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Los reyes de la papa: economic, racial, and social transformations in the Peruvian Central Highlands

A dissertation presented
by

Tilsa Ponce Romero

to

The Department of Anthropology

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of

Anthropology

Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

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Los reyes de la papa: economic, racial, and social transformations in the Peruvian Central Highlands

Abstract

This dissertation is a history of origins. It tells the history of "*reyes de la papa*," potato farmers of peasant origins from the Peruvian Central Highlands, who took advantage of the "potato boom" of the 1950s and established a position for themselves in the region. It is also the history of how the Green Revolution's ideas arrived to the Peruvian Central Highlands and introduced improved potato varieties, transforming the livelihoods of many peasant families. I should also say it is the history of how my grandparents started the venture of sowing potatoes for the market and started a journey of economic and social mobility. Through the telling of these multiple stories, my dissertation claims that the emergence of "potato kings" in the Peruvian Central Highlands is crucial to understand social transformations in the region because they challenge multiple boundaries and are involved in various struggles of recognition. By acknowledging the multiple tensions that emerge with "potato kings," I demonstrate that economic and social transformations entail claims of racial and spatial mobility and belonging. Establishing bridges between political economy and critical studies of race and identity, my dissertation contributes to an understanding of the rural world as diverse and dynamic.

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Introduction. Looking for family roots in the Peruvian Central Highlands

My dissertation tells the story of "potato kings" (reyes de la papa) potato farmers of peasant origins from the Peruvian Central Highlands, who took advantage of the "potato boom" of the 1950s and established a position for themselves in the region. I could also say it is the story of my family; of how my grandparents started the venture of sowing potatoes for the market and started a journey of economic and social mobility.

Through the telling of these multiple stories, my dissertation claims that the emergence of a group of "potato kings" in the Peruvian Central Highlands is crucial to understand social transformations in the region because they challenge multiple boundaries. I argue that the richness of this group is their position in the borders: they are no longer peasants, but are not mere capitalist merchants either; they are not Indians but are not fully mestizo either; they are not rural but are not urban dwellers exclusively. These potato farmers are thus involved in multiple struggles of recognition, demonstrating that economic and social transformations entail claims of racial and spatial mobility and belonging. By acknowledging the multiple tensions that emerge with "potato kings," my dissertation contributes to an understanding of the rural world as diverse and dynamic.

I explore the multiple negotiations of identity produced in "potato kings'" trajectories. More specifically, I analyze the role of economic and racial mobility in the reproduction and contestation of boundaries in the relations that "potato kings" maintain with traditional mestizo elites, indigenous wageworkers, and scientist/technicians.

This dissertation establishes bridges between political economy and critical studies of race in order to argue, more broadly, that economic mobility is predicated upon claims to social and racial mobility. I explore how capitalist economic activity requires commodities and labor to

move, opening possibilities for economic mobility and reconfigurations of social and racial orders. Considering larger interests of political economic studies of the peasantry, such as class formation and power relations, my project situates these concerns in a dialectical relationship with the cultural politics of race, identity, and social change.

***

I like to think the process of this dissertation as a journey that started in 2010, when I left Lima for Cambridge, Massachusetts. But it was also a journey that started a lot earlier, when I decided to study sociology as an undergrad. Or when my parents migrated to Lima from the Central Highlands. Or when my *abuelito* started sowing potatoes for the market, in the 1960s.

It has been a geographic journey as well as an emotional one. It has required me to travel from Lima to the US and then back to the Central Highlands. This journey has allowed me to reconstruct my origins, to "return" to places I had never been before. This journey has led me through symbolic and physical returns. After all these years, finishing this journey seems very strange. The emotional journey has been more complicated than the physical one. Here I present an ethnography that is not only filled with feelings but also claims the necessity to make emotionally engaged ethnographies (these ideas are further developed in chapter 1).

Talking about a journey, it is inevitable to think about time and temporality. This dissertation is concerned with the past as much as it is concerned with the present. From the beginning, I realized it was impossible to talk about the present without digging into the past. History and anthropology, I realized, are inevitably intertwined. The work of anthropologists such as Sidney Mintz has been of fundamental inspiration on this journey. A Marxist perspective

has also been crucial to understand the relationship between historical structures and the possibilities of social change.

I situate the emergence of "potato kings" within the Central Highlands' distinctive history, which challenges common assumptions about Andean peasantry. The scarce presence of haciendas since colonial times prevented the establishment of indigenous servitude, while the region's long connection with the national capital challenges the idea of an immobile peasantry and of the highlands as the "natural" space for the "Indians." The strong presence of mining companies in the region during the 20th century and even today has resulted in a peasantry involved in wage labor for a long time, and has led to an extensive highway and railway infrastructure that connects the region with Lima (allowing the transportation of commodities).

My interest in history is linked to a reflection about how we understand the past in relationship with the present. In fact, my interest in this topic started with a preoccupation about linear-time narratives that emphasized an evolutionary idea of progress. According to this kind of narratives –that emphasize the resistance of peasant communities to the development of capitalism in the region– "potato kings" were the consequence of the tragic defeat of the peasantry. Considering the long history of peasant communities' resistance to the total consolidation of capitalism in the region, the emergence of a class of rich capitalist peasants appears as a final defeat of peasant resistance.

As much as I acknowledge the process of the development of capitalism in the region – and consider it fundamental to understand the region's history– I argue that this vision has concealed fundamental racial and spatial transformations produced with the appearance of this group of "potato kings." My dissertation thus proposes a multi-dimensional approach and argues that the past "romantic" vision of the peasantry and the emphasis on its resistance to capitalism

has obscured from scholarly view the observation of its internal complexities, dynamism, and its relations with capital accumulation.

Furthermore, I realized the history of commercial agriculture in the region –and the history of "potato kings" – is not as unilinear as it could seem. I was interested then in exploring other temporalities, that not necessarily work in a unilinear way but rather combine past and present. Tradition, for example, is a concept that is redefined in the Peruvian Central Highlands in the context of the emergence of "potato kings" but also in wider terms. I deconstruct the idea of "tradition" and demonstrate, for example, that the basis of "traditional" mestizo elite identity in Jauja were actually a mixture where the nostalgia for an inexistent past and the appropriation of popular celebrations had a crucial role.

My explorations of the past, are related to a desire of understanding the present and finding ways for the future, and are inspired by Walter Benjamin's theorization of time and history. Benjamin's critique of the notions of progress and time in history is perhaps one of his most fundamental contributions. On his "Theses on the Philosophy of History" Benjamin makes a strong critique of historicism and its understanding of history as a linear and unique narrative. In response, Benjamin reaffirms the importance of a materialist history, which has a totally different conception of time. While historicism constructs the idea of a "universal history" composed by an addition of events that fill a homogeneous, empty time; a materialist history finds "a revolutionary chance in the fight for the oppressed past (…) in order to blast a specific era out of the homogeneous course of history." (Benjamin 2007: 263) This unique experience with the past proposed by Benjamin finds in it the impulse for a revolutionary break with the historicist continuum.[1]

[1] Analyzing the painting of the "Angelus Novus," Benjamin observes that the angel's face is turned, staring at the past. In it, unlike historicism, he does not see a chain of events but a series of catastrophes. And although the angel

Benjamin sees a dialectical relationship between the present and the past, and this is expressed in his idea of Jetztzeit, translated as "time-now" or simply "now", or "present". Benjamin sees past and present entangled in such a way that the past is filled with the present and vice versa, this opens the possibility for an explosion of the supposed continuum of history. The leaps into the past are usually commanded by the ruling classes, Benjamin says, not constituting genuine jumps; he therefore proposes a dialectical leap: revolution, in the Marxist sense. (Benjamin 2007: 261)

When thinking about time in the Peruvian Central Highlands, I cannot help but wonder about the cyclic temporality of agricultural work. In the fields, time is often measured according the to agricultural time of the year. The landscape gets completely transformed during this process. The lands are every year ready to be sowed again. In this cyclic time, that continually gives new opportunities, the messianic time that proposes Benjamin does not seem too external. Jetztzeit, is the model of Messianic time, and that is the time of the present, it is now. "To articulate the past historically (…) means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger. (…) Only that historian will have the gift of fanning the spark of hope in the past who is firmly convinced that even the dead will not be safe from the enemy if he wins." (Benjamin 2007: 255)

In terms of methodology, my dissertation works with different scales in order to analyze various levels of transformation in the processes of economic mobility and the struggles for social recognition. I analyze global discourses on development and its application in science and technology, as well as the regional history of the Peruvian Central Highlands, but also the

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wants to stay and restore what he sees, to reconstruct that smashed past, the storm of "progress", blowing from Paradise, does not let him to do so. He is violently caught by the storm (his wings are wide open and ready to fly) and taken to the future. The angel of history is trapped by the storm of progress and cannot fulfill the redemption of the past. (Benjamin 2007b: 257-258)

everyday dynamics in the city of Jauja as well as on the agricultural fields. I worked with different registers: ethnography, in-depth interviews, participant observations, archival research.

My ethnographic work consisted basically on working at the *chacra* everyday, following my *abuelito's* orders and sharing the agricultural work with the workers. My *abuelito's* life history is a thread that goes through this dissertation and serves to land some of the bigger historical, political, and economic issues. I believe that his individual life history tells a lot about the culture and the history of the region. However, it is true that methodologically, working with his life history, has required me to "deal with distinctions between the personal, unique or idiosyncratic, on the one hand, and the culturally typical or normative on the other." (Mintz 1979: 21) And although these distinctions are not sharp, the richness of his life history has been invaluable in my research.

Working with my family has been challenging not only emotionally, but also methodologically. However, this also allowed me to be part of the everyday life of farmers in a much deeper way, sharing daily routines and dynamics, spaces that are not usually accessible to "strangers." And those were the moments when a lot of the important stuff took place or was talked about.

At an epistemological level, my dissertation is an effort to think from the South –even if writing in English and within an American academic institution. My position as a "native anthropologist" has pushed me to think about my place of enunciation and all the conflicts that emerge from there. I do not pretend to have an authorized voice about the subjects I worked with only because I can consider myself –only to a certain extent– a "native" anthropologist. But my position did serve me to question many of the assumptions normally taken when doing ethnographic work.

***

As part of my critique of linear narratives of history, the chapters of this dissertation are not organized in a chronological order. They all refer both to the past and the present because I see them as intertwined in complex ways. It has actually been very difficult to decide how to separate the contents for each chapter, to construct a narrative out of them.

The first chapter of this dissertation explores the tensions of doing and writing ethnography at home. It deals with multiple issues around native anthropology in general, and the particular ones that arose during my fieldwork. Acknowledging my position as an anthropologist who is in a sense product of the transformations this dissertation analyzes, I argue for the importance of an emotionally engaged ethnography.

The feelings of love and pain that I experienced doing fieldwork among my family have been difficult but also crucial to the construction of my ideas in this dissertation. Throughout this process, I arrived to conclude that rather than struggling with those feelings, I should embrace them and work with them, both personally and academically.

Chapter 2 is focused on the historical processes that framed "potato kings'" emergence and development. This chapter locates "potato kings" emergence within the regional history of the Peruvian Central Highlands. I argue that certain historical characteristics of the region –land property patterns, peasant communities' strength, and strategic geographic location– are crucial to understand the context that made possible the existence of "potato kings".

The second chapter also discusses issues of class formation and class structure transformations. Through an analysis of conceptual categories, I argue that the rigid and mechanic use of categories related to class can conceal the complexities of social realities and of

the experiences they bring about. This chapter argues then for the importance of historical and ethnographic analyses that go beyond static categories.

Chapter 3 takes potatoes as the protagonists. Through the exploration of the impact of the Green Revolution in the region, I argue that the introduction of improved varieties of potatoes and technological assistance was crucial to the emergence of "potato kings" and commercial agriculture in Jauja. I also demonstrate that the promotion of improved potato varieties was part of a package that also included chemical fertilizers and pesticides. At a larger level, the introduction of these potatoes was part of a development program established in Latin America and throughout the world after World War 2.

Although in many cases these programs were thought as mechanical processes of technology transfer, their adoption by the farmers implied certain degrees of resistance and negotiations. In fact, in the Peruvian Central Highlands these programs have not had the devastating effects they had in other parts of the world. The potato boom that began in the 1950s was related to a national demographic growth and the consequent development of internal markets. The introduction of new high-yielding varieties of potatoes increased productivity and permitted the extension of agricultural fields. "Potato kings'" agricultural production is now almost exclusively for the urban market in Lima, and they sow almost only improved potato varieties. My dissertation is situated in a middle ground between macro-structuralist and culturalist studies of food. I look at the discourse on development and the big economic and political ideas it represented globally, but I also acknowledge the symbolic importance that have potatoes in the region.

The last chapter explores the racial tensions that emerged with "potato kings'" economic mobility, and the difficulties in gaining social recognition for their new position. I focus thus on

the construction of identity in Jauja among traditional mestizo elites, and on the impact that had the emergence of "potato kings" in this context. Living in the city that was "the first Spanish capital of Peru," mestizo elites have built their identity around a supposed "Spanish heritage" and "tradition." During the 20th century, multiple associations were created as spaces for sharing with pairs, and constituted the center of the social life in the city of Jauja. Some traditional *fiestas* were also the center of the reinforcement of the elite's hegemony. However, a deeper analysis of a traditional *fiestas* such as *carnavales*, proves that it emerged as a popular celebration that was gradually captured by the mestizo elites.

My analysis of Jauja's 1940s-1950s local newspaper, *El Porvenir*, demonstrates that conflictive differences prove to be evident precisely when practices of mobility attempt to trespass established boundaries. Although racism does not appear explicitly in the newspaper, it appears covered by the ideals of hygiene, order, and education. Racism often appears disguised as "culture," "modernization," and "development." However, even in the hegemonic newspaper, there are also some signs of emergent farmers' discontent with the racist practices they are victims of in Jauja.

The members of traditional mestizo elites in Jauja consider "potato kings" inferior because of their lack of formal education, their peasant and indigenous origins, and the fact that their wealth is derived from agricultural work. My analysis of the local newspaper from Jauja shows both the basis of that traditional jaujino identity and how their hegemony began to shake with the new characters that started appearing in the city.

I argue thus that potato farmers' identity is very complex because it is located in the border: they are not longer Indians but are not fully mestizo either. Furthermore, although potato farmers have somehow succeeded in challenging their old social and racial position, they have

not subverted the power structures but participate in the reproduction of unequal power relations with their wageworkers. Indeed, the medium-scale production of "potato kings" requires hiring wage laborers who, coming from more rural areas in the Andes and speaking Quechua, are considered "more Indian." Potato kings' emergence has brought important transformations, but not necessarily radical ones.

***

This dissertation is driven by multiple and intense feelings. Writing has been a crucial mechanism to deal with these feelings. Writing has been therapeutic; it has helped me to deal with the process of doing ethnography among my family. During my fieldwork, keeping a journal was fundamental to process everyday thoughts and emotions. Later, when I moved to Quito, right after finishing the longest part of my fieldwork, I felt that I really needed to write, it was in a way a cathartic exercise. After all the emotional turmoil that came with the end of my fieldwork –which in fact made me finish my fieldwork in a somehow sudden way– writing was the best way I found to refuge myself and keep alive.

My dissertation was so part of my life that I could not dissociate them. Not only had my dissertation taken my life, since it was my main occupation, but it had also captured my personal life because of the topic I had chosen. It was never possible for me to draw a clear division line between my life and my dissertation, and I ended up accepting that I had to embrace this impossibility.

[Figure 1. My mom, crowned as the queen of a fiesta in Chocon, early 1960s]

Chapter 1. Doing ethnography at home (and within the family)

Summary.-
This chapter builds its argument on two dimensions: first, it reflects on the challenges of doing fieldwork at home and within my family. Second, it reflects on the challenges of narrating/writing this experience from a "native anthropologist" perspective. Acknowledging vulnerability as a fundamental revelation of the process of this dissertation, I realize it has shaken me, but it has also given me power. Through a critical analysis of the epistemological basis of ethnographic work but also of writing ethnography, I argue for the power of emotionally-charged ethnographies.

***

"My account of myself is partial, haunted by that for which I can devise no definitive story. I cannot explain exactly why I have emerged in this way, and my efforts at narrative reconstruction are always undergoing revision. There is that in me and of me for which I can give no account. But does this mean that I am not, in the moral sense, accountable for who I am and for what I do?"
(Judith Butler 2005: 40)

I have been dealing with how to write this chapter for a long time. Since my dissertation is related to my own family history, I could not avoid talking about the experience of doing ethnography within the family; and I knew I preferred to do it upfront, not as if this had been just a small and unimportant detail of my work. However, didn't want this chapter to be a self-indulgent narrative of my experience as a "native" ethnographer, but rather a problematization of my own position as an anthropologist. Tensions and contradictions are thus the core of this chapter.

As we all know, the anthropological task is based on the contact with the "other," which is always de-stabilizing and challenging. To a certain extent, anthropology consists in narrating that encounter, through the ethnographic writing. And this is not something evident and simple at all. How to give a *fair* account of that encounter? How is the nature of that encounter related to ourselves as researchers and as subjects? Who is the "other"? How do we position ourselves and

how do we position the "other(s)" in our narration? What happens when this distinction between "us" and "others" is not that evident and clear? How do we end up after that encounter? How do we recover ourselves –as subjects– from that experience?

This chapter is product of a process of trying to build a narrative of myself within my fieldwork and my dissertation, and of locating myself within the historical trajectory I narrate here. But this is not an auto-ethnographic narrative simply because I have capriciously decided it to be, or because I consider it helps to understand better the topic. No, it is because there is no other way it could be. Confronting my own family origins is part of my dissertation not only because I am talking about my family, but also because I claim that it is through acknowledging my role in this story and in the historical process that I can understand the complexities of economic, social, and racial mobility processes.

I write as a woman and as a *chola*, as someone who has been through processes of *blanqueamiento* (whitening) and of burying my indigenous and peasant origins. I write as an anthropologist doing a Ph.D. in a prestigious university in the United States, and as the granddaughter of a "potato king." I am in the end product of that process of mobility and change; and this dissertation is a way of retracing those paths and visibilizing them instead of hiding them, as we have been taught to do in order to succeed. My academic quests are intertwined with my personal questionings. My academic work and my life are part of a same whole and cannot be separated.

Love is what motivated this work in the first place and this chapter also explores how a politics of love can transform the ways in which we do fieldwork and establish ties with "informants." But love is not straightforward and simple. Love does not mean condescension or seeing only positive characteristics of people, nor eliding conflict. A "love-based" criterion of

value implies acknowledging "tough love:" a kind of love, respect and affection we feel for family members (Dominguez 2000). And it is precisely that love –and those tensions– that are present in relationships with family members that provoked many of the reflections in this chapter.

Acknowledging love has also implied an exploration of my own pain and vulnerability throughout this process. These feelings have been a source of reflection and analysis regarding some of the very central issues of this dissertation. Studying potato farmers' families like my own has been a huge challenge but also a fascinating experience of searching for family roots. This chapter claims therefore the importance of an emotionally moving ethnography in my research venture. I argue that it is through "tough love" (Dominguez 2000: 365) that I was able to see the beauty and the contradictions of the social reality; and navigate the difficulties of this anthropological and personal endeavor. Despite all the stumbles, scratches, and wounds this venture has implied –or precisely because of them– I situate my work close to what Ruth Behar (1996) names as "ethnographies that break your heart." My heart was certainly broken, shattered during this process; but writing has been a way to pick up those pieces and paste them together.

***

a. Native Anthropologist? My search for family roots

"Write hard and clear about what hurts."
(Ernest Hemingway)

[Figure 2. Family Album. My grandparents and their six children]

Returning Home?

The ethnographic experience is always linked to a reflection on our own positions as ethnographers. But in my case, working with my family, positionality has been an ever-present thought. Unlike most of the (traditional) anthropologists, for whom doing fieldwork means learning a different language and facing the challenge of being away from home, for me fieldwork has meant *returning home*. Well, not exactly. Although both of my parents were born in the Peruvian Central Highlands, they left for Lima to start college (my dad even before, when he was a little kid) and established their lives in the capital city. Therefore I was born and grew up in Lima, and would only go to Huancayo/Jauja for short vacations, and not very often. Thus, when I decided to do fieldwork in my ancestors' region, I decided to go back where I had never lived before. Going back as a symbolic return more than a real one. My academic interests were

tied together with the exploration of my family history and my *abuelito* would be one of the main characters in my dissertation story.

Although my fieldwork did not imply a confrontation with the completely unfamiliar –as most of ethnographic experiences– it did imply an exploration of the unknown. During my childhood, I never had a close relationship with my *abuelitos*; they were never the type who indulged the grandchildren, or at least they were not like that with me. I was clearly not the favorite, nor was my mom. We were never part of the main scenario in family issues, we were rather located in the periphery.

My *abuelita* stopped working at the *chacra* more than twenty years ago, when she started spending more time in Lima (because of health reasons, but also because she started other business in the capital city). My *abuelito*, on the other hand, has been working in Jauja since I can recall. He was always the absent member of the family, the one we would only see in Christmas or important family events. I cannot remember having a long conversation with him, or even going out alone with him before I decided to do fieldwork in Jauja. He is my *abuelito*, but for a long time, he was like an acquaintance, pretty much a stranger.

Only recently, my mom confesses to me that knowing her mother very well, she made a deliberate choice to keep us (my siblings and me) not too close to her. I think she was wise and I would have behaved similarly. However, she never imagined I would later decide to get close to those family members she did not want us to be too close to.

