show that they were in need of economic development, but not too poor to fail to empower themselves. Poverty, according to Fabiola’s definition, is not about the stereotypical optics of want, living in ramshackle huts with the flimsy tin roofs that can be observed throughout Lari. Instead, poverty for her may mean living without social connections; living in pain; living without food, and seeking not empowerment through development but survival through welfare in a manner that Ferguson calls “asocial inequality” (2015). Poverty means living without being able to take out credit but also, sometimes, living in extreme contrast to what Clara Han terms a “life in debt”

(2012): it is a life *out of debt*, living totally settled up because one could never be productively unsettled, as a person who cannot be indebted and cannot pay back and does not even get the chance to enter the system.

A different kind of credit was simultaneously at work, and was arguably more powerful, than anything Fondesurco could offer. Mayde, Rogelio, Pedro, Felix, Miguel Ivan, and Raquel, project participants from the community of Lari, decided as a municipal youth association to assist one another in each other's labor using the Andean reciprocity tradition of *ayni*. I described this in the previous chapter as an example of teamwork inflected with local indigenous practice that demonstrates austere development's productivity beyond the mandates and expected outcomes of an intervention. I return to it here, seeing this associativity as also these participants' means of articulating their own system of credit that suggests a distinct take on what it means to settle one's debts.

Drawing on *ayni*, which calls for an ongoing circuit of labor reciprocity that is unlimited by calendar time and which in today's cash-heavy economy tends almost exclusively to be used when putting on fiestas (Dapino interview 2014), these participants banded together earlier this year to help Mayde construct her barn, with the promise that next time, the group would help another participant with an element of his or her own business. This is a kind of credit that Desco staff have said they would like to expand throughout the Colca region, because such practices aid the intervention without costing Desco anything. *Ayni* is also now an object of interest among many Peruvian NGOs as a relatively inexpensive, and classically grassroots, form of development intervention (Wiener 2007). Instituting *ayni* does not exclude the use of financial services, but it adds a layer of local familiarity to development intervention that may enable actors to avoid or cushion its pitfalls. Even if the stereotype of a harmonious Andean reciprocity

overlooks this traditional system's own potential flaws, and its own failures as an intervention into already existing structural inequalities—for, as in the financial sector, one cannot enter the system if one is too materially impoverished to begin with—in deploying social ties for productive ends, *ayni* does solve some of the basic structural challenges that Desco cites as barriers to development. And, ultimately, it tantalizingly fuels the dream that re-establishing locally oriented indigenous systems, rooted far in the past, is the ideal endpoint of development.

In contrast to credit structured by formal financial institutions, *ayni* is, crucially, not something that ever really ends. Like the common perceptions of indigeneity for which it is a stand-in, *ayni* is a permanent relationship; and, with the temporary help of development intervention, it is also timeless, at least in the way some practitioners imagine it. As such, it addresses the immediate near-term, as well as the midrange, and even the long-term. One never closes out one's debts in a network where this tradition organizes the way people provide services to one another. Failing to reciprocate can alienate a community member from their network and can be truly devastating. More commonly, one could translate to cash or financial credit when asking for help. *Ayni* is now something rare, an institution whose loss many lament (M. Huaracha interview 2014; E. Checa interview 2014). But when *ayni* is deployed, one is always able to enter back into the system, no matter how much time elapses. In such circuits of obligation, and perhaps this speaks to village contexts more broadly where friendships and family relationships can be intimately rooted in labor and service, the anxiety of settling up is eliminated, because nobody is ever free from their duty. Social standing, reputation, and relationships provide the incentive to reciprocate according to local idioms of accountability, offering a system distinct from the audits and visitas that formal credit entails. Thus, as Mauss

and the many other anthropologists of credit and debt have long suggested, life in a community is always already a life in debt.

Conclusion: Innovation and Enervation

This dissertation circles about the idea of indigeneity—a way of seeing and being, a lived history, a kind of culture—as a development innovation. And yet, the dream of a recovered, self-sustaining, indigenous community life is mired in confusion and contradiction, as the entanglement of the credit economy in development intervention illustrates. This observation, which the psychologist Liliana made, was telling: “The culture has to change, if they [Colca’s communities] want development.” So “culture” becomes a flexible, movable item: sometimes it is the object of development, the indigenous culture that ought to be put to work and placed on display wherever possible. At other times, it is an entirely different kind of term—a culture of dependency, a culture established by outsiders and governments under old paradigms of development, frequently referred to here as *asistencialismo*, which favored handouts and massive infrastructure modernization projects, a series of interventions (under the aegis of “*obras*” or public works) that tended to spike when elections were taking place (see Chapter 5).

Some elements of Colca’s Collagua and Cabana ethnic identities, like the local version of guinea pig-based Andean cuisine, are the official focus of recuperation. Others, by some accounts even more locally meaningful, are largely being lost, such as *ayni*, which María Huaracha regrets, and the communal obligation to clear the reservoir on Mount Mismi (M. Huaracha interview 2014; see Chapter 6). In 2014, there were no public cooks for the Mismi cleaning, and that became an excuse for many to avoid their duty. The reservoir cleaning is a ritual many of my Yanque interlocutors described as both beautiful and urgent. But it is also

unprofitable to spend four days in the mountains overlooking the valley for farmers and wageworkers alike, especially when climate change is shrinking the harvest every year and rendering agriculture a riskier, less predictable enterprise.

Finance's dark side is a theme that preoccupied many Colcans in the context of broader worries about life's potential enervation in the region. Some note it as something physically inscribed into the built environment of these communities. Gerardo Huaracha, of Yanque, was disturbed by the number of houses built of "*material noble*," noble material, or ugly squat rectangles of cement and glass, often with the rebar stakes of aspiration poking out of their rooftops meant to support a future second story that often never came. He suggested that these houses indexed the worrisome amount of people taking out loans they may never be able to pay back. Those aspirational cement homes in the surrounding village, he said, indicated "all loans" ("*puro préstamo*"). He said this in a clear moral judgment of his fellow yanqueños for spending beyond their means and leaving the evidence of their misguided prestige seeking for all to see.

Schwittay, the scholar of microfinance and affect, suggests that "inclusion," much like "community," is "a dangerous term" because it "is rarely used in a negative sense" (2011: 395). These terms are often used together, with Desco (and in different ways, Fondesurco and Sierra Sur) attempting to build community through inclusive investment and the cultivation of prosperity. However, perhaps reciprocity and other kinds of informal credit rooted in social networks, in families and friendships and webs of obligation, show us a way in which the term "community" can sometimes oppose the idea of financial inclusion, which entails distinct "circuits of commerce" (Zelizer 2011) characterized, at their best, by internal motivation and individual success. Or, as we saw with the vouching necessary in order for a potential client to be granted a Fondesurco credit, community can anchor and be prior to, and also outlast,

financialized interventions. Whatever the relationship, finance certainly impacts Colca deeply, doing significantly more to the place than only restoring it to its past glory and rendering institutions like Fondesurco and Desco obsolete.

A key theme to which this dissertation has continually returned is the discarding of futures past for future pasts. Setting the stage for the development interventions I have been investigating is the way in which modernization is seen as a model being replaced by unambitious hands-off investments and the fetishized tight budget. Whether or not the ability to reap returns on investment and take out a credit inhabits its own Rostovian civilizational logic is an open question. Now populating the development policy docket in Colca is, as I have maintained, the creation of community-oriented agents and entrepreneurs offering some kind of local identity and thriving indigenous business associations and the promise of sustainability, and ultimately, the restrained, responsible cultivation of stronger, improved, more confident indigenous selves. These interventions are about creating more vibrant economic circuits by making these selves articulable. The figure of the entrepreneur and the figure of the indigenous person intersect in the Colca Valley in powerful ways. Together, mediated by the ideologies of development finance, they help to stage today's scenes of forever.

Part II *Activating Indigeneity*

May 1, 2014. The festival to celebrate the Virgin of Chapi, the head matron of several communities in the Colca Valley, began with Mass, typical of most saint's festivals here. It continued with a solemn parade to anoint crosses on four sides of the field adjacent to the chapel, and culminated in a boisterous night of chicha drinking and dancing. But something was different. The sponsors of this festival were not the typical *mistis*, wealthy landowners from urban Arequipa. In this case, the Desco NGO was the sponsor, and the party was even more opulent than usual, from endless cases of beer to its own fireworks display. Festivities took place on a small campus that Desco's Arequipa-based Southern Regional Program owns in the fields between the villages of Ichupampa and Lari, and the NGO invited the populations of all of the surrounding villages to attend. Several staff—eight men from the Arequipa and Chivay offices—carried the heavy, mountain-shaped statue of the Virgin atop her large wooden base. Desco's patronage of this opulent festival suggests the NGO's internal understanding as a community institution present in rural Arequipa for thirty years. Its short-term projects are only one way that it invests in that community. Through this display of seemingly non-instrumental patronage in the ritualized idiom of an Andean fiesta, Desco stages its celebration of the Colca Valley, thanking its people for their support of its work. It also steps out of the normal parameters of that work, activating the convivial and the ludic dimensions of Collagua and Cabana indigeneity.

Activating Indigeneity, Part II of this study, inquires into the various other ways, outside of the strict parameters of a development project or a two-year credit, in which the idea of being indigenous comes to life in the communities of Caylloma Province. It follows the values of indigenized finance and financialized indigeneity as they travel into everyday economic life, while also investigating moments in which those values fail to articulate. What else is potentiated and actualized offstage, in other scenes of exchange, service provision, and ritualized labor?

What happens to cash in rural communities whose economies are based in part on subsistence farming and reciprocity? Are big, unwieldy denominations—such as Peru’s 100-sol bill—uniquely mobile, or uniquely stationary, in such places? What might denomination itself tell us about how people self-identify, or even about how development interventions are changing local economies? This chapter tracks the ways large cash units circulate through Andean Peru’s Colca Valley, due in part to a development paradigm that emphasizes investments in enterprises promoting indigenous identity as a market good and cash cropping as a means of livelihood. An ethnography of the interactional and technological infrastructure required to render money fungible in practice, this chapter attends to the non-fungible dimensions of big bills, arguing that they cannot be spent without mediation by certain social relations. In their capacity to organize transactions, savings, and value distribution, large cash denominations provide a rarely explored avenue for understanding the everyday impacts of development intervention. I propose that large bills are reconfiguring the ways Colcans relate to one another and conceptualize themselves. Anchored in ethnographic analyses of the specific moments when cash changes hands, my methodology is rooted in four case study sites: a longitudinal analysis of market vendors’ cash use in the market town of Chivay; a profit-sharing consortium of entrepreneurial families involved in local tourism; saving and spending practices in one “unbanked” Colcan household; and cash use in the ritual context. Ethnographic evidence suggests that (1) to make change (sencillar, “to simplify” in Spanish) entails activating and adjusting established forms of obligation, social capital, and neighborliness; (2) value distribution from big bills means that profits are rarely shared equally between a group’s members at any given moment, occasioning temporary economies of indebtedness and reciprocal aid; and (3) big bills can structure long-term household savings by virtue of their high value storage or “heaviness.”

In theory, money is fungible. Its alleged liquid exchangeability is key to the way money works as a medium: any one hundred soles is mutually interchangeable with any other one hundred soles, in any combination of cash and coin, and can accomplish the exact same transaction as any other sample of that particular quantity (1 Peruvian sol is roughly \$0.33). The same goes for any other amount of money. Money’s fungibility is what has made money one of the world’s most powerful economic tools and social media (Maurer 2015). But as anyone who has tried to buy a small item with a big bill can attest, large cash denominations are not always immediately fungible. Tracking that money form through Caylloma Province’s Colca Valley reveals the micro-social significance of non-fungibility, and the particular social trajectories that

must be engaged to render money both adequately useful and sufficiently meaningful to complete a transaction.

This chapter moves out of Part I's highly choreographed spaces of development intervention and their immediate offstage surroundings, taking a step away from the previous chapter's focus on the abstractions of finance and time in the context of financialized development; it moves Part II, *Activating Indigeneity*, into the spaces of ordinary life that development is meant to enhance and potentialize. I do that here by examining money, in its physical cash forms, as paper and metal that people handle and hold, that they put on their nightstands and in their pockets. In a May 2016 University of Chicago workshop, James Ferguson, speaking on cash transfers, suggested that the specific significances and investments actors actually assign to the cash they receive has remained a black box for scholars. This chapter attempts to open that black box, building on Jessica Cattelino's argument that the fungibility of money enables groups to reinforce their distinctiveness—in her case, it is the Seminoles, and Keith Hart's idea that "money's chief function is as a means of remembering" (Hart 2001: 5). With a focus on the treatment of large cash denominations in Colca, I draw a distinction between the operability in practice of big bills and their fungibility: even if they cannot immediately be spent, and sometimes precisely because of that fact, they may be meaningful and useful in other ways. I offer several empirical answers to the question of what, exactly, cash is engaged to remember as it changes hands or remains inert, in several scenes I examined in my efforts to learn how a climate of investability in indigenous entrepreneurs of indigeneity came to articulate with everyday economic life.

A number of social scientists in recent years have signaled vibrant interest in the social meaning of money (Chu 2010; Maurer 2005; Schuster 2015; Zelizer 2011). These researchers

have, in particular, attended to the important role of monetized exchange in self-making, offering nuanced counterclaims to classic assumptions that money alienates social actors from one another in its capacity to abstract. These scholars have suggested that money also brings people together and can be used to make and break ties, and stage moments in which people configure and imagine who they are. Anthropologists such as Cattelino and Douglas Rogers also suggest that money's liquidity is always an achievement, something that results from specific socioeconomic and political arrangements (Cattelino 2009; Rogers 2012). If these scholars suggest that money activates social life, my ethnography of money use in rural Peru seeks to describe how sociality, at the same time, *activates money*. Or, to phrase this as a dialectical pair of questions: What activates cash? What does cash activate?

This chapter analyzes one specific dimension of money's significance in daily life that those scholars have not yet delved into: the social meaning of denomination.¹ How does a big bill's non-fungibility enable actors to "transform the value of money" (Cattelino 2008: 123)? What does the specific medium of value conveyance that is the large bill suggest about what it means to be "indigenous" in Colca? And to pose the empirical question underlying this study: how do big bills become tools for configuring meanings within a market, an entrepreneurial association, a household, a ritual event, and communities more broadly?

Denomination is something to which I was drawn in my ethnography because of its capacity to occasion decision-making about what and how to spend, save, give, or invest. It illustrates how money's non-fungibility, or partial liquidity, renders particular cash forms highly productive, with certain denominations able to hold and index different kinds of memory from others. Large denominations, in this particular ethnographic case, also offer an index of the Arequipa region's broad claims to having achieved prosperity, alleviated extreme poverty, and

moved toward successfully cultivating indigenous revalorization through job-creating entrepreneurs. I argue that the non-fungibility of money, specifically manifested by the differentiation of cash form by denomination, structures and performs, presupposes and entails, and forges and breaks, relationships that develop around its usage in order to render that money fungible. I am proposing here, in other words, that socially significant relationality must be engaged in order for certain denominations to work in practice. In this way, money's meaning and usage are interdependent. I further propose that a large bill in this particular Colca setting advances actors' ability to shape indigenous selfhood via its capacity to occasion investment.

The ability of differential cash to signify distinct meanings and organize distinct interactions leads to important consequences for the way people forge ties, imagine themselves in "offstage" scenes of public and private life, and work through the economic, social, and political decisions that occupy their daily lives. As a number of market vendors reported to me, big bills have increased their flow through Caylloma Province. And that has altered the subtle routines of daily life for some, specifically the communities of the Colca Valley in and around the town of Chivay. The presence of new cash is one of the less obvious and more ordinary results of the province's rapid infrastructural and economic integration I have described elsewhere in the dissertation. Large cash denominations tend to be rare and difficult to deal with in Colca's town and village economies. Their presence increased along with that of a growing tourism economy since 2000, large luxury hotels, a booming microfinance sector, and, crucially, the installation of Chivay's first ATM in 2010.

The distribution of the value of big bills plays an important role in the way people relate to one another: the need to make change is a process that helps actors forge alignments and solidify social networks through seemingly insignificant but pregnant micro-level decisions,

while also providing a medium for actors to draw boundaries around those networks. In local Spanish, the word for making change is *sencillar*, which means both “to simplify” and refers specifically to the making of small coins, or *sencillo*. I use the term “activation” to describe the work these cash forms require in order to become usable as a concrete device that facilitates spending, exchange, savings, attachment, and other forms of significance in diverse contexts of transfer or transaction. I found that the work of activation means that non-fungibility, and specifically the special non-fungibility of certain cash forms like the 100-sol bill, opens up a moment of possibility, of hesitation and improvisation. This is a moment when actors party to the exchange forge (and potentially break) ties, articulate their investments in particular futures, adjust one’s alliances, and engage in the work of framing and adjusting their own identities. Denomination, then, is both the physical organizing unit of money and the structural obstacle to money’s theoretically seamless liquidity that certain cash forms present. The sites in which I conducted an ethnography of cash use reveal denomination as fungibility’s “potentializing limit,” a term that Justin Richland defines as a constraint that limns and constitutes a set of concepts through the force it exerts as a boundary (2011).

This chapter draws on longitudinal field research in dense sites of monetized transactional activity. I participated in, observed, and asked many questions about a variety of cash exchanges. Here, I proceed with a brief overview of literature that has come to reconsider money as merely an instrument of abstraction. I then contextualize this ethnographic analysis of market exchanges and economic lives in rural Peru. I continue with an analysis of the social meaning of denomination, presenting my ethnography of the work of large cash denominations in practice in four specific contexts in which money’s non-fungible forms came to take on local meaning: (1) the Chivay market, on which I spend the most time in this chapter, along with three

briefer comparative sites that include (2) a small consortium of cultural tourism entrepreneurs in the nearby village of Yanque, (3) a single household in that same community, and (4) a patron saint festival (*fiesta patronal*) in the highland outpost of Ran Ran, just beyond the valley, in which large denominations took on special ritual significance.

Theorizing the Cash Unit: Quantity as Quality

Scholars have recently come to see money as productive of nuanced relationships and intimacy, and show us that even Marx and Simmel saw money as not simply a medium of alienation. Marx describes money as a “radical leveler” (1990: 229). Before describing his famous formula in Volume 1 of *Capital* (C-M-C’ to M-C-M’) by which money “forms the starting-point and conclusion of every valorization process” (255), his 1844 manuscripts have a more sarcastic and provocative Marx describing money—that “universal whore” (2007 [1844]: 192)—as magically, suspiciously empowering. “As an individual I am *lame*, but money provides me with twenty-four legs. Therefore, I am not lame” (191). He later suggests in *Capital* that “Money is the absolutely alienable commodity, because it is all other commodities divested of their shape, the product of their universal alienation... *Non olet* [it has no smell], from whatever source it may come” (1990: 205). Simmel offers a similar argument but remains ambivalent about its implications. “The fact of economic exchange,” Simmel writes, “frees the objects from their bondage to the mere subjectivity of the subjects and allows them to determine themselves reciprocally, by investing the economic function in them” (2004 [1907]: 83). Thus a kind of investment occurs when objects are exchanged, their value contextually determined by the reciprocal.

In elaborating on money's function as "the autonomous manifestation of the exchange relation" (2004: 127) that abstracts such reciprocal determination, Simmel makes a number of claims suggesting that money is at once an instrument of total abstraction and a limitless blank canvas. It is "one of those normative ideas that obey the norms that they themselves represent," he writes (130); as a kind of "universal solvent," in one anthropologist's gloss (Schuster 2012: 300), money is "interchangeability personified" (Simmel 2004: 131); it fills the "gap in value movement" (132); it "takes on the quality of a pure means" (192); we should understand the "quantity of money as its quality" (279). On first glance, these statements might indicate that there is no hope for authenticity within a moneyed modernity, especially in light of his description of money's "colorlessness and indifference" (Simmel 1950: 414). Zelizer argues strongly against that inflexible strain she sees in Simmel's argument, in which money's allegedly "impersonal fungibility" transforms every social relation into a market object, insisting instead "that people employ money as a means of creating, transforming, and differentiating their social relations" (Zelizer 2011: 89).

However, it is no small point that money's quantity is its quality. With this argument, instead of assuming that money's abstractability means that it is a hopeless force of alienation, we can align Simmel with Cattelino, who shines light on the redeeming, empowering work money is capable of performing. Keith Hart also makes this quantity as quality argument clear through his argument that money serves as a "memory bank" (2001), or "a store allowing individuals to keep track of those exchanges they wish to calculate and, beyond that, a source of economic memory for the community" (Hart and Hann 2011: 96). "Numerical deixis," which Jane Guyer invokes as a way of seeing the display of numbers as a kind of signature (2004), more clearly captures this memory function as a quantitative language for indexing what is

valuable. And as Zelizer summarizes, it is important for researchers of exchange to observe how money particularly works “as a nonmarket medium, for certain monies can be indivisible, . . . nonfungible, nonportable, deeply subjective, and therefore qualitatively heterogeneous” (2011: 100).

All of this, by now, is well-trodden ground in anthropological scholarship. But work remains to be done at the scale at which cash changes hands. Thus, I investigate what it means for money’s quantity to be its quality. I want to know what kinds of qualities quantity provides, taking large cash denominations to be one form of temporarily indivisible bundles of money whose non-fungibility and non-portability configure and create—and are dialectically constituted by—the scenes where they take center stage.

The importance of sociality for money’s activation at certain quantities is clear in the central market of Chivay, the capital district of Caylloma Province and with roughly 6,000 inhabitants, the Colca Valley’s most populous town. In that space, the difference between small coins and large bills was readily apparent, as my own first experimental attempt to buy a one-sol avocado sandwich with a 100-sol bill made clear. At first, the vendor who would later introduce herself to me as Brígida gave me a look that conveyed the inconvenience, for her, of taking the bill even as she maintained her friendliness. I told her I did not have any other cash (and would later fill her in on my experiment), so she began asking the vendors of the same products—small sandwiches on the locally customary three-corner bread, grain milks, yogurt—to her left and right. When they were unable to make change, Brígida went farther away, finally finding a bulk produce vendor with whom she was tenuously familiar—exemplifying the “strength of weak ties,” as Mark Granovetter described (1973)—who was flush with diverse cash denominations. That vendor made change with Brígida, who then gave me change for my 100-sol bill, and my

purchase was complete. Meanwhile, in the time she sought to make change, Brígida's stand was left unattended. There is no significant theft problem in Chivay, but she was unable to make any other sales during the time she was rendering the 100-sol bill a purchasing medium, so my use of that large bill may have cost her at least several soles' worth of profit.

Small coins, by contrast, facilitate rapid purchases, easy exchanges, and efficient time spent in the Chivay market. This suggests a marked difference between "light" cash, or cash of low denomination that moves quickly, and "heavy" cash, which takes significantly more effort to use.² Large bills in that setting, on the other hand, open a moment of puzzling and problem solving, aided by the already existing presence of friendship, enmity, family, and collegial ties within the public space that is the market. Depending on the relationship between vendor and buyer, that moment may also be one filled with conversational engagement, as my interactions with Brígida eventually were during the longitudinal cash use experiment. Thus, fungibility's limit as manifested in a cash denomination creates and cements the conditions for a certain kind of intimacy in the temporary sociality constituted by the daily produce market. It also affects the amount of profit vendors are able to make, suggesting that in monetized exchanges, not all money is equal or equivalent.

Market Life at Inclusion's Frontier

The Colca Valley has come under the aegis of a "development with identity" (Andolina et al. 2009; García 2005) or, as locally known, "revalorization" (Samayani interview 2014) paradigm in development. Described more extensively in the introduction, this culture and identity-focused paradigm means that multiplicity of institutions including Desco, Sierra Sur, Fondesurco, and the Spanish aid agency are emphasizing the use of displayable ethnic and

cultural goods, traditions, and livelihood strategies as things that can be put to work for economic improvement. In Colca, development initiatives have entailed the cultivation of uniquely indigenous knowledge, practices, and human capital through investment. This new slate of investments in select aspects of indigenous ways of life that promised to become development innovations converged with a regional move away from subsistence farming as the principal source of livelihood, instead emphasizing cash cropping, construction, tourism, and mining to produce an economy in which moneyed relationships, wage labor, and cash-based exchanges touch most people's lives.

Notable among these shifts was the emergence of a booming credit, loan, and microfinance industry that came to the regional capital of Chivay. Less obviously, this has also meant the influx of new cash denominations, with big bills entering Colca's circuits of exchange, buying practices, and physical market spaces in unprecedented quantities. Market vendor Brígida described the big bill as a relatively novel unit of cash that called for engaging a unique set of practices; it was something that vendors had to "learn to manage" (interview 2013).

As I describe more extensively in Part I, Colca development has entailed the transition to narrowly focused, collaborative, low-budget interventions: investments in small enterprises in the sectors of tourism, agricultural export, and other businesses that emphasize the promotion of indigenous cultural capital. These more recent investments are being made against the backdrop of the astronomical growth that Peru enjoyed in the first decade of the twenty-first century, largely due to mineral wealth and a high global demand for primary export commodities. The global land rush has been pronounced in Peru, whose mineral resources were largely responsible for the country's rapid aggregate growth in Gross Domestic Product in the past decade. The early-2000s rush for land to mine in Peru amounted to what Jeffrey Bury has called an entirely

“new development imaginary” (2005). Mining today dwarfs Peru’s other key industries—agriculture, fishing, and tourism—to which NGO-based investments have more typically been directed. This mineral boom made Peru the fastest-growing nation in South America for most of the previous decade, with rapid Asia-style expansion earning it the title of Andean “tiger” (Valencia 2012). Peru now has South America’s second-highest Fitch and Standard and Poor’s credit ratings (BBB+), with many Peruvians worried after 2010 because national growth was slowing to 5%, and has since slowed to 2.4% in 2014, rising again in 2015 to 3.3% (World Bank 2016). Many development initiatives that once dominated the Andean countryside such as those of the rapidly shrinking Desco docket, and programs like the US Peace Corps and the Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation, have drawn down their projects, with the idea that their poverty focus has become outdated.

Until Caylloma’s post-2000 infrastructural connectivity, the high mountains that stand between the province and urban Arequipa, and the long stretches of desert that make access to the Pacific coast difficult, led NGO leaders to understand extending banking and finance to Caylloma as a rugged frontier venture. However, as a site of trade and translocal economic activity, Caylloma has never been completely cut off from the rest of Peru. The Colca and Ampato Valleys form a region diverse in agricultural and livestock resources that, before independence, was one of the Inca Empire’s most productive (Benavides 1983). Its residents have historically been an important part of the Peruvian national resource economy, even though journeys into and out of the region required significantly more time and effort. Indeed, a unifying motif of the life histories I documented in the Colca community of Yanque was a narrative of moving back and forth within the mountainous region and between mountains and coast. Elderly people describe working on haciendas along the Pacific desert coast, or in the lower-elevation

tropical reaches of Caylloma Province, a kind of rite of passage (Huaracha interview 2015). And along with these movements of people and their (often meager) wages, some cash had always been present in the province's villages.