I decided that I wanted to do fieldwork in the Mantaro Valley since the very first year of my graduate studies, although I had not decided what I would do research on. During the summer after my first year of the Ph.D. program, I spent a couple of months in Huancayo and started to strengthen my relationship with my *abuelito*; I began to actually know him for the first time. A

few years earlier, when I started learning Quechua for my undergraduate thesis in sociology, my *abuelito* expressed how proud of me he felt, and was always willing to help me practice. I recall him mentioning something about me as the only grandchild who had some interest in exploring her roots.

My dissertation is a story of economic and social mobility; a story of potato farmers in a region with a strong sense of identity related to a supposed –constructed– Spanish heritage. My dissertation is also the story of my family and my *abuelito*. My *abuelitos*, coming both from peasant families, were very firm on their idea that their kids had to obtain the education they never had; and they certainly did. My generation had then moved away from the rural and indigenous identity of my grandparents. I could say that this moving away from the family origins was not only a result of migration and the historical circumstances but also an explicit decision of getting involved in a process of *blanqueamiento*, of leaving away a "non prestigious" past and adjusting to a new acquired economic and social status.

At the very beginning, thus, my decision to work with my *abuelito* was part of a desire of vindicating his life trajectory as an example of accomplishment and success. I would not only make visible his outstanding life story but would also position myself within that narrative, embracing that past I earlier had tried to forget or hide. Later, I realized that things were much more complicated than in my idealized and naïve vision. My *abuelito*, whom some of my aunts and me wanted to see pretty much as a hero, was not so. During the months of fieldwork, I got to see him as a real person, just like anyone else, with virtues and flaws.

***

Huancayo is the city where my dad was born and where my mom grew up. So during the first summer that I spent in Huancayo, my mom went to visit me and I asked her to show me the city

she remembered. We did together the path she used to walk everyday to go to school, we got into her school and she showed me the library where she borrowed her first books, we walked around downtown and she took me to the cafe where she would go to have milkshakes after her English classes. I recall those days with fondness, as I got the chance to share memories with my mom in a way we had never done before.

My decision to embark in the project of this dissertation is related to a desire of "return," as thought by Rita Segato[2]. Although this is a return to a place where I have never lived before, it is a return guided by the traces of that history in my own body and self. Later, I have realized that, in a way, "returning" to Huancayo was also an attempt to return to my mom's stories. As Behar (2007), who longed her return to Cuba, the island she had left as a little kid and did not remember at all but through the family old pictures, I felt myself attempting to recuperate my mom's memories.

Furthermore, at times I felt myself "representing" my mom, occupying a space she had left long ago: several times, in the middle of conversations with my *abuelito* he seemed to forget it was me to whom he was talking and thought I was my mom. Sometimes he would realize it was me, and correct himself; others, he would just keep going. Not because he really thought I was my mom, but because there really was not much of a difference. Or at least that is what I would like to think. Although I have to admit I enjoyed those moments, I later realized that I was unconsciously stepping on some dangerous ground. And this would later cause me problems with my relatives.

My *abuelito* as my key informant

[2] Classes at the Doctorate in Latin American Cultural Studies at the Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar in Quito, Ecuador.

During my fieldwork, my participation in my *abuelito*'s work has been fundamental and he has definitely been my key informant; I have spent several months working with him everyday at the *chacra*. At the beginning, it was not so easy to find my place there, and people in general – but especially workers– did not quite understand what I was doing. They could not understand, for example, why I was still studying at my age. Being at the *chacra* with my *abuelito* everyday for several months, gave me the opportunity to have a very close gaze at the agricultural work and the relationships with the workers and among them, a privilege that not any anthropologist could have had. But being the granddaughter of the owner of the lands and the employer also put me in a difficult position regarding the workers. At moments, some of them would refer to me as "the new boss," as if I was going to replace my *abuelito*. My position thus opened me some opportunities but also closed others.

But to be honest, my presence in Jauja was not completely strange; one of my cousins –two years younger than me– had just moved back to Huancayo and was starting to work his mom's fields (and some others my grandma gave him). In the past few months, he had been going to work with my *abuelito* to learn about the job from him. He has always been the favorite grandchild –*el niño de los ojos de mi abuela*– the first male grandchild and son of a single mother. However, the relationship with my *abuelito* was tense. Alejandro was an impetuous young man who had just finished college and had never had a job, while my *abuelito* was a grumpy and impatient old man who had worked since very young to survive. My presence in Jauja was not then totally original, but was "read" as parallel to Alejandro's, my cousin.

However, my position was also felt different. Very often, the workers showed surprise when they realized I understood some of their conversations in Quechua, and they looked at me differently. They would also be surprised when I took the pick and worked along with them, or

when I sat with them to chew coca leaves or to have lunch together instead of sitting inside the truck as my *abuelito* did. These were not behaviors that Alejandro exhibited, he had instead played the role of the *patron* (boss), my *abuelito*'s successor. My *abuelito* would always tell him: *How do you dare to give orders if you don't even know how to do what you're asking them to do!*

However, because of my closer relationship with the workers, I never imagined that it would be so difficult to have formal interviews with the workers. They work Monday to Saturday all day, and they spend Sundays with their families (and the women have to do cleaning, laundry and other house keeping activities that day), so it is logical that they do not really have free time to spend with me talking for a couple of hours. When I realized this was the case, I gave more importance to the daily interactions I had with them, which actually lasted several hours and although they might not constitute structured narratives about themselves, they were very rich in the information I could gather through them.

As I have mentioned, I did not really know my *abuelito* before deciding to do fieldwork with him. And interacting with an old man is not always easy, as I discovered very quickly. He was often very grumpy and could not understand that I knew very little about the agricultural work. Having grown up in the city, I never really had contact with nature and agriculture, but he somehow assumed I should know about that and even be able to give orders to the workers. Sometimes, he would get mad at me for not understanding him, and I would get even madder at him for his assumptions of what I should know.

But throughout the year I spent with him in Huancayo and Jauja, we both discovered a love we had never felt before for each other. We learned to love each other in the routines of the everyday life: in the conversations during breakfast, in the silent way to Jauja, in the fields with

the workers, at lunch when he tried to find vegetarian places for me –and when he gave up and confronted me for not wanting to eat meat–, back in the fields, and back at home at nights, having dinner, tired of the long work day. That love we developed throughout the months has been one of the most beautiful products of this experience. I cannot find the words to describe how grateful I feel for this relationship.

[Figure 3. Mom and *abuelito* on his potato fields, 2011]

[Figure 4. My *abuelito* and me on his quinoa fields in Chocon, 2014]

[Figure 5. My *abuelito* and me in Jauja]

Although growing up I had always considered my *abuelito*'s life story as unique and astonishing, I was not aware of his story within the history of the region. It had not occurred to me to situate his story in a larger context to see that he was not an isolated case. Not until my first year of graduate school when, while doing research about Jauja and the Mantaro Valley at Harvard's library, I bumped into Florencia Mallon's book on the Yanamarca Valley and the Central Highlands (*The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands: peasant struggle and capitalist transition, 1860-1940*) and read it eagerly. Her book is a great historical analysis of the economic and social processes that transformed peasant communities in the region. Loyal to an epoch and to a political position, Mallon's book focuses on economic processes and sees with disappointment how peasant communities are devastated by the spread of capitalism in the region. Towards the end of the period she studies, there is an emergence of successful farmers of peasant origins and my *abuelito* is mentioned among them. I was very excited to discover this and immediately called him to tell him about it, and although he can no longer hear very well (especially when he is on the phone), he was excited too with my news.

Although I found Mallon's book fascinating, I was also left with many questions about the processes she narrated, especially those at the end of the period she studied. What provoked the emergence of these successful farmers? How did they fit into their communities? Which other

transformations did this involve? Which was my grandparents' role in these processes? These are some of the questions that first motivated my approach to my *abuelito* as part of my dissertation's venture.

Speaking (writing) for others? The challenges of native anthropology and autobiographical writing

Having been educated in Peru, when I got to Harvard and saw the many different places anthropologists in the department went to for fieldwork, I was fascinated. How did they manage to get funds to learn different languages and travel so far away? How had not I thought of that possibility before? Would I really dare to do fieldwork somewhere outside Peru? I soon realized that if I had never imagined doing fieldwork outside of Peru (or Latin America), it was evidently because of unavailable material conditions. Research funding was (and still is) very limited in Peruvian universities, especially for students. But there is also an explanation related to a geopolitical division of labor in terms of the production of knowledge: it is the "first world" that is authorized to produce knowledge and universal theories about the rest of the world, while the "third world" is just an object of study and cannot be seen as a center of the production of knowledge as well (Walsh et al 2002).

But those were not the only explanations. Back home, I had always felt that studying Social Sciences was not only related to a commitment with understanding social reality in general, but especially to the possibility of achieving more accurate understandings of the national reality, which was often tied to an intention of changing it. From that view, as fascinating as exploring exotic realities and peoples sounded, I knew that my intention to do fieldwork in my home country was well justified, at least in my personal reflections. I realized then that, as an

anthropologist doing fieldwork *at home*, I was supposed to assume the identity of a "native anthropologist". But, what did this really mean? When did I stop being just an anthropologist and became a "native" one? Who gets to decide around those categories?

As might be obvious by now, this dissertation has no intention of claiming any kind of neutrality, because I am personally –and thoroughly– involved in the story I want to tell. As I have said, this dissertation is in part the story of my family, and this makes me reflect on multiple issues regarding fieldwork, ethnography, and writing in Anthropology.

Anthropologists have not always reflected on the multiple questionings that the ethnographic method and writing can arise. Clifford and Marcus' book "Writing Culture" (1986) for the first time clearly situated ethnography in a political and epistemological crisis, and established then a new self-consciousness in Anthropology, offering a critical look at writing as a core activity that starts before going to "the field" and continues thereafter. Although writing is essential to anthropology, it had been reduced to method and had not been reflected about; which showed us some deeper problems in the discipline:

> "The fact that it has not until recently been portrayed or seriously discussed reflects the persistence of an ideology claiming transparency of representation and immediacy of experience." (Clifford 1992: 2)

"Writing Culture" positioned anthropology as a discipline inextricably linked to writing, to rhetorical performances; and presented "ethnographic truths" as always partial and incomplete. Mary Louise Pratt, the only woman included in the volume, emphasized the need to insist that the ethnographic description is not sufficient in itself. Although anthropologists have attempted to differentiate their writings from previous forms, like travel writing, personal narratives persist in ethnographies because they introduce into science contradictions, doubts, and subjectivity of

interpretation, she argued. They are important because they "mediate(s) a contradiction within the discipline between personal and scientific authority, a contradiction that has become especially acute since the advent of fieldwork as a methodological norm." (Pratt 1992: 32) The personalized narrative helps to work with the anxiety of the ethnographer when writing, it introduces the authority of a personal experience and helps to better understand the world and the facts described.

Clifford Geertz (1988) also highlights the literary character of ethnographic writing and argues that ethnographies are convincing not because of the truthfulness of the facts they present, but because they demonstrate to readers that the ethnographer "was there." And writing has a key role in this persuasion. Discussions about the role of the "author" in anthropology have devolved into the question of how to avoid subjectivity from interfering in fieldwork. The difficulty in ethnographic writing has been understood thus as the challenge of using biographic experiences to construct scientific texts.

Paul Rabinow (1985: 3) acknowledges the impossibility of avoiding the authorial function, and argues that there are no transparent ethnographies. He also reminds us that the discussions about fieldwork experiences were not totally absent before; in fact, they were important components of the ethnographer's reputation. However, those issues were not discussed or written about in formal spaces, but rather in the corridors and informal meetings. Rabinow locates this discussion within the academic rules of prestige, and acquiring positions, to demonstrate that discourses are enmeshed in power relations. (1985: 11)

The volume "Writing Culture" was harshly questioned for several reasons. One of them is related to Trouillot's (2003) critique of the postmodern anthropology for staying on a self-indulgent "reflexivity" and not questioning the larger field on which anthropology is conceived.

Anthropology cannot be understood outside of a Western geography of imagination, he argues. Rather than the internal anthropological tropes, it is urgent to question the larger discursive field within which it operates. The mid-1980s reassessment of ethnography in anthropology was influenced by the announced death of the grand narratives associated with Western modernity. However, they did not imply a required archaeology of the discipline and an examination of its premises. They treated the discipline as a closed discourse and did not carry out a historicization of the larger discursive field it belongs to.

In the same vein, Edgardo Lander (2000) analyzes the constitution of the social sciences in a specific historical moment. Neoliberalism, he argues, is the hegemonic discourse of a civilizational model rather than just an economic model. Thus the alternatives to neoliberal proposals and its way of life cannot emerge from economics because as a discipline, it has assumed the neoliberal cosmovision. There are two constitutive dimensions of modern knowledge that contribute to explain its naturalizing effectiveness. One is the historically established divisions of knowledge and the constitution of disciplines. The other is the way in which modern knowledge is articulated to the organization of power in the modern world (especially colonial and imperial power relations). Social sciences do not escape these processes; they are embedded within them and the division of its disciplines cannot be understood outside of a modern and Eurocentric society and even of a colonial/imperial organization of power. (Lander 2000)

Another powerful critique of Clifford and Marcus' book was for presenting itself as a very critical text and not acknowledging the privileged positions of the authors: they not only excluded women (and feminist) anthropologists but also minority ones (Behar 1993, hooks 1990, Abu-Lughod 1991). Debates about the canon in English departments have generated multiple

interventions and have showed the need to "examine how the process of marginalization has shaped the works produced within the dominant culture" (Behar 1993: 313). However, Anthropology has not taken the challenge to generate those debates as well:

> "How is it that anthropology –the discipline whose legitimacy is so wrapped up in the multiplicity of languages and worlds– can still be conceived of in such resolutely patrilineal and Eurocentric terms?" (Behar 1993: 315)

Behar (1993) claims the need to re-write the history of American Anthropology and the construction of its canon, to include non-white and minority writers. The inclusion of "other" writers, would demonstrate that they were already questioning issues of representation, the impersonal writing style, and distancing forms of fieldwork.

The issue, therefore, cannot be exhausted only through the reflection on the relationship between personal narratives and academic (scientific) work. It is necessary to question whose are those personal narratives and who are those authors. I situate my dissertation within these reflections and cannot avoid thinking about my personal narrative and my history. As I have mentioned before, I do not include these issues only because they "help" to better understand the scientific narrative. I include them because they are indispensable to understand it. Because there is no such clear separation between my personal narrative and the anthropological story that I intend to depict.

Recognizing herself as someone who bears the label of a "native" anthropologist, Narayan (1993) confesses she does not feel comfortable with it. She argues thus against the fixed distinction between "native" and "non-native" anthropologists and proposes to see anthropologists in terms of their shifting identifications:

> "(…) what we must focus our attention on is the quality of relations with the people we seek to represent in our texts: are they viewed as mere fodder for professionally self-serving statements about a generalized Other, or are they accepted as subjects with voices, views, and dilemmas– people to whom we are bonded through ties of reciprocity and who may even be critical of our professional enterprise? (Narayan 1993: 672)

Narayan (1993) questions the label of "native anthropologist" because it hides all differences and complex backgrounds, which is her own case. She highlights how multiple our identities as "native" anthropologists can be. And also how different dimensions of ourselves are emphasized in particular contexts and with certain people, so that in the end "we all belong to several communities simultaneously" and have ""multiplex subjectivity" with many crosscutting identifications (Rosaldo 1989: 168-195)." (Narayan 1993: 676)

Although I myself feel that "native anthropologist" is an essentializing label and that our identities are much more complex than labels, I do think there are ways to embrace this position and take advantage of it. Not, of course, through assuming that a "native" anthropologist could have a more authentic and less problematic position. As a "native," fieldwork should have been easier to me, but it was quite the opposite: it was often harder and more emotionally challenging. But situating myself as a "native" also gave me access to the most intimate dimensions of life. Besides, being "native" implied a personal and political position, it is not "others" I am talking about, it is about my family and families like mine.

In her response to "Writing Culture", Abu-Lughod proposes a radical questioning of anthropology's central category of culture. She argues that "culture" operates to enforce separations and establish a sense of hierarchy, so anthropologists should now pursue strategies to write against culture instead (Abu-Lughod 1991: 466). In her critique of the category of culture,

Abu-Lughod claims that it operates like its predecessor: race. Culture serves to mark the distinction between self and other; it is "the essential tool for making other" (Abu-Lughod 1991: 470).

Both feminists and "native" or "halfies" anthropologists have faced the challenge of thinking about the complicated distinction between "self" and "other," have thought about positionality in ways that were not adverted by most established representatives of the discipline. Their work has forced them to "confront squarely the politics and ethics of their representations." (Abu-Lughod 1991: 469)

Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) has a more radical position and brings into her writings her consciousness of being a *mestiza*, a consciousness of the borderlands. This is a very complex and painful identity, she argues, an identity that "results in mental and emotional states of perplexity", in insecurity and indecisiveness. "(…) the *mestiza* faces the dilemma of the mixed breed (…) The coming together of two self-consistent but habitually incompatible frames of reference causes *un choque,* a cultural collision." (Anzaldúa 1987: 78)

This identity on the borders is problematic but it also opens up possibilities. It is through flexibility that Anzaldúa is able to survive. She develops a tolerance for ambiguity, "she learns to juggle cultures" (Anzaldúa 1987: 79). The development of a *mestiza* consciousness allows her to get involved in a continual creative motion and to "break down the subject-object duality that keeps her a prisoner and to show in the flesh and through the images in her work how duality is transcended." (Anzaldúa 1987: 80) It is important to note that Anzaldúa's defense of a *mestiza* identity does not mean a position against white people, as the dominant Western identity. On the contrary, she claims the need to promote encounters and she offers herself as a mediator, so that they can meet on a broader communal ground.

In my own ethnographic experience, I have often found myself in that borderland position, not knowing where I belonged, or feeling myself part of different places. Coming from Lima (and the US), I could be seen as a foreigner in Jauja, but at the same time, it was my family and my relatives whom I was reencountering. Kinship, skin color, and other phenotypic traits –and history, of course– tied me to them; even to those I was meeting for the first time. The uneasiness of this position was also, as Anzaldúa proposes, productive because it allowed me to break with duality and embrace the complexities of being and not being "native" at the same time.

Anthropology is inextricably linked to the action of "speaking for" others. It has, in fact, taken for a long time the task to "represent" others who cannot represent themselves, which explains why the object of study of the discipline is not just any man but a specific one: the primitive, the native man (Trinh 1989: 59-64). It is then privileged persons who assume the mission of speaking for or on behalf of others (less privileged). This intention of "representing" others has often been motivated by the belief in a political responsibility to speak against oppression and subordination of certain groups. However, this can result –and has resulted– in increasing or reinforcing the oppression of the people the anthropologist supposedly represents or speaks for (Alcoff 2014). When is "speaking for others" legitimate? When should it be condemned?

Assuming that I can speak for myself comes from a liberal conception of the self as autonomous and free. But this is a problematic and illusionary idea because there is no neutral place of enunciation, nor is there a clear way to demarcate boundaries between our locations and the others' (Alcoff 2014). "Native anthropology" in a way challenges the old practice of privileged anthropologists speaking for less privileged groups, or at least mixes up the old fixed categories. But one should certainly not fall into the arrogance of considering that one holds a

more authentic and authorized position for being "native". In the end, what does being "native" really mean?

Alcoff (2014) retreats from speaking for the other, and proposes that anyone who intends to speak for others should make an analysis of power relations and discursive effects. It is crucial to ask about the effects of our speeches on the discursive and material context, we need to be aware of the configuration of power relations that emerge from them. Spivak (1988) was also concerned with the problem of speaking for others. In her famous essay "Can the subaltern speak?" Spivak speaks against the desire to conserve a subject of the West, or the West as a subject, through a concealed subject who pretends it has no geopolitical determinations. "The much-publicized critique of the sovereign subject thus actually inaugurates a subject." (Spivak 1988: 66) At the same time, ignoring the subaltern's speech is a way to continue the imperialist project.

Spivak explicitly rejects a retreat from speaking for others and criticized the role of certain intellectuals who reject to do so, considering that the subalterns can represent their own true interests, and that experience can be transparent and self-knowing. However, she is also aware of the dangers that re-presentations entail. Spivak (1988) proposes thus to "speak to" the subaltern, without abnegating the intellectual discursive role or assuming an authenticity of the oppressed. Besides, the subaltern has an open possibility to produce a counter discourse. Although the dangers of speaking for others cannot be eliminated, they can certainly be diminished.

As a "native" anthropologist, or an anthropologist doing research at *home*, or closer to *home*, I am not trying to speak for anyone. I am not "representing" or "defending" anyone here. I do not think I am in a position to do so. Being "native," closer to the "natives" or "halfie" does not give me any special quality regarding that legitimacy. In fact, my position as a "native," and

intimately related to my field "subjects," has not put me in a more powerful position but rather in an at times more vulnerable one, as I will discuss further in the following sections.

The publication of Malinowski's diaries in 1967, after his death, provoked great controversy. Brutally honest, the narrative presented in his diaries –never intended to be published– showed a face of Malinowski we did not know. And it revealed how 'fake' the identity of anthropologists could be:

> "(…) the man who gossiped about others' modes of intercourse was a man isolated from the natives and deprived of intercourse, who used his ethnographic work to remedy his utter boredom with native life. A patient reading of any of his writings suffices to reveal it riddled with prejudices as well as scientific- al-professional-scholarly-careerist hypocrisy." (Trinh 1989: 76)

The anthropological endeavor of leaving home to start fieldwork in a very far place has been usually described as a risky adventure. Not only is the anthropologist exposed to hunger and sickness, but in his practice of observation, he assumes strange modes of life and "there is a risk - the complete absorption of the observer by the object of his observation" (Levi-Strauss 1967: 26). Although the old expectations of anthropology to be a science in the most traditional sense are outdated, there is an expectation of *rigor* that implies that a *too* personal involvement with our "objects" of study can seem problematic. Trinh Minh-ha (1989) questions the way anthropology has constituted itself as a discipline as a western science of (white) man. From that perspective, "the proper anthropologist should be prevented from "going over the hill," should be trained for detachment in the field if he wishes to remain on the winning side." (Trinh 1989: 55) In my case, from the beginning I was already "over the hill" and there was not way of escaping from that position. I was already involved in all that trouble and without an exit!