But until the more recent democratization of cash and credit in the latest generation (M. Huaracha interview 2014), cash tended to almost exclusively be exchanged among wealthier “*misti*” (Spanish-descended white creole or mestizo) property owners, tracing its way through elite sectors of society, which put a racialized stamp on cash use. Most Colca residents, according to multiple oral histories, engaged in subsistence agriculture and an exchange economy rooted in non-monetized *ayni*, a structure of ongoing reciprocity between kin, associates, and households (Benavides 1983). This indicates the link between monetized exchange and exclusions according to local social hierarchies, with cash use tracing intersectional lines of class, race, gender, and status.

Over the past several decades, however, with the intensive interventions of development agencies (which began to arrive in the mid-1980s), microcredit NGOs (from the early 1990s), and multinational mining corporations (their contemporary iterations entering the region in the late 1960s; Benavides 1983), Colcans have seen a transition in economic emphasis to market-based cash cropping and other forms of entrepreneurship. Doing so democratized cash use considerably. In the midst of that transition, and as tourism became an increasingly significant industry there, cash use became nearly ubiquitous, in many cases thought to be blunting the usage of and even completely replacing *ayni*, whose reciprocity gave Colcans their primary currency of labor and service provision between families within a community (M. Huaracha interview 2014). Despite this expansion of the cash economy, Colca's villages today are

relatively cash-homogenous and “cash-lite,” in that the smallest denominations (1-sol, 5-soles, 10-soles) tend to be preferable for conducting most ordinary transactions.

Vendors told me that big bills tended to enter the market en masse and circulate at much higher rates when the Colca Valley became a popular site for mainstream tourism. The region has found an increasingly prominent place on the tourist map over the past fifteen years, in attempt to market it for the beauty of its canyon and for its living Collagua and Cabana culture—the two principal ethnicities in the Colca region that date back to the years before Inca colonization—which its people have invested in displaying. Thus, the presence of big bills can be understood as an unexpected effect and indicator of the effort by municipalities and non-governmental organizations in the region to revalorize indigenous life.

Big bills are conspicuous minority denominations in Caylloma. That makes these “heavy” symbols important objects to follow ethnographically, as they stand to reveal a significantly more detailed picture of the social texture of their users and uses, and of the contemporary structures of market life, than conventional aggregate indicators of development and wellbeing. The sections below thus submit those seemingly mundane objects to thick ethnographic description. What can cash denominations, specifically big bills, reveal about relationships within a community and how people are figuring out how to self-identify as economic and political priorities dramatically change?

The activation of the high value stored by large bills engages a whole host of encounters, and can draw together a wide range of contexts, experiences, and ethics. Denomination size mediates money signifying practices that Zelizer calls “earmarking” (Zelizer 2011), in which the origin, mobility, and destination of particular cash units are imbricated with the quantity or amount of value these units contain, but also, the quality of the relationships they come from,

concretizing the meaning and the pedagogical and moral messages they carry. My examination of actor-to-actor cash use suggests that it is at the most intimate of scales that money gets transformed into an investment, as its users and exchangers infuse it with meaning and utilize it to lay the groundwork for intersubjective relationships.

The Social Meaning of Denomination: Market, Cooperative, Household, and Ritual

The fieldwork I discuss in this chapter entailed ethnographic microanalyses of the non-fungible dimensions of cash. I conducted these analyses at four nodes in the regional circuits of mobile cash: the Chivay market for produce, agricultural goods, small appliances, and other wares; an association of cultural tourism entrepreneurs; a campesino household; and the fiesta to celebrate the local patron San Antonio in the small high-altitude settlement of Ran Ran. What happens when a customer approaches a merchant in the Chivay market with a 100-sol bill if that merchant is only holding a handful of coins? How is a development initiative's or NGO's investment in a profit-sharing small business association actually distributed as cash among the members of the group when it is awarded in the form of a big bill, or when the depositing of the program's check yields cash in large denominations? In a household engaged in cash cropping and cultural tourism along with agriculture, how does the occasional influx of big bills affect the way a family thinks about its savings? How does denomination forward and tighten ritualized relationships of patronage?

The Chivay market.

At the core of this ethnography of the social life and intimacies of cash use was a series of experiments I conducted with market vendors similar to the example of my transaction with

Brígida I described above. I longitudinally tracked twelve of these market vendors over the course of a year. With each, I would routinely purchase inexpensive items with a 50 or 100-sol bill; as vendors decided on various strategies for either completing or calling off each purchase, I interviewed them, asking them to describe what they were doing as they took the various required intermediate steps necessary to *sencillar* or make change.

In this experiment, I was pushing people to think about their relationships with large cash denominations, something usually embedded into a market habitus that money's users were not accustomed to thinking about or theorizing. Of course, my presence as a foreigner and self-identifying anthropologist likely impacted the kind treatment I received in the context of a burdensome exchange, with transactions perhaps happening when they otherwise may not. So, in this analysis, I do my best to be aware of my positionality as an ethnographer, while also building claims on my experiences, observations, and interviews outside of these scenes of transaction, exchange, and money use.

I found that Chivay's market vendors tended to draw on their market colleagues in a way that traced previous alliances and afforded the chance to forge new ties. It was also apparent that many vendors would earmark big bills for larger expenses, as one vendor, Reyna, told me (interview 2013), and as others corroborated throughout the research period.³

“There is a difference,” Reyna said, between cash denominations in practice: big bills go to the “*bolsa familiar*,” the family budget; they are used “for savings,” and for expenses such as the small property her family keeps in Arequipa for supply trips to the city, or for her daughter’s university education. Discussions of large cash denominations often quickly led to conversations about morality, as diligent savings evoked the opposing figure of men and lower-class Colcans squandering their money on alcohol, opulent patron saint festivals, and other forms of immediate

satisfaction that according to certain vendors, showed their moral failure to consider the future (see Bloch and Parry 1989).

Reyna was, at the time of my ethnography, a thirty-year-old woman who runs a breakfast cart in the market every morning from about five o'clock to ten o'clock or when her inventory runs out. She, like others, will sometimes stay later than that on the *feria* or market fair days of Monday and Thursday, when the highest produce inventories come in and when Chivay's market grounds are flush with buyers, sellers, trucks, carts of fruits and vegetables, meats and alpaca wool, tourists, and cash. When I sat down to watch her make change one crisp, non-feria Chivay morning, I noticed several pitchers at her post that contained different kinds of warm grain milk, which she sells for 1 sol each. I initiated our conversation by buying a glass of kiwicha milk with a 100-sol bill.

She poured the kiwicha and served it to me in a glass, confident that we would be able to complete this more complicated transaction. Then, as she began a *sencillar* process that would last several minutes, a number of things happened. She scanned the marketplace for somebody to ask to make change out of the bill. During this delay, she filled the time by telling me that it was these kinds of milk that the Collaguas and the Incas would drink to stay strong. Noting to me that locals still drink quinoa and kiwicha milk as she searched for the right person, she invoked a Colcan indigeneity as timeless, enduring, and palpably present in this very market site, with the pause occasioned by having to make change becoming a moment to convey a sense of self and local identity to an obvious outsider. Then, after seeing that everybody close to her cart was occupied in completing other exchanges, she walked over to the other side of the market and asked several people there if they could change a 100-sol bill. I followed several steps behind her. She invited me to do so, unconcerned that any of her items on the small cart would be stolen.

The first two vendors said they did not have any change available, offering her sympathetic looks. The third vendor Reyna asked had a great variety of denominations in her possession, after doing well in her sales that morning. Reyna stood and waited as this vendor prepared for her a substantial bundle of 20-sol and 10-sol notes and 5-sol and 1-sol coins amounting to 100 soles. She then returned me my 99 soles. Here, cash fungibility first required locating a vendor in possession of cash diversity, which in turn was the result of her high sales and which was required to mediate access to the Chivay market's circuits of commerce.

Maruja, who ran a small stationary and electronics store adjacent to the market, suggested that big bills are used to “invest.” They would sometimes be placed in a distinct pile that designated their routing toward purchases of inventory in bulk, for the store and also for her additional entrepreneurial work she does with her husband as an independent vendor under contract with the Claro cable TV and Internet company. She told me that they were the only such vendors in all of Caylloma and playing an important role in the province’s connectivity. She also made clear investment’s other moral valences, stating: “I want to invest in my children, too,” which meant supporting their education. She sends her son and daughter to secondary school in Arequipa. Her daughter, at twelve, was fluent in English and Quechua, in addition to her native Spanish. In this discussion of investment, Maruja explicitly distinguished herself from many people in Colca who, according to her, only possess homes and fields and fail to save up for their children’s futures (interview 2014). There was an implicit class and racial dimension to this statement, as Maruja dismissed failures to make the “right” investments with the same disgust that she, and many others, would criticize asistencialismo in the region.

Even though most of the vendors with whom I conducted this big bill experiment maintained their friendly and cordial composure, my purposeful use of large cash denominations

was an irritating way to purchase goods from them. That itself was an important, if unsurprising, finding that cut against any easy claim that money organizes a vague transactional equality that works without social mediation. Given its inconvenience, large cash also functioned as a kind of credit, at work in several ways. On a different morning, I attempted to purchase two small 1-sol avocado sandwiches from Reyna with a 100-sol bill. This time she did have exact change but because of the big bill, she encouraged me to buy an additional sandwich. “*¿Dos no más?*” she asked. Only two? I decided to buy a third. A request I saw a number of times as I watched others make small purchases in Colca when their cash supplies failed to line up neatly, Reyna’s inquiry made clear that the burden of making change must often be incentivized. So dealing with the constraints of denomination shows that fungibility’s limit can potentialize a greater amount of money transferred and thus, a higher profit for the vendor. This can also happen in the opposite fashion, in which the vendor loses money from giving the benefit of the doubt to a buyer that has only a large, inconvenient bill and insufficient small change; in such situations, which did occur in the Chivay market, if the change was close enough, vendors would often make the sale at a slightly lower price.

Making change for one’s market vendor peers is an ethical obligation as long as one is able to complete it, and talking about large cash denominations, as with other vendors, occasioned talk about this particular market’s superior morality. As Reyna said, “in Peru we are selfish,” indicating that the presence of reciprocity and favors between vendors, sometimes competing to sell the same products, marks Chivay’s rural market as a different kind of place, friendlier than the rest of the country. Vendors of the same products knew each other well, and instead of only relationships of individualized competition and atomized territoriality, their relationships sometimes seemed to take on a kind of complementarity, as a single vendor would

often have limited inventory each day. This certainly idealized sense of friendliness mapped onto familiar distinctions Colcans would make between rural communities as pockets of thriving and happy social life, and cruel, polluted cities like Arequipa and Lima where (stereotypically) one was much more likely to live in anomic alienation. Interviewees like mapmaker and tour guide Zacarías Ocsa, for example, suggested that Colca has its own proud, autonomous culture, while “Peru is over there, in Lima” (Ocsa interview 2008); in a book that Ocsa published in 2013, he calls Caylloma Province his “*patria chica*,” or little homeland.

The presence of locally strong mutual aid in this site of exchange was also echoed in what happened during another interview in a market storefront: an elderly woman, a vendor at an outdoor stall in a nearby part of the market, came to Maruja’s store to leave several containers of supplies in an unused corner of the space, which she trusted would be secure because of her alliance with the proprietor. Of course, Chivay is far from the only market space to be a stage of mutual aid (Nelms 2015), and I do not mean to idealize the relationships within it. However, my effort here is to use big bills as a way in to examining the ordinary interdependence so often inherent to market life that development project staff contrapuntally gloss as both a promising form of teamwork on which their projects ought to capitalize, and a pathological interest in handouts that their projects need to extirpate.

In contrast to this sense of sanctuary from “selfish” Peru, the few vendors in Chivay who consistently refused to make change and support one another lost many other opportunities for collaboration and potential profit sharing. This suggests that some in Chivay took the idea of market competition in an unacceptable, individualist direction, which Fabiola Dapino lamented was a recent problem between entrepreneurs in some parts of the valley. They tended to find themselves isolated from the market’s larger social networks. The majority of the vendors I

followed indicated that those who refused were a special class that were looked down upon and excluded. This approach expresses an ethic of collaboration that could be complementary with the competition characteristic of life as a market vendor, just as a failure to participate in existing ayni systems could result in social isolation and the risk of personal and household resource shortage. In this way, the use, storage, and circulation of large cash denominations created and indexed lines of affiliation, and this helped to structure an ethical framework, outlining a more deeply historic system of “generalized reciprocity” (Sahlins 1972) as explicitly opposed to brutal entrepreneurial competitiveness that vendors suggested was what marked Caylloma as a distinct and special place within Peru. The routines of obligation configured by making change do not always mean immediate, direct reciprocation, but they do suggest the market public’s broader sense that ongoing cooperation makes every vendor better off.

My experiments in the Chivay market consisted of longitudinally repeated interviews and repeated experimental purchases from twelve vendors using large cash denominations during the research period between November 2013 and January 2015. At the end of that period, I put together a basic survey (Table 1, below) resulting from my purchase of a single sample item from each of these twelve vendors with a 100-sol bill, and then asking what would subsequently happen to the bill. Of the market vendors I longitudinally surveyed, ten reported that the bill is used either to save or to invest in bulk inventory or some other future purchase. One reported that the bill goes back into rapid circulation; and another reported that the bill functions normally. While these twelve vendors I followed was a small sample, my effort here was to examine the money-changing work of a cross-section of merchants of distinct items and spread throughout the dense social space of the Chivay market.

Product	Savings/Investment	Rapid circulation	Normal circulation
Fruit/produce	X	X	
Eggs			X
Pharmacy supplies	X		
Household items	X		
Produce	X		
Bread	X		
Sugar	X		
Baking ingredients	X		
Yogurt		X	
Breakfast cart	X		
Emoliente cart	X		
Prix-fix lunch	X		

Table 1: A survey of the 100-sol bill's fate in the Chivay market.

The Yanque Ayllus Consortium.

I compared the Chivay market with three other brief case study sites to observe the sociocultural ramifications of money's non-fungible dimensions outside of the market scene. The three sites to follow deserve further study and deeper analysis; I briefly summarize my analyses here to outline a selection of additional ways in which non-fungibility matters in scenes of self-fashioning beyond development's stages. The second site I analyzed was a small association of six live-in tourism enterprises in the community of Yanque, called the Yanque Ayllus Consortium, where the activation of cash for exchange presented moments and scenes in which

entrepreneurs would imagine and craft their investments in one another and in a sense of indigenous emplacement.

The consortium consists of a group of six families who had already been connected to one another in a social network, that together, had caught the eye of Ybed Taco Taco, a professional working for an Arequipa-based NGO called CID-AQP (*Colectivo Integral de Desarrollo-Arequipa*, or the Integral Development Collective of Arequipa). The families were related to one another by blood, marriage, or close friendship. They ran their consortium in such a way that profits, costs, and customers were often shared among the collective, a dynamic they agreed upon democratically, while each household offered its own particular style of lodging and hosting.

In each of these family businesses, special guest rooms were created right in the home for tourist lodging. A tourist pays to experience at least one to three days in the ordinary life of an indigenous Colcan in Yanque, which ranges from helping with work on the chakra to participating in local rituals to hiking and exploring the most highly valued nearby ecological and ritual sites for the family, who present themselves as expert guides. These cultural tourism enterprises posit for tourists what is an elaborately produced performance of indigenous daily life as a simple capture of that life, in a manner evocative of common images of tourism from the anthropological cannon, from the work of Dean MacCannell (2013 [1976]) to that of John and Jean Comaroff (2009). In my exploration of the development contest, I explored a related scene that contrasts the ideology of spontaneous capture with the complicated behind-the-scenes work of production that it takes to create such tableaus. These are also similar to the audits and performances of indigenous entrepreneurial ordinariness that other, more intensely supervised, forms of financialized development and its constant audits and openness to professional intimacy

demonstrate. In the Ayllus businesses, a married couple would run each family enterprise, with one of the spouses (four women, two men) taking the entrepreneurial lead. Other members of the immediate family present in the home would also take on some responsibility for hospitality, making each enterprise a total family activity when tourists were present. Given the relatively low numbers of tourists that lodge in Yanque, and the backpacker niche to which the consortium caters, to make a living each of these entrepreneurs was also engaged in a number of other more diversified forms of labor they had been doing long before the Ayllus business came together. These included the women cooking part-time in local hotel restaurants, several of the men engaged in temporary day labor, and others involved in maintaining their agricultural fields.

“Ayllu” is a broad term in the Andes (see Chapter 1). These affiliated businesses collectively defined it as “family,” using that Quechua word as part of their cultural tourism brand. Gerardo’s definition of the term also speaks to its orientation to collective labor: it is a group involved together in a task, and also, the place in which that task happens. The ayllu is a kind of stage, upon which specific scenes can be elaborated. Among the term’s most recent scholarly definitions, Marisol de la Cadena describes the ayllu as “the sacionatural collective of humans, other-than-human beings, animals, and plants *inherently* connected to each other in such a way that nobody within it escapes that relation—unless she (or he or it) wants to defy the collective and risk separation from it” (2015: 44). De la Cadena’s sense of integrally interwoven values is also reflected in the consortium’s interdependencies, which come to light clearly in its members’ cash use practices.

Consortium President Guillermina Huaracha described the business cooperative’s relationship to money. The small amounts of development support from CID-AQP it receives would usually come in the form of unwieldy cash denominations that have not been broken up

into six equal amounts, or checks that are translated into unwieldy denominations when Guillermina cashes them at the Banco de la Nación. And in light of the nightly price for lodging, with twenty-five soles per bed at the low end, profits also tend to come into these entrepreneurs' hands in the form of 20, 50, and 100-sol bills. This means that members rarely, if ever, possess an equal amount of money in a given moment (G. Huaracha interview 2013). Yet they often count their money earned as money in their possession, in what Irving Fisher called the "money illusion": this is a situation in which people perceive the value of money as nominal rather than real, or in terms of that which they believe they are theoretically entitled to, instead of that which gives them the immediate power to purchase (Fisher 1928). Participants often need to wait to receive their deserved share of cash. This parallels the moment of "credit" that the big bill's wait occasions in the Chivay market setting. Caroline Schuster notes a similar form of incidental credit in the lending groups she observed in Paraguay: the "delay in making change," Schuster writes, "often served as an informal credit...a floating loan remained in the form of the unreturned change that the treasurer would pay later" (2015: 127).

In order to resolve this problem and share investments and revenues, the cooperative's president or a designated colleague must make what I call an "activation purchase." Such a purchase means using a big bill to buy a small item, so that they are able to transform the bulk profit or investment money into a fungible collection of smaller, and thus more immediately usable, cash units that are easier to divide evenly. This is practiced even with the knowledge that a small amount of the profit is lost in the purchase. But the item purchased—food, drink, or decorations for one of the businesses, or for a group meeting—tends to be a consortium investment, instead of something that lends itself to perception as an excessive or wasted expense. And this item is put back into social use, helping to bind the group: for example, the

purchase of a soda bottle could often be an activation purchase. Many meetings I would attend were anchored by shared soda drinking, in which each attendee would drink Inca Colca or Coca Cola by serving themselves from a single cup and then passing bottle and cup together, as was also done in settings convivial of alcohol consumption.

The activation purchase, meant to push the large cash unit out of association members' hands as quickly as possible, suggests that the large size of a cash unit like the 100-sol bill can mean its high-velocity circulation. This purchase directly links the consortium to the broader local economy, contributing to market dynamism through its consistent supply of purchases. Thus we see commercial movement, even at a small scale, directly resulting from the presence of big bills in a cash-diverse money context.

Distinct forms of linkage to the market are also forged through other efforts to *sencillar* large cash denominations for the consortium, especially in the journey that has become an essential feature of any Colcan business enterprise: the trip to Chivay, which is Caylloma's provincial capital as well as its market, supply, and financial center. The Colca branch of the Banco de la Nación, or Peru's National Bank, changes big bills for smaller ones without any extra charge. However, because that source of more usable small change is located in Chivay, a fifteen-minute bus ride away from Yanque that at the time of writing costs 1.30 soles, and likely at the end of a long line of people waiting, making change at the bank is in effect far from "free." So, the dominant form of settling up within this group tends to be more local. Guillermina might make an activation purchase, seek out friends that happen to be in possession of small change, or exchange customers (as I describe below), if the Chivay errand can be avoided. And when Guillermina or a colleague of hers did go to Chivay, the journey was never simply to make

change; the trip itself was time-consuming enough that it would tend to involve running multiple errands in order to be a worthwhile use of time.

The association presents a site of ongoing, collateralized profit holding and money possession in which reciprocal relationships and alignments within the group are constantly reinforced by the fact that somebody is owed and somebody owes much of the time. And it was not only the value of profit and investment, but when money could not be divided, customers themselves took on a fungible quality: as a way of settling up, incoming customers can be reciprocally exchanged. This opened further problems, however, as not all of the six cultural tourism homes were equal in quality. Hilde Checa, who we met in Chapter 1 and whose cultural tourism hostel has attracted the most customers by a large margin over the past several years, left the consortium during my case study period after realizing that her membership in its profit-sharing arrangement was causing her family's business to lose money. Through these tools of reciprocity, the obligation to activate the equal sharing of cash, and the interval of inequality that could become a form of credit, the non-fungibility of money helped to shape the way members of this entrepreneurial consortium related to one another. As a form of exchange underlying their indigenous entrepreneurship of indigeneity, it also helped to shape the way business owners imagined themselves in the context of a paradigm in which the idea of being indigenous is transforming from a liability to an asset for development.

The household.

Concurrently with these first two case studies of cash practice, I followed the use of big bills into one rural household's long-term savings practices. Gerardo Huaracha and Luisa Cutipa de Huaracha were the elderly couple with whom I lived in Yanque. They rarely spoke of money

and savings practices, aside from the occasional reference to the idea that they had very little saved up, or that Gerardo was headed to the Banco de la Nación in Chivay to collect remittances sent to him by his daughter María, who lives in the central Andean city of Huaraz. Thus my significantly more limited analysis of big bills in the household was based on observing the pathways of the big bills with which I paid my monthly rent of 300 soles, along with several other high-value transactions I was able to witness. Gerardo and Luisa are highly influential, and count among the community's wealthier peasants in terms of land ownership and kinship connections. The couple's ample non-monetary resources extend to their larger local family of adult children and grandchildren, many of which are their neighbors. Cultural tourism entrepreneurs themselves, Gerardo and Luisa are also members of the Yanque Ayllus Consortium, whose president Guillermina Huaracha is their daughter.

The first two cases revealed that big bills mediated social relations, helped people route value into their designated investment priorities, enabled the imagination of a future and a way of preparing for it, and distinguished diverse relationships to indigeneity. This household offers a place in which large cash denominations tend to organize savings practices. Big bills, for Gerardo and Luisa, have tended to become long-term savings and value storage devices, taking on a heavy quality, as opposed to the lightness they associate with coins and smaller denominations (Huaracha interview 2014; Cutipa interview 2014). A big bill tends to be used as a kind of portable savings box, a form of heavy deactivated latent value, spread throughout various hiding spots in the home. Otherwise, they are earmarked for larger community expenses and resources. My monthly rent payments, profits from their occasionally successful hotel, and high-cash windfalls from the rare mass sale of alpaca wool sheared from the moderate herd that Gerardo keeps by Mount Mismi, afforded moments in which Gerardo and Luisa dealt with large

cash denominations. They would disperse the bills in bundles between several drawers and underneath piles of clothing in their bedroom. The bills would occasionally reappear when the couple had to make a larger expense, such as Gerardo's monthly payment for his fields' access to the communal water supply. Otherwise, they would remain inert in the bedroom.

More broadly, big bills orient the family in space by structuring its members' obligations and investments in the community that surrounds it. They also orient them in time as a long-term savings device, helping the couple configure their relationship to the future, imagine the most significant expenditures and financial pressures they will face in the coming years, and plan the wealth and resources they will pass on to their children.

Denomination and ritual life.

Colca's fiestas also provide sites in which denomination accomplishes important ritual work. Here, I explore how, by way of a brief examination of the September 2014 fiesta patronal for San Antonio that took place in a small settlement called Ran Ran, which was once an annex of Yanque, in the highlands to the valley's west. One feature of this and other fiestas in Colca, from patron saint's festivals to weddings and baptisms, as in much of the Andes, was the careful placement of cash in the festival sponsor's sombrero (Figure 10). An embroidered fabric band would be tied around the sombrero's crown, and through the course of the day, the band was filled with bills that attendees were expected to give as a form of thanks and to help alleviate the fiesta's invariably high expense.



Figure 10: Large cash denominations are placed in the fiesta patronal host's sombrero. (Photo by author)

Denomination structures this procedure in several ways. The lowest denomination of soles that comes in paper form is the ten-sol bill, which renders ten soles the minimum donation feasible for a festival attendee. Not every attendee donated, and it was possible to join a fiesta without spending any money, but once this became a routine habit, non-paying attendees were seen as selfish freeloaders or, alternatively, like several of Gerardo Huaracha's friends, alcoholics whose drinking had already left them destitute. Ten soles (about three dollars; perhaps worth more after a purchasing power parity adjustment) is not an amount of money that most Colcans would readily spend without some consideration and hesitation. It is not customary, and would likely be a display of miserliness, to donate coins valued at five soles, two soles, or one sol. It is also physically impossible to tuck coins into or onto the brim of a sombrero. Thus, denomination sets the minimal donation at what is locally perceived as a high quantity.

Each fiesta sponsor's goal is to make his or her sombrero as literally cash-heavy as possible. Upon contributing, an attendee is often given a kind of party favor: for small donations,

he or she would be given a bottle of Arequipeña-brand beer to share, or a large glass of chicha essential to most ritual occasions here, or even both of these. Larger donations like 100 soles might be rewarded with a full case of beer. Often but not always, a friend or family member would be tasked with keeping a written list of the contributions, noting who gave each contribution, and how much. In doing so, they authorize the link between denomination, monetary contribution, and affective investment through writing, which has a historic binding power in much of the Andes (Salomon and Nino-Murcia 2011).

While most attendees gave 10- and 20-sol bills, some extremely generous fiesta participants offered denominations in the amount of 50 and 100 soles. The San Antonio fiesta took place in September 2014, falling in the midst of the campaign season for municipal and regional political positions. Local mayoral candidates displayed their generosity and care for the people they were hoping to represent by conspicuously placing 100-sol bills in the fiesta sponsors' sombreros. This suggests that as they are transferred from the hands of generous attendees and public figures trying to garner influence to the people they are aiming to influence, these symbolic large cash denominations convey, through their quantities, the unique stamp of the hands that give them, exemplifying the concept of numerical deixis that Guyer and others describe. There was a certain publicity to these big bills that deeply contrasted from the privacy of big bills earmarked and hidden away in the home. In the fiesta patronal, big bills matter as part of the spectacle of reciprocity. Their size rendered these denominations props in the performance of politics, community, and emplacement.

Conclusion: Denomination as Potentiating Device

I have considered here what the use of big bills like the one-hundred sol note, and the intricate process of making change out of such unwieldy cash units, might tell us about local priorities and daily routines in Colca. Just as revealing were those moments when large denominations were not broken down, and left in their heavy forms: in certain scenes, like the fiesta I just described, their numerical symbolism as inert, unused paper tokens is more important than their immediate liquid utility (see Zelizer 2011: 101; Simmel 2004).⁴ Investigating big bills as an ethnographic research object also offers the potential to reveal the changing texture of economic lives in a once-remote region that has since the mid-1990s become a frontier of financial inclusion in Peru (Mejía interview 2014).

In the Chivay market, a vendor's need to figure out how to make change initiates a productive moment of hesitation. The customer may hesitate first, deciding not only whether to buy something and what to buy, but also, what configuration of coins and bills she or he will use to pay for it in relation to what cash denominations might be needed in the subsequent purchases that happen before the next chance the customer will have to go to her or his savings box or bank account. There is one main bank in Chivay, the Bank of the Nation, where most Colca residents now have an account, and where accessing one's account is a time-consuming and inconvenient errand; there are also several ATMs there, but relatively few Colcans use debit cards. These banks serve as a backup resource to the National Bank for making change. But the journey to Chivay by combi, and the need to wait on a long line and present one's national identity card and sometimes other documents present sufficient hassle and potential for lost profits that vendors tend to prefer changing money with one another.

These moments of hesitation in any market purchase allow for many parallel interactions to happen: casual conversations that enable customer and vendor to strengthen their alliance, which could play a role in fostering customer loyalty; a moment in which one of the actors is waiting for the other, allowing the vendor to complete another sale; or a pause in which the vendor or customer can observe what else is going on in the town square and tune in to the broader public culture. Of course, moments of hesitation can also mean delays, and can cause harm: if they are too long, they can result in distractions that leave a vendor or customer vulnerable to robbery or miscounting, or, much more likely for Chivay, to simply a missed subsequent sale. However, I found that the interactional moments afforded by the need to economically “activate” the value of large bills by making change tended to create and reinforce relationships between customer and vendor, between a vendor and colleagues in the market, and between market actors and the larger public of the market town.

Activating cash by making purchases that brought small, more fungible change also occasioned a moment of decision-making in which Guillermina Huaracha could define and potentiate her priorities for the consortium of entrepreneurs that she led. The decision to maintain cash in its high-denomination form, as we saw in the elderly Huaracha household and as mayoral candidates offered their big bills to the Ran Ran hosts, is also a form of aligning with particular priorities.

Together, these four sites help us answer important questions about the everyday practices that surround the usage of money. How mobile is cash? Are big, unwieldy cash denominations like the 50 or 100-sol bill uniquely mobile, or uniquely stationary, in rural market centers like Andean Peru’s Chivay? In Colca, small coins (especially the 1-sol and 5-sol piece) are usually the most desirable cash units. They make market transactions and small purchases

easy. They are light. They move quickly. In contrast, the much heavier big bills do very different things, and are themselves economically productive and counterproductive in distinct ways. They force vendors and entrepreneurs to draw on their limited store of social capital, and because of that scarcity, keep actors in feedback loops of obligation. They keep value in one place. They move either very slowly or very quickly. And the link between denomination and the velocity of money suggests that cash units, in particular contexts, can reveal details about circulation and the contours of economic activity. Even when money is hypothetically or abstractly fungible, denominational difference results in varying speeds of circulation, slowing certain kinds of economic activity down and facilitating others. It is this capacity that allows people to shape fungible and nonfungible money toward their own priorities, transforming money into an investment.

Examining the rich social dimensions of ordinary, everyday cash use at the micro level suggests that fungibility is not an automatic function of money, but rather, money's goal. Fungibility is something that must be achieved. Cash denominations can perhaps be imagined as falling on a kind of fungibility spectrum, ranging from *immediately fungible* on one end, to *fungible through extensive intersubjective and technical mediation*, on the other.

However mobile it may be, money in any form cannot be purely liquid. Examining the way money works, closely looking at this partially liquid medium that always needs a vehicle or a rail—a medium that dialectically configures and emerges from a local context of valuation, while calling for particular kinds of social and material infrastructure—reveals a larger picture of financial inclusion and exclusion in which that money comes to be at work. Doing so also attunes us to the importance of cash diversity, which offers a partial benefit to a community's

economy in that particular denominations build bridges between distinct economic sectors through the activation purchase.

Cash use thus offers an important complement to our understanding of a regional paradigm of development investment that is highly reliant on finance and imbricated within Caylloma's booming credit economy, where programs have used investment to train a direct focus on the financial cultivation of indigenous entrepreneurs of indigeneity. According to my interviews, many people unaffiliated with financialized interventions understood market value in terms of cash while approaching credit-granting institutions with suspicion. Of course, cash-based exchanges historically and at present only form part of the diverse local economy. But that simple, easy to overlook practice of transforming big bills into small ones offers a partial anthropology of situated wealth, enabling us to ask how people invest themselves in their economic lives and in effecting economic change at multiple scales.

Chapter 5 The Other Investors: Corporate Social Responsibility, Social License, and the Contradictions of Contemporary Andean Welfare

This chapter is an inquiry into the give-and-take between communities and the entities seeking to invest in them, beyond the ambit of the formal projects and initiatives discussed in Part I. How does indigeneity's construction as a development asset and as an innovation for rendering rural actors responsible and mature (or psychologically developed) intersect with other dimensions of public life? I suggest that a notion of extraordinary indigeneity as deployed and activated through development frames broader public discourses of ordinary welfare. I analyze a selection of narratives from the biased representatives of four organizations not directly or primarily involved in development intervention, non-state institutions that have come to take on a number of the former duties of Peru's decentralized state apparatus: a mining company's corporate social responsibility program, two religious groups, and a political campaign for Caylloma's October 2014 provincial mayor election. I take the biases of each of these liminal representatives as ethnographic findings that reveal contradictory commitments to opposing frameworks of aid. How does a development intervention paradigm focused on self-realized, indigenous Colcans translate into other institutions tasked with taking care of the people that surround them? What does it mean for such entities to take on a stake in the idea of indigeneity—what does indigeneity afford and foreclose? I propose that indigeneity grounds an ambivalence between contrapuntal commitments. It stands for the entrepreneurship model that formal ethno-development has sought to cultivate. It also structures ideas about patronage required for organizations to secure legitimacy and social license as the state offloads its welfare functions to civil society institutions and private entities. I further argue that for these entities to legitimate themselves, the social license they receive is the primary gift in an ongoing chain of obligations required for their ability to function. I draw together recent scholarship on the politics of welfare and post-welfare states, research on corporate social responsibility obligations, and a reexamination of Mauss' The Gift, for clues about what it means for an organization to see local aid as an obstacle along the way toward satisfying its own agenda.

Welfare Anxieties in a Post-Welfare World: Between Gift and Responsibility

In this chapter, I continue Part II's analysis of the everyday scenes in rural Arequipa beyond the sites of formal intervention, to ask how other entities whose institutional health is intimately intertwined with the region's wellbeing are investing in indigeneity. Tracking the ways a mine, two churches, and a political campaign are activating indigeneity, this chapter asks: What do people labeled indigenous give the institutions that both invest in indigeneity and seek to benefit from indigeneity? What politics of exchange does the *indigenous entrepreneur of indigeneity* forward? How do certain institutions' interactions with surrounding communities

newly modeled, reconfigured, and reproduced as indigenous configure the ways in which these entities each “enact” themselves “as an agent of sustainable development” (Welker 2014: 97)?

To answer these questions, I follow a collection of ambivalent, liminal characters that navigate between worlds constituted by distinct economies, communities, ecologies, and identities. They are a technician who works for the Tintaya Mine’s corporate social responsibility program, a Catholic priest, a member of the local chapter of the Jehovah’s Witnesses, a candidate for provincial mayor, and that candidate’s mentor. These actors take our narrative beyond formal development projects, grappling with the idea of indigenous life in corporate, religious, and democratic spaces. They illustrate, in particular, how the new figure of the indigenous entrepreneur of indigeneity sits uneasily between two contrapuntal values in economic life in Caylloma. First, there is the value of responsibility at the scale of the autonomously strong individual and association, as much of Part I of the dissertation described. But second is the importance of welfare and basic service provision that the Peruvian state has charged NGOs, religious entities, and mining corporations with addressing (Arellano-Yanguas 2011; Himley 2012), and which other organizations beyond the state also take up from diverse standpoints.

The seepage of ideas about indigeneity from development project offices into public life, I argue, has resulted in the co-production of those contrapuntal values of autonomous entrepreneurial responsibility and entitlement to welfare. In other words, these ideas are emerging together, forged in public through their counterpoint. This is a co-production nested within the broader co-productions I track in this study between indigeneity and finance, and between the mutually constitutive economic and psychological dimensions of development. The idea that a person’s personal and economic development are one and the same is often deployed by an institution to rail against the crippling dependence that simple aid is thought to cause. At

the same time, a key sign of a Colcan individual having achieved that empowerment is his or her ability to assert entitlement to aid and to deprive an institution of its “social license to operate” (Welker 2014). This co-production is rooted in indigeneity’s malleability as a concept that organizes the terms of local and regional policy. We have seen how indigeneity helps to reinforce notions of empowered individual responsibility, depoliticized team-based associativity, and the obviation of the widely derided “asistencialismo”—that racialized syndrome of addiction to assistance while failing to take part in one’s development. Yet there is still a place for aid provision, but Peru’s shrinking welfare state has largely foisted the obligation of service provision on private and civil society institutions like those I explore in the sections to follow, which sometimes render indigenous Colcans the dependent opposites of its model figure, the independent indigenous entrepreneur of indigeneity. In the region’s new spaces of extractivist welfare provision and basic support, the indigenous actor reprises its role as a recipient of aid, entitlement, and gifts. However, I also argue in this chapter that such a role features something new: the indigenous actor now has the power to give the gift of institutional legitimization.

My ethnography suggests that in ongoing relationships between institutions and their surrounding communities, that gift of local legitimization or license is understood as the *primary* gift that initiates a chain of patronage obligations. Seeing an institution-“stakeholder” relationship in this mutually obligated fashion takes seriously the importance of local acceptance to an institution’s ability to function and pursue its interests. But more fundamentally, it points to a reality that farmers who live near a potential future mine site, or spiritually traditional Andeans devoted as much to *huacas* (holy sites in the terrain) as to Christ or Jehovah, are far from simple dupes; they are actors with real, if ultimately asymmetrical, power. The ways in which they wield that power are suggestive of their own investments in indigeneity.

Organizations outside of the mandates of development tasked themselves with offsetting what would have otherwise been the work of a welfare state by offering their own forms of welfare. In the case of the Tintaya mine, corporate welfare obligations suggest an extension of the state's own aid to the mine that came in the form of concessions and tax breaks. Tintaya's ad-hoc social responsibility program also came in the wake of an explosive and deadly conflict in 2012, and was built according to a largely informal set of rules in Peru (Arellano-Yanguas 2011); they drew on the “soft law” tools of “dialogue” meant to empower voluntary self-regulation characteristic of neoliberal shifts from “government” to “governance” (Welker 2014: 14-15). And the religious groups and political campaign I comparatively analyze also attempted to reach out and aid their audiences as part of the process of continually earning institutional legitimacy.

Why examine these seemingly disparate institutions together? The analysis I offer here is inevitably preliminary, suggesting the need for future research that parses the work of each entity more closely. But taking them together, as unwieldy as the task may be, I suggest here that indigeneity draws all of these organizations into the same space of welfare and license obligations, and into the same normative field of giving, receiving, and reciprocating. Indigeneity has offered these organizations a tool for delineating the terms of entitlement: that of the people they are obligated to aid, and the entitlement of each organization to exist.

In what follows, I zoom in on the narratives and partial perspectives of five liminal characters, examining their efforts to set the terms of local welfare, taking on a stake in indigenous life by transforming the people that may potentially oppose their agendas into “stakeholders” (Glencore 2016). The chapter begins by putting scholarship on the ambiguous malleability of indigeneity into conversation with recent research on welfare and post-welfare states, posing the question of what it might mean in these contexts to “give money just like that,”

in the words of Freddy Panuera, the corporate social responsibility (CSR) agent I follow. I proceed with an ethnographic analysis rendered in two parts. “The Gift of Social License, Part I” analyzes the economy of CSR obligations that the Andes’ massive mining companies take on. It is anchored by the narrative of a veterinarian employed by the Tintaya Foundation, that mine’s CSR outfit. Then, “The Gift of Social License, Part II” traces the involvement of religious organizations in Arequipa’s Caylloma Province in cultivating indigenous Andean development as a form of moral aspiration and a means of welfare, and those entities’ simultaneous effort to extend their own social license to operate as local institutions. To do that, I compare the highly visible and regionally dominant Catholic Church from the perspective of the province’s head priest, Padre Marcos Alarcón, to a relatively marginal network of Jehovah’s Witnesses, as described by Yeny Huánuco, a devoted member of that group. I also draw on my own experiences attending religious services with both groups. The third type of organization I discuss was a temporary one: a political campaign for the office of provincial mayor in the October 2014 election, which I followed in its final months. The partial story of that campaign’s attempt to gain legitimacy, which meant traction with voters, will be told by following the narrative of Carlos Gutierrez, a campaign manager and development consultant, and by dissecting the stump speech of Raúl Mamani Piccha, a mayoral candidate who proposed combining the entrepreneurial revival of indigeneity with more extensive welfare provision.

Indigeneity, Responsibility, and Social License

The word “indigenous” most basically evokes a long-term, multigenerational emplacement that, in a political space like the Andes, dates back to a state or region’s precolonial and pre-westernized moment. But anthropologists have long made clear it takes a great deal of

politically legible effort and cultural mediation to understand a particular group as a people, emplaced, over generations or since time immemorial, as indigenous (Povinelli 2002; Richland 2008; Trouillot 1995). This, especially across imperial regimes, as in the case of Andean Peru (Flores Galindo 1986; Galeano 1973; Quijano 2000) and Caylloma Province specifically (Benavides 1983; Gelles 2000). The nearly infinite forms in which indigeneity emerges has been the focus of a great deal of recent scholarship, as contemporary claims to being indigenous have burgeoned in recent years, due at least in part to the 2007 ratification of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Some scholars analyze the ways in which these productions and iterations happen as groups articulate their indigeneity by forging special relationships to money usage, welfare structures, and regimes of legal protection (Cattelino 2008, 2009; De la Cadena 2010, 2015). Many focus on the ethnographic specifics of how indigeneity is constituted and claimed “through performance and performative acts in intercultural spaces” (Graham and Penny 2014: 1), especially through participation and enregisterment in (sometimes endangered) language communities (Muehlmann 2013). Others focus on the plays of power, expertise, and politics that constitute the way people who understand themselves as decidedly not indigenous define indigeneity (Martinez Novo 2006, 2014; Povinelli 2002; Richland 2008). Indigeneity’s recognition is in so many places ironically and agonizingly rooted in “the legal prejudice for old people, old knowledge, and old practice in the context of a low life expectancy” (Povinelli 2006: 74).

Indigeneity, ethnicity, and identity more broadly have also been highlighted for the contradictions they evoke. John and Jean Comaroff open their study of ethnicity by explaining its dialectical emergence “ever more as two things at once: the object of choice and self-construction, typically through the act of consumption, *and* the manifest product of biology,

genetics, human essence” (2009: 1). Indigeneity is something one feels yet performs, possesses yet cultivates. Because of the inexhaustible potential of this vague and open category, some scholars are skeptical about its policy and analytical purchase, suggesting that we dispense with indigeneity entirely because it is so slippery as to be meaningless at best, and dangerous at worst (Bowen 2000; Kuper 2003).

The above anthropologists describe various scenes similar to what we see in Caylloma, in that the idea of being indigenous, and having a plausible claim to indigenous identity, puts certain limits and certain possibilities on the table. The concept emerges in diverse contexts as a kind of mirror, reflective of what a given person or institution is trying to do with or to it. One of the fundamental efforts of this dissertation has been to analyze the distinction, in the identity micro-politics of development, between production and capture: for Arequipa’s Caylloma Province, indigeneity is salient not as a cultural assumption, accurate depiction of a situation, or *fait accompli*. Rather, as I have been arguing, it is most important as a performative project that becomes visible only through particular ways of seeing: it is something to be invested in, requiring constant creativity to remain a fresh source of returns in a crowded market.

Indigeneity’s malleability frames a scene in which welfare, too, is becoming a more undefined project as it leaves the “hands” of the Peruvian state. That state was, according to a mythos in Caylloma as Liliana Suni and other development professionals conveyed, and also in rural Peru more broadly (Vincent 2014), once the provider of handouts and charitable gifts. Of course, the state was long seen as absent or at best thinly present in this frontier region of “últimas esquinas” (last corners). But narratives Fujimori-era asistencialismo paint a picture of a bloated provider state that has given way to a scene of rural villages once again left alone, having been brought into the light of state infrastructure and the nation’s circuits of commerce. The

organizations I will soon describe legitimate their presences by helping the people affected by that presence, standing in for what might once have been state service provision. As they attempt to do so, tensions emerge between empowerment-focused sustainable development by investment and capacity building, and the notion of wealth redistributed as welfare aid, taking a form that looks something like the gift.

We have extensively explored the financial investment side of that anxious tension. But what of the gift, and the possibility of welfare *not* tied to specific conditions? How are some people in the Andes maintaining behavior that looks a great deal like their alleged historic asistencialismo—and given the downsides of dependence, why would they want organizations to “give just like that”? Before proceeding to the institutions I submit to ethnographic analysis, I want to explore the dimension of development that entails not capacity building or the fostering of an economic and psychological maturity in youth and adults alike, but resource transfer, patronage, and the strengthening of interdependence. I do this to suggest that certain people expect benefits not because they believe they are entitled to free aid, as the astencialista label presupposes. Indeed, their understanding of exchange is more expansive than the rapid market exchanges and profit-making opportunities upon which empowerment projects conventionally intervene.

In his summary of the force of the *hau* that puts objects on a path of “obligatory circulation,” Marcel Mauss offers one of his most memorable statements on the power of the gift to structure the requirements of giving, receiving, and reciprocating: “What imposes obligation in the present received and exchanged, is the fact that the thing received is not inactive. Even when it has been abandoned by the giver, it still possesses something of him” (1990 [1925]: 11-12). This raises a fundamental point about an institution’s self-interested welfare routed toward a

particular end. This analysis of institutional obligation can use Mauss' theoretical conception of the gift to illuminate what that obligation looks like on the ground. What if we take the principal gift that initiates the trajectory of exchange and investment as not the aid a mining enterprise or religious institution offers the social actors around it and in its way, but the license that such entities are given by those very social actors *first*, in order for the institution to begin functioning in a given place? Phrased another way, what if the initial and most important gift comes from the intended beneficiaries of CSR—its future “stakeholders”?

Mauss continues: “To refuse to give, to fail to invite, just as to refuse to accept, is tantamount to declaring war: it is to reject the bond of alliance and commonality” (13). If Mauss is correct, perhaps the conferral of social license is a kind of peace offering, a means by which communities-cum-stakeholders attempt to avoid struggle. In *Stone Age Economics*, Marshall Sahlins provocatively pits Mauss against the likes of Hobbes and Rousseau, arguing that Mauss' conception of the gift—if ethnographically misguided in its specific rendering of the *hau*—has something important to tell us about the social contract. “The primitive analogue of social contract is not the State,” Sahlins’ analysis goes, “but the gift. The gift is the primitive way of achieving the peace that in civil society is secured by the State” (1972: 169). Might that idea be applicable here? Sahlins’ notion of the “primitive” suggests a non-state society. But what if we replace the non-state society with a post-state society, a place in which the state is perceived to have backed away? In such spaces, too, the gift can be seen as more reflective of the way non-state entities attempt to achieve legitimacy. This is especially the case of extractive enterprises in Latin America, which balance a minimized, unreliable, and “choreographed” prior consultation process (Perreault 2015) with CSR programs that create a climate of enterprise acceptance. Indeed, the idea that gifts achieve peace, and even render distinct and contradictory wishes

commensurable and fungible, is far from strange in Caylloma and other parts of Peru (Gelles 2000; Markowitz 2001; Vincent 2014).

Marina Welker points out a revealing footnote in a Newmont Mining Company expenditures worksheet that suggests an ideology of CSR investment similar to what I have traced for Peru, and that we see in development programs everywhere: “The word *investment*,” this footnote reads, “is now used to describe donations.” Welker then explains this replacement of a former emphasis on giving: “The word *investment* was supposed to make explicit the expectation of ‘returns,’ in contrast to *donation*, which sounds charitable and altruistic” (2014: 59). Yet Welker finds that, as with the Tintaya mine’s CSR programming, in practice gaining social license requires meeting community needs on their own terms and not those of the enterprise.

China Scherz similarly suggests that projects implemented with the goal of achieving sustainable development in Uganda are, like sustainability programs in so much of the world, working explicitly and relentlessly against “the specter of dependence” (2014: 1). She found in her ethnography that those organizations that go to great lengths to stress that they are not interested in charity face a puzzle. However, as in Peru’s Arequipa region, patronage and interdependence have played a significant historical role in the way these Uganda programs’ intended beneficiaries acquire social and material support and confer legitimacy upon external actors. Failing to account for this can mean the failure of a development program to achieve the employment or income increase indicators it uses to define success. James Ferguson, on whom Scherz also draws, suggests that dependence can function as a form of empowerment (2013, 2015), whereas people “in wage labor”—the proverbial men who have been taught to fish, according to the famous slogan—“are just as dependent on others for their livelihoods as anyone

else, as they often find out when plants abruptly shut down, or mines close, and workers find themselves ‘right back where they started’” (2015: 39). As Scherz explains, cultivating relationships of dependency continues to be “an important and morally acceptable means of achieving social and economic security and advancement” (2014: 25). In her ethnography of the Newmont mining company headquarters and the Batu Hijau mine it operates in Sumbawa, Indonesia, Marina Welker makes clear that social license often means cultivating relationships of dependence in practice. Welker supplies Newmont’s definition of the “Social License to Operate.” The phrase denotes “the acceptance and belief by society, and specifically, our local communities, in the value creation of our activities, such that we are allowed to access and extract mineral resources” (Murdy ND, cited in Welker 2014: 56). This, crucially, had to be earned and constantly maintained.

Welker, Scherz, and Ferguson argue for thinking about interdependence and social license in a way that complicates and helps to undercut easy indictments of asistencialismo as they emerge in scenes of Andean improvement schemes. Drawing them together with Mauss’ fundamental ideas about giving and reciprocating, I animate the ethnographic analysis to follow with the following proposal: social license to operate, to utilize terrain, to be legitimate civil society entities, and to claim stakeholders, congregants, and constituents, is the first “gift” with which the people living and working adjacent to and around these organizations set off a trajectory of investment and obligation.

The Gift of Social License, Part I

Mining Empowerment: “You Can’t Give Just Like That”

“We support the communities that host us by building on existing resources, addressing local needs and priorities and improving people’s quality of life.”

- *BHP Billiton, former operators of the Tintaya Copper Mine*

“In everything we do, we respect the human rights of our people, host communities and partners...

“THE OPPORTUNITY: Our operations have many contacts with the communities in which we work. It is vital that we uphold the human rights of our people and our local communities, including vulnerable groups such as women, children, indigenous people and victims of conflict.”

- *Glencore Xstrata, current operators of the Tintaya Copper Mine*

The untapped abundance that Andean mines contain presents a foil to the abundance contained within Andean minds and bodies that entities like Desco and Sierra Sur see themselves as managing. Mines are, by definition, an unsustainable source of capital, however abundant they are; tapping mines results in immediate and long-term harm to their ecologies that is often irreversible; and their tunnels offer a job option many male Caylloma residents take, which means labor that is precarious and temporary. However, the broader political-economic climate in which Peru’s dominant mining enterprises function forces them, at the same time, to help communities work toward sustainable indigenous development, as part of the social license obligations that form the basic conditions of possibility for a mine to exist. This section inspects the effort to maintain social license, offering the first of three answers to the broader thematic

question I pose in this chapter: how are conceptions of indigenous welfare used to mediate and strengthen the local legitimacy of institutions seeking to orient people toward particular collective visions?

Freddy Panuera is a veterinarian employed by the Tintaya Foundation, the CSR arm of the Tintaya Mine, which sits on copper deposits on the outskirts of the town of Espinar near the Arequipa-Cuzco departmental border. Tintaya was the site of protests in 2012 over high contamination levels in 2012 that have since calmed. According to Freddy, though, the Tintaya foundation as of 2015 faces significantly more mundane, and more fundamental, obligations in order to maintain that calm. Freddy's job is to circulate the cold, windswept highlands surrounding Espinar in a company vehicle, traveling between farms and fields to make sure villagers' livestock do not become ill. This is his small role in helping to render the mine locally palpable. Freddy is part of an army of professionals employed to maintain the mine's social license to exist there, a need that scales up to a vast regional and national CSR industry that parallels the professional field of NGO-style development investment. Before discussing Freddy's working life in detail, I briefly explain that CSR industry and its significance in Peru.

Mining companies have long offered NGOs and state development initiatives a reliable source of project backing. They have backed Desco projects in other localities of its Southern Regional Program portfolio. In the Andes, they routinely make ethno-development and community-supporting service provision investments as part of their efforts to establish and maintain social license. The Peruvian state has shrunk its budgets for support of communities in need of infrastructure, healthcare, employment, and other forms of aid outside of the basic needs of the elderly and the urgent care of the extremely impoverished, and has decentralized state-based interventions (Dapino interview 2014). As it has done so, the state has dramatically

increased the obligations it places on extractive industries to take care of some of those needs by directing significant portions of their profits back into their “host communities” (in the words of the Glencore Xstrata sustainability mission statement; Glencore Xstrata 2016).