Adriana Cavarero (2000) argues that as human beings we are in a necessity of exposing ourselves to others, in our vulnerability and uniqueness. She sees the experience of narrating oneself as a political act, not only because the narration is towards others, but also because it demonstrates the fragility of the 'unique'. That 'uniqueness' is revealed through the narration of one's life-story. There is thus a political responsibility to handle with this constant exposure to others.

While Butler (1997) considers subjection as central in subject-formation, Cavarero does not. Although she recognizes vulnerability in the exposure of our selves to others, she considers that a certain fleeting and unstable unity can be achieved by the narration of one's life-story. While acknowledging the disjunction between discourse and life, Cavarero focuses on the moments where it is suspended thanks to narration. My own take on this is still problematic and uncertain. Although I would initially say that unlike Cavarero, the narrating of my story did not produce any kind of unity or coherence, when I think about it more carefully, I realize there is a therapeutic dimension of narration. Although narration does not necessarily give me a coherent version of the story and myself within it, it does put some pieces together –both historically and emotionally.

According to Cavarero (2000), every human being is aware of his/her character as a narratable self and is immersed in a spontaneous 'auto-narration' of memory, of his/her unique story. But Cavarero does not only work with Arendt's category of uniqueness, she also introduces the idea of 'unity'. The narratable self asks for unity but not in terms of the text, but rather in terms of the revelation of a tenacious desire for one's story in which the "unrepeatable uniqueness of each human being" is revealed (Cavarero 2000: 32-33).

Although many texts could be considered to a certain extent as autobiographical, in the end none of them is or can be, argues Paul de Man. Autobiographies are interesting not because they reveal reliable self-knowledge but because they demonstrate "the impossibility of closure and of totalization (that is the impossibility of coming into being) of all textual systems" (De Man 1979: 922). In a different perspective from Cavarero, De Man explains that autobiography, far from giving narratives coherence and totality, demonstrates that there is not a sovereign and autonomous subjectivity. "Autobiography veils a defacement of the mind of which it is itself the cause." (De Man 1979: 930)

Reflections on "native" anthropology allow us to question our relationship with our field "subjects" and to accept the complexities of our positions, to accept our own limitations. Accept, also, that we are not in a position of speaking for or liberating anyone. A critical "native" anthropology can certainly open possibilities for thinking our relationship with fieldwork in challenging and productive ways.

b. Family ties (and tangles)

Although I could offer several reasons that explain my choice to do fieldwork with(in) my family, it is also true that I was not really aware of what this meant. And I certainly did not foresee the consequences. Ethnographic work could be defined as a game of proximity and distance. One needs to be close in order to observe and interpret; one needs to "be there". But, how close can one really be? When does closeness make us more vulnerable and puts us in risk? How to deal with that vulnerability? How much should one risk? In my own ethnographic experience, I discovered that proximity could end up burning you, as it certainly did with me.

Although I never felt really welcomed when I arrived to Huancayo to start my extended fieldwork, I also did not feel open hostility. Things exploded several months after my arrival; and, not casually, at harvest time. Farmers do not receive monthly incomes but are rather investing money throughout the year in order to be able to earn it back (and multiplied) in harvest time. This, then, is the time of the year when the income of the whole year is received, which in the case of medium scale farmers as my *abuelito*, is no small amount.

There had been some rumors among my relatives regarding a supposed salary I was receiving from my *abuelito* (rumors that were, of course, false). It was not the first time I heard about them, but somehow I decided that that was enough and was determined to confront my grandma about those rumors (she was the one who was assuring everyone that I received that money). However, I decided to talk to one of my aunts first, to tell her what I was planning on doing and ask her to be present in that conversation. That night, I could not help to break into tears out of the frustration I felt; while she looked at me immutable and said she would not let me upset her mom. The conversation with my grandma never happened but apparently she overheard the dialogue with my aunt and was very offended by my words –or by those that my aunt ended up telling her. Later that evening, they both came together to my house to confront me. *¿Cómo me atrevo a decir que mi abuela estaba mintiendo? How did I dare to say that my grandma was not telling the truth? ¿Cómo puedo faltarle el respeto de esa manera? How could I be so disrespectful with her? What was I trying to obtain? What was I doing there anyway? ¿Quién me he creído yo? Who did I think I was?* As if that was not enough, another of my aunts came later to my house with the same kind of questions and a more insulting tone.

¿Qué estás buscando? What are you seeking? This was a question my aunts and my grandma asked me that night when they confronted me about my presence in Huancayo. I should have

some hidden interests, some malicious intentions; they would not buy the story of the dissertation research. What was I doing anyway at the *chacra* every single day observing everything and asking all those questions? How could that be part of my Ph.D.? But really, *what was I seeking?* That question kept resonating with me for the following months and made me question the continuity of my dissertation research.

I would not be wrong affirming that a family schism was produced after those confrontations. And I have had to carry with the responsibility –and even guilt– for that. Why did I end up getting involved in such a scandal? What I did not realize was that in my intention of conducting fieldwork in Jauja (and with my family), I was also getting involved in family issues that preceded me for very long. In Judith Butler words:

> "When the "I" seeks to give an account of itself, it can start with itself, but it will find that this self is already implicated in a social temporality that exceeds its own capacities for narration; indeed, when the "I" seeks to give an account of itself, an account that must include the conditions of its own emergence, it must, as a matter of necessity, become a social theorist. (…) The reason for this is that the "I" has no story of its own that is not also the story of a relation—or set of relations—to a set of norms." (Butler 2005: 7-8)

Without really considering it, I was getting involved in multiple stories of relation that I ignored before and that certainly exceeded my capacities for narration. Family issues carried from my mom and my aunts' childhood, the inevitable existence in big families of the "favorite" child and grandchild, past conflicts, lies, and resentments, all of them converged without me noticing. I have to admit I was of course very naïve not to realize this possibility before and to somehow assume that I could start from scratch.

After some time, I realized that a lot of the pain I felt in the confrontations with my relatives in Huancayo was related to how they infantilized me. Being a Ph.D. student, studying in one of the most prestigious universities in the world, or living on my own, none of them was enough for my relatives to consider me a grown up and treating me as one. While treating me as a little child, they were emphasizing their power over me; they were telling me I was still a fragile little girl. And I discovered that in a sense, they were treating me as if I were the quiet and shy little girl my mom was.

Although my mom kept telling me that I should be stronger and should not let these family entanglements weaken me, I somehow did not manage to follow her advice. And I did not because she couldn't either, she could not find a way to deal with that pain. After the confrontations I had with my relatives, they called a family meeting in Lima, where I was not invited but my mom was. That day, she was attacked from all fronts and was accused of using me to obtain power (and economic benefits). That day, I was pictured as a puppet of my mother.

Emphasizing my vulnerability was their way to paralyze me and to leave me with no ground. *Yes, I am crying, I am feeling weak and vulnerable. Yes, maybe I'm acting as a little girl.* But embracing my own vulnerability was also my way to deal with the deep pain I felt. In defense of Rosaldo's work –accused of a new sentimentalism and of giving personal experience too much weight in ethnography– Behar argues that he was being criticized because he dared to be "feminine" (in terms of our cultural logic and the way styles of writing are ascribed genders). His critics ignored the key role that the position of the observer plays in social analysis, but for Behar that was fundamental: "Call it sentimental, call it Victorian and nineteenth century, but I say that anthropology that doesn't break your heart just isn't worth doing anymore" (Behar 1996: 177)

Quoting Nietzsche (*On the Genealogy of Morals*) about how we become reflective about our actions, Butler argues that "we become conscious of ourselves only after certain injuries have been inflicted". It is in the process of looking for someone who can give account of that suffering that we are interpellated: "It is in the interest of meting out a just punishment to the one responsible for an injurious action that the question is posed and that the subject in question comes to question him or herself." (Butler 2005: 10) I found myself in that position of giving account of myself when my relatives questioned my intentions in Huancayo and the supposed disrespect I had shown trying to confront my grandma about her lies. But I was (also) in a position of suffering when I found myself not only attacked but betrayed by my own relatives.

I shall confess that I was also very naïve in my expectations regarding the family in general and my family in particular. I have to recognize that I had a very idealized vision of the family and what it is supposed to guarantee. My feeling of having been betrayed was so huge because my expectations were very high. When I reflect about this, several months later, I also see myself in very bourgeois position of an "ideal" family that does not really exist in the Andean world. My nuclear family was forged under very different circumstances –and with a very clear determination to construct a different family model–, so I was used to the image of a very functional and stable family, with open communication and not many considerable conflicts.

This chapter does not pretend to be a disclaimer of any type; I do not pretend to victimize myself, nor to get rid of responsibilities for my own acts. This chapter is instead an attempt to *give an account of myself*, in Butler terms. During this process, and not without much suffering, I have discovered the power of the erotic –in Audre Lorde's (1984) conception– as a way to live acknowledging my deepest feelings and fears. This conception of the erotic allows us to be responsible to ourselves and overcome suffering (Lorde 1984). Acknowledging the power of the

erotic, "our acts against oppression become integral with self, motivated and empowered from within." (Lorde 1984: 58) Again, I felt so much suffering because I was also immersed in deep affect and love bonds. And love is usually not exempt of other parallel feelings. Sometimes, for example, talking behind your back is not necessarily an expression of a lack of love, but a manifestation of different strategies of managing power and control, as I discovered my grandmother did.

Virginia Dominguez's work with her *mamama* (grandma) constitutes what she calls a "rescue project," but not in the traditional way of "salvage projects," nor as a politics of correction that only brings cosmetic change. "Rescue projects," argues Dominguez, should be validated in terms of genuine love, respect, and affection instead of fixed "identity." Dominguez makes a plea for love, to make it the motor for academic work. Love, as the most closeted of our feelings might also be the most enabling one. She argues for recognizing and valuing love instead of denigrating it, for recognizing that love enables us to produce quality work. (Dominguez 2000: 388)

Behar considers that anthropology is in the middle of a crisis for not being able to establish a limited ground for the discipline, a terrain that belongs exclusively to itself. The classical dichotomies (self/other, West/rest) have become inadequate, and identification, rather than difference, might have become the key-defining image of the discipline. "I think what we are seeing are efforts to map an intermediate space we can't quite define yet, a borderland between passion and intellect, analysis and subjectivity, ethnography and autobiography, art and life." (Behar 1996: 174) This dissertation is certainly located on that border.

Writing Ethnography

"How hard it is for us to think we can choose *to become writers, much less* feel *and* believe *that we can."*

(Gloria Anzaldúa)

The experience of uncertainty is present in any narrative encounter – "a tricky space where lives are told and stories lived"– argues Steedly (1993). The ethnographic encounter is not the exception. How to narrate this encounter? Very often, the effect of a self-privileging narrative is to eliminate all subjects except for the author/narrator but this can become dangerous. "The point is to recognize the constructedness of even those experiences that seem most deeply "natural," most physically self-evident –and to include ourselves, all the way, in that recognition, even as we write (or read) ourselves into experience." (Steedly 1993: 20)

Throughout the process of my fieldwork, and considering all the difficulties I confronted, writing has been not only a methodological tool (keeping my diary, writing field notes) but also a therapy. Writing every night when I got home was a good way to deal with my own questions and uncertainties. And especially when all the problems with my family emerged, writing became an ally to confront rage and pain. But once the time of starting writing the dissertation came, the preoccupation about writing styles emerged. If ethnography has been described as the account that "makes the familiar strange, the exotic quotidian" (Clifford 1992: 2), how would I write about the (most) familiar to me? More precisely: how would I write about the initially most familiar that later showed a strange and scary face?

When Renato Rosaldo (1989) started working with the Ilongots, he was astonished by their practice of cutting off human heads. Searching for explanations, he always got as a response that it was an act out of rage from grief. But still, he just could not understand a feeling of rage that would make them cut off heads and tried to use different "logical" explanations that did not make any sense to the Ilongots. He did not understand what the rage his informants talked about meant until several years later, when his wife –the anthropologist Michelle Rosaldo– fell down a

precipice while doing fieldwork. Then, invaded by grief, he wanted to cry but rage blocked his tears.

The cultural force of emotions, Rosaldo argues, derives from the permanent rupture of a particular intimate relationship. That emotional experience can only be understood considering the context, the position of the (suffering) subject within a network of relationships. However, ethnographies tend to eliminate intense emotions and focus on the rituals attached to them. In the case of death, for example, anthropologists usually analyze death and funerary rituals as the same thing. Against the classical anthropological norms, Rosaldo does not analyze thick structures of meaning, but rather the most basic feeling of rage.

Like Rosaldo, I had to deal with my own rage to write this dissertation. I felt rage for being misjudged by my relatives, I felt betrayed: they were attacking me instead of defending me. Isn't family supposed to protect us? But I also felt rage towards my *abuelito*: why didn't he come out in my defense? Why was he so silent? Not even now –after having spent several months with him–he would stop being the absent man he had been during my childhood. I talked to him a few times after the events; I cried inconsolably and told him how I felt. He was concerned and upset when he told me that they (my grandma and my aunts) should mind their own business and not interfere with his. Although I did not explicitly ask him to make a public defense of me, I expected him to do it. But he did not and I felt betrayed, once more. As Rosaldo explains, that rage came out of the rupture of an intimate relationship. Rage, I realized, was filling me because love was present too.

Although with some hesitation, Rosaldo decides to put himself into his narrative of the Ilongots and expose his own grief and rage around the loss of his wife. Critiquing classical ethnographies, for limiting themselves to objective and clear defined patterns of unchanging

societies, he claims ethnography as a way of social analysis, but considering that it "must now grapple with the realization that its objects of analysis are also analyzing subjects who critically interrogate ethnographers –their writings, their ethics, and their politics" (Rosaldo 1989: 21).

Ethnographies, as writing pieces, need to be reconfigured to give account of the complex and conflictive interactions between the actors involved. One of the strategies Abu-Lughod proposes to write "against" culture, are "ethnographies of the particular" because it is precisely in those specific accounts that bigger processes are revealed:

> "On the contrary, the effects of extralocal and long-term processes are only manifested locally and specifically, produced in the actions of individuals living their particular lives, inscribed in their bodies and their words. What I am arguing for is a form of writing that might better convey that." (Abu-Lughod 1991: 474)

In a similar vein, the reflection on "native" and "non-native" anthropologists takes Narayan to question other false dichotomies such as the styles of writing in anthropology, where there are narrative ethnographies on the one hand, and dense and heavily theoretical articles:

> "Need the two categories, compelling narrative and rigorous analysis, be impermeable? (…) I want to argue for an emergent style in anthropological writing that I call the *enactment of hybridity*. (…) Calling for a great integration of narrative into written texts does not mean that analysis is to be abandoned, but rather that it moves over, giving vivid experience an honored place beside it." (Narayan 1993: 681-682)

Writing itself should be a process of destabilization of ourselves as ethnographers. Trinh Minh-ha argues for the necessity of our language to be in a process of constant unsettling of our identities as speaking/writing subjects: "Trying to find the other by defining otherness or by explaining the other through laws and generalities is, as Zen says, like beating the moon with a

pole or scratching an itching foot from the outside of a shoe." (Trinh 1989: 76) To find and define the other inevitably implies finding and defining ourselves.

Steedly (1993) argues that experience cannot be taken as the "raw" material of narrative production because narrative and experience are in a mutual shaping of each other. This is certainly a troublesome notion of experience –which has occurred but is still to be produced– but a rich one, which allows us to see experience as a process of subjectivity construction. "Adopting a narrative voice involves an ethical stance that neither effaces ourselves as hybrid nor defaces the vivid humanity of the people with whom we work." (Narayan 1993: 681)

Besides, as Ortner points out, although it is necessary to break with the idea of a romantic and essentialized resistant subject, a complete deconstruction of it also leaves us with a dissolved subject and disables any possibility of understanding it. "The question (…) is how to get around this ideological construct and yet retain some sense of human agency, the capacity of social beings to interpret and morally evaluate their situation and to formulate projects and try to enact them" (Ortner 1995: 185).

However, autobiographical writing in anthropology can sometimes be annoying and self-indulgent. Trinh explores these issues in a fascinating and challenging way: "How do you inscribe difference without bursting into a series of euphoric narcissistic accounts of yourself and your own kind? Without indulging in a marketable romanticism or in a naïve whining about your condition?" (Trinh 1989: 28) How to be honest about one self without sounding egocentric? How to make that personal narrative relevant for the story we want to tell?

Anthropologists' method of participant observation inevitably results an oxymoron: one should be part but not totally and completely enmeshed in that reality (Behar 1996). Again, being too close can end up burning us. Behar claims we need to acknowledge that the position of

vulnerability that we usually assign to our “subjects” is also ours and embrace that place of vulnerable observation and writing even with all the risks it entails: “The worst that can happen in an invulnerable text is that it will be boring. But when an author has made herself or himself vulnerable, the stakes are higher: a boring self-revelation, one that fails to move the reader, is more than embarrassing; it is humiliating.” (Behar 1996: 13)

The process of writing about “the other” defines not only him/her, but also ourselves as writing subjects: “undoing the I while asking "what do I want wanting to know you or me?” (Trinh 1989: 76) The difference between that “you” and “me” was evidently not that clear in my case from the very beginning.

After the conflicts with my family in Huancayo, my mom felt very guilty and concerned about my fieldwork. When I told her that she should not worry because I would not only continue my fieldwork and write my dissertation but I would also write about these conflicts, she was perplexed and disturbed. How would I dare to expose the most intimate intricacies of the family? More precisely, how would I dare to expose the problems of *her* family? Like Ruth Behar (1995), when she exposed in one of her books the fights she had with his father when she was in college, I felt my mom could feel as a betrayal that I wrote about our family entangles. I hope my account of the story is not too hurtful for her, and I hope she understands that in the end, this dissertation is an act of love, and acts of love should always be audacious.

[Figure 6. *Mamá* with a mural in Huancayo, 2013]

Chapter 2. The emergence of "*los reyes de la papa*:" experience, class, and social transformations in the Peruvian Central Highlands

Summary.-
This chapter situates the life history of my *abuelito* within the historical processes of the Peruvian Central Highlands throughout the 20th century. Highlighting both the particularities of his experience and the particularities of the region's history, I aim to explain the emergence of "potato kings" through the discussion of the categories of class and class formation, and social classification. Exploring both the productivity and the limits of these categories, I argue that rigid conceptual discussions do not allow to see the wider transformations produced by the emergence of these potato farmers and the multiple experiences associated with them. This chapter argues then for the importance of historical and ethnographic analyses that go beyond static categories.

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"With my brother we were determined to overcome the crisis that our parents had lived. Because in those times there were two families who dominated the town: they divided it, one half for one, the other half for the other. Nos explotaban / They exploited us. Ellos querían ser los únicos / They wanted to be the only ones. If their children died or got married, or anything, there were celebrations…tenían plata, tenían carne, tenían comida, todo! / they had money, they had meat, they had food, everything. And they gave us. But, in exchange of what? Of our lands, of our houses. One of those families took everything from my family, everything, even our house, they kicked us out. That's why we've lived with all that resentment and we were determined to overcome all this, while drinking we promised each other that we would do this. Y lo logramos / And we did it. Ahora, ¿qué son esas familias? ¡No son nada! ¡No valen nada! / Now, those families, what are they? They are worth nothing!"

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There are some historical circumstances that make the Central Highlands region a particular one. Peru's national history is often narrated from the perspective of Lima, its capital city. In a fragmented republic, this implies a lack of recognition of local and regional processes, which often involve particular and somewhat autonomous logics. The region I am studying is generally known as the "Central Sierra" or the Central Highlands. Within this region, the most important valley –and the broadest in the national territory– is the one formed by the Mantaro River, which connects the cities of Jauja and Huancayo.

Today, Junín is the name of the region (the political administrative division) that corresponds to this area and the capital city is Huancayo[3]. But Huancayo was not always the most important city in the valley; it actually took Jauja's older position, as I will explain later. Junín was created as a department (a political division) in 1826, a few years after national independence, and entailed a more extensive territory, including the now independent region of Pasco, and even parts of the regions of Huánuco and Lima (Manrique 1987). Cerro de Pasco was established as the capital of the department until 1931, when Huancayo was named the new capital of Junín.

The introductory vignette is a summary of my *abuelito's* explanation of how he found motivation to became a successful farmer and how he decided to set that as a life goal. He is, of course, not an isolated case but part of the history of the region. In the 1950s, with the introduction of improved potato varieties and a whole program of agricultural development, some peasants from the Central Highlands initiated commercial agriculture ventures and started a process of economic emergence. My *abuelito*'s story is thus particular but not unique. It is through his life story that I would like to explore the factors that allowed the emergence of potato kings in the Peruvian Central Highlands. "Potato kings" is the nomination used to refer to these farmers of peasant origins, who succeeded sowing potatoes in the Central Highlands since the 1950s.

In this chapter, I would like to argue that the emergence of potato kings responds both to certain historical particularities of the Central Highlands region, and to the specific actions taken in this context by some potato farmers. Exploring class formation through the particular historical experiences of potato farmers, I confirm that rigid conceptions of class are not useful to understand the complexities of social transformations. I do not mean to dismiss the importance

[3] The political and administrative division of the country establishes 25 regions that were before called "departments".

of economic issues in my analysis, on the contrary, I argue that this importance can only be observed from a historical and ethnographic focus on experiences.

My *abuelito* was born in 1926, in a small village 5 kilometers away from the city of Jauja, Chocón. One of the youngest of eight siblings, his father died when he was very little and he does not have any memories of him. His mom was left alone with eight kids and they could not finish primary school because they had to start working.

He was born during the government of Augusto B. Leguía, who brought about a project of modernization of the Nation-State and attempted to replace the old oligarchy of the Aristocratic Republic with the newly emerging bourgeoisie and foreign capital (the economic development of this period was based upon indebtedness with the United States and foreign capital in general). This government situated the role of the state as supportive of a capitalist society and economy, and saw the need for an improved communication and transportation network (Klaren 2004).

a) Mining and Peasants' Migration

It was in the context of Leguía's project of modernization of the Nation-State through foreign capital that the mining industry was established in the Central Highlands. Although this had been a mining region since pre-colonial times, the conditions of mineral exploitation changed over time. The mining industry experienced many changes after independence, especially once there was no longer a state to guarantee the provision of raw material and labor force. During the nineteenth century, mining in Cerro de Pasco, a town in the Central Highlands, was organized around small-scale exploitations, with a peasant labor force recruited mostly through enganche[4]. Although mining was difficult labor, there was no particular coercion, in

[4] This strategy required the mining businessman to hire people that would go to indigenous communities to convince people to go to work in the mines; they would do so giving the Indians certain goods/money that they needed to pay

terms of long permanence in the mines, and the workers would combine mining with agriculture. This system was beneficial for the mining sector because it transferred all the costs of reproduction of the labor force to the peasant economy (Contreras 1987).

[Figure 7. The Peruvian Central Highlands. Source: Ministry of Transportation and Communication]

The Pacific War (1879 - 1883) interrupted the mining exploitation cycle in the region but the discovery of copper in Cerro de Pasco by American engineers marked a new phase. Founded in 1901 in New York, the Cerro de Pasco Investment Company started the construction of a modern industrial and mining complex in the Central Highlands. The company did not emerge to fulfill internal necessities but rather to provide copper to the capitalist economies of the second Industrial Revolution (Flores Galindo 1974: 30-31).

The substitution of silver by copper implied significant changes in the organization of the productive process; the new mineral extraction was profitable only if accomplished at a large

back later with their labor force. The conditions were established in a contract.

scale. The Peruvian Corporation, who had taken control over the Central Railroad[5], extended the rails to La Oroya in 1893 and to Huancayo in 1908; crucial for the transportation of the mineral at a cheaper cost (Manrique 1987: 243-247).

The mining company bought 80% of the existent mines to regional proprietors and the Cerro de Pasco Copper Corporation was established in 1915, incorporating other companies and liquidating almost all the other ones they could not buy.[6] The large-scale exploitation required large capital concentration and therefore the small and medium regional production groups were displaced by imperialist capital. Furthermore, the labor force required was a permanent and stable one, which gradually generated a proletarian group that overtook the labor organization associated with silver mining. (Manrique 1988: 200-203, Mallon 1983, Flores Galindo 1974)

Between 1905 and 1910, the region attracted capitalists from Lima, interested in investing in high Andean livestock (camelids), and this was part of the process of liquidation of the regional landowner elite. The constitution of livestock societies in the Central Sierra revealed the emergence of a new business modality through an aggressive campaign of territorial expansion over the communal lands generating resistance by the peasantry (Manrique 1987: 259). The Cerro de Pasco Corporation would also start a ranching division and became the leading scientific operator in this sector in the region. The capitalist production and scientific advancement of the corporation's *haciendas* took over many peasants' lands (Mayer 2009: 183-186, Flores Galindo 1974: 45).

[5] The Central Railroad's construction by the Peruvian state first started in 1869 and by 1875 it had been completed until Chicla. After resolving some financial problems, the works for its extension restarted in 1890, this time under British capital (Miller 2011: 208) The Central Railroad would be crucial for establishing a connection of the Central Sierra with the capital city. It was also a way of securing the recruitment of labor force (Flores Galindo 1974)

[6] During the economic crises lived in the nineteenth century, the mining activity had been the source of accumulation for the recuperation of the region. The denationalization of mining implied the loss of this source, which increased the vulnerability of the regional dominant class.

Until the 1920s, there existed a combination of economic trends in the central sierra, between North American corporations and the regional elite (dedicated to livestock, agriculture, commerce and urban services). However, the articulation of the mining activity to other productive sectors was lost and the most important regional product demanded by the company was the labor force (Manrique 1987: 249-252).

During this period of initial expansion, the Cerro de Pasco Corporation operated in alliance with and was dependent upon local commercial capital. The corporation did not transform the preexisting technology and labor relations, but used *contrata* (which farmed the mining out to individual contractors), and *enganche* networks to recruit labor force. The systems of production were not revolutionized but the company reorganized existing methods and labor processes to suit its own purposes. The peasants were quite permeable to the penetration of commercial capital but resisted a complete proletarianization (they were "mixed proletarians") because they owned their lands and combined incomes from a variety of activities (Mallon 1983: 186-209, Flores Galindo 1974).

Nevertheless, by 1918 the Cerro de Pasco Corporation decided to change the basic organization of the mining industry: the alliances with local merchants (labor recruiters) were expensive and incited violence, generating obstacles to further modernization. In addition, the temporary nature of *contrata* and *enganche*[7] were contradictory with the will of creating a skilled and specialized labor force. At the same time, the company established the main smelting center in the city of La Oroya. While regional merchants were affected, the most far-reaching repercussions were felt in the villages, where the proportion of the population dependent on mining wages for their survival was increasing.

[7] *Contrata* was the name given to *enganche* in the 19th century. Enganche literally means "hooking," it was the name given to the process through which a merchant "hooked" peasants for working with them, to do so he would advance the peasant money or goods, requiring him to work the debt off at a mine or hacienda.

The decrease in productivity of village flocks and fields contributed directly to the proletarianization of the peasantry of the region, with the poorest peasants suffering most severely. By the end of the 1920s, the seasonal migration pattern that had predominated assumed a secondary importance. Meanwhile, the company adopted a series of measures in the mines to encourage the workers to remain there and the length of migrations increased (Mallon 1983: 229-230, Flores Galindo 1974).

My *abuelito* was not outside of these regional dynamics. At the age of 17, still younger than the required minimum age to start working, my *abuelito* managed to get false documents and decided to go to La Oroya to work for the mining company. He was not the only one; many people from his village and the Jauja province were already working there. His brother in law had started working in La Oroya a few years earlier and his sister ended up moving there when his job became more permanent. When my *abuelito* first arrived to La Oroya, he lived with them. He started working as a laborer in the mines, but then was promoted to cleaning man, and later to messenger. With his job as a messenger, he had to go from one office to the other, so he got to know the smelter very well and realized which was the best paid job. He then asked for his transfer to the office of arsenic packing, where he was paid by the job and had the chance to save more money. However, he did not last very long there and decided to leave because of the toxicity of working with arsenic. After two years of living and working in La Oroya he decided to quit his job and go back to his village. He brought his savings with him and gave them to his mom to hold for him.

After some months of being with his mom and working the piece of land they had in his hometown, Chocón, he decided to leave again in search of work opportunities. He went again after a mining job but this time in Huaron, a mine near Cerro de Pasco. Again, he did not go by

himself but he had some cousins and friends who were already working there. When he first arrived, he lived with his cousin, but then was assigned a room for himself. He stayed in Huaron for two years, and worked driving a small motor inside the mine. The plan he had in mind was to save money so that he could go back to his village and start a business.

When he went back to Chocón, some friends told him about a job in Huachucolpa, a mine in Huancavelica. There, because of the prior experience he had working in mines, he occupied a higher position; it was a small mine. But he did not stay too long because he did not like the place, the food, nor the working conditions. After three months, he decided to go back home. After some time, he went to work in Yauricocha, a mining town three hours away from Jauja. There he worked out in the open, in the construction of the structures for the transportation of the minerals. After two years, he decided to go back home.

Mobility and migration have been part of the life cycle of the Central Highlands peasant household for many years. In the late nineteenth century migrations were seasonal, of short duration, and were related to horrendous working conditions under *enganche*. The economic expansion of the beginning of the twentieth century had given the peasants more room to negotiate their highly valued labor supply. Nevertheless, in the 1920's *enganche* began to disappear with the changes in the mining exploitation by foreign capital, and migration became more "voluntary" but people stayed for longer periods of time, even years at a time (Mallon 1983: 248-250).

This second phase of the penetration of capitalism in the region was marked by the consolidation of the proletarianization of the peasant labor force and this produced an important organization of the workers under socialist and leftist ideas.[8] These ideas also traveled back to

[8] Mariategui, founder of the Peruvian Socialist Party, considered the mining workers of the Central Sierra key for the development of socialism in Peru. His idea about the conciliation of socialism and Andean

the communities with the workers; this was evident in the case of the Yanamarca Hacienda, that lived through a revolt in 1945[9].

[Figure 8. Jauja's train station at the entrance of the city. Today is mainly a bus and taxis station]

Migration would have considerable consequences in the life of the villages, but there are differing views as to particular effects. On one hand, authors like Mallon (1983), Laite (1984), and Long and Roberts (1978) affirm that migrations raised questions about the nature of the community itself and the internal differentiations produced in the villages were accompanied by the development of capitalism. The migrant associations created in the mining centers to solvent donations for the workers' communities of origin usually asked the community to exonerate them of their communal labor obligations. In the end, migration commodified communal relationships and changed the patterns of village life (Mallon 1983: 265). On the other hand, authors like

cultural tradition fit perfectly with the mining workers of this region: they were proletarians but only seasonally because they maintained their agricultural production. Jorge del Prado, socialist leader, was commissioned by Mariategui to propagate socialist ideas in the mining town of Morococha, where an important worker movement developed (Manrique 2010).

[9] The revolt happened at the same time of a period of union mobilization promoted by APRA, a socialist leaned (at the time) party originated on the north coast of Peru. The leaders of the revolt were former miner migrants that had taken part of union organizations (Alberti 1974).

Smith (1989) emphasize the fact that despite the migrations to regional cities and the capital of the country, the villagers maintained intense relationships with their communities and even actively participated in the community struggles against haciendas.

In the case of my *abuelito* and his village, his constant movement to find jobs did not take him apart from Chocón. He was always very clear that he wanted to go back and do something with the money he was saving. He did not lose contact with the community, nor with his family and friends; he would constantly go back and was certainly there for the main *fiestas*. Those were occasions when other people who were working outside, like him, would come together in their hometown to celebrate but also to show off their economic positions.

The 1920s were marked by the advancement of class differentiation within the peasant villages of the central highlands, driven by the return of migrant peasants and by national campaigns to integrate and educate the rural population. Within the communities, a wealthy sector eager to transform its money into capital coexisted with a pauperized sector dependent on a wage. In this context, the agrarian expansion toward commercial agriculture (for a national market) provoked the commodification of land and increased its price. In communities, the growing desires for education, urbanization and public works were faced with the reality of limited resources (Mallon 1983).

Communities' need of money was resolved through the sale of communal property, charging rent to the owners of animals in communal pasturelands, raising of quotas of labor, etc.; in short, through the weakening of community institutions. While the village elites pushed for the privatization of communal property and the commodification of communal relationships, poorer people were threatened with pauperization and invoked communal ideology as a form of insurance. By the end of the 1930's, Mallon argues, the meaning of "community" in the Central

Sierra had been forever changed, along with the development of capitalism (Mallon 1983: 267-275).

Smith (1989) represents a different position and argues that a thorough capitalist penetration of the region cannot be affirmed because the persistence of community institutions is not solely justified by their contribution to the development of capitalism. He argues instead that household production continues to be of great importance in the communities and can halt class transformations in the villages. In any case, it is evident that significant economic and social transformations were happening in the region.

Territory, Haciendas, and Peasant Communities in the Central Highlands

Although born under the enlightened principles of freedom, equality and citizenship, the new Latin American republics were deeply fragmented by ethnic, cultural, and class differences. At the time of the wars of independence, creoles (Spaniards born in the American continent) and peninsulars (Spaniards born in the Iberian Peninsula) were competing for power and privilege. The dominant creole nationalism that emerged in that period was motivated by the desire to attain autonomy and to increase their wealth and political emergence. The postcolonial republics had an ambiguous relationship to the indigenous population and although the elites desired to incorporate them as a labor force, they did not attempt to include them as political subjects within the nation (Larson 2002: 27-35).

During the Independence Wars, six military campaigns and one of the crucial final battles took place in the Central Highlands. The demand for supplies from patriots and royalists alike were quite high and the regional economy, deeply affecting the regional economy; there was a clear break between the economic structure of the Central Highlands before and after

independence (Manrique 1987).

Mining, livestock and commerce were the principal sources of accumulation in the region in the period following the Independence. During the nineteenth century, it was common for elite families to have economic interests in all three activities, though the latter largely relied on mining. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Cerro de Pasco became the most important mining center in Peru and its silver held crucial value for the national economy.[10] With the mining industry in Cerro de Pasco reliant on local provision of raw materials, it became part of an almost autonomous regional economy (Contreras 1987: 34-49). The Central Highlands became a region with a particular economic dynamism where a regional dominant class promoted a process of modernization. This process was cut short by the Pacific War, which provoked the collapse of the regional elite (Manrique 1987: 16-28).

The patterns of land property are crucial when appreciating the specific development of the region. The haciendas (large estates) held much less significance in the Central Highlands than in other parts of the country: according to the 1876 Census, 27.4% of the country's rural population lived in haciendas while in the central sierra the figure was only 12.8%. This was even more evident in my particular areas of interest: only 5% and 4% of the populations of Huancayo and Jauja, respectively, lived in haciendas (Contreras 1987).[11]

During the 19th century, within the haciendas, there were clear relationships of servitude, while in the indigenous communities the exploitation and domination happened in a more subtle way by the jaujina elite, who controlled institutional mechanisms which assured their domination. The jaujina elite also controlled the administration of justice and the educative

[10] The production in Cerro de Pasco constituted during the nineteenth century around 60% of the total national mining production (Contreras 1987)

11 The haciendas of the region were located mostly in the provinces of Huancavelica, Huanuco, Tarma, Pomabamba and Pasco (Contreras 1987).

system. (Alberti 1974: 37-38)

The War of the Pacific considerably weakened the jaujina elite. But Jauja experienced an economic recovery with the arrival of foreign traders who took advantage of the construction of railroads to La Oroya in 1893. The system of authority was controlled by the new traders and the old elite families from Jauja. On the other hand, by the end of the 19th century, because of its good weather, Jauja had become the refuge for bronchopulmonary patients from elite families in Lima. (Alberti 1974: 43-44) This gave the city a particular cosmopolitan atmosphere, which jaujinos always remember with pride.

The lack of large haciendas and the prevalence of smallholdings with a peasant economy did not (yet) allow a modernization of agriculture, despite increasing demand from Lima. Agriculture was marked by two different dynamics: the small production of food stuffs for commercialization, and the production of sugar cane. The latter's trade became fundamental for the process of forming an internal regional market in the Central Highlands.[12] On the other hand, the expansion of the livestock exploitation was possible because of the capital accumulated in mining, although it also acquired an autonomous dynamic. Even if the great coastal Andean guano boom did not have a direct impact in the consolidation of the regional economy, it generated an increase in the demand of food stuff, which, together with a decrease in silver extraction in Cerro de Pasco in the 1940's, provoked the transference of capital to other economic activities considered more profitable, including land acquisitions for livestock (Manrique 1987, Contreras 1987).

The creation of livestock enterprises ("Sociedad Ganadera de Junín" in 1906, and "Sociedad

[12] The oriental region of the *ceja de selva*, the region of tropical forest, east of the central highlands, was re-conquered in 1874 and became the perfect location for the production of sugar cane (as input for *aguardiente* brandy). *Aguardiente* was part of the basic provisions given to the indigenous labor force, and was easily incorporated in the indigenous consumption and helped in the monetisation of the exchanges. Produced exclusively in the region, it also articulated various phases of production. (Manrique 1987: 115-117)

Ganadera del Centro" in 1910) contributed to the transformation of the economic structure of Jauja. Elite groups from Lima worked together with landowners from Jauja. Many old hacienda proprietors moved to Lima and left administrators in their properties. (Alberti 1974: 45) Therefore, there was not a solid elite in Jauja by the mid twentieth century, as I will explore further in chapter 4.

These novel economic activities provoked an unequal development of the region, with the opposition between the violent territorial concentration of new landowners and traditional ones who were being dispossessed of their properties. The regional dominant group, then, was fragmented and this placed them in a position of disadvantage with respect to the peasantry. The peasantry's situation in the Central Highlands was very different from the one in the southern Andes: the confrontations between indigenous communities and landowners were less common and the peasants had a more powerful position in the central highlands[13]. The peasants of the region were not tied to specific economic activities but had a multiplicity of occupations, which operated to the detriment of estates and mines that required their labor force (Manrique 1987: 141-155, Mallon 1983).

Most of the Peruvian Andes was dominated by *gamonales*, landowners who controlled not only the lands but also the indigenous labor force. They had a contradictory paternalist relationship of "protection" and violence with the Indians that worked for them. Nevertheless, the situation of the Central Highlands was particular because of the aforementioned general absence of big estates. Even where there were haciendas, peasants resisted the *hacendados'* claims of extension over their lands, and insisted in their rights to pasture their animals in *haciendas*' lands. Peasants' agency became an obstacle for the haciendas' attempts to introduce

[13] This situation can be explained by the non-intensive agriculture production: many lands in the estates were empty because of the difficulty to transport the products to the capital and the difficulty to obtain labor force to work the lands. (Manrique 1987: 146-148)

capitalistic relations of production (Smith 1989: 78-79). Additionally, the economic expansion that the region experienced in this period made visible the problems of the old strategy of labor recruitment, *enganche*. It became clearer to hacendados that relying on a labor supply restricted to peasants with access to their own means of production (lands) did not allow them to easily impose control and discipline over peasants (Mallon 1983: 142).

The lands not occupied by haciendas belonged mostly to peasant communities, comprised of family and communal lands. The goal of the peasant family economy was to attain self-sufficiency, which was possible because families usually had access to lands in different zones and altitudes, suitable for multiple agricultural and livestock uses. Since household economies needed benefit from the maximum potential of each member and agriculture was a seasonal work, some members of the family would have to migrate temporarily to work in other activities. Communal lands were used collectively and each member had to fulfill certain communal tasks. Reciprocal exchanges of labor and goods strengthened the webs of mutual obligations and kept the communities united (Mallon 1983: 24-35).

Agriculture remained the main economic activity for peasant communities in the Central Highlands, although they also participated in other activities during slow periods in the agricultural cycles. The opportunities for the commercial exploitation of land increased; and with the expansion and circulation of land, money, and commodities, the process of social and economic differentiation within the peasant communities started: the richer peasants took better advantage of the new opportunities in agriculture while the poorer families suffered the effects of debt and market relations with merchants. Migration occurred in rich and poor families, although with different purposes: as a way of increasing surplus and accumulation, and as a way of

surviving, respectively (Mallon 1983)[14]. Besides, this seasonal migration was present in different zones in the Central Highlands: while the people from the northern region went to work in the mines, the people in the southern region went to the cotton plantations of the coast (Smith 1989: 90-92).

The wealthier peasants needed to consolidate their power not only in the economic but also in the political realm and they did so through the representation of the community in dealings with the "outside world." This was also a way to strengthen and extend their networks of patronage and clientele, involving them in ties of mutual obligation and asymmetrical reciprocity with the poorer peasants. These networks were the most effective method for labor extraction but being rooted in cultural values, peasants had some room for negotiation and resistance, resorting to the principle of reciprocity (Mallon 1983: 144-156). Besides, the central state was also interested in peasants' cheap labor force, which created a stronger relationship between peasants and local elites, who were together against the state (Mallon 1983: 161).

In my *abuelito*'s village, Chocón, there were also wealthier peasants who exerted domination over the poorer ones. As he recalls in the quote that starts this chapter, the scene was far from being the heavenly harmonious community life because there were two families who dominated the village. They exerted power and control over the peasant families; they even took over their lands and houses, as they did with my *abuelito*'s family. Conflict and resentment were very present in the everyday life of the community. Those two families are well known even today; when I told some of my jaujino interviewees that my family was from Chocón, they would

[14] Poorer families would usually migrate with another member of the family (who would help the male worker) and would migrate for longer periods, whereas wealthier migrants would have more choice regarding the type of occupation and length of migration. The diverse experiences lived by the migrants, according principally to their economic situation, generated divergent attitudes toward mining and the U.S. Company. Whereas some workers felt exploited by the company and the terrible working conditions, others felt it was an opportunity to learn and accumulate money, what would help them later to move up in the social scale once they were back in their villages. (Mallon: 259-262)

immediately ask me if I was a member of one of those families.

A cultural historical approach fuels my vision of the peasantry; and the works of Sydney Mintz and Eric Wolf are particularly important. Both authors assume the challenge of studying the way in which local communities and projects are part of bigger historical processes. However, they do not subsume local histories within global processes but rather explore the formation of subjects at the intersection of different scales. Through his substantial study of the Caribbean region, Mintz analyzed "peripheral" peasantries' participation in global trade networks, demonstrating their fundamental –although hidden— role in European "universal" history (Mintz 1985). Eric Wolf's (1982) emphasis on the dynamism and interconnections of historical phenomena challenges logical, linear, and morally-charged visions of history. The creation of "false models of reality," of "internally homogeneous and externally distinctive and bounded objects" (Wolf 1982: 6) responds to disciplinary divisions that have a narrow vision of social reality.