Peruvian national law requires substantial royalty contributions to each local and regional government in which mineral exploitation is taking place.¹ This *canon minero* or mining royalty system has become one of the key forms of directing funds into development investments. Such investments range from *obras*, or public works and infrastructure construction projects, to NGO-style capacity-building, participatory development, and empowerment programs (see Vincent 2014). Mining royalties come from 50% of the taxes which “title holders of mining activity pay for the use of mineral, metallic, and non-metallic resources” in the previous fiscal year (Ministry of Economics and Finance 2015). In 2015, the Arequipa region collected an estimated 370.8 million soles (\$105.6 million) in mining royalties, a five-year low, down 53% from the highpoint of 781.6 million soles (\$222.7 million). Of that 2015 amount, 1,434,629 soles (\$408,705.02) were earmarked for Caylloma Province (Herrera 2015).²

The *canon minero* is meant to back some form of investment in community life or region-level infrastructure (Ministry of Economics and Finance 2015). It is often publicly visible as a funding source in the form of a precise, unrounded number on large billboard signs that account for a local *obra*. These signs are often placed near a construction project or along the side of the road. Their flamboyant displays of data about particular investments merge transparency with advertising, publicizing the care of a company, organization, or political figure. This “numeral deixis” (Guyer 2004) suggests that one crucial way in which a mining corporation reinforces its social license to operate, and the widespread local perception of that license, is through a strategy of making its investments highly visible. The rising importance of these royalty-based projects is

also a result of the post-2008 global recession, which meant deep cuts in international private donations, and the end of international cooperation agreements due to Peru's achievement of its aggregate, though internally extremely lopsided, status as a "middle-high income country" (Toro interview 2014; Marquina interview 2014). As Desco vice president Eduardo Toche writes in a policy report on the intersection between enterprises engaged in corporate social responsibility and NGOs, "a fundamentally primary-export economy does not only urge extractive activities to adopt international standards for their products to be competitive, but in addition, a new form of understanding and interacting with the social surroundings that intersect with their activity" (2013: 9).

The inevitable "interacting" a mining firm must do already requires compliance with a number of state legal norms. The cumbersomeness of these compliance norms is meant to be indexical of accountability and transparency to the state. Within companies like Glencore Xstrata, the current Swiss owners of the Tintaya mine and several surrounding exploration sites, these regulations have spurred an expansive internal bureaucracy and an economy of professionals that includes well-paid anthropologists meant to guarantee, as well as to signify, cultural sensitivity. Regulatory burdens range from verifying the absence of archeological remains (Flores interview 2015) to environmental impact assessments (see F. Li 2009). The high cost of meeting these regulations can be a disincentive for operating. They can also motivate corner-cutting, bribery, and, at much smaller scales, informal mining (Marquina interview 2014). The heavy burdens these norms impose have become a way for Glencore to render visible their devotion to safety, human rights, and "lasting benefits," as the Glencore graphic in Figure 11 indicates, and thus attempt to maintain their social license to operate. The failure of the company to meet environmental norms in Tintaya, where Espinar residents reported concerns about

increased “heavy metal concentration found in waters and soils,” led to an explosive conflict in 2012 in which three Espinar-based protestors were killed and many more wounded, and where police had to block the mine site in fear of locals intending to destroy machinery (GFBV 2012). To repress the protests and unrest, the Peruvian president called a thirty-day state of emergency in May and June of that year augmenting police power and suspending the right freely to congregate; in subsequent years, studies suggested evidence confirming those protestors’ claims of unmitigated heavy metal contamination. This ultimately resulted in little more than a small fine for Glencore Xstrata (Orellana Lopez and De Boissière 2014).



Figure 11: Glencore Xstrata’s model for corporate sustainability. (Glencore Xstrata 2016)

While the company has not taken responsibility for its likely contamination, it does attempt to demonstrate its responsibility through its effort to support the economic lives that surround it. As Toche indicates, CSR in its ideal incarnation means coupling inevitable “interaction” between enterprise and community with responsible understanding. This

euphemistic emphasis on mutual understanding means that at least in the abstract, communities whose residents may rightfully feel exploited by mineral extraction on their land are also taken seriously as legitimate political players with whom deals could be made. This is no small point: small-scale landowners are, of course, not simply helpless victims or dupes (see F. Li 2013; Welker 2014). Indeed, the most frequent form of conflict between mining corporation and community that Arellano-Yanguas has observed in the Peruvian Andes over the first decade of the 2000s are not the “all-or-nothing,” charismatic conflicts over whether or not a corporation can enter a particular terrain. They are rarely explosive conflicts like the one that flared up in Espinar in 2012, or the current unrest in the Valle de Tambo, in Arequipa’s Islay Province. Rather, mining conflicts in Peru’s Andes much more frequently tend to be conflicts over the adequate and fair distribution of mining revenue between community actors and the municipalities in charge of their canon minero collections (Arellano-Yanguas 2011).

As in any contested policy, and as we saw in formalized development investments, cynicism does organize some peoples’ choices. Rodolfo Marquina, current director of Desco’s Arequipa-based Southern Regional Program offers one critique of these CSR programs: they are implemented to bring about “a favorable attitude toward the mine” in communities, in a way that sometimes veers toward manipulation and bribery of the jurisdictional municipality (Marquina interview 2014). CSR programs also do help to establish and entrench a climate of extractive industry investability in a particular region. Arellano-Yanguas explains that many Andean communities likely to be affected often organically accept the entry of a mining enterprise even without manipulation, especially if extractive activity emerges as an option whose employment opportunities and local contributions stand to improve economic life in an otherwise depressed economic space (2011).

Mining ventures' forced royalty payments, and extractive enterprises' all-but-compelled posture as institutions that take seriously the need to secure local social license are intimately entangled with Peru's national emphasis on sustainable development. While the percentage of royalties varies depending on how much profit is made from mining in each department, the regulations indicate an emphasis on funding sustainable development in the relevant zone (Ministry of Economy and Finance 2015). "Sustainable" here implies a form of development that is opposite to, or perhaps, is seen to counteract and even to neutralize (chemically, economically, morally) its opposite: a mode of development and investment that involves potentially irreversible devastation to the environment, on grand and rapid scales. Such CSR projects cannot be oriented toward private profits, although the cultivation of micro-entrepreneurship does not violate this criterion and is one frequent target of canon minero seed funds.

Large mining enterprises house their ongoing CSR programs in attached foundations. The Tintaya copper mine is an important source of employment for laborers and technicians from Colca and Caylloma, as is the Tintaya Foundation. That CSR outfit presents itself as a kind of cheerleader for the local community, promoting a form of indigeneity that it has interpellated as important, enduring, and sustainable—and projecting the idea that a display of alignment with local tradition can lead to acceptance of the enterprise. The Foundation's intervention forms, scope, and ambition are identical to those of an NGO in many of the local venues in which it functions. Indeed, NGOs often also need to patronize local activities in order to assure their own legitimacy in a community, without which their projects would likely flounder and fail.³ One of the Foundation's publicity efforts is to lobby for the certification of the nearby Suykutambo Canyon area as an official National Cultural Heritage site. It has partnered with Peru's National Institute of Culture to advocate for this declaration. The foundation was previously involved in a

project to engage community members in mapping and registering archeological remains in the region. Its other interventions range from helping to market the Espinar region as a tourist destination to improving its infrastructure and public health (Fundación Tintaya 2016).

The Tintaya Foundation has also, in a measure that contrasts with most NGOs' interest in entrepreneurship, entangled itself within local forms of patronage. They sponsor the town's major patron saint festivals that occur several times per year. These festivals help to unite Catholic faith with non-Catholic Andean symbolism through images such as the mountain-shaped Virgin and ritual acts like chicha drinking and the *pago a la tierra* (offering to the earth), which we have seen woven through various scenes featured in this dissertation. These are occasions in which a moral premium is put on opulence. Fiesta hosts in villages like Yanque often draw on urban and *misti* godparents and other affinal connections as their patrons. Without a wealthy donor, these fiestas tend to be quite expensive for families tasked with its sponsorship, even the more elite ones. As Gerardo Huaracha put it, these fiestas leave their sponsors "naked," with nothing, destitute (interview 2014). The practice of festival sponsorship, called *mayordomía* throughout the Andes, has been widely analyzed in Peru and throughout Latin America (Canessa 2012; Faudree 2013; Gelles 2000). Essential to the process of seeking, being granted, and maintaining social license, fiesta sponsorship offers a means of making highly visible investments in a community. Many distinct sites of analysis in the hemisphere demonstrate that sponsoring a fiesta engages and continues a chain of gift giving. In the Tintaya Foundation's case, fiesta sponsorship enrolls its participants as investees, continuing the trajectory of obligation that posits Espinar's community members as the initial gift givers of the social license to operate, for which the fiesta is an offer of reciprocation.

This is a powerful form of promoting Glencore’s local investment credentials and, after 2012, of helping to improve its damaged local reputation, as an entity that cares deeply about its “hosts” by way of care for their indigeneity. “The social license concept,” writes Welker, “underscores that the corporation must meet not only government regulations but also the expectations of various nongovernmental actors who may facilitate or impede mining” (2014: 56). Welker may have added that it is not only these nongovernmental actors’ expectations, but also the corporation’s institutional perception of what those actors expect, and of what those actors are capable of doing to “impede mining.” In the case of the Newmont Corporation, which Welker investigated at their Denver headquarters and at their Sumbawa mine site in Indonesia and which also has hotly contested operations in Northern Peru’s Cajamarca region, the enterprise “continuously had to earn from local communities the social license to operate” (2014: 56). The Tintaya Foundation and other mining CSR programs use investment as an instrument of inserting and entangling themselves within these local webs of obligation and patronage as part of the constant displays of commitment required to maintain that social license given to them.

Freddy Panuera, the Tintaya Foundation veterinarian, divides his time between nine workdays up in the highland communities surrounding the Tintaya mine and five days off with his family at home in Yanque. He called this the “nine-five” plan, indicating that this was a fairly common routine for the traveling technical class, and other levels of labor, associated with the mine. We sat down for an interview in the building extending from his Yanque home that he and his wife Liliana Suni, who worked for Desco through 2014 and has since been coordinator of the Spanish Agency-based *Escuela Taller* (or Workshop School, one of the few remaining technical projects sponsored by Spanish development aid in the region), were planning to turn into a tourist restaurant and hostel. Like many in Yanque, this couple was using their local cultural

intimacy and professional status as entrepreneurial multipliers, searching out zones of market demand as an incidental product of the expertise afforded them by their day jobs.

According to his narration, Freddy’s work days consist of “technical assistance to the cattle farmers,” tending to the high-elevation cattle population in the campesino holdings around Espinar in the communities the Tintaya Foundation has determined fall into its space of social license. “I tend to the bovine livestock,” he told me in the technical register characteristic of the Andes’ development-focused itinerant professional class. He might have said, more informally, “I look after the cows.” But register was essential to his effort to establish a professional identity and to draw a distinction between his own status as a technocrat and the indigenous campesinos he is employed to aid. “All that is affected by the theme of environmental impacts, we attend to all of that around the mine, so for the campesinos that have their cattle up there, to mitigate these issues of impact” (interview 2015).

Fabiana Li probes the profound ambiguity of the term “impact.” She indicates that in the case of Minera Yanacocha, the mine in northern Peru’s Cajamarca department partially owned by Newmont, impact “has acquired a specific meaning...In public presentations and environmental educational materials, the mine’s environmental specialists differentiate between ‘contamination’ and ‘impacts.’ They point out that every human activity generates an *impact*; by contrast, they define *contamination* as a deleterious, critical, and irreversible effect on the environment” (2009: 223). Whereas words like contamination are automatically negative, impact can be positive, intertwined with the ethical imperative to secure social license.

Freddy’s positionality as an impact-managing veterinary technical specialist at the Tintaya Foundation was one of intermediary or liaison between the mine and the campesino community. In a place that has seen substantial unrest over the last several years, Freddy began

his work in a tense setting. He portrays Tintaya's social "*entorno*," or surrounding context, as having gradually calmed from heightened tensions between mining venture and community in 2012 to the more prosaic struggles between a rich corporation and stereotypically whiny, wheedling indigenous peasants who believe that they are entitled to more than they deserve. Freddy was agnostic as to the harms and benefits of mining, but spent his professional life almost exclusively interacting with the campesinos that lived around it, standing in for the corporation as a whole. He suggested that these campesinos cynically claimed, at what seemed to be every possible opportunity, to be impacted negatively by the mine's extractive activities. His description of the mine-society interface recalled a common critique of campesino asistencialismo, or non-agentive assistance addiction: the idea of an unjustified, dependent entitlement to hand-outs, suggesting that people did not have to put in their own effort or resources to earn the benefits of development.

In other words, the campesinos and their well-organized associations made claims to Freddy and the other Tintaya Foundation employees from a position of extraordinary entitlement to their help due to the mine's presence, regardless of its level of fault for their prosaic problems. Having granted Tintaya its social license to operate, these community members saw the ongoing special help from the Foundation as part of a scheme of reciprocal obligation in which both parties were enrolled together. This entitlement was an essential tool they were able to mobilize: they could always take Tintaya's social license away, with the constant threat of violence and the bad publicity that comes with community instability something that the Foundation took seriously.

What was distinct about an asistencialismo diagnosis like Freddy's in the mining CSR context is that the mine has taken over and profited by using land they obtained as a state

concession in a way that now threatens nearby community land with contamination. Yet Tintaya's claim to extract profit from the state land they claim goes unquestioned its own form of asistencialismo, a form of state handout or corporate welfare, even though it is a property concession from the Peruvian government in a land policy context in which the state owns the subsurface earth more than two meters deep. Thus, the mining enterprise's local welfare obligations are meant to make up for the significantly more immediate structural disempowerment that the mine risks causing. Because the scale of interaction between institutional abstractions of state and corporation differs from that between technical assistant and peasant, it is significantly easier and more immediate for Tintaya Foundation employees like Freddy to accuse peasants, but not the corporation, of projecting an excessively entitled posture. The initiation of mineral exploration occurred in a way that was "legal," locally "transparent," and met the adequate environmental impact and archeological assessments. But the 2012 unrest made clear that there did not exist universal agreement in the Espinar region. This would be corroborated by the burgeoning literature on the complexities of community "prior consultation" (Arellano-Yanguas 2009; De la Cadena 2010; Li 2009; Perreault 2015), a legal mandate to consult affected indigenous communities before extraction work begins that was enshrined in Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization. The idea suggests that social license must come first. In Peru, prior consultation was ratified in 2011 as Law Number 29785 (Congress of the Republic 2011).

"*Exigen*," Freddy told me with exasperation. They constantly demand. With any "social problem," he conveyed, "people complain," about contamination and concentrates—even if the mine has nothing to do with the town or resource politics at issue, and even if extractive

activities were not the direct cause of Espinar's livestock-threatening cold and drought. Meetings would have to be held in the Foundation

to review all of the social problems. If an animal dies, for example, the people complain. There it is not our problem, but all the same, we have to communicate with community relations, so it is not our fault as health experts but the people blame us. That is where we get the more intense problems, right? The people don't understand" (Panuera interview 2015).

The people don't understand. This statement evokes Freddy's own liminal positionality. As a foundation veterinarian at the far edges of corporate life, he knows that he personally is not at fault. But the blame he receives is rooted in public sentiment toward the mine. The campesinos around Espinar seemed, to Freddy, to want everything: food for their cattle, seeds, trucks, better attention from mining personnel, and "they ask for scholarships for their children, demand other things." In other words, Freddy conveyed the idea that they lean excessively on the Tintaya Foundation, instead of taking responsibility for their own land and their own animals, as most other campesinos and herders in the Andes must do. Freddy here voices a critique widespread in development agencies for actor self-sufficiency, but also highlights the tension between enterprise and welfare forced by the former's need for social license. This veterinarian forms part of an institutional structure that both encourages self-sufficiency through its sustainability and entrepreneurship programs, and provides a set of basic welfare services in the form of reluctant assistance that would otherwise be absent from Espinar's highlands. Such work adds onto the ritual patronage the mine offers, meant further to establish its local goodwill.

What, then, does the mining corporation really owe? To what extent does the mine balance its negative environmental and socioeconomic impacts with the contributions

campesinos could see as positive? *Might* the enterprise indeed be at fault if an animal dies? I suggest that such fault is plausible, given what I argue is the primacy of the gift of social license. “The people generally leave their cows, they live in Espinar, they just go up to check them,” Freddy said, implying that the peasants leave their cattle up in the mountains for the foundation to take care of. Engaged in a tradition of multi-sited dwelling and multi-altitude mobility like campesinos throughout the Andes (Murra 1984; Peluso 2015), Espinar’s herders and peasants do not necessarily stay in the highlands, but are based in the region’s larger villages and towns. Because they do that, death of valuable livestock by neglect is understood as the mine’s fault because the mine has chosen to become entangled with the community, and has made promises about the community’s comprehensive improvement by way of its presence. The mine, meanwhile, is preoccupied with its own intervention programs: it “invests in water harvesting, seeding, to try to alleviate what the people are complaining about.”

Freddy continues: “You can’t give money just like that (*así no más*). You have to have social projects,” Freddy said. “And the people don’t want it like that. They would say, better to give and that’s it. They don’t understand anything” (Panuera interview 2015). Thus, despite the campesino groups’ constant requests for help, one of the key ways in which the foundation is so similar to an NGO is its priority of investments over gifts, reflected in Freddy’s anti-asistencialismo stance.

This is also reflected in the Newmont guide that Welker cites, which suggests that this is a more broadly shared ideology. It is also, of course, a common stance in development today, as I suggest throughout this dissertation. James Ferguson notes that “among those who make it their business to ‘uplift’ and ‘develop’ the poor,” it has become a common assumption “that ‘you can’t just give money to the poor!’ … Against this, ‘teaching a man to fish’ seems to promise

something more substantial, more lasting, more *fundamental* than simply being fed" (2015: 38-39). According to the anti-asistencialismo perspective that Freddy illustrates, giving may alleviate a very temporary problem, but social programs are meant to integrate people into a broader set of frameworks and equip them with durable tools for solving their own problems. They entail a pedagogy that intertwines agricultural and cultural capacity building with training in how to know oneself. By co-constructing indigeneity, economic development, and a long-term, local, ecological equilibrium, an empowerment-focused program can take on a public institutional identity as something that renders indigenous selves and lives sustainable.

Yet it is its welfare provision that would appear to be Tintaya's most powerful argument for social license. The Tintaya Foundation's free veterinary services, its local fiesta sponsorship, and its vast array of other cultural promotion activities open avenues for community members to be taken care of. This, even as staff perspectives and a suite of other entrepreneurship-focused interventions from Andean NGOs communicate to them the contradicting message that they ought to take responsibility for themselves, and that Tintaya can establish social license by conferring capacities.

But Freddy's line raises important questions about the ethics of development, of mineral extraction coupled with small-scale empowerment programs, and of what it means for a mining corporation to be socially responsible. *You have to have social projects. And the people don't want it like that.* This suggests an ideology in which community members, themselves, become the actors responsible for their own sustainable development, even in a context in which the mine provides and invests a great deal. Julia Elyachar sees sustainability-focused interventions in Egypt as "arrangements in which the self is a primary agent of the art of governing: the self is both subject and subjected" (2005: 193). She draws on Nikolas Rose, who describes such an

ethos of welfare provision as the political urge to “respond to the sufferer as if they were the author of their own misfortune” (Rose 1996: 59; see Chapter 2). In Tintaya’s case, corporate social responsibility presents itself as the response to an obligation that began with social license. Its work entails both gift-like service provision while, at the same time, deploying the mine’s own social entanglement to displace the obligation to recover land, community, and ecology onto the residents most directly affected by the mine’s presence.

The Gift of Social License, Part II

Spiritual Development: “*Falta, Falta, Falta*”

The remainder of this chapter focuses on religious organizations and political campaigns, asking how they also draw on ideas of social license to maintain their legitimacy as they intervene in ideas about indigenous responsibility. First, I examine two religious organizations whose moral imperatives suggest a similar negotiation between welfare and empowerment that we saw in the Tintaya Foundation. The idea of Christianity in the Andes is apt for a discussion of legitimacy: like large mining enterprises, a look at the everyday details of an institution’s life suggests that much like James Ferguson’s Lesotho NGOs (1990), institutions must constantly persuade their publics that they are serving them. Andean Christianity, like the Spanish colonial presence more broadly, was not only established through a conquering force that decimated everything in its way: the Spanish and their priests, too, had their own “stakeholders,” and their emergence as powerful Andean institutions was based more on negotiation with already existing structures than it was on their erasure (Wernke 2013; see Chapter 1).

Agronomist-turned-activist Eduardo Grillo Fernandez puts this idea of negotiation more polemically: “Despite what they in the West say,” he writes, “here in the Andes we have never

been conquered by European invaders; we are neither poor nor malnourished nor underdeveloped; we are not victims, we have not been subjugated, and we demand nothing” (1998: 126). Grillo, in a polemic about Andeans taking responsibility for themselves, goes on to write: “We have absorbed Christianity by assimilating Christ as a *huaca*, the Virgin, certain Saints, as well as the Church and even the priest. We have also assimilated the market by making of it one more arena for reciprocity—that is, to exercise the desire to give that is so typical of us—and for Andean interpersonal relations” (133-34).

These statements, penned as the fires from Peru’s internal armed conflict still smoldered and as indigenous politics gained ground in much of the Andes outside of Peru, suggest two fundamental points about Andean life: that external dimensions of Andean culture have been rendered internal, and that empowerment and disempowerment are both choices that come from within selves and communities. As Grillo provocatively suggests in the same essay: “those who are colonized are so because they allow it or accept it” (124). The Catholic Church and the Jehovah’s Witnesses in the Colca Valley suggest distinct relationships to indigenous life in the context of that “colonization.” Grillo understands Andean Quechua actors as similar to the Tshidi Zionists that Jean Comaroff describes: These are, like Jean Comaroff has said of the Christian Tshidi, “human beings who, in their everyday production of goods and meanings, acquiesce yet protest, reproduce yet seek to transform their predicament” (Comaroff 1985: 1). The Catholic Church, which has a significantly longer history in the region, tends in its social programming more toward an emphasis on welfare and giving aid when possible. The Jehovah’s Witnesses, a group that emerged in Caylloma in the late twentieth century after the arrival of US-based missionaries, tends toward emphasizing self-empowerment. But both take the idea of helping the

less fortunate in the region as a key theme that legitimates their institutions, and as an important form of maintaining and expanding their congregations.

The Catholic Church. Though initially a colonial institution (see Chapter 1), the Catholic Church has historically been an important vehicle for the maintenance of indigenous life, culture, and tradition throughout the Andes (De la Cadena 2015; Orta 2004). Catholicism's spread is due in large part to the Andes' ability to "assimilate" or "eat" Christian ideas (Grillo Fernandez 1998)—or, from a different perspective (i.e. Alarcón interview 2014—see below), Catholicism's ability to accommodate Andean ideas. This Catholic openness is often known on the ground and in scholarship as a kind of "popular religiosity," as Padre Marcos Alarcón would put it in our interview. In contrast to Grillo, Padre Marcos sees Cayllominos as people who had successfully adopted Catholicism without losing their other forms of spirituality: both Andean and Christian.

What might this "both...and" formulation tell us about the role of this religious institution in shaping public ideas about responsibility toward indigenous welfare and about indigenous responsibility? Catholicism in Caylloma has recently been, in part, a vehicle for sustainable development rooted in self-realization. Indeed, as I discuss in Chapter 1, left-leaning development NGOs like Desco were rooted in Church activities and Catholic liberation theology. The Church and associated Catholic organizations have also been important supporters of ethno-development interventions throughout the Andes and elsewhere (Zeballos interview 2013; Andolina et al. 2009). In recent years, Christianity's institutions have highlighted the ethical thrust of development efforts, with the church joining NGOs and other small-scale initiatives as a moralizing collaborator.

Warm certainty: my field notes from the interview I conducted with Padre Marcos Alarcón Vasquez feature that phrase, which I used to capture the tone with which he represented

his religious tradition to me. Padre Marcos, a balding man with a round, flushed face who was about forty years old, was a transplant from the city of Arequipa. He has spent six of his ten years in the clergy as the chief (and usually only) priest in the Colca Valley, posted in the Chivay provincial diocese. Echoing the frontier discourses of “últimas esquinas” we have heard from Caylloma’s various development-focused institutions, Padre Marcos discussed Catholicism’s own historic interest in conquering space and the obstacles of geography. He indicated that there was only one main priest here in this rural zone because of the elevation and the cold. “Many times you have priests that couldn’t tolerate the climate, and would have to go back to Arequipa,” he told me in our interview.

He described his work as taking care of both “the spiritual aspect, and also, the corporal aspect” of life in Colca. This was his iteration of the counterpoint between empowerment and service. He leads the people in their obligations to worship and conduct the sacraments, and he is also present in the valley to help the most deprived live better lives. His church runs a soup kitchen and periodically distributes clothing and food throughout the valley’s communities, with scheduled gift drives for children taking place in each valley village in the days before Christmas. In light of the forced and elected austerity of municipal and regional government budgets, Marcos’ church is also perhaps the single most important welfare institution in the Colca Valley.

Marcos drew a distinction between Church-based spirituality and a broader culture of Christianity. “We also attend the fiestas patronales that they have here.” This statement indicates that those indigenous fiestas are separate from the specific duties of the Church. He continued: “There exists a clearly marked popular religiosity among the people here.” The Franciscan brotherhood arrived some 400 years ago, Marcos narrated. When they came, they learned that

“the only way to take the people out of the fields [as in, to bring them to church] would be through the fiestas patronales.” In other terms, the Franciscans urged compromise between a basic Christian orientation and elements of Andean spirituality as a means of securing the Church’s social license to operate as an institution in Caylloma. Fiestas were an instrumental conveyance of gratitude. They intervened into the unforgiving calendar of Andean agricultural life to give campesinos a merciful break; Marcos described their emergence as a means of cultivating Christianity’s organic spread, an early incentive for the legitimization of the Church. He framed the frequent Christian holidays as a chance for peasants to take moments of rest and reflection from the hard work of the chakra, and also as an occasion for prayer at Mass and for diversion or “sharing,” whose often excessive release Marcos does not look down upon.

As a local role model for moral probity and as an urban outsider, he does try to avoid fiestas, chicha drinking, and other forms of spiritual conviviality so that the people do not hold back due to his presence. He balances intertwinement with what he presents as a healthy aloofness, embodying the Church with a kind of authoritative yet warm *misti*-like *padrino* (godfather or sponsor) role. Unlike the many Christian “sects” like the Church of Latter Day Saints and the various Evangelical Church congregations that have spread across Caylloma and much of Latin America in recent decades (Stoll 1990), alcohol is allowed for Catholics here, but Padre Marcos advises that it be consumed in moderation. Alcoholism has been in dramatic decline in the time Marcos has been working in Colca, which he credits in part to the Church’s message of moderation and care. He used to see multiple deaths at each large fiesta in as recent as the mid-2000s, his first years there. Since then, the problem has improved. Marcos points out that the village of Tuti has banned the sale and consumption of alcohol altogether. Today, he no longer expects people to die during fiestas in the region.