The beginnings of commercial agriculture

After many years working in different places, my *abuelito* had saved some money that his mom was keeping for him. In 1954, at the age of 27, he decided to return to Chocón and work in agriculture in partnership with his older brother, Santiago. This was an idea that they had before but they did not have enough money to carry it out. My uncle Santiago had also traveled to other places to work in mining and other jobs, so he also had saved some money. At the moment, Santiago had already formed a family and was working as a shoemaker in Chocón. They decided to start sowing potatoes and cereals in the small piece of land their mom had, because they did not have enough money to rent other lands. During that first agricultural season, they worked the

land themselves, without hiring any workers; and they had to get other temporary jobs in order to support themselves throughout the year. One of their sisters would bring the potatoes down to the fair in Jauja, with her mules. It was a good campaign and they decided to reinvest all the money they got that year. So they decided to search for lands to rent, but it was not very easy.

Before the 20th century, there was not an important development of agriculture in the region. The lands did not have a considerable value because of the absence of roads that could connect the region with the market, the relative abundance of lands and the low level of development of productive forces (Manrique 1987: 86). There were only a few big farmers, who belonged to traditional families in Jauja and the Mantaro Valley.

The construction of roads connecting Lima with the Central Highlands in 1940 was fundamental for delivering the produce from that region to the capital. In Junín, the main agricultural products for the year 1943-1944 were potatoes (81 thousand metric tons), barley (22 thousand metric tons), wheat (21 thousand metric tons), corn (20 thousand metric tons), and fruits (25 thousand metric tons). This produce was almost exclusively for Lima, which had a big demand for food because of its increasing population. The 1961 Census, did not present a very different panorama. The production of potatoes increased in around 23 metric tones, and barley increased in around 3 metric tones. This indicates that despite potatoes were already consolidating as the main crop, the volume of production was still very low (National Census 1940: VIII, National Census 1961: 30). Before the creation of the Wholesale Market of "La Parada" in Lima in 1948, all the produce that was sent to Lima entered the capital by the Mercado Central (Central Market) in downtown Lima.

[Figure 9. The Yanamarca Valley, from Chocón]

In the 1950s, the situation was not very different from the beginning of the century in my *abuelito*'s village; there had not been an important development of commercial agriculture. Most of the lands in Chocón were covered by weeds and only a few people in the region worked with commercial agriculture. Peasant families worked their lands for their personal consumption and the landowner families lived mainly of their rents.

Even though agriculture was not developed in the region and there were many lands unoccupied, the dominant landowners of the village (the Palacios and Espinoza families) were reluctant to rent their lands to people from the community. When they did rent their lands, they did only to people from outside the village. My *abuelito* clearly remembers that there was a rivalry between him and those families. He was the Indian who did not accept his position in the structure of dominance and wanted to stand out; and they would not let him to do so. Over time, when he became more successful, they were still reluctant to rent him lands. He realized that

behind that negative, there was a desire to keep the power structures in the community: *"ellos querían ser los únicos dueños y señores del pueblo / they wanted to be the only masters and owners of the village,"* he recalls. He would later demonstrate that he could have more power than them; he tells me with satisfaction that the big house the Espinozas had in the village is now falling apart: "*su casa se está cayendo a pedazos." "And mine is the biggest in town,"* I'm sure he wanted to add.

He and his brother worked together for three agricultural campaigns. Sometimes, people would go to buy the produce from their *chacras*, others, they had to rent a truck and bring the produce themselves to Jauja or Lima. Back then, the production costs in agriculture were not very expensive, the lands did not need as much fertilizers and pesticides like nowadays. When my *abuelito* and his brother decided to work apart, they divided their capital in equal parts.

My *abuelito* started working on his own and a few years later bought his first *chacra*. A couple of years later, he married my *abuelita*, whom he had met for a long time in the village. As he always mentions, it was the two of them, he and his wife together, who built up their family and their agricultural enterprise. Although my *abuelito* had already started working the fields before he got married, it was my grandma's vision and hard work, which gave boost to their enterprise. They worked together for around 30 years[15].

[15] My grandparents lived for many years in Chocon, so that they could have it easier to work in the fields everyday. They would go to Huancayo only during the weekends, when they spent more time with their kids. My grandmother retired from the work in the fields after having worked there for thirty years. Some health issues don't let her be in the fields anymore, but she has other business she is in charge of.

[Figure 10. My grandparents on their wedding day. Early 1950s]

[Figure 11. My grandparents and their guests on their wedding day. Early 1950s]

When I asked my *abuelito* about their motivation to start working the lands, he recalls that some people had started to work in agriculture in the region. But potatoes were far from being the main crop; they sowed barley, wheat, fava beans and just a bit of potatoes. In the early 1940s a landowner from Jauja, a mechanic, came to Chocón and started the sowing of potatoes for the first time. All the young men from the village went to work with him under the regime of "*al partir*"[16]. He remembers those times as crucial for his growing desire to work on his own lands and sow his own potatoes.

[16] An agreement between the owner of a plot of land and another person, in which the former provides the land, the latter the seed and labor, and the product is divided two ways. (Mallon 1983: 353)

In my interview with Jose Luis, the son of the owner of one of the oldest agrochemical stores in Jauja, he recalls that it was the demand of potato seeds that made the emergent farmers in Jauja successful. Jose Luis' father moved to Jauja in the 1950s with two of his brothers, Elías and Manuel, to expand the family business they had in Arequipa. They had been told that there were some possibilities of expanding their business in the Mantaro Valley, so they settled down in Jauja and were the pioneers in the importation and sale of vegetable seeds.

5 de Marzo de 1956

A los Agricultores

La Casa Manrique

Ofrece: Semillas frescas de Hortalizas
Flores, Pastos forrajeros

HERRAMIENTAS AGRICOLAS — INSECTICIDAS Y FUNGICIDAS

Ayacucho 892 — Donde funcionaba el Consorcio Agrícola del Centro

Parque Principal — JAUJA

LIBRERIA E IMPRENTA
Sanguinetti
Plaza principal 828-832-836
casilla-correo-30-Jauja

[Figure 12. An announcement of Jose Luis' father store in Jauja. El Porvenir, March 5th, 1956]

In the late 1960s, commercial potato farming on the coast of the country started and the farmers began going to Huasahuasi, a town in Tarma, to buy potato seeds. Huasahuasi became very famous and the prices of potato seeds increased significantly, so the coastal farmers decided to look for better options. Emergent farmers from Jauja and the Yanamarca Valley saw an opportunity and started selling their potato seeds. Since the supply of potato seeds was limited,

the prices were very high and allowed these farmers to accumulate capital and make their agricultural enterprises grow. Jose Luis believes that the potato prices were never as good as in those years. After that boom, many of those emergent farmers decided to go themselves to sow potatoes on the coast, taking their own seeds with them.

[Figure 13. Nati and other workers are selecting the potatoes that will be used as seeds in the next sowing. These potatoes were kept for a couple of months in my *abuelito's* storage]

Florencia Mallon shows that between 1930 and 1950, the Central Highlands saw the emergence and consolidation of a group of entrepreneurs of peasant origins that invested in new commercial enterprises (Mallon 1983: 308-325). My *abuelito* and his brother Santiago were part of that group. That group of emerging farmers challenged established categories around what is a peasant and when a person can stop being one. However, finding a new category to define them is not necessarily easy. They are individuals of peasant origins but they are no longer peasants. Are they capitalists? Are they part of a new bourgeoisie? To what extent are these categories useful to understand these individuals, who came to be known as "potato kings"?

Peasant Studies[17] made an initial attempt to define "peasant" as a theoretical category that could be used in different situations throughout history and geography. In a first moment, the peasantry was seen as an essential group, whose typology should be outlined, not necessarily looking for the diversities and the dynamics within types. Later, the interest in typologies was abandoned for a definition of peasant societies as a process rather than as a static type and through their internal differences and their relations with the world and societies that lie outside of it (Shanin 1973). Introducing the idea of heterogeneity, social differentiation among peasants appears as a crucial factor to understand the logics of operation of peasant economy as a social unit. The dominance of certain groups over the others is not necessarily an "abnormality" that emerges to change the situation of the peasantry but in many cases it is rather central to its existence and operation (Mintz 1973: 91-94).

In the late 1960s Latin America saw the emergence of a trend of school of thought around the concept of "dependency." This was partly a reaction to the work of the United Nations Economic Commission on Latin America (ECLA or CEPAL for the Spanish acronym) on "economic development." Dependency theory proposed the structural connection between developed and underdeveloped worlds, affirming that the process of development in one region required processes of underdevelopment in another. Two of the main points of view were those of Andre Gunder Frank (1967, 1969) and Henrique Cardoso (1969, 1971, 1972, 1973). Immanuel Wallerstein's world-systems theory (1974, 1980), which emerged a few years later related tangentially to dependency theory; however, rather than focusing on the "underdeveloped" world or "periphery," world-systems theory focused on the system as a whole.

[17] Peasant studies emerged as a field in the 1970s, and some of its goals were to generate a critique of peasant essentialism and agrarian populism, to study class differentiation as intrinsic to peasant production, and to explore the range of linkages of peasant production and wage labor (Bernstein and Byres 2001). In Latin America, in particular, there has been a long tradition of agrarian studies since the 1960s and much of the anthropological and sociological work on peasantry has been done in this region (Roseberry 1993: 319).

Dependency theory contributed to seeing Latin American societies as a whole, leaving aside the idea of their "dual character." Nevertheless, stressing structural stability and focusing on the metropoles, it did not succeed in capturing Latin American realities. Therefore, during the 1970s, Marxist scholars conducted class analyses of Latin American peasantries, trying to define their main mode of production. This perspective allowed them to see a more prolonged and uneven transition to capitalism in the region, and to shed light on complex relationships or the "articulation" of different modes of production: noncapitalist and capitalist (Palerm 1976, Roseberry 1983, Smith 1984).

Florencia Mallon's work emerges as a response to mode of production studies focused on "articulation," arguing that they did not achieve a theoretical complexity in explaining the particularities of the peasantries studied (Mallon 1983: 5-6) Therefore, she turned to classic Marxist texts on the development of capitalism in Europe and Lenin's (1899) studies of the Russian peasantry in the early twentieth century. Marx's description of "primitive accumulation" as an idyllic anecdote of the past used to justify the existence of economic inequality in contemporary capitalism and hide the centrality of violence and domination in the real history, has been the inspiration for analyses in different parts of the world. Capitalism appears growing out of feudalism, transforming agricultural producers into wageworkers (due to the dispossession of their lands), and separating therefore labor and capital (Marx 1967: 501)[18].

Different positions regarding social differentiation among the peasantry provoked a debate. The authors interested in processes of proletarianization in the rural world took insight from Lenin (1899), while those interested in the internal dynamics of peasant agriculture worked with Chayanov's (1966) theory.

[18] This is, nevertheless, a particular understanding of Marx, since he also emphasized the importance of analyzing historical particular cases instead of using general historico-philosophical theories (Marx 1968).

While the first tradition[19] emphasized social differentiation and antagonisms within the peasantry, the latter was more focused on cohesiveness and homogeneity (Byres 1993: 6-7). Lenin (1899) studied class formation among the Russian peasantry and argued that it was both an expression and a driver of the development of capitalism (Bernstein 2009: 58). Chayanov (1966), on the other hand, argued that indices of inequality among Russian peasantry were only apparent because they were not due to class formation but rather reflected the position of households in the demographic cycle of generational reproduction. In his account, the peasant household was inherently different from the conventional capitalist enterprise (Bernstein 2009: 59-66). Peasant studies' scholars took Chayanov's ideas in contraposition to Lenin's conception of the peasant household, generating a debate that very often was not so much focused on the analyses of particular cases but on the confirmation of these models through the cases.

The debate around Lenin's and Chayanov's ideas has been particularly important in the Peruvian Central Highlands. Florencia Mallon (1983) used her analysis of the Yanamarca Valley, to resolve the problems she found with articulation theory. She argued that, in their efforts to use traditional relationships against social change, the peasantry of the region ended up changing both their relationships and themselves. This transition was successful because of the rise of an agrarian bourgeoisie from peasant origins that transformed wealth into capital and developed agricultural enterprises based on the exploitation of wage labor (Mallon 1983: 4-9). The process described by Mallon is clearly inspired by Lenin and has a pessimistic flavor (seen from the perspective of community cohesion): despite the continuous peasant struggles in defense of communities, capitalism ended up defeating them and (negatively) transforming their ways of

[19] This literature stressed social differentiation and class formation among the peasantry, with the consequent emergence of rural bourgeoisies and proletariats (Bartra 1974, Deere and De Janvry 1981, Goodman and Redclift 1982, Roseberry 1976, Shenton and Lennihan 1981, Cook and Binford 1986, Lehmann 1986).

life[20].

The time period studied by Mallon ends in the 1940s, with the emergence of a rural bourgeoisie and the apparent defeat of peasant communities as institutions. With a somehow rigid vision of the process, Mallon seems to believe that there is not much to study after the "triumph" of capitalism in the region. Although recognizing the fundamental transformations of peasant communities, I see the emergence of a rural bourgeoisie not as a final point in the story but as an opening for new configurations, not only in economics but also in social and cultural fields. Furthermore, I believe that the study of emerging elites of peasant origins is crucial to understand identity reconfigurations, especially in a context where most of the work done within rural regions and peasantries has been focused on groups living in circumstances of deprivation and vulnerability.

While the main focus of Mallon's book was economic transformations, Gavin Smith proposed the consideration of economics in connection with political resistance, as an essential part of daily life precisely because it was inseparable from the struggle for a livelihood (Smith 1989: 12-3). Characterizing agriculture activity in Huasicancha, a small town in the valley, as petty production (linked to preexisting social relations), Smith argues that the labor process is profoundly related to community social relations. The rationality of production is also the rationality of social reproduction, and the analysis of the labor process is therefore a way of

[20] This transformation process had three main moments. In the first period (late nineteenth century) the dominant mode of production was non-capitalist: peasant economy. Agriculture and livestock were the main economic activities and provided most of the subsistence needs of families, whose goal was self-sufficiency. Temporary migrations were common among men, and peasants of the region were not strangers to commercial capital, although it did not destroy the basic core of peasant self-sufficiency (Mallon 1983: 24-34). The second moment was marked by foreign capital investing in mining and an articulation of capitalist and peasant modes of production. Although the mining company first maintained a traditional system of production using mainly seasonal migrants as work force, it later required permanent labor, which produced a proletarianization of the peasantry (Mallon 1983: 174-209). Finally, capitalism is dominant in the last phase of the transition. Migrations acquired more permanent character, which generated several changes in peasant communities and its mere definition. Simultaneously, the advancement of class differentiation was evident in the villages with the emergence of a wealthy local elite eager to transform its money into capital, and an impoverished group dependent on wage on the other side (Mallon 1983: 264-267).

establishing a bridge between culture and class (Smith 1989: 14-16).

Regarding the Lenin-Chayanov debate, Smith argues that they are not incompatible positions since in the end they were both concerned with "logical imperatives of forms of production on the one hand and the contextual determinations of a larger social formation on the other" (Smith 1989: 19). The issue here seems to be the definition of household production. While Mallon sees it as fundamentally non-capitalist and therefore in extinction, Smith argues it is partially connected with outside capitalist economy. Even though Smith maintains Chayanov's approach to the peasant household, he understands it as a dynamic unit and demonstrates it through careful ethnographic work that leaves aside any conception of their economic and cultural organization as homogeneous and static, but rather emphasizes the differences within and the changes throughout history.

In the case of the so-called potato kings we must say that the connection with capitalism is not just partial but fundamental. It is through capitalist accumulation that they were able to make their enterprises grow and succeed. However, it would be wrong to affirm that their enterprises are purely capitalists. There is more than just an economic rationality in their behavior. The family and the community are important institutions in their enterprises, and they have logics different from a purely capitalist rationality.

To return to the debate, I would like to question the idea that the authors involved really faced identical empirical data (as mentioned by Smith). They actually have studied different zones within the region and each has particularities that need to be taken into account (for instance, the presence of haciendas is not equal throughout the valley). Moreover, the positions in the debate are not necessarily clearly divided. Long and Roberts (1978), labeled by Mallon as "Chayanovians," characterize the region as containing many of the features of a peasant

economy but they do not affirm the existence of pure peasants (nor of pure proletarians) and consider their approach close to Lenin's characterization of the development of capitalism in Russia. "The maintenance of the "traditional" organization of peasant communities, based on small-holder farming, can be interpreted as functional for the development of dependent capitalism" (Long and Roberts 1978: 300-305) they affirm, not differing with Mallon's argument about household production's existence helping to reproduce wage labor force.

Mallon argues that her analysis of transitions and transformations in the Peruvian Central Highlands does not assume that they occur in a unilinear fashion; she emphasizes the importance of individual actions and how these can make processes contradictory and take dialectical paths (Mallon 1983: 3-4). However, the overall narrative of her book does stress the unilinear continuity of the development of capitalism in the region. In the end, she could not help but use the schematic ideas of historical processes from an orthodox Marxist perspective. Clearly, her book is the product of a specific moment in academic history and political commitments. Had Mallon written that book today, her approach would have been very different. She might not have put her focus so much, and almost exclusively, on class issues.

Interestingly, in a later paper, Mallon appears critical of scholars on both sides of the debate, including herself, for having "focused too exclusively on the class dynamic of the transition to capitalism and have therefore been unable to understand completely the complex and multifaceted nature of the household economy" (Mallon 1986: 149). Mallon's criticism is crucial because it allows us to go beyond the most rigid version of Marxist peasant studies, which has been marked by a focus on economics, and a lack of more consistent work on other issues. Although still working with the Leninist idea of a "transition to capitalism," in that paper Mallon stresses the importance of a gender analysis, and argues that patriarchal and class relations are

interwoven. The survival of household production therefore does not constitute a proof of an incomplete transition to capitalism but is a result of the patriarchal control of women and children's labor power. Patriarchy and mode of production interact in a specific way that makes the peasant household economy flexible and adaptable.

One of the chapters of Mallon's book is focused on the analysis of the emergence of commercial agriculture in the Yanamarca Valley (Chapter 9: "Peasants Become Farmers: Capitalist Agriculture and the Peasant Entrepreneur"). She tells the story of Agustín Ortiz, from Acolla, a district very close to the city of Jauja, who was one of those "successful peasants" from the region in the 1940s. Agustín was the child of a man who was one of the pioneers of onion cultivation in Acolla, the first of his family in receiving a secondary education and worked on various things before finally deciding to continue his father's legacy (Mallon 1983: 314-315).

Mallon explains that although Agustín Ortiz's story is a quintessentially capitalist enterprise, he made use of certain traditional relations for his own benefit. This, according to Mallon, did not imply a combination of different rationalities, but rather confirmed the capitalist rationality of costs and benefits. Ortiz, indeed, used various systems of labor relations and organization of production, taking advantage of personalistic and paternalistic ties. Instead of using those ties for tradition's sake, he used them because of their effectiveness towards his capitalist enterprise, Mallon argues. He kept being part of the community in order to obtain benefits in exchange of his "generosity" toward community institutions. And this was not only a characteristic of Don Agustin Ortiz but a shared trait of the emerging elite of farmers; they demonstrated a capacity of adaptability, of combining different kinds of production (uses of land and labor) depending to the particular situations and needs (Mallon 1983: 321-324).

Although Mallon's work is very useful in explaining the journey of Agustín Ortiz and other

farmers, her theorization of their rationalities might not be the most adequate. I argue instead that "potato kings'" connection to capitalism does not mean that they are completely immersed in a capitalist rationality. Their position is instead heterogeneous and flexible –capitalist, communitarian, and combinations thereof. As other studies of the peasantry have stressed, it is necessary to question conventional economic rationalities to be able to see different ones. Through his work with Southeast Asian peasantry, James Scott[21] puts emphasis on "moral economy:" the notion of economic justice and exploitation. Their rationality is thus very different from the profit maximization calculus of traditional neoclassical economics (Scott 1976).

In his critique of the debate about the predominant "mode of production" in Peru, Guillermo Rochabrún (1978) wonders about the need to "categorize" and what this is supposed to enable to social analysis. Those categorizations, he argues, are often too rigid, static, and ahistorical, and do not correspond to live and changing realities. The presence of capital does not necessarily mean the presence of capitalism as a structured mode of production, for example. Returning to Marx's "Capital," Rochabrún sees capitalism in his multiple dimensions: as a way of production, a way of society, and a historical period. In his attempt to build an organic relation between theory and history, Rochabrún stresses the importance of analyzing empirical realities. The goal in our analyses, then, should not be to imitate the "developed" countries or see them as a point of reference.

Quijano's (1990) understanding of *structural heterogeneity* is also useful to consider these issues in a more complex and fruitful way. In his intervention in the debate about the most

[21] In his work, Scott considers "subsistence ethic," a consequence of living very close to the margin, as fundamental to an analysis of peasant politics in South East Asia. Their situation, very close to the subsistence margin builds indignation and rage among the peasantry, who risk everything in their rebellions. This can only be seen by an attention to moral economy.

appropriate categorization of Latin American (and Peruvian) societies in terms of mode of production –that took place in the 1960s and 1970s– he proposes a return to the category of *structural heterogeneity*. Every Eurocentric perspective, including Marx's Historical Materialism, assumes that the relations within a historical power pattern are determined beyond particular histories. However, the analysis of historical cases demonstrates that there is always a structural articulation between elements historically heterogeneous. A clear proof of this heterogeneity is the history of Latin America with its global, modern, and colonial capitalism (Quijano 2014). The history of the Peruvian Central Highlands is also proof of the coexistence and articulation of historically heterogeneous elements.

Despite their incongruences and conflicts, different elements, experiences, and products can be articulated together in a joint structure. The conditions for that articulation, Quijano argues, are generated by the capacity of a group to impose itself over others and to articulate the heterogeneous histories under its control, establishing an articulation axis of the ensemble. Can we say that it is capitalist relations that is the axis that articulates the socioeconomic ensemble in the Peruvian Central Highlands? To what extent is this a solid structure?

The concept of *structural heterogeneity* was proposed after World War 2 to approach Latin American societies, in their combination and contraposition of patterns with very diverse origins and nature. Although assuming capital as the articulation axis of the structure, this theory recognized the existence of very diverse logics. The theory of *structural heterogeneity* emerged as an alternative to the concept of dualism and to modernization theory. However, it did not result in a systematic inquiry of that "heterogeneity." Later, it was "historical materialism" that continued with a Eurocentric vision of Latin American realities. Quijano thus claims the need to read Latin American realities on their own, in relation with other experiences but not according

to them (Quijano 1990: 13).

Returning to the concept of *structural heterogeneity*, Quijano affirms that although capitalism is not the only structural pattern of Latin America, it is the hegemonic one and articulates its reality. The logic of capital is thus not the only one in that heterogeneous totality nor in any of its instances. The study of social classes in Latin America ended up fitting into a Eurocentric use of the category (Quijano 1990: 14). But, seeing our societies from a *structural heterogeneity* perspective allows us to see the complexity of the coexistence of different modalities of capital and of relations of production. And this is not a matter of different stages with an evolutionary path (Quijano 1990: 24).

The emergence of potato kings is proof of the possibility of a restructuration of power and social change; they demonstrate that the structures are not completely closed and allow for transformations. "Potato kings" are the incarnation of that heterogeneity: no longer peasants but not totally bourgeois, no longer Indians but not totally *blanqueados (whitened)*. In fact, heterogeneity is not a new characteristic of the social and racial composition of the Andean region. Since colonial times, the boundaries imposed by the colonial order were not completely respected and some people occupied positions "in between" the established categories. However, what makes potato kings singular is their capacity to occupy a position where they don't have to claim a defined identity but rather explore the boundaries.

Heterogeneity is made palpable in potato kings' own bodies and life experiences. Narratives of "success" can be one of the axes that articulates their identity, a "success" that was achieved through hard work and effort. This idea, which is precisely the moto of capitalism, is combined with a clear attachment to different elements of tradition that make this experience of capitalism something else. Can we say thus that tradition persists only if subjected to capitalist interests and

rationality as Mallon affirmed? Not exactly. I will argue instead that what we see with potato kings is a *structural heterogeneity* in which there is no one single and coherent way of thinking and behaving. We can observe the expansion of capitalist relationships in the Peruvian Central Highlands, but this does not imply the complete capture of all spheres of social life by a capitalist logic.

[Figure 14. My abuelita with three of her kids on their potato fields in Chocón, 1974]

Class, Class Formation, and Social Classification

When I first started thinking of "potato kings" and their significance in understanding social changes in the Central Highlands and in Peru in general, I was very confident about talking about them in terms of "class." It seemed almost evident that their emergence followed a path of class formation that I could analyze. But my fieldwork would immediately provoke doubts about the pertinence of the use of the category of class when talking about this emergent group of potato farmers.

Although the category of class offers certain lights to talk about the ruptures potato kings represent, it appears insufficient to express the complexities they are involved with. However, class is still a category that gives account of the power relations intertwined in potato kings' economic and social mobility. It expresses the complexities they were involved with at the time of their emergence, in the 1940s-50s, as my newspapers' revision (in chapter 4) demonstrates.

Thus, it is important to analyze economic differences and inequalities, as well as conflict. Their emergence ended up transforming power structures at the local and regional level. Furthermore, as Mallon (1983) has studied, class struggle was also present with the labor force available that allowed potato kings to succeed in their agricultural ventures. Those wageworkers have been fundamental for their economic success.

The category of class has a long trajectory and diverse critical readings. Studies of class and class formation have often focused on economic relations, leaving aside other important dimensions of class. Although Marx's (1867) most classic notion of class, understood in terms of relations of production, was overcome by his own work, that is the perspective that remained more hegemonic in the following historical materialism. To explore the complexities of the emergence of potato kings, I consider fundamental to transcend economic identifiers of class and Marx's attention to the productive sphere, to incorporate other dimensions of life.

In his exploration of the category of class, Aníbal Quijano (2014) shows that Marx's conception of social classes was very much inspired by the work of Claude Henri de Saint-Simon, although he does not mention him explicitly. This was a Eurocentric position that considered a unidirectional historical sequence of class societies. However, at a certain point in his life, through historical and political analyses, Quijano argues, Marx realized that his position was Eurocentric though he did not make an epistemological turn. And this observation was

certainly not followed up by the later historical materialism. It is evident that there is a difference between Marx's theory of capital, and his historical analyses, regarding his vision on class relations. In some works, Marx does not see classes as part of a fixed structure, but recognizes the existence of different social classes that emerge or get consolidated according to the conditions of the political and social conflict (Quijano 2014: 303-305).

But the origins of the category of "class" were in the natural sciences, and more specifically in botanic, Quijano mentions. That genealogy helps to explain the conception of classes as part of a society that works as an organism; a given and closed structure. This conception of social class also assumes the European experience and considers only one of the dimensions of power: the control of work, and of its resources and products (Quijano 2014: 310).

Although Historical Materialism later recognized that its vision of social classes was evolutionist and unidirectional, they could not propose a theoretical alternative other than the "articulation of modes of production." (Quijano 2014: 307) This proposal, as shown earlier in this chapter, still kept the idea of a transition from pre-capitalism to capitalism. In his elaboration of the category, Quijano argues that classes are formed, disintegrated, and consolidated according to concrete struggles of concrete people; they are not structures previous to those conflicts. The classification of people is a historical process; social classes are not structures or categories but relationships produced historically (Quijano 2014: 306).

A historical conception of class, developed by British Marxist historiography and, specifically, by E.P. Thompson, proves revealing in my own explorations and frustrations regarding this category. In order to interrogate the upward economic journey of potato kings, I consider E.P. Thompson's (1963) understanding of class as a historical phenomenon that unifies different and apparently disconnected events. Including experience and consciousness, class is

not a structure or a category but something that happens in human relations, an embodied historical phenomenon, argues Thompson (1963). His work was inspired by Marx's historical writings on class, and dismisses the usual critiques of Marx for understanding class as static. With Marx, Thompson sees the appearance of class when shared experiences articulate common interests in relation to others that are opposed to them. But experience does not necessarily turn into class-consciousness, as this is clear with potato farmers in Jauja.

In his response to Althusser's critique of history for having no theory, E.P. Thompson (1978) makes a defense of historical materialism although critiquing some traditional Marxism that has imposed a conceptual universe and certain categories upon material and social existence. Thompson's defense of historical materialism is related thus to a refusal of static analytic concepts. The British historian is very clear in moving away from Marxism as a conceptual structure that dominates the social being; he defends instead that the social evidence interrogates the discipline. Historical materialism, Thompson argues, should not derive knowledge from certain "true" theory, because "if Marx himself had one supreme methodological priority it was, precisely, to destroy unhistorical theory- mongering of this kind." (Thompson 1978: 63)

In my research, I have realized that potato kings cannot be seen outside of the local, regional, and national history. As I have shown in the first part of this chapter, their emergence was clearly influenced by various historical phenomena that occurred in the Peruvian Central Highlands during the 20th century. The expansion of mining was crucial for the impulse of regional migration and the development of new labor relations. A historical approach to class is thus fundamental to understand social change, patterns of relations, ideas, and institutions. With E.P. Thompson, I am interested in seeing "class" as a creation; class is "made" in history and

therefore can only be seen from this perspective.

If classes are "made" over history, it is possible to see how potato kings start making room for themselves in the traditional configurations of power in the Central Highlands. They did not emerge abruptly; they did it gradually and along with social and economic transformations in the region. In fact, talking about their "emergence" might not be the most accurate way of referring to them. "Emergence" makes us think of a spontaneous process, and does not acknowledge the agency potato farmers have.

The changes that took place over the decades of 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s implied indeed multiple negotiations and struggles. Chapter 4 develops in more detail the shape these struggles acquired in Jauja, and the strategies displayed by different actors to fit in into their new acquired positions or keep their traditional ones. These changes and these struggles were evident in everyday life experiences.

Mallon sees the emergence of successful farmers as part of a process that generated a new form of class struggle within the villages; a class struggle between an emerging rural bourgeoisie and a rural proletariat. The emerging bourgeoisie, belonging to the village, would still use communal relationships but incorporated a capitalist rationality. According to Mallon, this dynamic of singular imbrications of capitalist and communal forms of economic, social and cultural relationships, is unique to the central highlands. The emergent wage laborer was embedded in a peasant household unit just as new capitalist forms of labor exploitation worked with the communal language of reciprocity (Mallon 1983: 331).

The class struggle Mallon mentions is still present nowadays. However, local wage labor proved not to be enough to meet the high demand of growing agriculture enterprises. The Census of 1961 shows that although most of the population economically active in Jauja was from Junín,

people from Lima and Huancavelica composed other important groups. A lot of the workers hired by potato kings today are migrants from other provinces and other regions; some of them migrated several years ago. There are very few workers today who are from the same village, which gives their relationship a different dynamic.

I argue that the emergence of potato kings was indeed a unique dynamic but not only because of the establishment of new labor relations, but specially because of the significance of an emergent "Indian" middle class that challenged the structure of power and domination. The racial implications that this mobility brought about will be analyzed in a following chapter (chapter 4).

Through a critical exploration of the categories with which we represent the world, we need to rethink the basis of the concept of class. A static category of class is insufficient to understand the position of potato kings in the new power configurations in Jauja. In his defense of the construction of nonimperial geohistorical categories, Fernando Coronil (1996) explores practices of representation that portray non-western people as the "Other" while at the same time build a representation of the "western self." Reflecting on the politics of epistemology, Coronil proposes to "move beyond a predominantly epistemological critique of Western knowledge cast in its own terms toward a political understanding of the constitution of the "West" that encompasses an examination of its categorical system." (1996: 56)

We should then move the focus to Occidentalism and look at how the western world is represented. Occidentalism is not understood as the reverse of Orientalism, but rather as its condition of possibility: "Challenging Orientalism, I believe, requires that Occidentalism be unsettled as a style of representation that produces polarized and hierarchical conceptions of the West and its Others and makes them central figures in accounts of global and local histories."

(Coronil 1996: 57)

To mark a distance with the Eurocentric conception of social classes, Quijano proposes a historical theory of *social classification*, which looks at the long time processes in which people struggle for the control of the basic means of social existence. In Quijano's theory, social classes are heterogeneous, discontinuous, and conflictive; they do not necessarily constitute a community or a historic subject (Quijano 2014: 312-313). Quijano's remark that people are not part of a single group but of various according to different dimensions of existence, is very useful to understand the position of potato kings, who are no longer part of their communities in the same way.

Having experienced a process of economic mobility, potato kings are outside of many of the daily life activities and responsibilities of their communities of origins. However, they are still part of them and participate in multiple fiestas and traditional events. They have recognition from the community and they cooperate with it in cases of need; not only economic need, but also orientation and advise wise. My *abuelito*, for example, has been for a long time an authoritative person from whom other people in the town ask for advise. His position has made him someone to look with admiration and respect. Likewise, Agustin Ortiz –one of the pioneer farmers in Acolla– was considered a notable person in his hometown and is remembered as such among his country folks (paisanos).

Does the emergence of potato kings entail simply the reproduction of class struggle with different actors? What is new about this reconfiguration of roles? The emergence of potato kings is significant because they broke with somehow fixed structures within a quite traditional society. I see the emergence of this new class as "the unthinkable" (Trouillot 1995), a phenomenon that, being outside of the range of possibilities, challenges and reconfigures social orders. Their

presence has later allowed the imagination of different futures by other people within and beyond the community. In fact, many of the medium-scale farmers now are people who worked with potato kings before. Today, being a successful farmer is no longer a ridiculous aspiration but rather a not too distant possibility. Of course this does not mean that anyone can effectively become rich and "successful," but in the imaginaries, that is no longer a crazy possibility.

If there is one concept from Quijano that I would like to stick to, it is "coloniality of power," which stresses the importance of racial classifications, since colonial times, in the constitution of social classifications (Quijano 2014: 318). In the case of potato kings, whose emergence has marked a rupture with diverse established categories, the usual categories of class theory, focused on economic issues, are insufficient to describe them. Although social stratification within rural communities has always existed, the particularity of this phenomenon is the intersection of race and economic mobility. What makes them especially disruptive is that they do not claim a particular position but rather inhabit the borders, where race and class intersect.

While maintaining a perspective on classes as a structure, Max Weber (1922) introduces factors that are important to consider, such as "status". In his examination of the subject, he considers communities bound and classified by specific life-styles, consumption patterns, and social esteem. Weber's understanding of class combines thus the material and ideological dimensions of society. But it is Pierre Bourdieu (1990) who opens up the category of class in a more radical way and elaborates a complex proposal to see the social field as multidimensional. His critique of the Marxist theory of class is pertinent to understand the emergence of "potato kings" and the new positions they occupy in the social structure. In order to build a theory of the social space, Bourdieu considers necessary to mark a distance with the Marxist theory in various issues: the consideration of social classes as "substances," the economicism, and the objectivism

that ignores symbolic struggles.

In Bourdieu's theory, agents and groups of agents are defined by their relative position in the social space, by the distribution of certain properties that give them power in the different fields. The social space is a force field. Although the economic field tends to impose its structure to the other fields, the social, cultural, and symbolic capitals are also important in defining the position in the social space.

The consideration of different types of capitals and fields is crucial to understand the complexities of potato kings' positions. Looking only at the economic field, their emergence is evident. But looking at how the other forms of capital –social, cultural, symbolic, and racial, I would add– are negotiated, their consolidation in the social space does not appear very clear and evident. The distance among the different forms of capital is what makes their position fragile and unstable.

Bourdieu refers to classes "on paper" to talk about people who share similar positions and who are situated in similar situations and who, therefore, have high possibilities of having similar dispositions and interests. But these classes, he emphasizes, have a theoretical existence; they are not actual classes, in the sense of mobilized around particular vindications. They could be defined more accurately as "probable classes." Although Bourdieu affirms the existence of an objective space that marks proximities and distances, he emphasizes that there are no classes as real groups, and criticizes the Marxist tradition for assuming that there are. Bourdieu affirms instead that the transition from the theoretical class to the real one never happens (Bourdieu 2001: 110-112).

Although my first assumptions about "potato kings" considered the category of class, once I started working in Jauja, I realized that this was a problematic statement. A class, as I have been

discussing, implies more than sharing an economic position. It also implies sharing similar positions in other fields and thus the possibility of determinate dispositions. In the case of potato kings, the fields they share are not very clear. Though there are some farmers' associations, they do not necessarily constitute a space of encounter. Farmers know and greet each other when they meet in the city or at the *fiestas*. There is a relationship of respect from the younger to the older ones, the pioneers. They also have relationships mediated by economic transactions; very often they need to buy seeds, rent lands, tractors or reaper machines, and they have to turn to the other farmers. However, there is also jealousy and suspicion. There is competition. They do not constitute a formed and established social group with common interests and goals; they lead individual or family ventures, there is no interest is constituting a movement of any type.

The perception of the social world is marked by the incorporation of the objective structures of the social space, which makes the agents accept the social world as natural and therefore unchangeable. There is a tacit acceptance of the social position and its limits. But there is also a dimension of indetermination and open to political action (Bourdieu 2001). It is that dimension of indetermination that allowed these potato farmers to not accept their social position and dare to trespass boundaries. Although the social structure itself produces actions and interactions we cannot disregard the importance of the political work necessary to impose a vision of the social world (Bourdieu 2001: 113). Potato kings, indeed, have worked very hard to be able to challenge their social positions, they have taken part in multiple struggles.

The power of nomination is crucial in a society and Bourdieu analyzes the central role of the State; he stresses the power of official nominations over particular ones. There is a constant struggle to impose a vision of the world; the "truth" about the social world is the reason of that struggle. In the political field, it is clearer that the spokesperson establishes the group to its

nomination. But the social field in general is one of constant struggle for classifications. The answer to the question about the existence (or not) of classes will be political (Bourdieu 2001: 116).

In the case I study, nomination works as a clear mechanism of social classification and control. The label potato king is a clear example of how nomination works marking the limits of social groups. Potato king is a pejorative name, used to point out someone who does not really belong; someone who has broken certain established classifications. Although the label recognizes certain "nobility" of the person who is nominated, it also quickly clarifies that it is not just noble but one of a specific kind, who is not very "pure" but rather "dirty." Their nobility is in the end based on the most common and ordinary tubers, those that grow deep within the earth, those that are covered by soil when harvested. The label serves in this case to "root them back" to where they originally belong: deep within the earth, attached to the soil. *Ellos podrán ser reyes, pero de la papa, de nada más! / They might be kings, but kings of potatoes, of nothing else!*

In this case, it is not the State, as Bourdieu argues, who has the power of official nominations, but the social groups struggling for marking differences and keeping their traditional positions. Nominations are used to classify and discriminate; potato farmers do not accept the label potato kings as theirs because they see it is a label used pejoratively. When Bourdieu affirms that the existence of classes is a political issue, he is referring to that explicit effort to bind a social group, acknowledging the common elements and assuming a shared identity. Potato kings do not necessarily exert and explicit effort to form a group with a shared identity. Although they do use their social ties for certain specific activities, their initiatives are rather individual.

Another category concerning social classification is that of "middle class," and it can be useful to refer to "potato kings." Their economic emergence allowed them to climb in the social scale but this is something relative because they are definitely not part of the elite. Their position is then somehow in the middle. The category of "middle class" has been talked about as a solution to political, economic, and social problems. European and American middle classes have been seen as a model and therefore the analysis of other realities is always seen in terms of failure or frustrated emulation (Lopez and Weinstein 2012: 3-6).

There has been a teleological narrative concerning the middle class; which can only be disrupted through the historicization of experiences outside the West, that shed light on different faces of modernity. However, those studies have tended to reiterate the dichotomy between the West and the rest, the latter of which is seen as a second order. It is necessary then to rethink the historical formation of the middle class around the world through the practices of modernity. Middle classes should be seen thus as "transnational historical formations through which the meanings, subjectivities, and practices of being middle class were mutually –and coevally-constituted across the globe" (Lopez and Weinstein 2012: 10-12). Non-western experiences should not be considered marginal or opposed to the historical experiences of modernity but rather constitutive of them.

Coloniality is founded on the racial classification that emerged with the conquest of America; it derives from colonialism but it is not the same, it refers to a structure of domination and exploitation but with the specific characteristic of having social relations organized around racial categories (Quijano 2014). Although Bourdieu's theorization about the different capitals that conform the social field is crucial, I believe we need to talk about racial capital also. The analysis of potato kings should go beyond an emphasis on the peasantry and on class formation.

One cannot really understand the real dimensions of the ruptures that this emergent group provokes, without taking into account a racial analysis. Nomination, indeed, has an evident racial content. This is precisely the topic of chapter 4. But first, I would like to explore the global and regional discourses that allowed for the introduction of improved potato varieties in the Peruvian Central Highlands since the 1950s; this is the topic of the next chapter.

Chapter 3. Potatoes, Green Revolution, and technological change in the Peruvian Central Highlands

Summary.-
This chapter situates the emergence of potato king farmers in the context of the Green Revolution's ideas and demonstrates how global, regional, and local dynamics are at play in this process. Through an analysis of the international construction of the principles of the Green Revolution, and its impact in different parts of the world, I argue that the concept of development, along with the enthusiasm and hard work of national scientists, guided the introduction of improved potato varieties to the Peruvian Central Highlands and allowed the emergence of potato kings. This chapter explores the ways in which the introduction of new varieties and technologies was object of negotiations between technicians/scientists and the local farmers. Furthermore, aiming to go beyond a condemnation of the evident negative effects of Green Revolution agricultural practices, this chapter critically analyzes the construction of "scientific facts" and their most recent transformations.

My *abuelito* can remember him very well: tall and impressive, tirelessly walking across the fields in search of wild potato varieties. It was the early 1950s and Carlos Ochoa was at the time the chief of the *Centro Regional de Investigación y Experimentación Agrícola del Centro*[22] (CRIEAC), in Huancayo. He was starting his career as a potato breeder and his enthusiasm and hard work were earning him a name in the field. He was to become the pioneer in the genetic improvement of potatoes in Peru, and the creator of many new varieties that were very successful among Peruvian farmers, and transformed their lives.

It was the time of the Green Revolution and the goal of the epoch was to introduce improved high-yielding varieties, along with synthetic fertilizers and pesticides, that could feed the increasing population. Although the Green Revolution as such did not have a direct impact in Peru, as it did have in other parts of the world –it was focused on two staple cereals: rice and wheat– its spirit was present in the agricultural research at the time. There was, in the 1950s and 1960s, a "potato boom" that changed the lives of many peasants from the region. My grandfather was one of them.

[22] Regional Center for Research and Agricultural Experimentation.