Respect for non-Christian Andean “beliefs” is key to the Church’s effort to perpetuate its legitimacy. “One hundred percent of the people here are religious people,” Marcos tells me, before opening up a caveat: “It must be said that to say the people are religious is not to say that they are Catholic. Here, there is a basis, in all of the people, in an Andean religiosity, an Inca religiosity they have inherited.” Indigeneity, for Marcos, represents a starting point, a raw material evocative of what Spanish colonizers found when they first set foot in Colca. Like the acceptance of a mining company, we can see the acceptance of the Church—the conferral of its social license—as an initial gift that was only possible here because of Franciscan openness to difference and that order’s relative lack of interest in dogma. The indigenous element of that contemporary Andean religiosity is that which is rooted in the non-human environment, Marcos suggested:

It is very noticeable. They are very tied to nature, for example to the *Pachamama*, the land, the sun, the stars, the hills or the *Apus*....This is the base religion. Upon those, we are working. We haven’t violated that religiosity. We want to share in community with that Inca religiosity that they have, we want them to see that that natural, Inca religiosity is also that of God...We give all that a Christian significance. We must respect, a little bit, those beliefs, so that now the people also believe in Jesus Christ. We are orienting them to the true faith, to Jesus.

The phrase “those beliefs” deictically constitutes Marcos’ distinction and distance from the beneficiaries of his work; it is a familiar strategy of distancing oneself that I would notice among local elites who claim not to fit indigenous identity in Colca.

I then turned to asking Marcos directly about *obras* and service. He offered a sense of the Church’s wide array of charitable activities. At the moment, the Church was trying to increase its

involvement in the education of children and adolescents. The institution has a special stake in the “defense of the moral integrity of children and families,” Marcos said. When it comes to children, “we are doing well.” But the problem space of the family was another matter, something “a bit tough because there still isn’t, there lacks a clearer concept of family.” To be sure, Marcos here glossed over a deep tradition of family-based household labor and strong senses of rural reliance rooted in kinship, which my interviews throughout Colca (i.e. Huaracha interview 2014; Huánuco interview 2014) made clear, along with a great deal of scholarship on Andean household life (i.e. Allen 2002; Mayer 2002). But a generous reading of this gloss gives is the possibility that Marcos was opening a space for intervention into particular intra-family problems. He highlighted the problem of “domestic violence—within the family, there is violence,” but he indicated that it “has decreased a great deal,” thanks in part to the Church. “We have advanced, but there’s still more to do, more to do, more to do” (*falta, falta, falta*).

This ethical work, he says, drawing on scripture, is about “opening the eyes, opening the ears, and loosening the tongue”—in other words, cultivating the ability to see and know that domestic violence is wrong. These lessons position the Church as an entity devoted to social work. The diocese also runs a food bank for Caylloma Province’s poorest residents, but exactly like other organizations that are extremely wealthy in their central headquarters, the Church’s outpost in rural Caylloma must work with very little: “we do not have much income.”

Finally, the Catholic Church’s welfare functions drive its involvement in the present fight against the erasure of Collagua and Cabana culture, which it sees as the solution to a suite of social problems. Padre Marcos talked of the local village Quechua choirs in each congregation, whose voices hauntingly echo throughout the austere stone temples during major holidays and funerals. Marcos speaks Quechua fluently as a second language, and makes an effort to conduct

church services partially in the region's widely spoken indigenous language for his congregants "so that they value Quechua." This rendering valuable is a significant problem, especially for young people who missed the recent local policy push to strengthen intercultural education that has implemented serious Quechua language education in Peru's Andean elementary schools (García 2005), and who are described as almost inevitably swept up into the urban and global economy: "They go to Arequipa and grow ashamed of their Quechua. They come back with hairstyles, clothing, and attitudes that suggest they want to erase their culture. This is the struggle now. It's a struggle." Thus, in addition to providing service, Marcos sees his and the Church's work as an effort to put its community on the right path, which would both serve the interests of the Catholic Church's overseeing deity and saints, and strengthen the surrounding community.

The Jehovah's Witnesses. Yeny Huánuco, another Arequipa transplant, offers a distinct interpretation of that "struggle" against the modernizing grain of urbanization. She owns a restaurant in Yanque, which has received capacity building help and an entrepreneurship prize from Desco, so she is fully aware of the contemporary language of entrepreneurship. But the teachings of the Jehovah's Witnesses complement that language in her personal framework for living an ethical Christian life. The latter have more fundamentally shaped Yeny's ethical program and self-making for more than a decade. She came of age in a religious Catholic household, but around the same year as her second marriage to Dante Bayona in 2004, and some years in the wake of her escape to Yanque from an abusive first husband in Arequipa, she began to feel that the Catholic treatment of spiritual questions was unsatisfying. Rote memorization and repetition overpowered wondering and asking questions. She also found herself drinking too much. The Chivay priest (who would have been Marcos' predecessor) told her "he didn't have the time" to talk to and help her.

Filling that absence, she narrated, Jehovah's Witnesses knocked on her door and gave her the world-famous Watchtower ("Atalaya" in Spanish) pamphlet, which immediately raised important questions for her. "I began to read the pamphlets, and I liked what I read. You know, they were very timely things (*cosas muy puntuales*)."¹ So she began to study with the Jehovah's Witnesses. She initially did not plan to convert. However, in her studies, she kept having realizations: "but in reality, it made a lot of sense. For instance, that God has a name." God, for her, becomes accessible as Jehovah, as someone to talk to and engage with. She spoke of the way proselytizing occurs, evoking why she was so intrigued at first. They do not go from door to door forcing repentance, or conform to stereotypes of crying out about the coming end of days.

Their version of Christianity is not a culture, or knowledge, or thing given out; rather, it is a capacity offered. In all of the time I spent with Yeny and her fellow brothers and sisters in the congregation, not one person suggested I convert. She suggested that instead, their task is to engage in conversation and ask questions, which the brothers and sisters did do with me. Contrasting with the quiet repose of most of Yeny's restaurant patrons as they ate—they were usually laborers on a brief break from their temporary construction projects—when a Jehovah's Witnesses group ate there, its members were eager to hear about my research and my life. "What do you think?" is the opening line they used upon meeting Yeny, seeking her thoughts about spirituality and meaning—and this is a question they seem to ask with full awareness that most people would not care to engage. In Yeny's telling, the Jehovah's Witnesses do not compel conversion. Rather, in their own effort to gain social license as a small local institution, they see if they will be invited into their interlocutor's home.

Yeny made a point to remark on "superstitions," which she associates with Catholicism's embrace of non-Christian institutions. "How is that we can put our faith in a staircase, in a cat, in

salt, in oil, more than in God?" The Jehovah's Witnesses' stance against faith in something other than the word of the Bible had them draw a hard line between themselves and some of the more visible dimensions of classically indigenous practice in the Colca Valley. Their care for indigenous peoples' welfare took the form of rescuing them from indigenous practices, divorcing sinner from sin. Superstitions led Yeny to speak of what she called "pagan" practices more broadly. Jehovah's Witnesses "try not to participate" in the region's vast fiestas patronales because "they are pagan traditions." These are not Christian forms of interaction.

People here, Yeny continued—echoing Padre Marcos in his emphasis on Andean religiosity—are very committed to "tra-di-tion" (*tra-di-ción*), which they inherit unquestioningly (in Yeny's view) from their parents. They take their traditions very seriously, she suggested. But there is no mention of them in the Bible. So indigeneity affords Yeny a framework for forging her faith by contrast with the non-Christian. Perhaps what Yeny and the Jehovah's Witnesses see as non-Christian, Catholic-identifying Collaguas and Cabanas of the Colca Valley see the same way: Christianity offers a stage for community life that renders most religious events significant through the local agricultural calendar and that exceeds any particular biblical mandate and also, more broadly, exceeds any single Andean tradition (see De la Cadena 2015).

A second problem with the fiestas patronales is that "there are always excesses" ("*siempre hay pe excesos*"). Drinking is allowed for Jehovah's Witnesses, in Yeny's view, but only in moderation. "We always reason things out with the Bible. All excess is bad, right? For everything, there needs to be a balance, a limit. Sometimes it's preferable or better to not even [start to] drink." Beyond alcohol, the money that gets spent on fiestas is also absurdly excessive, Yeny suggests—in an idea that has been echoed by Gerardo Huaracha and many others. Catholics spend so much money to put on raucous feasts and imagine that God will respond in

kind with a return on spiritual investment. But according to the Jehovah’s Witnesses, in Yeny’s interpretation, God does not approve of those sacrifices. “He doesn’t act like that”: his rituals are not an “exchange” (see Introduction), she said, offering a clear contrast to the way Gerardo and his friends saw their relationship with the animated terrain in the Ch’ela scene with which this dissertation began. Yeny’s approach is to say that, instead of imagining life as something that requires constant reinvestment to reap one’s deserved returns, daily living is about achieving a reasoned equanimity. “Each day, the sunrise is a blessing. Each day is a blessing. Having food all of the days of your life too.”

Yet the human being is also fallible. So, like the Spanish evangelizers I addressed in Chapter 1, what a devotion to non-biblical faith can mean for Jehovah’s Witnesses is the abundant potential for change and conversion: indigeneity is raw material for taking it upon oneself to cultivate a biblical self. It is a starting point. This moral posture structures the idea of the household and family as sites of intervention for both religious entities, and the idea of the self as a site of cultivation. In particular, indigeneity’s status as a locally rooted, but according to the Jehovah’s Witnesses, religiously confused, “pagan” identity was sometimes accentuated at the meetings I attended with Yeny, where morality was broken into discoverable rules, easily traceable to specific lines in the Bible. The locally rooted dimension, when decoupled from its alleged “superstitions,” followed a familiar trajectory: this offered a foundation for building strong families, a community-focused entrepreneurialism, and, most importantly, a self always being worked on. For the Jehovah’s Witnesses, indigenous welfare—and their main concern was spiritual welfare—was harmed by indigenous religious practice.

The idea of the indigenous self as a project and an investment permeates the policies, interventions, improvements, and efforts to make intimate changes that bring about personal and

economic development that this dissertation has been tracking. However, in Yeny's case, the Bible was the guide to cultivating and empowering this self. One of her refrains in our interview was this: "I need to get better" (*tengo que mejorar*). Toward the end of our conversation, as with many conversations I had in the course of my fieldwork, Yeny turned inward: "I try to continue improving, as a person." This is not about accumulating material possessions or consuming, she says: "from here [i.e. this world], I am not going to take anything." She has already achieved her dreams: a home, adequate food, rooms for her children, a thriving business. She does not need to continue accumulating. What she does need is to engage in constant work on herself and the largely indigenous-identifying community in which she lives.

The Politics of Not Just Iron and Cement: "*Isi Chatum*"

Perhaps the institutional form that most requires social license to thrive is a political campaign. Much like the region's development projects, corporations, and religious organizations, but significantly more temporary, political campaigns leading to the October 5, 2014 municipal and provincial elections in Caylloma deployed conceptions of indigenous welfare and personal responsibility to orient potential voters toward visions of collective prosperity. Intense campaigns kicked into high gear just after Independence Day on July 28 of that year. As part of my ethnography during the two-month campaign period, I decided to embed myself with one of the campaigns in Yanque, that of the "C" party, whose official name was "Arequipa – United for Great Change" (*Arequipa – Unidos por el Gran Cambio*). Anchoring the slate in Caylloma Province was Raul Mamani Piccha, the party's candidate for Provincial Mayor—effectively the province's mayor of mayors.

Mamani sought to secure social license for his candidacy based on his professional experience promoting indigeneity at the municipal level, and on his personal experience as the only indigenous-identifying Colcan in the elite-dominated race. He was a figure famous in and beyond Colcan development policy circles for transforming the forlorn mountain village of Sibayo into the world-famous *Rumillacta*, or Stone Village. To do this, he initiated a massive top-down policy that called for the ambitious “retrofitting” of this rural community to render it a paradise for cultural tourists. This newly revitalized community, where Mamani was the mayor for two terms between 2007 and 2014, was rendered aesthetically uniform through a municipal ordinance mandating all buildings to be retrofitted with freshly thatched rooftops and restored adobe masonry.

As of my last visit there, a one-story skyline of bright yellow straw surrounded Sibayo’s plaza. Mamani outlawed the use of cement and tin, popular throughout Colca’s villages because they are inexpensive. Tying this policy to substantial and unprecedented municipal investments in cultural tourism entrepreneurs and other local indigenous entrepreneurs of indigeneity, Mamani put Sibayo—along with himself—on the map. His administration has seen visits from President Ollanta Humala and, in an August 2014 ceremony I attended, from Magali Silva, Humala’s Minister of Exterior Commerce and Tourism, in which Silva praised Mamani by name, making clear that he was a friend of the administration.

Behind the scenes of Mamani’s interest in indigenous cultural promotion was a strange liminal power broker in Colcan development politics. Carlos Gutierrez was the C party’s campaign manager, its elite trustee, and its muse. Gutierrez had also been Mamani’s chief adviser in the effort to transform Sibayo into a tourist town. To understand the C party campaign, we must first briefly linger on this figure. Gutierrez was noted in public for his unusually large

girth, and for rumors about his potentially suspect teaching practices. He had lived part time in Colca since 2000, and had also spent time based in Rome and traveling the world working as a consultant for the International Fund for Agricultural Development.⁴ He identified himself to me as an expert on “*gestión del conocimiento*,” or the management of knowledge, and “*activos culturales*,” cultural assets. Gutierrez opened our interview as if already in the middle of a rant, suggesting that in Colca’s villages, there lacks a “scheme for using culture to generate dialogues and strengthen identity”; in other words, there is no continuity in the maintenance, protection, and utilization of local knowledge. Culture is not only that which is being aggressively highlighted, like traditional dress and the Wititi dance, for which a contingent of Colca representatives recently traveled to Namibia to receive UNESCO recognition. It is about that which relates them: an economy of values that, if articulated in the right way, could render Colca a significant “cultural entity” on Peru’s tourism map.

With sighs that betrayed his own class exasperation, Gutierrez lamented the constant cutting of corners he saw in Caylloma, suggesting that policymakers were not invested in laying significant groundwork for the development of culture. Invoking a term I heard across development entities, I asked how the projects to “revalorize” culture were proceeding in Colca. “They aren’t revalorizing anything,” he replied. “Uyu Uyu [a Yanque archeological site], they’ve restored it. But revalorizing means, first, that your people are proud of that. But if the people don’t *feel* that this is something, it’s just a mound of rocks.” Here, Gutierrez echoes the broader idea of license and licensing I track in this chapter, arguing that ideas cannot simply be imposed. Most people in Yanque will not care to learn about the Uyu Uyu site, let alone to care for it as if it were Peru’s “second Machu Picchu” (as the then-provincial mayor Elmer Caceres Llica

described the site at its opening ceremony), if it were little more than a destination to which tourists and their capital “hop” (Ferguson 2005). Income gained from tourist sites like Uyu Uyu, along with the tourist ticket that non-residents must pay in order to enter Caylloma Province, are channeled straight into the coffers of the Autonomous Authority of Colca, or “AUTOCOLCA” agency, long the object of local scorn because of its failure to adequately redistribute its revenues back to villages, and because its prices drive down demand. This entity, put another way, has failed to maintain its local social license.

One of the young students living in Gutierrez’s house chimed in, wryly suggesting that the Uyu Uyu museum was not an “interpretation center” (*centro de interpretación*, its stated title) at all, but a “charging center” (*centro de cobro*), because its only purpose is to make visitors pay when they are spotted onsite, while failing to offer them any substantive information. To cultivate such an economy of culture, Gutierrez continued, “development” entails three things: policy, citizen consultation, and investment. If you do not start by orienting a locality’s political posture toward indigenous revalorization, he told me, you will not involve citizens; without citizens and an abundance of cultivated knowledge, there is no investment. So, development for Gutierrez had to originate from the top.

In a fashion similar to many other development experts I met, Gutierrez offered the following aspirational refrain that pitted the need to cultivate the inherent abundance of a place against lazy dependency: “I refuse to work with poor people. I work with entrepreneurs.” Explaining his anti-asistencialista stance, Gutierrez described his contribution as not about investing with money: “I don’t have money. I work on these kids’ consciousness.” While in Colca, he ran a kind of informal leadership workshop, training successive groups of promising entrepreneurial youth, some of whom would live in his large Yanque home for long periods.

Discussing his pedagogy to transform young people into influential entrepreneurs, Gutierrez discursively carved out a space for a kind of affective dependency, even as he railed against dependency in the economic realm: “Many of them call me *papa*, like a child.”

As a figure, Gutierrez was somewhat divisive, drawing the ire of staff from development organizations like Sierra Sur and Desco after being invited to contribute to their various projects but vocally disagreeing and—according to Desco staff—letting his arrogance go to excess at many turns (Suni interview 2014). He returns the annoyance, suggesting for his part that these organizations are only the latest in a long line of entities that have sought to perpetuate asistencialismo. He professionally identifies as a development consultant and does seem to have good intentions for the people of the valley, but also takes pride in his own elite status and credits that to his self-realized capacities.

This was another Gutierrez refrain borrowed by candidates he had trained that assembled the C party: “prosperity is not only about iron and cement. It’s about human capital.” This is consistent with his statements about the importance of knowledge and political will. It at once perpetuates the contemporary paradigm of austere development, of a reliance on what must be a hidden local abundance that no amount of infrastructure could uncover, and the broader neoliberal trend of shrinking state welfare support. Yet at the same time, Gutierrez’ acolytes like Raul Mamani see this statement as a pragmatic form of aligning people to a neoliberal reality about which these rural politicians have no control: that their budgets will inevitably be small. It offered an intervention into what he and his acolytes saw as “the politics as usual” of promising *obras*, or public works and infrastructure projects, to voters, with such investments often seen as a form of voter bribery that increases around election time but which fails to invest voters in a

deeper development cause in any sustained way. The C candidates' self-presentations were meant to suggest that they were bravely countering those typical political promises.

Raul Mamani sought to embody the kind of indigenous development cultivated through Gutierrez' training, which he promised the province in his sensational final rally in Chivay, where a loud marching band and an enthusiastic, large crowd belied the campaign's modest budget, much like the ambitious but low-budget contests described in Chapter 2. "I myself," as Mamani told the crowd at that final rally, "come from a humble family. My mami has her skirt (*pollera*). My papi has his [rubber tire] sandals (*ujutas*).⁵ And I don't feel humiliated like they [the other campaigns] have wanted me to be. What does that matter? If what matters is values. If what matters is development." Here, development was as much about prosperity as it was about personal and internal worth: it meant cultivation and knowledge, and was made to be the sign of an individual who had expertly activated his indigeneity.

He also accentuated his image as one of the youngest candidates in the race, suggesting that between his youth and his more closely matched identity to that of most Colcans, Raul offered a fresh face for provincial politics in which voters might see their own reflections. Mamani's promises for the province's development were vast, and yet in offering a measure of distinction from simple promises of infrastructure projects, he embodied the broader policy emphasis in Peru on a shrinking state and growing indigenous responsibility. He displayed his key credential of turning Sibayo around, positing himself as the tourism expert in the race, the one with the most knowledge about how to urge people to bring their identities to the market. Mamani's accomplishments in Sibayo combined the gentle gift of support people needed to maintain their welfare with the training to sustain that support in market life.

At the rally, Mamani played into the frontier discourse of Andean commerce we have seen threaded throughout this dissertation: most of Colca, he suggested, was “still virgin” land for tourism. This received one of the many chants led by his campaign staff after he had made each stump speech point at the rally: “Raul is tourism! Raul is tourism!” (“*Raul es turismo! Raul es turismo!*”). Presenting his policies as the comprehensive answer to a need is actually what configures that need: growth, work, water scarcity, tourism—all bound by an ability to bring people together and to lead them. “*Concertación*,” a term connoting the ability to negotiate across lines of difference, was something that many of the C candidates advertised as part of their potential administrations, providing their answer to a paternalistic provision. Mamani urged the importance of “technical discipline, development discipline” in his future administration, promising to cultivate a political culture that offers “concrete answers” and generates solutions and ideas through a “project bank.”

Near the conclusion of his speech, Mamani slowed the tempo and lowered his voice. Then, he broke into Quechua, in what was a locally unprecedented move: as the only candidate ever to do so in the 2014 race, Mamani’s bet was on the access to local intimacy, tradition, and endogenous forms of improvement and innovation that his projected Collagua indigeneity granted him. His effort, which emerged at the conclusion of every stump speech, was to secure voter license by speaking to them intimately in their shared native tongue. He gave a condensed version of his basic stump speech points in Quechua, though this time, he gradually ascended, bringing his proposals from a voice that was low and slow up to a soaring climax, singing out to the crowd. His campaign staff told me that despite trailing in the polls, Mamani was the only candidate to make people cry at his rallies. The Quechua began as a way for Mamani to convey his humility, his own personal responsibility, and his status as a local favorite son. Picking up on

the earlier idea that people wanted to humiliate him for his upbringing, he suggested that he was being unfairly targeted for buying gifts and offering special patronage to voters in the Majes Valley town of El Pedregal, a sprawling industrial district far away from the Colca and Ampato Valleys but within the jurisdiction of the 100,000-population Caylloma Province. Majes is disconnected from the valley proper, yet its population of 60,000 gives it outsize power in elections. The older experienced candidates with more money behind them, he told the crowd, refer to him as “*isi chatum*,” or “that short guy”—a Quechuized Spanish phrase, “*ese chato*.” Chato here refers to a person both short in stature and low in social status, and in this case has clear racist undertones. Then, still in his triumphant Quechua, Mamani asked Colca’s “brothers and sisters, boys and girls, people young and old” to join him, and help to heal a region where “there’s no respect, there’s no unity, there’s no good work, there is inadequate care for the people” (*mana rispituchu, mana unidadchu, mana allin llankachu, mana uyway puiblupaqchu*).

Mamani lost his election to Romulo Tinta Caceres, a dentist born in the Ampato Valley village of Huambo who practiced in Arequipa, and who was running for provincial mayor for the fourth time in twelve years, which meant superior name recognition. Mamani vowed to run again. And other C party candidates who shared his platform of promoting indigeneity, culture, and tourism, managed to win, like Moises Quispe for Yanque mayor. What that party’s success illustrates is that the model of individualized, state-free empowerment through cultivating abundant indigeneity within, co-constructing personal and economic development, has caught on as a public concept. It also illustrates the temporary institution of the political campaign thriving on the social license to operate that it gains by convincing people that it knows how to balance its welfare obligations with its ability to cultivate responsible citizens.

Conclusion

Together, these three contexts of investing in ideas about indigeneity beyond the spaces of formal development projects demonstrate contemporary ambivalences about indigenous welfare in the Arequipa region. To achieve and maintain legitimacy, each institution featured here draws on elements of both austere development's investment in responsibility and the gift of patronage and support that they see as an obligated response to what I am proposing is the initial gift of social license. They also show us how fundamental an individually empowered mode of simultaneous psychological and economic development is in Colca public life, not only as an economic fact but also as a comprehensive value, logic, and ideology.

I have argued in this chapter that Caylloma's institutions and the concept of indigeneity activate one another through the emergent imperative of institutions to secure social license, which each does by positing particular ideas about the provincial population's welfare. Similar to the "republic of NGOs" Mark Schuller observes in Haiti (2012, 2016), these institutions—along with a host of others in Colca—stake claims to what effectively amounts to political control in Peru's rural hinterland. Enrolled into various projects conducted in the name of reproducing social license, Collagua and Cabana descendants in Colca and indigenous-identifying people more broadly in the Arequipa region were mobilized to forge a new generation of employed, spiritual, ethical, and political actors. The liminal actors that told their stories here suggest ambivalence between straightforward, gift-like support and the conferral of independence. As we saw with Desco staff working beyond Fondoempleo's project mandate and becoming effectively unpaid civic professionals, these institutions make clear that creating responsible indigenous actors with tiny startup investments can only be part of the policy picture. The people they served were also "dependent" on them. With that ambiguity between dependence and

independence, mining company foundations, religious entities, and politicians that took on a stake in what they saw as local development made clear indigeneity's important place in the effort to reproduce their own felicitous claims to trusteeship.

This last ethnographic chapter analyzes the terrain of ritual life, examining how collective investments in a broader community of human and non-human actors are rendered significant. I place an annual reservoir restoration pilgrimage led by a commission of water users in Yanque village in relation to the other investments analyzed in this dissertation. My focus is Yanque's four-day community work party to clean the canal from the water source near Mount Mismi to its destination, the village's agricultural fields. All land-using community members cease their usual routines, coming together on the most sacred days of the year to augment the water's flow. As I argue here, ritualization allows these agriculturalists to accomplish two goals in the course of this annual tradition: (1) setting the terms of their own investments in one another; and (2) collectively crafting compositions that symbolically articulate those investments. Part I of this study suggested that the interventions of the Desco NGO and Sierra Sur project were constituted in part by ritualized moments, or highly regulated procedures that (i) invoked particular symbols and create particular images; (ii) took place under the light of explicit acknowledgement; and (iii) took the form of special occasions. I also suggested that in the context of a development paradigm focused on the revalorization of Colca and Ampato Valley indigeneity, rituals such as ayni and ritualized relationships between economizing peasants and the non-human dimensions of their ecologies took on importance as an entrepreneurial means toward augmenting returns on investment. In this chapter, I consider these themes from the opposite perspective, analyzing the way ritualized labor comes to be understood, explicitly, as an investment in the present and future life of a community. I propose that historically elaborated Andean ritual is a form of intervention distinct from external development, but with the same goal: actualizing abundance.

When the gate opened, the water began as a trickle down the rock face. Then it thickened until becoming a full waterfall, the white spray an arc bursting over the cliff. In the cool afternoon shade of the field below, steps from the reservoir that caught the waterfall to convey its supply the rest of its way to Yanque's fields of corn, barley, and *ichu* grass on the right bank of the Colca River, people stood in silent awe, watching the sublime culmination of this annual rite as the water dramatically arrived from its high-mountain source. This composed image of water's return signified the restoration of the community's fragile but indispensable irrigation system and, as its audience hoped, the start of another year of agricultural abundance.

Glasses of chicha, beer, and *trago* (liquor) were prepared as onlookers rejoiced. As is customary for religious fiestas in Yanque, women wore what one Colcan called her "gala attire"

(Llallacachi interview 2014): a flat-brimmed Collagua or curved Cabana sombrero, elaborate skirt, and embroidered vest. The brass band played furiously. Families searched the two groups of laborers, each in a line consisting of a labor “squad” (*cuadrillo*), for relatives and friends. The lines were halted fifty meters higher and several turns away from the field, where they would soon arrive. This positioned the laborers to view the complete ritual tableau, a composition of the following elements: the waterfall bursting from the rocks above; the community’s largely female group of non-laborers, in elegant vestments to mark this most important holiday of the year and waiting for the fiesta phase of the labor party to begin, on the grass below the laborers, as they together anticipated the start of a new planting season; the site of the ruins at Uyu Uyu—the pre-reducción, pre-Inca historic Yanque village site in view; and Yanque-Urinsaya’s thirsty agricultural fields a yellow backdrop in the vast open surround. Shortly after the cascade began, laborers were given the signal to make their final descent down the narrow path, the first squad followed by the second, after days spent cleaning the twenty-five-kilometer canal from the highlands at the sacred water source of the community’s chief *Apu* (earth-being) Mount Mismi, to the main agricultural space within this community’s terrain.

This was the last day of Yanque-Urinsaya’s reservoir cleaning, locally known as the *Escarbo de Sequia* in Spanish and the *Yarqa Haspiy* in Quechua, or literally, “reservoir scraping.” The Escarbo has become the most important day of the ritual calendar in the Colca Valley hamlet. The cleaning is a four-day event that starts at a linked group of small mountain *ojos* (lakes; literally, “eyes”) in a “corner” near the decreasingly snowy summit of Mount Mismi (R. Checa interview 2015), winding its way down the mountainside’s “rugged and vertical terrain” (Gelles 2000: 1) to make way for the reservoir stream along a partially cement-lined and partially stone and mud canal dug into the ground.

The 120 laborers present on the last day, myself among them for the 2014 and 2015 work parties, returned shaking thankful hands in a line as if this were a graduation. Indeed, the metaphor of a *rite de passage* (see, classically, Van Gennep 1961; Turner 1966) is apt: while the annual collective work party or *faena* is not part of an official change in age grade, this male-centered pilgrimage is widely understood to be an activity that marks a young individual's masculinity. It also demonstrates the attainment of age-based honor for men in middle age, as a new experienced irrigator is obligated to be *Yaku Alcalde* or water mayor, each year.¹ This is not the only form of abundance management in Colca that was hooked into the shaping of young minds and bodies. A different kind of maturity, recall, was also the goal of the region's development investments, which sought to collapse psychological development and economic development through the figure of the indigenous entrepreneur of indigeneity. In both of these parallel investment settings, people are meant to transform along with the economies and ecologies in which they work.

The *faena* is a ritualized occasion that condenses the explicit celebration of ecological and cultural reproduction with a number of conflicts, contradictions, and worries animating contemporary indigenous life in Colca. In this communal work party, all land- and water-using community members are obligated to contribute their labor to a public works project according to how much agricultural land they occupy and how much water they utilize in the terrains of what is called *urinsaya*, a designation marking the community's lower moiety or half. In a micro-polity of roughly 1,000 people today, attendance by land-owning heads of household in 2014 and 2015 ranged from fifty to 150 laborers during the four days. While a landowner unwilling or unable to work may pay a fine instead, doing so is frowned upon, with the labor contribution being that which was most helpful in practice and what was thought to matter most

for the community's wellbeing. People do not seem to be participating as much as they used to; some are increasingly willing, if not always able, to pay the fine of 80 soles per *topo* per day.² Alternatively, they can send a day laborer, often a materially poorer youth not necessarily connected to the community, in their stead. Together, these uses of fungible money and fungible bodies are seen to weaken the force of ritual to bind community members together and effect place-based collective belonging. The many laborers I interviewed suggested that even several years earlier, nearly the entire male population of Urinsaya would attend, constituting an immense crowd of more than five-hundred people, down in 2014 and 2015 to a range between about 60 who stayed all four days and 120 for the popular final day of labor. This dwindling interest, at least according to the work party's leaders whose speeches I was able to record in 2014 and 2015, is partially a result of urbanization, trends suggesting the difficulty of transmitting the onus of obligations between generations. It is commonly attributed among veteran irrigators to the loss of a sense of community and of households' historic focus on subsistence agriculture as Yanque's resident population ages. This, too, was a common theme between formal development investments that demanded participant rootedness, and a community imperative asking local citizens to keep a vulnerable labor tradition alive.

Within Yanque, there is also a waning enthusiasm for participation in civil society organizations at the community or "grassroots" scale like the *Comisión de Regantes*, or Irrigation Committee—also now called by its newer official name, the *Comisión de Usuarios*, or Users Committee (Stensrud 2016). Its graying membership and shrinking faena attendance, along with local worries from users like Roly Checa (interview 2016; see below), and a local push to completely privatize individually rented communally held land (Huaracha interview 2014), suggests that dramatic changes are already afoot. The committee's monthly Sunday meetings I

would attend have grown tense, consisting of long hours of distrust, accusation, and debate.

Participating was expensive in money and time, and had clear opportunity costs. Despite widespread talk of decreasing numbers, the youth contingent was particularly enthusiastic in 2014 and 2015. And overall, those who did attend worked and danced with passion.

The puzzle of the Escarbo ritual's endurance as a community institution is, lastly, complicated by the labor-saving potential of technology. The irrigation stream runs in a small and in many parts leaky water trail dug into the muddy and rocky earth. Certain parts of the canal have been fortified with a cement floor, two cement walls, and sometimes a concrete cover, indicating that Yanque-Urinsaya's laborers have attempted to save water with technology before. The rest of the canal could also, theoretically, be paved and covered with cement in order to ensure the capture and delivery of more water. Alternatively, community members could construct a pipe from the water source directly to its desired destination in the community, which would seem to save a great deal of water and money in the long run, along with these four days of intensive labor. These ideas are not actively being considered, but their dismissal in conversations during the faena as potential labor- and water-conserving strategies suggest that water resources are only a small part of this annual event.

Why not, then, just pipe water directly from Mount Mismi to Yanque's farms and fields, over the silt and rocks that even when cleaned cause much of Mismi's water to be lost? What is it about this annual tradition that exceeds the simple resupply of a resource? And what, exactly, makes the Escarbo an "investment" in Yanque-Urinsaya's collective past, present, and future?

This chapter addresses the role of cosmological, ecological, and non-human power in a community's own explicitly labeled investments in itself. I situate ritualized labor in an economic and political context in which development presents a crossroads between the

contemporary emphasis on narrowly tailored investments in local indigeneity and the vanishing importance of an infrastructure-building, provider state. The chapter presents an ethnographic story of labor conducted in what amounts to a safe or sanctuary space beyond formal development projects of either form, and yet, this labor comes into conversation with the shifting ideologies underlying those development projects. I take a collective space of ritualization as at once the farthest aspect of community life from financialized development institutions, and as a space that takes investment full circle, to explore how, as Schuster notes, “the multiple claims that we hold over one another are an important feature of economic sociality” (2015: 213).

To do so, I build on a selection of anthropological research that urges a focus not directly on ritual but on ritualization. I argue that the *ritualization* of labor allows irrigators to accomplish two goals in the course of this annual tradition: setting the terms of their own investments in one another, and collectively crafting a set of compositions that symbolically express those investments. The chapter is rooted in ethnographies I conducted at the 2014 Escarbo, where I attended the committee meetings in preparation for the labor party and the final day of the faena, and in 2015, when I attended all four days of the labor pilgrimage.

I proceed with a brief discussion of the iterative dimension of ritualization and its context in the anthropological record to prime an analysis that focuses on the *performances, messages, and poetic spaces* that the Escarbo’s ritual labor configures. I follow this with a brief section on the local history of water politics and collective labor obligations. Then, I turn to the ethnography in two sections: one that takes the reader through the four days of the work party while parsing the constant effort by laborers to stabilize the terms of community investment, and a second that focuses on three specific ritual compositions that Yanque-Urinsaya’s water users create, ultimately returning to the cascade with which the chapter began.

Ritualizing Labor in a Reluctant World

Many diverse activities are classed as “rituals” in sociocultural and linguistic anthropology, especially in these fields’ structuralist and symbolic modes. This chapter takes the four-day Escarbo as a set of explicitly-labeled “investments,” for which acts of ritualization (1) occasion the acknowledgement of the work party’s importance in the life of the community of humans and non-humans that constitutes Yanque-Urinsaya; and (2) engage symbols to convey messages that form reflexive tableaus about that which is and will be valuable for the collective.

Anthropologists of various world regions, especially in the structuralist and symbolic traditions, have long suggested that ritual has to do with messaging and some sort of fundamental functional efficacy. At their best, anthropological analyses of ritual invite us to ask after more than just their work to create sconatural coherence and join disparate people and groups together (Levi-Strauss 1966), but also, “what makes them palpably urgent” for their practitioners (Mazzarella ND). Victor Turner tells us that rituals are fundamentally symbolic. Offering an exemplary description upon which a great deal of anthropological interpretation builds, Turner defines ritual as “a stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words, and objects, performed in a sequestered place, and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors’ goals and interests” (1973: 1100). Jean Comaroff cites the work of Nancy Munn to offer a similar definition, suggesting that “the construction of messages through the medium of symbols is the essence of all ritual; it is symbols that convert implicit social meanings into ‘communication currency’” (1985: 197).

A number of other anthropologists focus on the criterion that some cosmological force be present and called upon in the ritual scene. Rituals call forth—and thus, confirm, reproduce, and stage—collectively shared knowledges of order, behavior, and affinal relationships within a

particular sociocultural universe. Stanley Tambiah defines ritual as a performative process in which a framework of values is indexically entailed: ritual is “a culturally constructed system of symbolic communication” comprised of Austinian speech acts, multiple types of mediating objects, and “indexical values...being attached to and inferred by actors during the performance” all within an understood (but by no means historically stable) cosmological setting (1985: 128).

Judith Butler points out in *Bodies That Matter* that identities are maintained through moments of ritualized articulation: “‘performance’ is not a singular ‘act’ or event, but a ritualized production, a ritual reiterated under and through constraint, under and through the force of prohibition and taboo, with the threat of ostracism and even death controlling and compelling the shape of the production, but not...determining it fully in advance” (1993: 95). The Escarbo shows a number of identities in performance and production, not least of which is a gender identity consistent with ethnographic analyses of Andean gender “complementarity” (Allen 2002). It is exclusively men who are involved in labor, and a smaller number of women who join the pilgrimage to set up camp, prepare meals, and anchor the laborers’ temporary households over the four days. I have never seen a woman work in the canals. Labor here is a form by which men young and old establish and reiterate their masculinity, whereas performing the “domestic” labor of support contrapuntally iterates the femininity of women young and old. Andrew Canessa corroborates a distinct notion of performed messaging for the Bolivian Andes (2012: 27), offering an example of identity’s iteration in his discussion of the *rutucha*. This ritual cutting of a baby’s hair that forms part of the baptism procedure suggests that “a baby born without any ritual is considered something less than a person in any sense” (2012: 139).

Ritualization, for others, most essentially involves transforming everyday spaces by layering upon them explicitly acknowledged relational connections among human entities and

between human and spirit worlds. William Hanks' study of the *santiguuar* healing ritual in Mexico (1984) features a shaman at its center, who is an expert in the esoteric specifics of the cosmic order and in how to invoke and deploy that order within human intersubjective spacetime through the ritual register. The shaman transforms the everyday setting of his diagnostic altar into a cosmic space where spirits and humans can join collectively to heal the patient.

Together, these definitions frame ritual activities as moments of pause, crisis, and ecstatic rupture that configure what I see as a kind of temporary "courtroom" at the constitutive edge or "potentializing limit" of the everyday (Richland 2011). In its courtroom-like dramas, that which is collectively valued and collectively judged takes on an explicit mode in talk, action, and talk about talk and action. A ritual's protocols take on relevance through special registers focused on explicit value, and with the metapragmatic scaffolding of a highly ordered, and reflexively discussed, set of rules. As in a courtroom, rules, specific deviations from them, and an overall moral posture are aired together in an institutionally situated register where "trial talk" is its own ritualized idiom (Matoesian 2005). And like the trial scene, the denouement of a ritual process entails some change in action and understanding that sets the social right, stabilizing, reaffirming, or restoring an everyday order.

The Andes afford a region in which rituals past and present have long been a focus of scholarship, which is especially diverse given that the Andean "earth's personality varies from one place to another" (Gelles 2000: 82). Inge Bolin, whose analytical approach to ritual in the Andes lends itself to a perhaps idealized focus on respect and ecological harmony that has her overlook likely discord, suggests that rituals are "as important for the well-being of the people as economic activities such as herding, agriculture, and gathering" (1998: 31). Rituals' importance, Bolin says, comes in their capacity to "reconfirm a close interdependence among humans,

animals, and nature" (43). In doing so, relationships between humans and non-human caretaking entities are closely attended to and performed. Famed Andeanist Catherine Allen trains her ethnographic focus on the role of ritual in rendering communities coherent. The following is her own appraisal of ritual: "Andean ritual happens at an interface; it propels different dimensions of the cosmos into contact with one another and temporarily merges them" (2002: 149). She continues poignantly, zooming into her interlocutors in the village of Sonqo, in the Cuzco region: "Whether they feel like it or not, *Runakuna* [Quechua-speaking indigenous inhabitants] sing and party in the chilly rain, icy night, or blistering sun. Their stomp-dancing pounds the sensitive Earth; their raucous music carries to the *Apus* and the sky; their brilliantly colored clothing glows against the bland adobes. With all their collective energy, *Runakuna* force the reluctant world to sustain them" (149).

With this chapter, I seek to build on this extensive research into ritual in the Andes and elsewhere, asking how the act of ritualizing certain activities articulates local ideas about collective investment. The Escarbo on which I focus here is a pilgrimage and work party that cathartically takes laborers out of the space and time of their routines. The term *catharsis* connotes senses of cleaning, purification, and release. It also, at the same time, entails a sense of intensification. In accomplishing both of these, the Escarbo contains many specific rituals within it, most importantly the various *pagos a la tierra* (or [re]payments to the earth) that populate the routine of the cleaning work and afford moments of rest, reflection, celebration, and resource and community regeneration. Its ritualized dimensions entail an intensification and condensation of that which these laborers deal with in their daily lives, as on the other hand, their ritual offerings are braided into the everyday uses and politics of water. As I turn to the local historical context and then my ethnography, I suggest that ritualizing this work by framing it in cosmic terms and

using it to compose tableaus that affect the full range of senses ultimately amounts to an effort to actualize, from a different point of departure, human and non-human abundance.

Water and Labor: Local Histories

The nexus of resource regulation and ritual life that is the Escarbo activity in the Yanque-Urinsaya subdivision suggests a collective realm in which people imagine their pasts and their futures together, in a space largely without intervention by external institutions. I approach the Escarbo in this final ethnographic chapter as a site far from the reach of the entrepreneurship-focused development initiatives that I described in Part I of this dissertation. It is a site that provides a window into the “rituals of ethnicity” (Shneiderman 2015) that organized local public life long before those initiatives came to dominate development thinking in a newly integrated, no longer remote, rural Arequipa. Yet its forms are also inflected by the ubiquitous public presence of those development initiatives. Desco’s Environmental Education Project (2012-2014) did assist irrigation committees in a number of outlying low-population communities such as San Antonio de Chuca, in the high plain between Chivay and Arequipa, as its director Waldo Ortega explained (interview 2014). This formed part of the “transversal” goal Desco has to strengthen civil society institutions, as my interview with the NGO’s president and my review of many institutional documents in Desco’s archive made clear (Zeballos interview 2013; Desco 2008). And engineers often do populate Caylloma’s larger village centers like that of Yanque with the provision of public works projects (*obras*) important to any local politician’s legitimacy (see Chapter 5).

However, broadly speaking, external NGOs and state development workers approach ritualized water management for agriculture as a matter of local campesino expertise (Dapino

interview 2016), and a space in which outside advice is largely unnecessary and unwelcome. This emphasis on local autonomy draws most recently on a half-century of resistance to state encroachment and the “capricious nature of state intervention” (Gelles 2000: 59), exemplified by the massive Majes irrigation project of the early 1970s. The project rerouted much of Colca’s water supply to create new farming settlements in the province’s coastal lowland periphery and still generates anger in Yanque (Quispe interview 2014). Within Yanque, my interviews and immersion in documents housed in Gerardo’s personal archive made clear that collective interest in autonomous management is also a product of resistance to more local forms of class tension between *mistis* and *campesinos* (Benavides 1983; Huaracha interview 2014). Collective labor points to the local importance of order and stability on a community’s own terms that scholars have noticed elsewhere in the Andes (Starn 1999).

The 1960s saw an era of national and more broadly Latin American peasant mobilization for local control over resources against exploitation by elites. In that political context, an Irrigators Assembly (*Junta de Regantes*) of Yanque-Urinsaya was founded in 1960. This was an organization of peasants formed to take local control over, order, and regulate what was always an extremely limited water supply; its autonomy was strengthened through the group’s attainment of juridical personhood (Junta de Regantes 1960 [Huaracha Archive]). The updated version of that organization, the Irrigators Committee (*Comisión de Regantes*) was founded in August of 1964 (Ocsa 2013), giving irrigation a central place in local civil society. In Peru, the 1968 populist coup by General Juan Velasco forwarded the cause of peasant mobilization, leading to the 1969 National Agrarian Reform Law that declared Peru’s hacienda system illegal. From this point forward, given Velasco’s emphasis on peasant empowerment and the collective interest in discarding the damaging label of “*Indio*,” Yanque-Urinsaya changed state-recognized

titles from “Indigenous Community” (*Comunidad Indígena*) to “Peasant Community” (*Comunidad Campesina*).

Rutgerd Boelens suggests that given recent and historic struggles for autonomy, ritualization since the mid-twentieth century has become a sharp statement of independence. Yanque and other Colcan communities in the regional network like the extensively-studied Cabanaconde “strategically re-appropriated Andean water mayors’ practices and rituals and dual irrigation-organizational structure—once seized by Inca, colonial and hacienda regimes to extract local resources—to ritually attain abundant water and to resist elite and State interference in local affairs” (Boelens 2014: 245). The Irrigators Committee is the present day version of Yanque-Urinsaya’s water regulators, but I suggest that today, the committee has transitioned from resistance to the state, to resistance to its absence, with the basic services and infrastructure it once provided giving way to demanding NGOs and their low-budget, micromanaging austere development projects. That is not to say that Yanque-Urinsaya’s irrigators do not occasionally call for help from those entities. However, water management and distribution is a space in which this community’s members are firmly resistant to being responsibilized, given capacity, or empowered by external actors. They present themselves as well aware of how to actualize water’s abundance and manage its scarcity, but welcome the chance to benefit from large hydrologic infrastructure projects and other ways of securing increased water reserves they determine to be fair and sensitive to the earth-beings that care for them. They take regulation to range from fair access to irrigation water for each peasant based on land holdings, to framing relationships with the Apu Mount Mismi and the other subordinate earth-beings that help to configure the wellbeing and experience of water’s users.

Gelles describes the annual sojourn that is the Escarbo as a form of “communal catharsis” (2000: 55). He suggests that for the community of Cabanaconde, and also implicitly throughout the rest of the Colca Valley, “the purpose of these rituals was to honor the mother mountain, secure the personal safety of the irrigators, and create an abundance of water” (57). One of my arguments throughout this dissertation has been that abundance is latent but present, and needs to be actualized, or potentiated: thus, I dispute Gelles’ use of the word “create,” and throughout this study echo Boelens’ idea that abundance had to be “attained.” Still, the principles of honor, safety, and abundance are three practical goals underlying the Escarbo in each of the Colca Valley’s communities. In Yanque-Urinsaya’s case, the water-supplying deity, Mismi, is masculine, seen as a “father” (most commonly addressed with the title of *Tayta*, or Lord in Quechua). Gelles makes particularly clear the idea in the Colca Valley, resource usage and its ritualized regulation intertwines care for a particular material infrastructure and respect for an animated ecology, two things that are sometimes the same thing, anticipating more recent discussions of the human and non-human in Andean studies (Blaser 2013; De la Cadena 2015).

Although today’s water use organizations originated in the 1960s, they are a contemporary bureaucratic version of collectively regulated irrigation that probably date back to an era before Inca colonization of the valley: “this annual pilgrimage,” suggests Gelles, describing Cabanaconde’s own female caretaker, “is most likely an ancient feature of the complex of rituals and irrigation associated with Hualca-Hualca Mountain” (2000: 57). Many veteran Yanque irrigators I interviewed confirmed the pilgrimage’s long-term historic importance (Huaracha interview 2014; Suni interview 2014). This event presents investment as a suite of activities that build human-human and human-nonhuman solidarity in the name of respectfully attaining abundance; given that the earth is said to open up at the start of August,

this occurs in the context of the most sacred and ecologically important time of each year. As Boelens summarizes, such “hydrological cycles are...chains of human and nonhuman elements constructed by the human mind and by human material intervention” (2013: 245).

The Escarbo de Sequia: Stabilizing the Terms of Investment

Yanque-Urinsaya’s Escarbo effectively begins on the night of July 31 in the Yanque district municipality building. At 7:00pm, an announcement over the loudspeaker perched on the two-story building’s roof marks the start of the *Rimanakuy*, a Quechua word for meeting or assembly (*rimay* is the verb that means “to speak”; *naku* is a suffix that signifies mutual action, i.e. speaking to one another). Here, the term is used exclusively for the annual meeting held to plan the Escarbo, the year’s most important collective labor obligation. Each irrigator or user, the two interchangeable terms for a farmer who utilizes the communal water supply, is expected to attend this meeting, though some irrigators tend to be already far away in the highlands by this point, having begun their journeys earlier that day as Gerardo and I did in 2015. The details of the collective labor that are decided in the Rimanakuy include the specific route to be taken along the various veins of water flow from Mismi back down to the village, which changes slightly every year based on the abundance of rain and snow and conditions that the leadership has surveyed in advance.

This meeting includes further decisions about how many *contados* (accounted-for units), a measure of canal some thirty feet long, each laborer is responsible for clearing, which varies depending on the expected number of laborers. The community also decides on transportation, regulating the use of trucks, private cars, beasts of burden, and people on foot to supply the party with food, alcohol, blankets, and other needs. In 2015, increased use of motorized mobility was a

source of controversy: though expressed as a concern about violating a tradition of exclusively using animals, underlying this was the worry that increased transit between labor site and home village could give laborers an easy exit in the event that they did not want to complete the full four-day obligation.

The Rimanakuy is also a rally: when I witnessed the meeting in 2014, the mayor was present to cheer on the group, along with other municipal officials who were not irrigators or owners of agricultural land themselves. Many speakers present hoped to rouse the crowd into enthusiasm for the faena, participation in which was a point of pride for many men, young and old in the community. Ramón Cayllahua, Yanque's mayor at the time, gave a speech praising the workers. Mayor Cayllahua, along with the Irrigation Committee President for 2014, the *Yaku Alcalde* or Water Mayor tasked with leading the labor party, and other irrigators on the committee, repeatedly invoked the word “investment.” In a characteristic I would notice repeatedly at meetings throughout the four-day pilgrimage (and in Yanque's public life more generally), certain words introduced by a meeting's first speaker would then be taken up as a refrain in subsequent comments.

Authorities and leading irrigators given the opportunity to speak at the Rimanakuy emphasized that the effort of the labor and the irrigators' commitment to the sentient terrain were investments in the community of Yanque-Urinsaya. The term “investment,” I suggest, was deployed to posit hard work toward a better future, a sacrifice in the present meant to augment the future's water supply, maintain strong male relationships, and reap the return of a pleased non-human community of otherwise reluctant earth-beings. In other words, the future that this group of leaders composed in the Rimanakuy conditioned the present through investment. This investment's returns ranged from the near-term—a year of water for Yanque's cropland, to the

intermediate-term—the ongoing ability for each of Yanque’s men to feed his family, to the long-term—the continued mutual nurturance between humans and earth-beings, each of which depends on the other.

The mayor’s presence also endorsed the event as one of the municipality’s most politically important, even if water was historically a subject of contention between state and local authorities. The position of mayor in Yanque, Lari, Ichupampa, and most of Colca’s other villages has been occupied not by a landowning irrigator, but by an urban-based technocrat with increasing frequency in recent years. Cayllahua has a professional background as a teacher, and his tenure was famously characterized by his absence, which he explained in his (ultimately failed) 2014 reelection effort by saying he was touring Arequipa and southern Peru’s other cities seeking out money and potential *obras* for Yanque. The municipal mayor was present at the Rimanakuy to offer his blessing and authority as a guest who desired not to meddle, as the activities of the Yanque-Urinsaya Irrigators Committee were officially designated as beyond his purview and firmly in the space of Yanque civil society. Along with the municipal mayor was the water mayor who, in this specific capacity, had more power over local practice. The Yaku Alcalde was the man tasked each year to supervise all of the diverse forms of collective “investment” required for an adequate water supply in the yearlong period that begins with the Escarbo, from the money and labor that would go into the work party, to its full inventory of ritual activity and symbolic attachment.

The exclusively male collective of seventy-five irrigators in attendance at the Rimanakuy used the meeting as the first of many occasions to express to the group the importance of respecting elders and of a collective ethic of completing tasks without complaining or cutting corners. One feature of these meetings was that people would tend to introduce themselves,

greeting each of the honored members of the group according to a highly formalized code (see Morton 2014). Each speaker had to begin by thanking the panel of honored attendees: “Señor Vicepresidente,” “Señor Ex-Alcalde,” until they noted each high-status member. I would observe repeatedly in my field notes that these long meetings exhibited the idea that an often explicitly articulated ideal of inclusive democracy was more important than efficient decision-making: many people wanted to say something in a setting where having the floor and receiving the opportunity to speak was a means of establishing one’s masculinity and authorizing one’s commitment to the collective effort. Sometimes, attendees would speak even if just to repeat previous assertions, deploying a discursive form Laura Graham calls “pragmatic” or “indexical” speech where the fact of speech itself is more important than its substance (Graham 2002).

Some in Yanque saw the Escarbo faena as a vulnerable tradition, while others believed it to be strong; this was an ongoing dispute that often underwrote tensions and debates over the extent to which labor-saving technology ought to be permitted. At the 2014 Rimanakuy, many speakers, like the influential resident vested with the position of Irrigators Committee Vice President (and 2015’s President) Celestino Mamani, would also stress that this annual labor party was important, but, like so many of the region’s traditional practices, seemed to be waning as a priority for Yanque. They expressed anxiety that too many men were sending *peones* (peons), day laborers who were stereotypically young, rowdy, and unconnected to Yanque life, in their place, which risked community disintegration in the context of the village’s most important communal tradition.