Although potatoes are originally from the Andes, potato varieties have changed as a product of intense scientific research and the need to adapt the crop to changing and more challenging environments. Technological change was crucial for the emergence of potato kings. However, I would not like to establish a cause-effect relationship between technological change and socioeconomic changes in Jauja. Instead, I would like to analyze technological change as part of multiple social and political changes of the period.

Furthermore, the ideals of the Green Revolution need to be understood within the political context of the Cold War and the United States' intention of maintaining political "stability" in the "underdeveloped" world. Harry Truman's inaugural address in 1949 indeed founded the idea of development and established the commitment to spread scientific and technological advancements in the "underdeveloped" world.

Which ideas of "development" are tied to agricultural research? How are those ideas constructed? How are different trends in agricultural research related to changes in farmers' production? What is the trajectory those new ideas follow before they arrive to farmers' lands? What are the tensions that emerge in negotiations between farmers and technicians/scientists? These are some of the questions that inspire this chapter.

In this chapter, I am concerned with the impact of agricultural scientific and technological research in the lives of farmers in the Peruvian Central Highlands in the last five decades. Looking at how science and technology are intertwined with social reality and social change, I argue that these changes are products of different kinds of negotiations, including the specifics of local power relations and international agendas. This chapter will thus show the trajectory of certain ideas until they arrived to the Peruvian Central Highlands. My focus is not so much the production of science and technology but rather the relationship they establish with local

communities, the tensions that emerge in those processes of adaptation, and the specific effects they have in their daily lives.

Science and Technology Studies (and beyond)

Although it is tempting to explain social change as a consequence of technical change, it is important to remember Herbert Frankel's ideas regarding this issue. Frankel (1963) affirms that we tend to see technical change "as an independent force, which, by impinging on society, sets in motion certain desirable, or undesirable, reactions." (Frankel 1963: 53). This simplistic view assumes that societies have two separate compartments: one for the process of abstract willing or knowing, and the other for the application of such willing or knowing. (Frankel 1963: 53-54) However, in the processes of change, things are not as simple: "The attempt to establish particular absolute causes of change is misleading, for it misconceives the very nature of the process of change or growth itself." (Frankel 1963: 56) Frankel argues that it is necessary to stop seeing this relationship in mechanistic terms, so that we can be able to see technical change as a social consequence.

In order to study social and technological change in a society, one should focus on "the historical evolution of the structural patterns of developing societies" (Frankel 1963: 57). This would allow us to see social, political, and technical change as mutually interdependent processes. In the case of the Green Revolution, it is necessary to situate it within the development paradigms of the time. The Green Revolution thus is not what causes social change, but there are specific social, economic, and political circumstances that explain the Green Revolution and the technological change that would come with it.

In her analysis of the Green Revolution effects in Punjab (India), Vandana Shiva criticizes the way science is conceived in contemporary societies: "The science of the Green Revolution was offered as a "miracle" recipe for prosperity. But when discontent and new scarcities emerged, science was delinked from economic processes." (Shiva 2002: 20) Science has been located above society, in a place where it cannot be questioned, judged or evaluated: "While science itself is a product of social forces, and has a social agenda determined by those who can mobilise scientific production, in contemporary times scientific activity has been assigned a privileged epistemological position of being socially and politically neutral." (Shiva 2002: 21)

According to Shiva, the Green Revolution in Punjab is a clear example of the political dimension of science, which "takes credit for successes and absolves itself from all responsibility for failures." (Shiva 2002: 23)

Science and Technology Studies (STS) open ways to see precisely the role of science and technology in the contemporary world. STS propose three main points: first, science and technology are social; second, they are active, they are in constant transformation; and third, since the work within laboratories is frequently with non-natural materials, the knowledge produced is about the non-natural. (Sismondo 2010)

STS base their main proposals about science as socially constructed on Berger and Luckman's (1991) ideas about the social construction of reality. Scientific and technical theories are constructed with reference to data but not necessarily implied by that data. The material and social world shape each other in a process of "co-construction" (Taylor 1995). (Sismondo)

Although he does not consider himself as part of the field of Science and Technology Studies (STS), Bruno Latour is one of the intellectuals who has contributed most to understand the functioning of science and technology in our societies. Latour (1987) critiques STS for its lack of

a core of common problems and methods; disciplines and objects appear all scattered, he argues. However, he claims that the domain of 'science, technology and society' studies does exist. And he thinks that it is necessary thus to establish some sets of concepts that sustain the discipline. (Latour 1987: 16)

From a sociology of science perspective, Latour studies science "in the making," which allow him to see what isn't normally seen. Analyzing scientists' practices, it is clear that their research does not exactly follow a straight line, but rather some intricate trajectories, which are not normally shown to the public (Latour 2008: 85).

In "Science in Action," Latour establishes the rules of method to study scientists and engineers "in action," in practice. He demonstrates how social context and technical content are essential to understand scientific activity. As a key principle, Latour argues that the construction of facts and machines is a collective process; this is the main point of his book "Science in Action" (Latour 1987: 29). The collective character of the process of making science appears evident when examining technical literature: "Although it sounds counter-intuitive at first, the more technical and specialized a literature is, the more 'social' it becomes (…)" (Latour 1987: 62). In his analysis, Latour traces the multiple trajectories of ideas before they are actually claimed scientifically.

In "Laboratory Life," the first ethnography of a scientific laboratory, Latour and Woolgar (1986 [1979]) analyze the social construction of scientific knowledge, the process by which scientists' daily activities construct facts. Although seen from outside this process might look logical and coherent, the authors argue that scientists are permanently confronted with a struggle to produce order out of a mass of alternative interpretations. They analyze laboratory life in order

to show how scientists' daily activities lead to the construction of facts (Latour and Woolgar 1986: 36-40).

A "fact" is such because it loses temporal and historical qualifications and references, when incorporated into a large body of knowledge. In their analysis, Latour and Woolgar deconstruct sociologically scientific facts; they unveil the historical trajectory of facts and demonstrate they are not necessarily a product of a scientific rationality (Latour and Woolgar 1986: 106-107). Latour engages with the difficulty of producing a history of science, and to take knowledge as a vector of transformation that projects "retroactively" its validating power. He proposes to de-epistemologize and re-ontologize knowledge activity (Latour 2008: 87-88). The knowledge pathways need to be reloaded with ontological weight, he argues.

Although STS offer a set of tools to approach the study of science and technology, my work is not an ethnography of science in a strict sense. It is rather an ethnography of how specific scientific and technological devices are constructed and diffused so that they are later adopted by farmers in the Peruvian Central Highlands. It is also analysis of the larger political and economic contexts in which certain knowledge is produced and how it circulates. My interest is not science and the production of science in itself, but rather how scientific knowledge is disseminated and applied in particular contexts. This dissemination, I argue, follows interesting pathways that are not exempt of negotiations and conflict.

The Green Revolution in the context of the Development Paradigm and its impact in Latin America and in Peru

After Roosevelt's death in 1945, Harry Truman assumed the presidency of the United States, right at the final part of World War II. Following the Allies success, during the postwar period,

Truman assisted in the founding of the United Nations and was determined to halt the advance of communism in the "underdeveloped" world through the so called Truman Doctrine. It was the beginning of the Cold War and the United States were building discourses to consolidate its leadership position in the recently reconfigured world geopolitics.

In his 1949 inaugural address (known as the Four Point Speech), Truman established some crucial points around the idea of development. The fourth point of his program was related to "making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas." (Truman 1949)

Those people with "primitive and stagnant" economic lives should be aided by the United States, Truman argued, because humanity already possessed the knowledge to "relieve their suffering." This scientific and technical knowledge was constantly growing and should be made available to "peace-loving" people around the world in order to help them achieve a better life. He also invited other countries to work in cooperation through the United Nations in a "worldwide effort for the achievement of peace, plenty, and freedom." Truman affirmed that development –prosperity and peace– could be achieved through greater production. And scientific and technical knowledge would be the key to greater production. (Truman 1949)

The ideals that Truman established in his discourse were not an exclusive creation of the United States but were rather a result of the specific historical and ideological context of the postwar period. There was an explicit intention to drastically transform the two thirds of the world in order to make them "achieve development" (Escobar 2007: 20).

In fact, massive poverty in Asia, Africa, and Latin America was an ideological "discovery" of the postwar period. This allowed the military discourse to displace into the social field and to a new geographic territory: the Third World. Hunger became a crucial problem of the Third

World and the developed world had the responsibility to do something to eradicate it because the destiny of rich and poor regions was considered tied. (Escobar 2007: 48)

Arturo Escobar (2007) analyzes how in the making and unmaking of "the third world" this dream of development became a nightmare, producing misery, exploitation, and oppression instead of the so-called "development." The "third world," he argues, was created through those discourses and practices of development, which started after World War II. The discourse of development and the need of it became a certitude in the social imaginary –even if the types of development desired could be object of discussion.

These ideas would be key in the establishment of public policy[23] and in the goals of international institutions such as the United Nations. The ideas and policies associated with the Green Revolution are undoubtedly related to the discourse on development –and especially on "hunger"– built at that time, in the context of the Cold War. (Escobar 2007)

Science and technology had become the symbols of civilization in the late 19th century, but proponents of the development paradigm reactivated them in 1949. Technology was thought as a way not only to increase material progress but also to give it direction and meaning; it was conceived as a moral force that would contribute to the expansion of modernist ideals. And the idea of "technology transfer" would become crucial in development projects. (Escobar 2007: 73)

Development was conceived as a process of transition of one situation to another, in a progressive and stable way. Rostow's (1960) theory of stages of economic development is a clear example of this conception. The basic premise was the belief that modernization was the only force able to bring development. Therefore capital investment was the key element for the economic growth and development. (Escobar 2007: 78)

[23] Colombia was one the countries where the development paradigm had an early concretion. In 1949, an economic mission organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank) arrived to Colombia with the goal of formulating a general program of development for the country. (Escobar 2007)

It is important to note that even if there have been some structural changes in the development paradigm, the basic architecture of that discourse was established during the period 1945-1955. The discursive space has remained the same, although the discourse has adapted to new conditions. (Escobar 2007: 83)

Norman Borlaug and the Shaping of the Green Revolution in Mexico

In 1970, Norman Borlaug was given the Nobel Peace Prize for his work in the creation of high-yielding wheat varieties and the impact they had in the elimination of hunger around the world. Considered the father of the "Green Revolution," Borlaug's work made a huge impact in the lives of many people and agricultural production around the world.

Norman Borlaug came from a rural household in Iowa, where he grew up as a typical farm boy child: "I was born on a very small farm very close to this part of Minnesota, (…) and this gave me a good background of experience from which to being a life-time profession on food production. I can understand the socio-economic problems of the small farmer and I can communicate rather well sometimes even without being able to do so through language. This has been most helpful to me. I came up through simple beginnings, a one room country school." (Borlaug 1972: 19) Borlaug's weak formal education did not allow him to succeed in the entrance examination to the University of Minnesota, having to enroll instead in the University of Minnesota College of General Studies. However, his effort earned him entry into his chosen school, the College of Agriculture, where he met the renowned plant pathologist E.C. Stakman, who would later recommend him to work in Mexico. (Ness 2013: 157-158)

The Green Revolution is the name given to a series of research and development initiatives engaged in solving "the hunger problem" in the context of worldwide increasing population and

food shortage. The initiatives were focused on the diffusion and utilization of new high-yielding varieties' seeds developed since 1943 in research centers around the world. These new seeds – wheat, rice, and maize– were more resistant, had a shorter vegetative period, and allowed multiple harvests a year. In 1963, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) created a program as a response to the worsening of the hunger problem in the context of worldwide increasing population and food shortage. According to FAO data for developing countries, wheat yields rose by 208% from 1960 to 2000; rice yields rose 109%; maize yields rose 157%; potato yields rose 78%; and cassava yields rose 36% (FAOSTAT).

While increases in crop and animal production before the twentieth century were based on expansion of area cultivated, now increases are a result of increases in land productivity. In a relatively short period, there was an important transition from a natural resource-based to a science-based system of agricultural production. World population more than doubled during the second half of the twentieth century: from 2.5 billion in 1950 to 6.0 billion in 2000. (Ruttan 2008: 337)

In Latin America, Mexico was the country where the Green Revolution ideas and practices had a bigger and direct impact, and this was related to Borlaug's early work in this country. In fact, Mexico was the role model for other countries and the place where many international scientists were educated to later "transfer" knowledge to their own countries. The period from 1940 to 1970 was one of intense modernization in Mexico. But Mexican history of agriculture development started before. During the 1930s, Lázaro Cárdenas' government attempted to launch an agrarian socialism, oriented to the development of Mexican agriculture through the redistribution of lands and wealth. Research on food production started in the 1930s, when the Agriculture Secretary founded a small department with experimental stations to work on wheat

and maize seeds, looking for high-yielding varieties. At the time, the emphasis was on developing national research rather than importing foreign technology. The national scientists worked at a slow pace with beneficiaries of the Agrarian Reform. In 1947, the small experimental stations founded during the 1930s became the Institute of Agricultural Research.

However, the following decade the model of development changed radically, when the urban upper and middle classes took control of the government and initiated an industrial revolution in a capitalist way. Under the government of Avila Camacho, the tendency in agrarian policy was to leave small farmers without government subsidies and promote the development of industrialization and the private sector (Hewitt de Alcantara 1978: 21-30).

In 1945, the Mexican government and the Rockefeller Foundation formed an alliance and created the Office of Special Studies (OEE for its initials in Spanish). The OEE was created under a proposal of the Rockefeller Foundation and, indirectly, of the U.S. government, which considered Mexican agricultural development as beneficial to U.S. economic and military interests. Henry Wallace, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's secretary of agriculture and later vice-president, had a crucial role in this decision. Wallace visited Mexico in 1941 and after seeing the rural reality of the country decided to commit to work in the struggle against food scarcity. Once he was back in the US, he contacted the president of the Rockefeller Foundation and sent a high-powered scientific mission to Mexico. E.C. Stakman, a renowned plant pathologist from the University of Minnesota and leader of the mission, recommended that the Rockefeller Foundation collaborate with the Mexican government to set up a station in Mexico. (Ness 2013: 157)

Wallace had important previous experience in the field of farming with new varieties. He developed the first commercialized strain of hybrid corn in 1923 and founded a company that

marketed new scientifically bred varieties. His business was very successful and had almost completely saturated the Midwest corn market. (Ness 2013: 156-157)

Staffed by both Mexican and American scientists, the OEE would become the meeting space for these scientists produced the technology associated with the Green Revolution. In 1943, when called for the OEE in Mexico, Borlaug was on a World War II duty as head of a biochemical laboratory. He moved to Mexico in 1944 where the Rockefeller Foundation directed the program until 1961 (Hewitt de Alcantara 1978: 31-33).

The Rockefeller Foundation, in cooperation with the Mexican Government, embarked on a wheat development program, headed by Norman Borlaug. Research focused on the adaptation of seeds to local soils, the adequate mixtures of pesticides and fertilizers, among other issues. The new breeds, which produced enormously high crop yields, would become the heart of the Green Revolution.

There was an implicit belief in the possibility of transferring agricultural technology from the United States to Mexico without much problem. There was not a consideration of different agrarian structures or particularities in the adaptation of nature and people. The program had a "missionary" aspect: the transfer of technology would bring development to those in need. In the beginning of the program, research focused on wheat and maize, but later beans, potatoes, vegetables, and legumes were included. While maize was mostly cultivated in subsistence agriculture, wheat was a commercial crop, so it got special attention (Hewitt de Alcantara 1978: 35).

Norman Borlaug assumed the direction of the wheat program in 1944 and established as the main goal the quick increase in the crop yield rather than its quality. The first years of the

program were very productive; they created thirteen new commercial wheat varieties that had all the required characteristics. These seeds could be well used by medium and big farmers.

At the same time, the Institute of Agricultural Research (IIA) was working with a different view of modernization: focusing on obtaining improved maize seeds for the regions of small traditional farmers. While the Rockefeller Foundation and the OEE worked with hybrid seeds, the IIA worked with seeds of open pollination that did not need to be renewed in every agricultural campaign and did not generate external dependency in the farmers. In the end, the OEE program did not have impact with the majority of the peasantry but with bigger farmers (Hewitt de Alcantara 1978: 42-49).

The weird coexistence of two institutes of agricultural research in Mexico ended by the end of the 1950s. The OEE had at the time more Mexican scientists, thanks to efforts of scholarships and exchanges promoted by the Rockefeller Foundation in order to educate Mexican and Latin American scientists. The fusion of the two institutes finally happened in 1961, with the creation of the National Institute of Agricultural Research (INIA). However, with the fusion the Rockefeller Foundation started to withdraw its economic support and the Mexican state did not increase its participation, leaving the newly created institute with scarce funds. This situation changed only in 1969 (Hewitt de Alcantara 1978: 52-53).

While INIA was concerned with the needs of Mexican agriculture, the Rockefeller Foundation, in cooperation with the Mexican government, was elaborating an institutional structure for the international promotion of research on wheat. The Rockefeller Foundation's goal was to extend the work done in Mexico to other countries. The first one was Colombia. And in 1963, the International Center for the Improvement of Corn and Wheat (CIMMYT) was created with a majority of American scientists and official funding from the United States.

CIMMYT became the place for research and training of technicians. Borlaug worked there since 1964 as the director of the Wheat Improvement Program. (Hewitt de Alcantara 1978: 52-53) In 1953, the Agricultural Development Council (ADC) was set up to train a higher-level elite; agricultural economists and managers who would be in charge of agricultural policy formulation in their home countries. (Cleaver 1979: 224)

Borlaug always thought of himself as a very practical person, someone who felt had a duty to fulfill against hunger. He liked saying that his work, was focused on solving problems and human needs, rather than on constructing theory: "In the developing countries it is not the number of profound scientific treatises or publications that appear in scientific journals that will help to make changes. Change must be measured by the increase in tons of grain be it wheat, rice, corn, sorghum or millet; this must be your criterion of change, not the over-sophisticated approach, which we, the developed nations, have unfortunately sponsored in our university staff advancement philosophy of 'publish or perish'." (Borlaug 1972: 21)

Considering the "successful" results in Mexico, the Rockefeller Foundation joined the Ford Foundation to expand research operations in Asia. In 1962, they created the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) in the Philippines, focused on developing new rice varieties. The institute gave results even quicker than in Mexico, and started training agricultural technicians who would spread the ideas of the Green Revolution in Asia. (Cleaver 1979: 225)

High-yielding varieties' seeds were introduced in Mexico –and all around the world– along with a modernization "package" that included chemical fertilizers, irrigation, mechanization, and biochemical programs to control plagues and insects. The Green Revolution was biological and chemical but also commercial; the expansion of the credit system was also crucial to facilitate the acquisition of the whole package (Hewitt de Alcantara 1978: 56). This made the peasant

producer more dependent on the market. And the United States made their aid programs to developing countries dependent on the satisfaction of certain conditions, among which was the opening of the markets for U.S. investors. (Cleaver 1979: 225)

However, the effects of the Green Revolution were not equal for all farmers. These improved varieties required certain conditions in order to be successful. The beneficiaries of the agrarian reform that entered the process of attempting to make irrigated agriculture more technical paid a price extraordinarily high that did not guarantee the efficiency of their investment. Hewitt de Alcantara affirms that Mexico saw a dual structure of supply, where small farmers were affected by the higher prices they had to pay to use technology (Hewitt de Alcantara 1978: 58). The differences were also evident in geographical terms; in Mexico, most of the beneficiaries from the Green Revolution were located in the Northeast, the Northern Pacific, the North, and Mid-North, all regions of bigger farmers (Solo de Zaldivar 2000). The same unequal results happened in other countries (India, Thailand, Turkey, Pakistan), where the Green Revolution benefited the regions that were already the most developed and neglected the most marginal. (Cleaver 1979: 228)

It was only during the period 1965-1970 that the model started to look insufficient in Mexico. The agricultural national product was growing at a very slow rhythm, demonstrating that the package of the Green Revolution was not enough to keep the agrarian rise, without an effective subsidy to small farmers. Because of the speculative character of agricultural prices, bigger commercial farmers decided to stay with less risky crops and leave maize aside (Solo de Zaldivar 2000: 330).

In the 1970s, the discourse around hunger and the shortage of foodstuffs became even more powerful. The United Nations' assessment of the world food situation in 1975 established as an

imperative that "underdeveloped" countries increase their food production. However, this general proposal did not take into account the economic, social, and political contexts of "underdeveloped" societies. The strategies proposed by the UN were the same that had not really brought important changes in the recent years: the increase of production still did not meet the needs of underdeveloped countries (Almeida et al 1975). Almeida et al explain that in the end, the solution to the problem of hunger required the redistribution of income, along with making foodstuffs available at reasonable prices. Although they do not abandon the idea of the need to accelerate the agricultural growth rate to satisfy the demand of foodstuffs, they considered it a priority to make structural changes in the national and international level (Almeida et al 1975: 131-134).

Between 1967 and 1972, in a different part of world, Java (Indonesia) was the focus of a rice agriculture program financed by the government of Indonesia and its Western allies, and oriented to produce enough rice for self-sufficiency. By 1972, however, the program was failing. The failure of the program, argues Franke, was related to "the blindness of development theorists to the social and political realities of Java and in the nature of aid programs from the wealthy nations" (Franke 1974: 358)

After the creation of the International Rice Research Institute in the Philippines in 1962, a genetic cross of rice capable of doubling the yields of most local Asian rice types was achieved. The "miracle seeds" were distributed across the fields of Southern Asia (India, Pakistan, Thailand, the Philippines, Taiwan, South Vietnam, and Indonesia). (Franke 1974: 359) Different agricultural programs had already taken place in Java since the 1950s, mostly promoted by the state; but there were also some private initiatives. In 1963, some students and teachers from the elite College of Agriculture of the University of Indonesia set up a project to work with farmers.