Just several days earlier, Ernesto Checa sat with Gerardo, Luisa, and me at the kitchen table in the Huaracha home, sharing some leftover chicha from a recent day of agricultural work, and lamenting the worrisome state of Escarbo attendance. A key problem they anticipated for

2014 was the absence of communal cooks. Ernesto's wife, Gerardo and Luisa's daughter Guillermina, had served as one of the cooks in the past, but this year was too busy in her job at the Killa Wasi Lodge, a small upscale bed and breakfast several blocks away, and her other job as owner and operator of the Sumac Cantuta Wasi hostel and serving as president of the "Yanque Ayllus," the local cultural tourism consortium (see Chapter 4). But when it came to Yanque's traditions, deeper problems also abounded. As Ernesto put it: "the customs keep changing" (*cada vez mas están cambiando las costumbres*; interview 2014). I asked him whether it was a good thing that some people in the community, like Guillermina, were making more money and doing well, even if that took them away from what tended to be their duties in communal events like the Escarbo. His response was that "before," life was not about money and finding professional positions, but about honest agricultural labor and mutual aid: "All we had was the field (*el campo*). Everything was based on ayni. There isn't anybody left for ayni now." Ayni, as his enterprising brother Roly would later explain, meant non-monetary help that came from a wealth of social relationships:

you seed in your chakra, I come to your chakra. And the day that I'm seeding in my chakra, and you come, bringing two persons, I do just the same (*igualito*). I come early? You come early. I come midday? You come midday. I bring five people? You bring five people. But I don't pay you even a sol. Of course you get chicha, food... That is ayni. (R. Checa interview 2015).

These extensive discussions of the crisis of tradition condensed in the changing picture of 2014's Escarbo are indicative of the fundamental contradictions of the present moment in the region's development. As the revalorization of indigeneity has come to drive Caylloma Province's economy in diverse and potent ways since its rapid late-1990s infrastructural

integration, individual and household priorities are seeing dramatic shifts. That which is revalorized is, as I have argued throughout this dissertation, limited to the narrow focus on indigenous entrepreneurship as a market device. It is a particular form of entrepreneurial indigeneity that enables small businesses to grow outward and upward, bringing about a success measured not in mutual aid, friends, food, relationships, or love, but in income, bolstered by unleashing an abundance of social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) through the marketing, marking, and recognition of indigeneity in the interventions elaborated in this study's first three chapters. A key contradiction of development's revalorization investments is that internally, they have not changed the fact that pre-Hispanic values and practices are seen as endangered. Indeed, marketization and commercialization in the name of indigenous tradition in some ways has hastened that endangerment, for recuperating that which can generate income has not meant recuperating or strengthening everything that is locally considered indigenous. With new prosperity, many important traditions like the Escarbo that do not point directly to an abundance of capital potentiated or actualized through entrepreneurship are seen to be fading.

In our conversation at the kitchen table, I asked the group about uses of the pago a la tierra. Luisa offered, in Quechua, that before the most recent two decades, all of Yanque's homes would be warmly fragrant, sweet scents marking each block with a slightly different flavor. The pago ritual entailed the burning of redolent assemblages of sacred things: one could smell the characteristic burning of coal, corn, alpaca fetus (the *iranta*), and coca anywhere on the village's gridded dirt lanes as dusk began to fall after a long day of planting. Now, Ernesto added, the pago is exceedingly rare, done by some agricultural workers but mostly in larger groups for only special occasions. Just as we see with the broader concern that Colca's peasants have ceased to sing old songs like the Hialeo and its once-sensual villages were no longer distinguished by their

sounds and the emotions they evoked walking through them, Ernesto suggested that this community was no longer accessible through the sense of smell.

Rolando “Roly” Checa owns a shop and small hostel that has recently been successful enough to allow him to purchase a car, which is nearly unheard of in Yanque.³ Roly too spoke of a past abundance that contemporary economic growth could not replace. When he was a child, “we only ate natural foods” such as corn, potatoes, and quinoa, and “all of the nat-u-ral fruit” (“*todas frutas nat-u-rales*”); nobody ate noodles and rice in Yanque, relatively recent signs of regional integration and the consequent loss of nutritional value from locally farmed food. His childhood world was a space of astounding abundance, in his description: of healthy food; of will to collaborate on agricultural work; of enjoyable labor. This ended as his family’s material lack forced their hand. They sent Roly to live with his *misti* godparents in Arequipa, which he characterizes as two years of hunger, humiliation, and suffering. Meanwhile, Yanque changed too, as Roly described, invoking Peru’s controversial president in the 1990s: “Fujimori brought light” (*luz*, which here signifies electric power), which “has its advantages and disadvantages” because “now we have electricity, but before, we lived peacefully, there wasn’t so much delinquency...there weren’t so many fiestas, like now. There were some, but they were healthy. We would seed with a little pisco, *almidón* [a warm, starchy alcoholic drink], or chicha. Beer? There was no beer, it just appeared in the 1990s.” Beer is a sign of contemporary regional integration (Yanqueños almost exclusively drink the region’s *Arequipeña* brand). It is notable that only minimal beer is consumed during the Escarbo pilgrimage until the return to the village on the final day, a possible result of the practical difficulty of transporting it in large quantities and, given its absence in other agricultural rituals, its symbolic remoteness from traditional practice outside of patron saint festivals.

Roly applied the same thesis of past abundance and contemporary scarcity and loss to his analysis of the Escarbo. It is an activity in which he has engaged since his teenage years; in my two years of participation, the community saw Roly as a clear leader. He would take the ritual perhaps more seriously than most, channeling his recent economic success into purchases of hikers' clothes and a warm tent and sleeping bag, unusual supplies for this group of laborers, most of whom slept in the open air on old mattress pads covered by heavy wool blankets (as I did in 2015, next to Gerardo and our two female cooks, Alheli and Elizabeth). Roly narrated the work party's procedure to me in a January, 2015 interview. In the course of explaining how each day works, he stopped himself, to suggest gravely that the coming August may not see an Escarbo at all, due to the convergence of climate change and rumors that the *paq'os* (ritual leaders) had conducted the pago a la tierra improperly during the previous year. It did not help matters that fewer people were willing to participate. "Everything is changing," Roly told me, in a refrain that I would hear often, especially in conversations about ritual activity: people are so eager to cut corners and make the quickest, easiest, and most selfish choices. This narrative of loss put blame on individuals and on massive ecological changes like the drought unanimously attributed to the global climate crisis, but left out intermediate structural inequalities that drove people to pursue wage labor and, if lucky, education in Peru's urban centers.

The manner in which the faena would proceed over the four days following the Rimanakuy makes plain the importance of the collective effort to stabilize the terms of investment. In what follows, I analyze how this was done, drawing most closely from my participant-observation in the 2015 Escarbo, and supplementing the analysis with descriptions of the ritual I attained from Roly, Gerardo, and others.

Each day entailed morning and afternoon periods of difficult labor using shovels, picks, and bare hands. The chief task was to dig rocks and dirt and wet mosses out of the canal so that a maximal amount of water can be conveyed from the source at Mount Mismi to Yanque village without being diverted, overflowing, or filtering down into the ground and out into other potential water sinks. But to my surprise, laboring to clear the canal represented only a fraction of the four-day activity. Significantly more time was spent in non-work planning activities, group rituals, and convivial eating and drinking—the latter characterized by ongoing exchanges of almidón shots between laborers.

On the first morning, all of the irrigators or their substitute peons converged on a flat clearing by the highland dirt road on a property called *Pata Uku*, where Don Gerardo and I had camped out the night before. The official start of the work party on the first day in 2015 involved a Catholic prayer session, whose round of *Padre Nuestros*, collective singing, and benediction opened the four-day pilgrimage. Some participants would begin to peel off from the group to begin preparations for the first morning's long pago a la tierra, which I detail in the following section. For the rest, the work party proceeded with its opening meeting, intended to set the tone for the four days of labor. Only the male laborers attended this and the other onsite meetings during the pilgrimage. Officials offered their praise to the group, and a selection of irrigators reiterated their opening commitment to good behavior and respect between young and old, the latter emerging as a motif in these meetings, meant as a preventive form of disciplining youth at risk of becoming rowdy or lazy. People in positions of authority, including committee President Celestino Mamani and Oscar Inca, the new Lieutenant Mayor of Yanque who (unlike the current and previous mayors) owned agricultural land that he would actively work throughout the year, spoke first, followed by other users taking the floor.

During this meeting, Celestino emphasized to the assembly that this was labor that had to be taken with the utmost care because it meant continuing a tradition of engagement with “the live earth.” Lines that Oscar Inca offered and that several other meeting participants would then repeat included the following: “Let’s do this well.” “This tradition [or activity] is ours.” “Let’s do this beautifully” (*Haguémonos bonito*). The term “bonito,” or beautiful, in this faena and in agricultural labor generally was about more than only a shallow appearance or elegance: working beautifully meant, most basically, getting the labor right. It meant clearing the canal of a maximum amount of obstacles interrupting the water’s flow so that it becomes a simple and elegant conveyor of water to Yanque’s fields. Bonito stood for an ethical program: it was thus one of the group’s key parameters as they organized the terms of their collective investment.

Multiple irrigators also urged the group to conduct their labor “with patience” and care for land and community, “so that in the rainy season we don’t have any accidents”; preventing accidents relied as importantly on diligent hard work as it did on carrying out the pagos correctly and treating the sacred space around Mount Mismi with respect. Also repeated in the opening meeting was the idea that the young and the elderly complemented one another: young people have strength, while elderly irrigators have experience.

Then, Gerardo Huaracha, veteran irrigator and former water mayor, addressed the group with a longer speech:

They have left us a gift [*recuerdo*], our ancestors, that to us, it’s our turn to do the maintenance, do the cleaning. Just like the rest of my colleagues have said, if we name someone captain, then obey him, that which he orders us. Then, companions, we must work really beautifully [*muy bonito*]...that is my recommendation, users and brothers, we all help one another as younger to older and older to younger, also, all respectfully: that

canal is a gift from our ancestors, so may we all work with goodwill, and obey our leaders...thank you very much.

Between the prayers, the meeting, and the pago, the faena opened with invocations to a maximal pantheon of non-human beings that may potentially influence their success: prayers to the Christian god, followed by a long pago occupying the first several hours of the day that a group of some twenty laborers conducted with the water mayor (see below). Meanwhile, the rest of the laborers not asked to participate in the opening pago fanned out into the vast ravine in Mount Mismi's shadow, with its summit just barely visible overhead. Most irrigators had their shovels in hand and wore their waterproof boots. The first pass through the ravine happened in an orderly and efficient manner, the workers fresh and energized, teasing one another about their respective levels of strength and masculinity as they competed to clear their contado faster than their peers.

Labor breaks were frequent, long, and leisurely as the sun rapidly transformed the morning's forbidding frost and chill into oppressive midday heat. Each day entailed a set of both highly choreographed and more informal ritual obligations that consisted of several pagos to mark distinct *tirakuna* ("earth beings") of varying levels of importance along the canal's trail. Breaks were accompanied by convivial *trago* and wine consumption that always required sharing with the earth by carefully pouring several drops onto the ground. It also required sharing with one's fellow laborers, with circles of three to five people forming to share almidón and to dispute whose was best. Chicha, the sacred fermented substance used to toast and acknowledge the sentient terrain, was conventionally a staple during agricultural work, but here, it was in short supply due to the difficulty of transporting the large multi-gallon tanks required for its adequate sharing with a group.

The second day also began with a planning assembly. This one was long and contentious. Committee president Celestino Mamani faced a great deal of criticism for failing to bring in more water infrastructure projects and institutional support for irrigation resources, a reminder that this was a job whose thanklessness meant that few people wanted to volunteer for the obligation in the future. People complained, in whispers, that he was “capricious.” The idea of NGO support emerged during this meeting as something that would have been useful. Irrigators, as a collective political entity, were so often strapped for cash. Thus, they were eager to cobble together every resource possible to maximize the quantity of water they could bring back to Yanque like so many *bricoleurs*, seeking all of the help and patronage through aid that they could find from external institutions like Desco.

This interest in institutional assistance did not mean ceasing to be autonomous; rather, it speaks to these laborers’ status as ontological maximizers, heeding the collective interest in seeking approval, legitimacy, and help from as many distinct worlds as they could. The stumbling block to NGO support, countered Celestino, was the widespread requirement of co-sponsorship, co-financing, and capacity building: he explained the norm that the local partner organization, in this case Yanque-Urinsaya’s Irrigators Committee, must contribute 30% of the funds for any collaborative development project. Celestino summarized development institutions’ approach with the notion that “if you do not have money you are nothing for them.” And this committee, Celestino and others pointed out, did not have money to spare for specific aid projects. Without that, NGOs will not want to sign agreements or partner with grassroots organizations. In the ritualized spaces of meetings like this, NGO practice was presented as a limit to how much material assistance laborers could receive. But the idea of NGO responsibility was also taken to court, judged explicitly as out of touch and unhelpful to resolving perceived

community need. Contentious meetings like this one that addressed the disappointing unavailability of NGO aid illustrate that the faena deploys ritualized moments to scaffold collective understandings of the terms of local development, and of what it means to invest. This work party in its contemporary form in part entails recruiting some of the discourses of mainstream development for local needs, like individual responsibility and rootedness, yet at the same time it rejects others, like the lack of interest in simple aid. The Escarbo is ambivalent, both the province's archetypically indigenous activity, and the least commensurable with the region's development institution-driven economies of empowerment set up, in which it is only those local needs that can be rendered legible to an NGO's limited intervention with small financial investments that are addressed.

Throughout the four days, there were disputes about whether or not Yanque-Urinsaya has seen cultural loss, and the extent to which such a story of loss was relevant in the faena context. Some people challenged Celestino's management by arguing that he was hastening cultural loss: One irrigator addressed the crowd, suggesting, "each year this is more disorganized," with others claiming a loss of tradition. Within that theme, a dispute emerged over the traditional use of beasts of burden, which Celestino wanted to limit, given their vulnerability to the highland cold, and that most irrigators had arrived by truck or car anyway. After several irrigators suggested he was threatening the traditional form of conducting the faena, Celestino's impatient response was this: "No, no, no, I said it very clearly in the assembly [monthly committee meeting]. This part about losing our customs? These customs continue normally. We have squads, we have work, we have rituals." He continued: "The only change is that you don't use animals...I certainly don't want to maintain them personally...and for tomorrow, I don't oppose [other traditions like] the football playing." As the field where we were standing grew hot and the meeting began to eat

into the labor time without any sign of resolution, Celestino proclaimed that “today is the last day of free conversation...tomorrow, please, I beg all of you...tomorrow let’s demonstrate well who we are.” With these words, Celestino marked the ritualized form of the meeting as an index of what this community of laborers valued, their ethical attention, and their fundamental interdependence.

The remaining day’s schedule, as soon as the group allowed its two labor squads to break free from the hour-long meeting, was a first long burst of work digging stones out of the bottom of the canal. A generous rest followed. Then began a second round of work, up until the *“contado final,”* or the last accounted-for line of the canal that each squad was responsible for cleaning.

On the second night, Roly, designated one of that year’s two First Squad captains, invited me to join him and several visitors including a group of four anthropology students from Lima’s Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, around the fire he had made by his tent. One of the visitors asked Roly why the community did not simply construct pipes where the canals would be, so that water is not lost in transit, and the time that could potentially be devoted to other obligations is not lost during the labor party—not to mention the health of the workers who must endure the hostile cold and the dehydrating midday heat. What would be the point of this ritual labor if people end up wasting so much time while risking their bodily wellbeing? This, it turns out, was not a question Roly could answer: he suggested that of course the community should continue the faena. I subsequently put the same question to an interlocutor external to Yanque. Desco’s Fabiola Dapino, who hails from the coastal city of Tacna at Peru’s border with Chile but has worked with the NGO in the Arequipa region since 2013, told me that yes, constructing pipes may indeed be more efficient. “But remember that there is this theme of custom and

cosmovision. The mountains are the Apus. Perhaps that influences the choice not to make such a change” (Dapino interview 2016).

Roly’s inability adequately to explain to the Lima anthropologist what was so plain to him recalls what Povinelli has suggested about late liberal (and for Peru in this case, coastal and *criollo*) assumptions about belief: “if asked why” one believes a certain thing, she writes, “all subsequent explanatory statements (‘because I believe that…’) are provisional in the sense that, in the final moment, the explanatory ground is an inexplicable sense-feeling, whose phenomenological type can be characterized as a moral feeling but whose referential content cannot be characterized without loss” (2002: 39). In Roly’s case, and for the other devoted irrigators, so many distinct forms of obligation intersected in this four-day activity that the idea of installing pipes to save labor and time misses the point. Doing so would not only alter, and potentially harm, the local ecology; it would also be a measure that fails to cover every ritualized obligation that this pilgrimage is engaged every year to complete, most importantly the pago a la tierra to secure water abundance and fight the possibility of drought on the year’s holiest day. But without the excuse of canal cleaning, Roly betrayed an implicit fear that those other obligations would not be completed either.

The third day was much like the second, with a faster, less contentious morning meeting, and a late-morning and midday work period. This day entailed even harder work, as the rocks and silt lining this sector of the canal floor were so much more tightly packed in. The day was punctuated by the visit of Yanque’s new mayor Moises Quispe, along with a project engineer, presenting a moment in which the discourses of ritualized community labor converged with the politics of infrastructural *obra*-based, welfare-style development. They had gathered overlooking a field called Chachayllo for the mayor to declare the start of construction on a water dam and

delivery project adjacent to the course of the canal. That project would be based in Chachayllo, now a local landmark, where the battle over water between Yanque-Urinsaya and Yanque's neighboring village of Coporaque took place in 1971 (Benavides 1983; Huaracha interview 2014). Yanque-Urinsaya won the water rights to the stretch of canal that ran through Chachayllo, but also suffered the lone casualty in that hand-to-hand battle fought with fists and rocks, in the now immortalized figure of Jesus Montalvo Suni. Thus, initiating the hydrological infrastructure project here conveyed a message of Yanque-Urinsaya's enduring resource autonomy. Featuring a classic motif of Colcan development, the mayor and the engineer kicked the project off with a ceremonial breaking of a symbolic item, in this case a *q'ero* or clay vessel, a replica of an Inca-era dish, much like a mayoral ribbon-cutting ritual. The visit augmented my study's inventory of moments that make clear how much affective work beyond the receipt or transfer of money or labor is required to render meaningful a monetary investment. That night, the last one the group would spend camping in the mountains, was the faena's rowdiest. With pisco and rum abundant, the group staged a make-believe bullfight, a contest of feigned strength between a torero and a person who took on the role as the bull. The young new mayor continued his commitment to the mission of seamless irrigation by staying with the group that night, and enhanced his local reputation as the undefeated bull.

The fourth day saw the group winding its way back to the village. Early in the morning, a large group of additional workers arrived by truck to Uma Jala, the final campsite, replacing workers that had left in previous days and joining the popular final day, with the group's ranks reaching some one-hundred workers. The group held its usual assembly, and then the squads engaged in less demanding work with more breaks that entailed clearing canals through mud.

In this section, we have walked through the moments in the Escarbo in which the terms of investment and its subordinate ethical categories (young and elderly age status; distinct forms of food and alcohol consumption; “beautiful” work; respect for tradition; collective strength and autonomy) were set, regulated, and stabilized, lingering on several moments of contestation. The next section trains our analytical focus on three of the most important ritual compositions created over the course of the pilgrimage to articulate the work party’s principal collective arguments.

Ritual Compositions

The August First Pago a la Tierra. The opening day pago offered a prayer for abundant water by crafting compositions that represented snow on mountain peaks and feeding those small works of art to Mount Mismi. This most elaborate of the faena’s pagos staged the conferral of nourishment to the earth on the most important day in the region’s ritual calendar: the first of August, the day that the earth is said to open and ask for nourishment from its human users. Women, by this point in the morning after the first group meeting, were separated from the men, setting up camp. The pago a la tierra involved creating a variety of small figurines, vesting them with tokens of the mutual obligations between humans and earth-beings. Three were crafted from tiny clay pots (*q’eros*) at their base, upon which was glued a puff of cotton with two dark corn kernels as eyes at the top, resembling personified mountain peaks covered by snow, which stood in for a collective wish for water in the coming year. The three mountains diagrammed here stood in for the surrounding mountain lords whose snow helped supply water to the region: Mismi—Yanque-Urinsaya’s chief Apu, Ch’uwaña, and Ch’illa (see Map 2). Five other figurines faced the mountains, three made of small ears of corn, with black seeds for eyes, one a mound of alpaca fetus wax, and another an alpaca fetal head, decorated with seed eyes; they evoked an

expansive audience of living earth-beings and animals. Along with the mountain deities addressing this tableau of a vast plain was a personified Jesus figure, also crafted out of alpaca wax, with his face and hands spread widely, standing upon a cloud and looking down upon the audience of tirakuna. Once assembled, one of the artists crafting this tableau doused it in anisette (Figure 12).



Figure 12: Assembling ritual compositions during the Escarbo's most important pago a la tierra on August 1, 2015. (Photo by author)

While a small group of irrigators expert in this particular ritual art crafted the figurines and assembled them in the proper arrangement upon a patch of woven fabric, the others participating or watching in a seated row of irrigators, roughly a third of the sixty laborers present that first day, took turns rising from their seats to approach a central stage-like space. At its center was the water mayor's elaborately carved staff. The water mayor's assistant would give each participant a half-inch-thick sheet of slate rock that served as a tray to hold a small mound of burning fragrant coal. Each participant in the ceremony then had to hold the tray up to the sky, rotate it in a counterclockwise circle around the water mayor's staff, and then rotate it again

above the canal lock hole pictured in Figure 12. Participants did this with their noses behind the sweet coal, immersing their faces in its rich scent. As they rotated the tray, each whispered their prayers to Mount Mismi, the Pachamama, and personally important tirakuna like an individual's family-owned chakras and other places that brought them non-agricultural sources of potential abundance—for instance, Gerardo listed his household museum in his own prayer and encouraged me to do the same to ensure that it generates tourist income in the coming year. The ritual required inclusion of every man in its vicinity in order to be maximally effective; all were asked to contribute their breath to the burning coal and the coca leaves, and to drink the thick warm almidón and offer several drops to the thirsty ground.

The pago is a composition. It entails the creation of cosmically significant artwork with abundance as its central motif, expressed through a diversity of symbolically potent assemblages. As they prepared these compositions, and put them in their designated places in the ritual tableau, the artist laborers took pleasure in their work. Like the complexity of crafting these intricate figurines, getting the ritual investment exactly right was essential: that overall aspect is a painstaking procedure for which teamwork was key. Anthropologist Roger Rasnake has described ritual acts in the Andes as occurring through “symbolic action and not verbally” (1988). Comaroff describes ritual as an assemblage, and its practitioners, Levi-Straussian *bricoleurs* whose ability to cobble disparate symbols together is the substance of the ethical argument to which they gesture: “all ritual constructions present novel associations, even if only to re-present, in fresh guise and new combination, the paradigmatic meanings of the wider culture. Equally, all symbolic innovations are *bricolages*, concoctions of symbols already freighted with significance by a meaningful environment” (1985: 197).

Yet in this particular rendering of symbolic action, ritual—much like artwork—is also a genre of activity that exceeds the idea of communication. Certainly it involves messages and arguments. But ritual is also about pleasure: crafting figurines is, for these designated artists, a means of demonstrating their skill, intelligence, and playfulness, as articulated through their investments in Yanque-Urinsaya’s most significant earth-beings. The act of composition is an occasion for them to display their excellence.

The Uma Jala Pago. A second example of this ritualized bricolage came late in the final morning. After a relatively easy contado digging through the wet moss moving up from the final campsite up toward Mama Uma Jala, the last female mountain earth-being in the faena’s ritual sequence, we arrived to a rest spot above a stream that would eventually flow into the main canal. At one of its sharp turns, the stream had eroded a water hole deep into the ground. There, Roly and Ernesto Checa carried out the final pago standing in the water that went up to their knees, a traditional requirement for the influential Checa family, who traces a pre-colonial ritual connection to this potent female terrain. The hole, with a gently sloped mound above it, created the effect of an amphitheater, with the rest of the group looking down as Roly and Ernesto primed the stage.

This ritualization process, like the other ritual stagings I describe here, entailed creating a suggestive tableau, with many potential implicit messages, but which, among other things, asserted the importance for the Checa brothers of creating a scene of sexualized beauty in this female site. As part of their effort to set the scene, they brought a bag of red geraniums from Yanque. The red geranium is a flower that yanqueños use ubiquitously for fiesta decorations because along with white ones, it is used to make decorations in the colors of the Peruvian flag. They sprinkled individual red geranium pedals throughout the scene, dressing Uma Jala in her

specifically designated vestments, which was necessary in order for the offering to begin. The presence of these flowers conveyed a sense of the female earth-being's life-bearing fertility, as the brothers described the site as similar in appearance to the birth canal.

Then, they assembled two lines of flat circular rocks on a cloth placed along the platform of rock alongside the water hole that functioned as a kind of table, another form of representing the various earth-beings that along with Mama Uma Jala provide water to the Yanque community. These rocks were nourished with coca leaves and ash from previous minor pagos. Next to the rocks, they burned twigs, coca leaves, and incense into a pile of the same fragrant coal used in the first day's pago, pervading the scene with smoke and a richly sweet scent. Upon this sensually organized symbolic map, the brothers asked the irrigation committee officers and each squad leader to participate in a pago to this female earth-being. Like the most important offering on the first day, the pago entailed turning a slate tray of burning coal in circles above the stream and against the backdrop of geraniums, rocks assembled in two parallel lines, and coca leaves and ash sprinkled upon them. Each participant had to do this before passing the tray to Roly, who stood knee high in the water, and would deposit the properly anointed coal ash deep into the watering hole, symbolically feeding Uma Jala.

After each irrigator turned the tray of coal, he had to drink the ceremonial dual wooden cups tied together with a beaded rope. Drinking some of the alcohol the Checas prepared, while offering the remainder to the earth, was a form of alignment with it by investing in its present life-giving qualities and the future abundance it may be able to help provide. There was wine, some of which had to be spilled into the water supply, and *hanpiy* trago ("hanpiy" is the Quechua verb meaning "to heal"), all of which was supposed to go into the body: "this is all for the stomach, don't spill any of it!" Roly told me from his amphitheatric stage in the water, splicing

the locally common joking tone that often accompanied encouragements to drink alcohol with a sincere ethics of attention to proper protocol. A simultaneous pago, also to Uma Jala, was conducted in a field just beyond the water hole in a place marked by a pile of stones, where Nicacio Mollo, an emerging young Escarbo leader (and likely future Yaku Alcalde), took charge.

Completing the cycle. Later on that final day, the ritual cycle would be completed, initiating the new planting season. We spent the morning doing lighter canal-clearing work while hiking down toward the village, as the women packed up the last campsite and headed back to the village on flatbed trucks. We rested once more for a lunch provided by the municipality; after being disoriented during the return journey about where exactly we were that morning, I finally saw Yanque appear in the distance below, its diamond grid and tin rooftops gleaming in the afternoon light across the river. Then, we made the rapid descent to the final fiesta site at Qairakchu by the Uyu Uyu site. “Corre, corre!” they shouted. “Vuela!” Run, run! Fly! Reaching the end was suddenly urgent. We ran alongside, and occasionally crossed, the canal, following the narrow trail. Each laborer was careful to maintain his places in line while pushing his colleagues to move faster, running ecstatically until both cuadrillos stopped at a spot overlooking Qairakchu, the space that marked their homecoming.

With the laborers assembled at a final rise just above the field where the rest of the village who had not joined the Escarbo were gathered, the final three workers in the line opened the last water lock. After four days of clearing the water’s path from its source, the water had finally reached its destination in Yanque, symbolically: opening the canal, a great waterfall began to spill out abundantly over the final rock face. The squads and leaders marched, to the applause of the community surrounding them. Then they danced *La Marinera*, Peru’s national dance. Taking a long break from marching and dancing to drink chicha with their female family

members, children, and other visitors, the group of male laborers once again reassembled, to march in two squads the rest of the way from Yanque's main agricultural fields, across the Colca River, and into Yanque's central plaza de armas. Many partied late into the night, with some celebrating in the subsequent several days until finally depleting their alcohol supply.

Together, these three tableau compositions—the assemblages of the August First pago a la tierra, the Uma Jala pago, and the culminating image of the restored hydrological cycle—create poetic spaces that engage collective reflection in an often implicit and suggestive, but collectively unified, ethical and political project. Part of the broad range of labor deployed to restore and render abundant a precarious and too-often scarce water supply, ritual compositions bind the Yanque-Urinsaya collective together in this core obligation.

Conclusion

Ritualizing labor in Yanque-Urinsaya presents a collective argument about investment and abundance that does not neatly line up with other institutionally based, publicly disseminated values of an indigeneity recuperated or rendered sustainable through entrepreneurship. The Escarbo was a means of ensuring water's abundance, through the labor of clearing the canal of material blockages and of nourishing the non-humans responsible for the water supply. Meetings and ceremonial activities also become courtrooms for articulating value. Pagos were a means of conferring specific investments—which in these courtrooms meant non-state and non-NGO-rooted investments—in the life and wealth of a community of humans and non-humans. Of course, this collective of male laborers was not the complete population of Yanque, but they sought to represent it as the heads of households. The gender segregation here and privileging of the masculine certainly appears problematic, in my own outsider's perspective. But to read that

separation with generosity, I suggest that the complementary effort that each gender contributes (Allen 2002) is seen as equally important to the felicitous ritualization of labor.

Water's abundance, here, is far from other grounded institutional theories of abundance we have seen at the intersection of financialized development and indigeneity. It is in many ways the opposite of abundance in the view of Desco, Sierra Sur, or Fondesurco: the infinite potential of inexhaustibly resourceful rational actors, their hidden human capital, their intimacy with culture and history, and their untapped access to marketable forms of sustainability, as I have suggested for the various austere development investments tracked throughout this dissertation. Instead, abundance as it emerges through the Escarbo's ritual compositions is something fragile. It is a goal that takes difficult labor and a constant, ongoing commitment to achieve. Ensuring it required particular vestments: both figurative, as in ceremonially conferred positions of authority like the staff-wielding Yaku Alcalde, and literal, as in particular forms of dress. It required a song and dance distinct from the songs and dances that entrepreneurial associations had to perform in order to receive competitive development investments. And unlike those investments, abundance here is not assumed to always already be present, simply in need of being unlocked or seeing its potential actualized. Abundance is, in this context, an elusive dream. Water is a resource for which an adequately irrigated supply must be earned. Scarcity is the dangerous result of failure. Ritualizing labor ultimately suggests that abundance for Yanque-Urinsaya can only ever be a collective achievement.

Conclusion Returns

This dissertation began with a song in Ch'ela, a chakra belonging to Gerardo Huaracha. Gerardo and his companions launched their raspy Hialeo chant out into the valley, improvising, fatigued, and relieved after a day of strenuous work and after a long planting season, which would produce a relatively low yield despite their effort and that of their restless yoked bulls. Singing out, the small group of men and women, together, gave the land the day's final offering, tucking empty plastic bottles that held their chicha and trago into the cold vegetation and into cracks in the terrace's still-warm rock walls for use the following year. Then they packed their rakes, hoes, and shovels, their pots, pans, and empty chicha canisters, their blankets and leftover seeds and matches, all onto their donkeys' backs, for a slow and quiet walk home. Night quickly fell, the dark Andean air growing crisp and dry and each of us clung tightly to our dust-covered jackets filled with brambles and thorns.

The study continued in spaces that would seem, on shallow appraisal, somewhat foreign to Ch'ela, or rather, close to it and distant from it at the same time. We inhabited contests that filled Caylloma Province's public squares with youthful crowds, with color, light, and sound. We witnessed the painstaking work of Sierra Sur and of Desco's entrepreneurial experts as they navigated throughout the Colca and Ampato Valleys to make the market look like it was working seamlessly. We spent time in Chivay's main microfinance institution. And we encountered other investors in development that, from corporation to Church to campaign, came from positions of elite status and were compelled to redistribute resources without completely letting go of the idea that people are best helped when they help themselves. Together, these were spaces where the lives people led in rural homes, fields, pastures, and mountains were rendered abundant economic and cultural lives, at once reduced and augmented through their representation on a

rubric. Their lives were the dream of self-sustaining community, the place where abundance can be found if sought and cultivated in the right way, the site of investment's promise and its ultimate return. At the same time, life in rural Caylloma was riddled with contradictions, for these “últimas esquinas” also stood in some minds for a stagnant rural scarcity from which young people run away, resisting the trap of rootedness in a place at the margins of Peru's rising national fortunes.

These institutions, sites, and imaginaries allowed me to flesh out ethnographically the dissertation's two principal arguments. First, I argued that finance and indigeneity came to life together at a frontier site of inclusion, where the co-production between these locally new frameworks (in their current forms) helped to organize new forms of self-reliant subjectivity in the figure of the indigenous entrepreneur of indigeneity, with indigeneity posited as the simultaneous subject and object of development investment. The indigenous actor inhabited her or his new subjectivity through financial action; at the same time, engagement in financial action was exactly what it meant to be indigenous. Second, I have argued here that development in this place is primarily oriented not toward alleviating poverty, redistributing resources, or dealing with material scarcity or ecological devastation. It is a form of managing abundance: of culture, capital, nature, spirit, kin, and anything else that augments the value produced in and through market life; development here means potentiating abundance and fostering its emergence and actualization in the newly fertile field of indigeneity.

And this dissertation ended in another site of ritualized labor, a collective effort to harness the Yanque-Urinsaya community's autonomy and stabilizing its own, internally determined, terms and stakes of investment. The Escarbo labor pilgrimage also, perhaps, suggests an attempt to reconcile a landed spirituality that has animated this Andean world for

centuries with the vibrant enthusiasm of youth, difficult work with profound leisure, and the nondescript gray iron and cement of hydrological innovation with the beauty, sensuality, and color of ritual compositions representing a prayer for a year of abundant water.

These scenes suggest the many contradictions that mark indigeneity and the efforts, by various investors, to revalorize it, to recuperate it, to include it as part of the national economy, to empower it by drawing on the abundance it supplies, and to keep it from vanishing. In the diverse investments in the idea of indigeneity analyzed here, investors often seek to recuperate dimensions of the past. I have proposed in this study that idealized, partial visions of the indigenous past are not only an investment in a particular narrative. They are also seen as the real, ultimate endpoint of these interventions: “Andean utopia,” to again invoke Alberto Flores Galindo’s phrase (1986), rests at the origo and telos of contemporary Andean development.

Given that, what does such a “telos” look like? How do we know when Gerardo in Yanque, Mercedes in Huanca, Fabiola at Desco, or Plinio at Fondesurco have seen returns on their diverse investments? What lies at the end of development, when a project closes and then at the hypothetical moment when the NGO or Ministry project does vanish for good?

In theory, this telos is a scene in which adobe bricks, colorfully embroidered vests, and nutritious quinoa unadulterated by chemical fertilizers are ubiquitous. The village of Yanque, in this vision, sends its plaintive songs and raucous chants down the slopes of the Colca Valley, and the sweet scents of each family’s pagos mark the village’s intimate spaces, block by block. Men young and old are committed to their collective labor obligations, holding the strength of community self-determination in their hands. Women are committed to complementary forms of labor. Perhaps the market continues its presence, but only as a gentle scaffolding, to ensure the basic prosperity of these villages’ self-contained, self-sustaining economies.

The realities of configuring such a post-development utopia (cf. Escobar 1995) in Caylloma have, however, been somewhat more complicated so far. During preliminary fieldwork in 2011, I met Guillermo Hoyos, owner of the Killa Wasi Lodge, a high-end bed and breakfast on a small parcel of land in Yanque village proper. Its presence in Yanque meant that wealthy tourists from Peru's cities, other parts of Latin America, the US, and Europe frequently intermingled with locals as they traveled by foot and in immaculate heated Mercedes buses along Yanque's dusty unpaved roads. The *criollo*-descended Hoyos would frequently commute between Yanque and his home in Lima. His work fell outside of the entrepreneurship mandate of the various local tourism development projects that came to populate the region in the past two decades. But he, too, was devoted to putting a notion of indigeneity on conspicuous display. The hotel's Quechua name means "Moon House"; the other part of the name, "Lodge," was in an aspirational English. Hoyos thatched the rooftops of his small, two-story building and dining room, along with the water tower.

He narrated to me his ultimate fantasy for the rest of Yanque: he wanted all of the village's families to replace their inexpensive tin roofs with expensive, labor-intensive straw, and for yanqueños to cease building new houses out of cement (Hoyos interview 2011). Only traditional Collagua dress would be allowed; Quechua would be encouraged. Such a vision would entail a complete indigenous retrofit to the village, so that its future would be an Andean ideal purged of the "hybrid and degenerate" indices of its contemporaneity (Povinelli 2002: 35). With these changes, tourists could come to Yanque and experience true Andean indigeneity. Hoyos attempted to contribute these ideas to local municipal meetings and engage with other Yanqueños, but described being roundly rejected and excluded when he tried to recommend his own vision making the village more tourism-friendly.

This was not only the distant fantasy of a criollo visitor interested in rendering one of Colca's villages a paradise of indigenous tradition, a kind of Disneyfied Andean version of Celebration, Florida (see Ross 2000). Raul Mamani, the former mayor of Sibayo featured in Chapter 5, would accomplish this to a certain extent in his own village in the several years that followed my interview with Guillermo Hoyos. He passed a municipal ordinance that highly regulated the appearance of homes and other structures in his village to be constructed exclusively with adobe brick and thatched rooftops. Compared to Sibayo in 2008, when I first visited, the appearance of its plaza and village center in 2014 showed a remarkable transition: gone were the inexpensive tin rooftops and the buildings of austere cement. The rooftops were pure straw, which required expensive and labor-intensive renewal roughly every two years, and homes were made of adobe and eucalyptus wood.

Although the municipality did support entrepreneurs to the minimal extent that it could afford to, by itself, the ordinance did not cost the municipality a dime, exemplifying the dynamic of austere development. With a change of rules, the inhabitants of Sibayo had, themselves, to transform their own community into a fantasy space of indigenous architecture. As he reached the end of his term and began to prepare his bid for provincial mayor, Mamani would pass out, as gifts, little replicas of Sibayo's newly famous houses of adobe and straw, to people of influence. This became his brand. Although he ultimately failed to win election, the 2014 contest was his first run, and this rising political star was expected to keep trying. Sibayo has so far not become the cultural tourism paradise Mamani envisioned. But we may perhaps see more ordinances like this, which foist burdensome obligations upon citizens in the hope of attracting tourism and projecting an image of a village that is completely self-sustaining, autonomous, and indigenous:

a village in which NGOs and development projects are no longer needed because they have taught community members exactly what they needed to do in order to secure such a future.

Meanwhile, development institutions were, as of late 2014, closing their intervention programs, attenuating their presence, and assessing their own returns on investment as they faced uncertain futures. Sierra Sur closed its doors and began its long and still ongoing evaluation process. Their institutional vanishing was far from complete. Participants asked for Sierra Sur to return to Caylloma, which may happen in the coming years. And Desco was by no means completely exiting Caylloma Province. But the funding cycle came to an end for Desco's youth entrepreneurship project along with a number of other sustainability initiatives in the region, where it became difficult for the NGO to win the competitive funding necessary to open new projects. Staff was dramatically reduced in the final months of 2014 as Chivay director Delmy Poma and her Arequipa-based bosses attempted to apply for new sources of funding.

“We are sad,” she said to me in a 2016 follow-up interview, indicating the worry that she may soon be out of a job, given that the NGO has so far been slow to secure any new projects for its Chivay branch (Poma interview 2016). Despite its ideological interest in temporary interventions, the NGO is aggressively trying to find a reason to stay in the Colca Valley. With decreasing extreme poverty indicators for Colca, many NGO backers are focusing their interventions more closely on provinces with worse poverty outlooks; Fabiola Dapino, the Desco specialist in entrepreneurship capacity building, for instance, moved to a Desco office in Mollendo, where she was promoted to project director.

As Desco's 2013-2014 entrepreneurship program wound down, Fabiola suggested to me that in the long run, only a low percentage of participants were likely to transform their seed capital into thriving profitable businesses. In the short run, results appeared promising, according

to the project's internal evaluation process. Upon the project's closure, Fabiola was responsible for evaluating and documenting the project's results in a document known as the *Sistematización*. This document genre, present throughout NGOs in Peru, was geared toward improving institutional functioning and transforming mistakes into occasions for learning. However, given the importance of Fabiola's reputation in the NGO's regional hierarchy as an entrepreneurship expert, and the NGO's need to share this report with their funder Fondoempleo, the evaluation had to paint Desco's work in a positive light. It offers a detailed table documenting how far each of the twenty seed capital winners came, noting various factors and obstacles, and suggesting that most investees did ultimately formalize their business and take out credit, despite the "fear of formalization" being forecast as one of the key obstacles to the project. After that, the document features a "Findings" section, from which I quote here:

Impact of the capacity building in its surrounding context: It did not only improve the youths' management of their enterprises, but also "contaminated" their previous family businesses. And in the enterprises themselves, the other members of the family who were involved also use the tools conferred in the capacity building sessions. (Desco ND)

This, I believe, was the NGO's main mission: to "contaminate," to change minds and foster widespread psychological development while creating jobs. And as for the jobs created, suggests the *Sistematización*, 70% of participants generated at least one job, "with spouses and family members being the direct beneficiaries of these newly created positions." This means that entrepreneurs did create employment opportunities, but principally for their spouses and siblings, strengthening the bonds of kinship but failing to become broad structural forces for employment in Caylloma's economy. Finally, Fabiola's write-up turned to a section called "Lessons Learned," where she was invited to critique the model. Here is what she offered:

The capacity-building program turned out to be “rigid.” The initial model—designed with its reference urban youth who had more formal educational experience—should have been shaped according to local conditions. Having to adapt this model [to the Colca Valley] wore on the team.

What this last point suggests is that however “grassroots” and “participatory” this form of competitive, austere, small-scale investing hopes to be, it is still ultimately a modular approach, generated in the urban conference room of a funding body. Fabiola here is of course referencing the specific steps by which Fondoempleo urged Desco to build the capacity of its local participants, which assumes the possibility of imagining a generic young person in Peru. However, more broadly, scaling up her logic suggests a critique of development that indicts the very idea of attempting to cultivate actors with *any* modular program of investment based on a preconceived notion about what the ideal subject looks like.

As this project closed, the economic structures and individual capacities it shaped left behind something crucial: a constrained market space in which entrepreneurship was the single option for development, for an empowerment that helps a person flourish both materially and psychologically. Recall Desco’s consultant Antonio Rojas, speaking to a class of young entrepreneurs during one of their capacity building sessions: “The only way out of this poverty is independent work, starting a business.” In other words, there is no alternative to entrepreneurship.

I will stop short of offering any policy recommendation of my own in the context of this study, though after James Scott (1998), I would caution against any program that does not leave room for alternatives, that leaves something irreversible in its wake. What I have hoped to present in this study, instead, is an inevitably partial picture of what austere development

interventions do and the dramas that they underwrite. Not as temporary, surgical, or small and complementary fixes to already existing economic lives, but as themselves dimensions of deeply entrenched, long-term, local economic engines.

My last image, and I end the study here, brings us once more to Ch'ela and the other terraced agricultural fields in its surround. Terraced farming was a historic strategy, in the Andes, of ensuring crop diversity at proximal but steeply differentiated altitudes while using rocks to harness and extend the sunlight's warmth (Murra 1972; Paerregaard 1997). For locals, technocrats, and tourists alike, terraces here and throughout the Andes have long been associated with an Inca-inflected indigeneity. The Colca Valley is famous for its terraces: looking down into the valley on a rise by Yanque's *Puente Sifón* (Siphon Bridge), densely packed terraces form tight semicircles on either side of the river, which locals—and now, thanks to local branding, tourists—refer to as the Occolle Amphitheater.

In the early 2000s, as part of an earlier environmental and cultural sustainability project, the Desco NGO led the rebuilding and refurbishing of a wide swath of terraces in the agricultural fields surrounding Yanque and other parts of the inner Colca Valley near its Chivay headquarters. It did so as part of the institution's effort to empower rootedness by revalorizing sustainable agriculture, an activity in local decline due to urbanization, other forms of wage labor, and the reality of devastating droughts and the many other impacts of climate change on this mountain terrain. Desco's terrace recovery project involved clearing the brush off of and rebuilding many of the dark, grey stepped walls lining the valley. Many agricultural households did benefit, utilizing the newly refurbished terraces. Other new terraces were left untouched, failing to convince former planters to continue their agricultural lives.



Figure 13: Desco's crumbling signature from a Colca Valley terrace restoration project. (Photo by author)

At the project's end, the NGO had its laborers write Desco's five-lettered name with shiny white stones artfully interspersed among the gray rocks of one of its walls (Figure 13). The NGO in this way signed its name, inscribing itself upon the terrain; its name was once visible from across the valley, with the fresh white letters shimmering in the daylight. But the terrain quickly fell out of use. As Figure 13 illustrates, the wall, now overgrown with dirt and vegetation, is disintegrating, reclaimed by the abundant earth it was meant to manage.

Terraces throughout the valley do see contemporary use. Yet this final image of an institution's faded signature embedded in crumbling rocks suggests that however powerful an investment in a given place may be, its articulations with other forces at the nexus of political, economic, affective, and ecological life will always condition its returns.

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Notes

Introduction: Inclusion’s Frontier

¹ For an argument for the “undoing” of citizenship by the creeping colonization of life by transactional economic logic, see Brown 2015.

² Ferguson (1990) and Escobar (1995) offer classic critiques of development interventions focused on modernization and marketization, which those anthropologists suggest ultimately amount to the anti-political reproduction of structural need through a variety of discursive strategies and a basic notion that unjustly accumulated wealth does not have to be redistributed.

³ Fondoempleo as a funding source that shows us how blurred the lines tended to be between what technically counts as a civil society NGO and what is defined as a government program; because of the overlaps and revolving doors, many Colcans would refer to any development initiative as an NGO.

⁴ Elsewhere in the dissertation I briefly describe Desco’s findings. However, at the time of writing, Sierra Sur staff was still processing their results.

⁵ In contrast to the pejorative “*indio*,” the more politically correct term “indigenous” (“*indigena*”) has become an important term in Peru’s multiculturalist agenda (Alejandro Diez, personal communication).

⁶ Larry Nesper made this observation during the 2013 meeting of the Association for Political and Legal Anthropology, speaking of indigeneity in general.

⁷ Alejandro Diez, personal communication.

⁸ Morton (2012) offers a related take on smallness in his book review of Lamia Karim’s *Microcredit and its Discontents*.

⁹ Escobar (1995: 196) offers an important critique of the idea of the “resource.”

¹⁰ Pedro Pablo Kuczinsky was elected president in a runoff on June 6 against Keiko Fujimori, and is being inaugurated on July 28, 2016, Peru’s independence day, just as I prepare the final version of this dissertation.

¹¹ The good feelings evoked in notions like inclusion, investment, and community become Schwittay’s ethnographic objects in her later study of Kiva.org’s microlending structure and “microfinance tourism” (2015).

¹² This phrase, “last corners,” was a refrain I heard and read from a host of geography-conquering investor NGOs in Chivay. See more on the rugged travels of credit in Chapter 3.

¹³ Gross national income per capita is, according to the World Bank’s definition, “the sum of value added by all resident producers plus any product taxes (less subsidies) not included in the valuation of output plus net receipts of primary income (compensation of employees and property income) from abroad” (World Bank 2015).

¹⁴ Alejandro Toledo, the self-designated “cholo president” from 2001 to 2006, did claim Andean indigenous identity and staged his inauguration on Machu Picchu, but that identity was also contested because of his doctorate from Stanford University and other indicators of the level of eliteness Toledo had achieved by the time of his run for president.

¹⁵ These brokers included Yanque’s Kindergarten principal (Huerta interview 2012), Colca’s priest Padre Marcos (interview 2014), and the director of Chivay’s Agrarian Agency (Neyra interview 2015).

¹⁶ Urinsaya and Hanansaya mark the village’s “lower” and “upper” halves, respectively.

Chapter 1: Mediating Indigeneity

¹ The complete folios documenting the two colonial *visitas* to Yanque are housed in the Parochial Archive of Yanque (Archivo Parroquial de Yanque, “APY”) and catalogued as such: “#191. Visita a Yanquecollaguas Hanansaya. 1591. Fragment, 29 folios without number.” (Published in Pease 1977) and “#195. Visita a Yanquecollaguas Urinsaya. 1604. Incomplete, 361 folios. Transcript, unpublished.”

² See Morris 2013 for a discussion of Inca urbanism.

³ See Chapter 6 for an extended ethnographic discussion of ritualization and self-making.

⁴ “Chakra” is Quechua for farmland. The term is often translated as a “living” space of human and non-human care (Grill Fernandez 1998: 127).

⁵ Sierra Sur, “Visión y Misión” [Vision and Mission]. http://www.sierrasur.gob.pe/inicio/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=22&Itemid=34

Chapter 2: Economies of Empowerment

¹ Recall that Sierra Sur, officially the Sierra Sur Development Project-II, is an initiative funded by Peru’s Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation and the International Fund for Agricultural Development, a United Nations agency that delivers aid through co-financing, whose slogan is “Investing in rural people.”

² I thank Duff Morton for pointing me to this idea. (See also Ho 2009; Livingston 2009).

³ This is not quite true everywhere. Conditional Cash Transfer programs are on the rise, especially in much of the Global South, as James Ferguson’s recent work suggests (2013, 2015). Yet it bears mentioning that even as cash is being transferred, the “conditions” of many such programs explicitly configure these funds “investments.”

⁴ This is Peru’s Internal Revenue Service equivalent. SUNAT stands for the National Superintendence of Customs and Tribute Administration.

⁵ For this last regional contest, Sierra Sur’s Colca Valley director Lilia Samayani allowed me to conduct participant-observation by joining the judges’ panel. Unlike the other judges, I neutralized my grades for each community association and did not pose any questions.

⁶ Cf. Ferguson 2015. Perhaps pointing to Mauss’ essay *The Gift* (1990 [1925]) would also be apt here: even if NGO staff framed their investments in terms of growth and capital accumulation, these investments were layered with expectations of reciprocal obligation between institution and initiative participants. Staff themselves often deployed the idea of mutual entanglement—or the refrain that we are taking a chance on you but you have to do your part (recall the above-cited phrase “*apostamos por ustedes*”—to motivate participants to complete their assignments and show up to capacity-building sessions.

Chapter 3: Future Pasts

¹ Zelizer explicitly mentions Bohannon as an early scholar of economic circuits. She also suggests that Bohannon made an error in his suggestion “that restricted spheres of exchange disappeared with the onset of modern society or the integration of nonliterate people into the metropolitan world” (2011: 316).

² Cf. Bergson 2004 on the phenomenological distinction between time and duration.

³ Special thanks to William Mazzarella for this insight.

⁴ By “grassroots,” I mean interventions that limit themselves to small scales and that attempt to draw on and augment potential sources of capital already in place, rather than impose completely

new ideas. The term in Colca (translated as “*de base*”) is more often used to refer to largely autonomous civil society organizations like the Irrigators Committee (see Chapter 6).

⁵ This, even as we are exposed to constant valorization of the small business in US public life, in a manner that takes entrepreneurship for granted as *the* way out. The title of a recent book by John Hope Bryant, *How the Poor can Save Capitalism* (2014), particularly indexes this sentiment.

⁶ See Paul Gelles’ 2000 ethnography of resource use in the Colca Valley, *Water and Power in Highland Peru*, for a sense of how profoundly the topography has changed over the last twenty years.

⁷ Which, we must make clear, is not always the case. Debt by fiat, or other kinds of arbitrarily imposed debts, even if rare, could in theory not be tied to having (a) credit.

Chapter 4: Making Change

¹ This interest originated in a series of conversations on the theme of denomination with researchers affiliated with the Institute for Money, Technology, and Financial Inclusion at UC-Irvine. I thank Taylor Nelms for offering feedback on an earlier draft of this chapter.

² Vivian Dzokoto and Scott Mainwaring originally supplied the terms “cash lite” (Dzokoto) and “cash heavy” (Mainwaring) at the 2013 IMTFI conference.

³ See a discussion of similar findings for market vendors and other economic actors in Ho Chi Minh City (Truitt 2013).

⁴ Here, Zelizer interprets the signifying qualities of quantity. She describes the meaning of large, untapped quantities of money—drawing on Simmel, who suggests that they are “imbued with that ‘super-additum,’ with fantastic possibilities that transcend the definiteness of numbers”; she also describes the particular forms of distinction that small amounts of money can also take.

Chapter 5: The Other Investors

¹ Laws number 27506, 28077, and 28322 set the specific rules for mining, hydropower, gas, fishing, logging, and petroleum royalties.

² Dollar amounts come from xe.com, made on February 28, 2016. The US dollar has improved relative to the Peruvian *nuevo sol* since 2015.

³ One of the most locally well-known versions of over-the-top NGO-sponsored fiestas is the annual celebration of the Virgin of Chapi in Linde, a small Desco research station and campus between the villages of Ichupampa and Lari. This massive celebration occurs each year on May 1.

⁴ This is the entity that co-financed the 2006-2014 Sierra Sur Project with Peru’s Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation.

⁵ The *pollera* and *ujuta* are clothing items historically and stereotypically associated with Peru’s indigenous Andeans.

Chapter 6: Ritual in Vestments

¹ “*Yaku*” is an Aymara word for water that has mixed into the Yanque dialect of southern Andean Quechua.

² A *topo* is a unit of land equivalent to the amount of terrain two yoked bulls can rake in a day.

³ His “Hospedaje Roly” was run outside of the “Ayllus” consortium to which many of his family members and in-laws belonged (see Chapter 4).