Working with locally bred improved seeds, they achieved a rise of fifty percent in yields over regular plots. Proving successful, the following year the program expanded and "students won the confidence of farmers as the government had never done" (Franke 1974: 361) At the same time, Indonesia's Communist Party had been working in rural areas in Java since some years earlier, giving the farmers technological advice.[24] Both student activists and the Communist Party were convinced that technology and strong political organization were necessary for a more efficient use of resources in Java. But the army did not see these interventions positively and in 1965 the violence arose. Only in Java, between 200,000 and one million people were killed. The state army won.

The new government, strongly pro-development, took a more active role in a boost of agriculture, with the cooperation of American and West European advisors. A Swiss multinational corporation was given an experimental project to increase rice production. The technological package of "miracle seeds," fertilizers, and pesticides was introduced in Java during this period. With some corruption scandals, the programs promoted by the government were not successful. The rise of a bureaucratic military state was at the core of the problem but this was not seen by development theory. Besides, at the local level, the large landowners and other powerful people started establishing debt-bondage with the poorer farmers, who would pay back with their work. In the end, the Green Revolution offered the poor a choice between servitude and homelessness (Franke 1974: 362-365).

Carlos Ochoa and the Beginnings of Potato Breeding Research in Peru

"Las papas que uno ha logrado a través del mejoramiento genético son

[24] "In addition to attacking the powerful bureaucracy as "feudal remnants" and "imperialist forces," radical leaders urged farmers to adopt the "five principles": plow deeply, plant closely, use more fertilizer, improve seedlings, and improve irrigation." (Franke 1974: 361)

> como hijos: uno les pone nombre, y ellos devuelven mucha satisfacción. A una de mis hijas, la Tomasa Condemayta, le puse el nombre de quien fuera lugarteniente de Tupac Amaru durante las primeras gestas de independencia y comandó una parte de su ejército. Su trágico fin –la quemaron viva– ocurrió en un fundo que hasta hace poco pertenecía a mi familia; es allí también donde experimenté con distintas variedades. En honor a ella, y también a una ama que tuve de niño que fue muy querida – y que también se llamaba Tomasa– la llamé así." (Ochoa 2006: 134)[25]

The project of the Green Revolution was global, as was the Development Paradigm. The ideas and expertise of the Green Revolution were promoted around the world almost as a pastoral discourse. Peru was not the exception. However, in Peru the most relevant experimentations were made with potatoes rather than with wheat and maize. And Peruvian research on potato breeding started some years before the strongest trend of international intervention and investment on these issues, although not without it.

Carlos Ochoa, a Peruvian geneticist, botanist, and taxonomist specialized in potatoes, played a crucial role in the development of high-yielding potato varieties in Peru. The impact of his work is visible even today. He was a pioneer and launched two important potato varieties at the same time Norman Borlaug was doing experimentation on semi-dwarf wheat varieties. What's the link between Carlos Ochoa's and Norman Borlaug's work? How was it that Ochoa started working on plant breeding almost simultaneously as Borlaug? A hint to understand this might be North Carolina State College's assistance program launched in Lima in the 1950s.

Ochoa says that one of the strongest motivations he had to do research with potatoes was the enormous pride he felt of the important role potatoes had had in the history of humanity. Furthermore, he was convinced that its impact could be even bigger. Besides those reasons, his

[25] My translation: "Potatoes one has achieved through genetic breeding are like kids: one names them and they give you satisfaction. One of my daughters, Tomasa Condemayta, I named her after the representative of Tupac Amaru during the first revolts for independence, she commanded one of the armies. Her tragic end, she was burn alive, happened in an estate that belonged to my family; it is right there that I experimented with different varieties. To honor her, and a housekeeper we had when I was a kid, I name that variety that way."

main motivation was the acknowledgement that potatoes were an effective arm in "the struggle against the worst enemy of humanity: hunger." (Ochoa 2006: 125). His discourse appears definitely situated within the ideals of the Green Revolution.

Carlos Ochoa was born in Cusco in 1920, within a well-off family. He wanted to go to the Medical School but his father wanted him to be a lawyer so he decided to go to Cochabamba, Bolivia. Despite not receiving any support from his parents, he ended up being an agronomist (Talledo, Escobar 2010). Back in Cusco in 1946, he started working with potatoes in the province of Paucartambo. Later that year, he started working at the *Estación Experimental Agrícola del Centro*, a governmental research institution in Concepción, in the Mantaro Valley, in the Peruvian Central Highlands. He was originally sent there to work in a wheat program. It was the late 1940s and there was not any program on potato breeding in Peru. However, once there, Carlos Ochoa realized that he should instead be working with potatoes: "I told myself: we want to introduce a foreign crop when we have one right here, that has grown and been domesticated in Peru since around 8000, 10000 years and has a crucial role in human diet?" [my translation] (Ochoa 2006: 132) He thus thought that instead of trying to compete with wheat varieties from other places, they should focus on developing research on potatoes.

Most of the peasants from the region sowed different potato varieties in small plots, so that they did not risk losing their production: if some varieties were more vulnerable to certain diseases, others would be more resistant. Although some farmers had some strategies to select potatoes and stick to a few varieties, these were not systematic practices.

During his field trips, Ochoa had seen peasants complaining about plagues in their potato crops and losing all their production under the effects of the inclement weather. He had also seen that peasants were very disoriented in terms of potato varieties and had not worked on a selection

of the best and more resistant ones. Carlos Ochoa thus started working on potato breeding in the Mantaro Valley and decided to work on the creation of a potato variety that could be more resistant to the unfavorable weather conditions of the Andes. Ochoa decided to collect potato varieties from the region and started comparing them, for around two or three years. After his multiple tests, he realized that there were some clear differences between varieties' yielding.

Based on multiple testing and selection, Ochoa came up with a variety he named Casablanca (honoring the hacienda that lent him the fields to make experiments). This variety was one of the first ones in being widely diffused in Peru. In 1947, he started the Potato Program, where he experimented with native potato hybrids (Talledo, Escobar 2010, Ochoa 2006). He spent a few years working in the Mantaro Valley, as chief of the Fitotechnical Department at the *Centro Regional de Investigación y Experimentación Agrícola del Centro* (CRIEAC). It was during those years that he created two of the potato varieties that had a huge impact among Peruvian farmers: Mantaro and Renacimiento. These are names that changed the history of potato agriculture in Peru.

Carlos Ochoa was a man absolutely passionate about his work, his commitment with potato breeding went beyond a professional issue: "Potatoes I have achieved through genetic breeding are like my children, I give them names and they give me satisfaction. (…) My first son is called Renacimiento (Renaissance)" (Ochoa 2006: 134).

In January 1955, R.W. Cummings, from North Carolina State College, headed a six-member team to Peru, and started a program to provide technical assistance to the Peruvian Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian University in Lima. This was the college's first major international activity and first program of foreign assistance. Two years before, in 1953, the U.S. State Department invited the college's School of Agriculture to explore the development of this

program. After an initial three-year period, the program was expanded during the 1960s, partially funded by the Rockefeller and the Ford Foundations. When the program's mission ended, in 1973, 81 college professors had worked in Peru and 200 Peruvians had been trained in the United States. (North Carolina State College)

[Figure 15. Carlos Ochoa and Michael Jackson (University of Birmingham). Lima, 1970s]

At the time North Carolina State College first started its intervention in Peru, Carlos Ochoa was working in Huancayo. But a few years later he moved to Lima, where he had a more direct contact with the technical assistance provided by this American institution. Before the creation of the International Potato Center, the program founded by North Carolina State College was the most important on agriculture development in Peru. The program worked mainly with rice, beans, and potatoes. In 1956, Carlos Ochoa was transferred to the National Experimental Station at La Molina, in Lima, to found and lead the Potato Program. There, he worked directly with the assistance of North Carolina State College. At this point, Ochoa had built a bank of 2800 potato

varieties from all around Peru. In 1963, he became a full time professor at the Agrarian University in La Molina, where he created a Potato Program that would later merge with the International Potato Center (CIP), with funding from the Rockefeller Foundation. During these years, the potato bank's collection increased to 3600 different elements. This is also the period when he developed the varieties Yungay and Tomasa Condemayta. In 1972, he was invited to be part of the newly created International Potato Center (CIP), where he would be in charge of the World Potato Bank. In 1977, he was named the Chief of the Taxonomy Department at CIP.

Carlos Ochoa was a traveler and a passionate explorer, and his work was very much based on the trips he made throughout the Andes in search of potato varieties. During those trips, he collected plants and took photographs, which he would later organize in albums. Those albums had information not only about potato plants, but also about native population from the region where he collected them. He had a special ability to communicate with different people during his trips and that was very useful in his expeditions. He was also a very good public speaker and his talks would transport people to the different places he talked about. All of the testimonies about him and his work are very moving.

Working with potatoes, Norman Borlaug was not among Ochoa's main referents, but rather the early work of the French De Candolle and especially the work of the Russian scientist Nikolai Vavilov, who did expeditions around the world in the early twentieth century. Vavilov's theory of centers of origin –developed between 1926 and 1940– locates the geographical regions where wild varieties have been domesticated. There are primary centers of origin when the wild variety is native of the region, and secondary when the plants are adapted there but not native from the region.

Carlos Ochoa used Vavilov's theory to explore potatoes' centers of origins and diversification. Through his exhaustive explorations, he built a theory of potato centers of origins, where he proposes that the Andean region is the primary center of origin and diversification of potatoes. Ochoa made a meticulous work in the identification of potato species and in establishing relations of affinity and genetic proximity among them, describing their habitats, their origins, and their genetic characteristics. The information he presents for each variety is crucial for subsequent work on potato breeding and hybrids.

Carlos Ochoa mentioned many times that the people who lived in the centers of origins should have priority in the access to those genetic resources. However, he expressed preoccupation because many plants originally from Peru were (are) marginalized while they are extensively cultivated in other countries. He argued that Peru had not really taken benefit of the incredible wealth of genetic resources it has (Talledo, Escobar 2010).

During his trips around the Andes, Carlos Ochoa met many farmers in different regions. As a part of his process of testing new varieties, he distributed potato seeds among his farmer friends, who were not peasants with small parcels but rather medium and big farmers. They became his collaborators in the testing of new varieties and they did it at a big scale and with commercial criteria. A lot of his success can be explained by this system of collaboration he developed (Scurrah 2013). Yungay, one of the varieties he launched more than twenty years ago is even today one of the most popular potato varieties in Peru.

Potato farming in Peru changed completely after the work of Carlos Ochoa and the launch of Renacimiento and the other varieties that would come afterward. Before Renacimiento, only some haciendas had selected varieties that they produced and distributed. Maco[26], located in Tarma, very close to Jauja, was one of those haciendas. In 1945-46, the Hacienda Maco

[26] Fiona Wilson's work (1986) analyses with detail the conflicts arose in the Hacienda Maco during the 1940s.

specialized in the production of potato seeds, under the incentives of the government, which was becoming alarmed about the decrease of foodstuff supplies in Lima. The Hacienda Maco had already achieved a name for its potato seeds and SCIPA[27] bought their entire production in order to distribute potato seeds among potato farmers in the Mantaro Valley. (Wilson 1986)

During the late 1940s and the 1950s, SCIPA had a regular column in *El Porvenir*, the local newspaper from Jauja. The column served to divulgate new fertilizers and pesticides, as well as general and specific advice on farming. Moreover, those columns also served to promote new seeds. The column was not only published in Jauja, but also in other regional and local newspapers, which can make us think that it was an effective way to disseminate new potato seeds throughout the country.

Although farmers from Jauja would go to haciendas like Maco to buy potato seeds or they had them distributed by organisms like SCIPA, these seeds did not have the large impact Renacimiento and others would have. Renacimiento expanded throughout the country in a very short time and without much promotion. In less than a decade, it was everywhere in the country.

Alberto Salas was one of the closest collaborators of Carlos Ochoa and he might be the person who holds the greatest treasure of knowledge regarding potatoes in Peru today. Alberto became involved with research on potatoes in 1968, when he was an Agronomy student at the Agrarian University of La Molina, in Lima. As a student, he was hired as a research assistant in the Potato Program, led by Carlos Ochoa, through the university's employment agency. Ochoa had already launched important varieties since the 1950s. The 1970s was an especially productive decade; they launched around 50 new varieties, among them: Tomasa Condemayta,

[27] SCIPA, Inter-American Service for Food Production was founded in 1943 as a cooperative program with US and Peruvian experts. It functioned as an autonomous unity within the Agriculture Ministry.

Yungay, Revolucion, Mariba, Tumi, Carlitos, Malapabra. Some of them are still cultivated today.

Throughout his years traveling around the Andes and beyond, Alberto has seen many transformations provoked by the introduction of new potato varieties. He recalls, for example, a small village in Pasco, where he went in an exploration trip, in search of a wild potato during the 1970s. The community lived of the eucalyptus wood they sold to the mining company, but the earnings were decreasing. In his conversations with the farmer he stayed with, he expressed his desire of doing something different with their lands. Alberto suggested the man to sow potatoes and when he returned to Lima, talked to his boss to bring them some potato seeds. Back in the community –with seeds of Yungay, Tomasa, Mariba, Revolucion, and Turi– he worked in the sowing process with the community. It was in part a test of the adaptability of these new varieties.

A few years later, in another exploratory trip, he was near the village and decided to pass by out of curiosity. He remembered the detour that took to the community but when he took it, he couldn't believe it was the same place. All the houses now had roofs of corrugated iron and the fields that before had eucalyptus were then full of potatoes. They even had a small truck. Alberto was shocked by the huge change he saw in the community. This is not an isolated case but it is something he has seen many times in different places in Peru. A few years ago, he was near the village again and decided to go see it. He was surprised again when he saw the lands abandoned. He couldn't find out what had happened, but assumes it is a product of migration. Once they had money, he thinks, people get educated and they no longer want to work the lands. Besides, the situation is different today; the costs are higher (10 to 12 thousand soles per hectare) and with the low prices of potatoes, sowing small parcels is no longer profitable.

"I've walked a lot," Alberto tells me, and I surely believe he has. He has gone over the continent in his explorations and considers himself the heir of a long tradition that started with expeditions sent to the New World after the conquest of America. He has literally followed the steps of many of those classical explorers. Reading their books, he found that the information about many species these explorers mentioned was not very clear or they were lacking the germplasm of the species in the bank. He would decide then to follow the instructions regarding the location of the species and go to search for them. In those explorations, he would often find other species that had not been previously collected, which made his trips more fascinating. *"One has to walk, follow the paths, observe…and you have to listen to the natives of the region, they are the ones who know,"* he tells me.

Before, those exploration trips had the epic image of big teams, with the main scientist, a guide, a drawer, some assistants, etc. Those were long trips, riding horses in unknown territories without roads. Those epic expeditions do not exist anymore and scientists are generally accompanied only by a local guide if necessary. Today, the control of seeds transportation is more rigid than before, when scientist could travel around the world collecting seeds and plants without any permission. Since 1948, the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (known as the Rio Treaty) controls the mobility of seeds and plants.

The Germplasm Bank of CIP (International Potato Center) was started by Carlos Ochoa and Alberto Salas has been one of the main contributors to its growing. It is the largest potato in vitro genebank in the world. It currently holds more than 80% of potato native varieties and of the known species of wild potatoes. There is no other bank in the world that has the same level of diversity of this one. It also holds one of the best herbarium collections in the world. CIP has the

custody of the bank but it is available for free for developing countries and it is used in breeding programs around the world.

Interventions in the name of "development" in the Andes: Cornell-Peru Vicos' Development Project

In 1952, the anthropologist Allan Holmberg, at the time assistant professor at Cornell University, was giving a seminar at San Marcos University in Lima and was taken on a field trip to the Callejón de Huaylas in Ancash. One of the members of the team suggested that he should go to visit Vicos because it was a traditional hacienda. It was a Hacienda that belonged to a public charity organization and its profits served to fund a Hospital in the region's capital, Huaraz. The visit caused a big impact on Holmberg: "So the idea occurred to me and I said to him why don't we take over Vicos and start a program of development of our own where we could both study the process and carry on some development activity at the same time?" (Van Dyke 1963) He thus presented a proposal to rent the Hacienda Vicos for five years and start there a development program.

The Cornell-Peru Project became a paradigm for international development in the following decades. As mentioned by the university, "the goal of the project was to bring the indigenous population into the 20th century and integrate them into the market economy and Peruvian society." This goal was also attached to the idea of establishing alternatives of agrarian reforms that would not lead to the development of communism (Eric B. Ross 2010, Pribilsky 2010). The project was part of a larger initiative by Cornell University's Program on Culture and Applied Social Sciences. This program had been implemented in four other regions as well: Thailand, India, Canada and the US (Cornell University). The project had "an optimistic faith in

development and modernization" (Cornell University). The Vicos Project would also demonstrate that it was possible to abolish the traditional hacienda system in a peaceful way, avoiding a political revolution. (Mayer 2010: 239)

In Vicos, Cornell's intervention implied the reactivation of potato agriculture, almost extinct at the time due to diseases and pests. The indigenous population that lived and worked those lands could usufruct rights of small plots of the land in exchange for their labor and service. They were also listed, along with plants and animals, in the hacienda lease agreement.

As part of the intervention, Cornell introduced improved potato seeds and a credit program to stimulate the commercialization of production and generate capital –which, ideally, would later allow them to buy the hacienda. Initially, potato agriculture –along with fertilizers and pesticides– was a complete success. The income generated allowed them to build a new school, make local public works and save money to buy the hacienda. However, by 1971 the production suffered a decrease because of new diseases that attacked the introduced varieties. The soils and the seeds had suffered exhaustion. (Stein 2000: 189) In the end, the economic inequalities among the population became more evident, the gap widened.

The project's efforts to improve potato production in Vicos were successful and the hacienda exported potatoes to Lima and other cities. The community was able to save money with the profits from potato harvests. The successful harvests also made the vicosinos with greater extensions of lands become potato farmers for trade and they started hiring the less privileged vicosinos to work in their fields (Stein 2000).

The project has been widely studied and criticized. It is not my intention to summarize the critiques here, but rather to understand this intervention within the larger frame of the development discourse of the epoch. The Vicos project was situated in the context of Harry

Truman's 1949 discourse and the Truman Doctrine, which considered technological transfer as a key element in the international assistance to underdeveloped countries. The Truman Doctrine created a dichotomy between the developed and underdeveloped world, and created the idea of "Development". The Cornell-Peru Project was one of the first projects of integrated communal development. (Isbell 2010: 371)

Some of the Anthropology of the time was positivist and did not question the hegemonic western vision of development but rather generally embraced it, worked for its diffusion, and legitimized it. Doing so, the Cornell-Peru project helped to reduce the possibilities of an economic and social transformation in a more systemic and transcending way (Eric B. Ross 2010: 222-223). Applied anthropology had been in gestation a couple of decades before. It arose at the time of the Depression, as a way to make social science "useful" for solving social problems. However, "after a brief period of activity in the 1950s, especially through "community development projects," development anthropology entered a period of hibernation that lasted throughout the 1960s and early 1970s" (Escobar 1991: 662). The Peru-Cornell project can be situated within this brief period of "community development projects."

In his analysis of the rise of development anthropology since the mid-1970s and its implications, Escobar (1991) argues that development anthropologists ended up reinforcing ethnocentric and dominating modes of development and modernization. Similarly, Edgardo Lander's (2000) rich analysis shows the ways in which the social sciences reinforce the hegemonic discourse of neoliberalism, with the market as the center of the ideology. Neoliberalism, he argues, is seen as an economic theory, instead of acknowledging its role as the hegemonic discourse of a civilizatory model. This provokes the naturalization of social relations and the belief in the inevitability of the liberal industrial society. Marking distance from this

position requires an effort to deconstruct the universal and natural character that acquires the liberal capitalist society. However, the analysis of local dynamics, I argue, can be productive to see the particular interactions and conflicts that emerge in the expansion of development and neoliberal discourses.

Multiple testimonies from Vicos mention that the potato seeds were brought from Huancayo[28]. Although they do not specifically say where in Huancayo they came from, it is possible to assume that they were from the *Centro Regional de Investigación y Experimentación Agrícola del Centro* (CRIEAC), whose director was Carlos Ochoa. SCIPA might also have had a crucial role in the spread of potato seeds. During the 1950s, SCIPA published many announcements in local and regional newspapers, promoting agricultural techniques, seeds, and fertilizers.

Under sharecropping agreements, the project offered the inhabitants of the hacienda improved potato seeds and the technological package needed to grow them (fertilizers, pesticides). The members of the project used persuasion to make the peasants get involved with the innovations they proposed. At the beginning, it was not so easy to make the vicosinos assume the changes in farming the project proposed, however, a few years later almost nobody maintained traditional farming methods. (Stein 2000: 187-188)

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[28] "Marcos Quinto: Supe de las semillas de las papas que había traído la Hacienda porque yo veía cuando trajeron aquí y descargaron en mi vista. Don Enrique (…) nos dijo que esas papas eran semillas traídas de Huancayo. Yo y los demás vicosinos no habíamos creído. (…) Supe que eran realmente papas de otra zona cuando empezó a producir muy buenas papas en las chacras de la Hacienda, así como otros vicosinos que sembraron al partir con la Hacienda." (Stein 2000: 192) "Estenio Meza: Sé que la Hacienda trajo semillas de papas el año pasado, papas de Huancayo. Así me había avisado don Enrique Luna…Yo vi cuando trajeron la papa. **Trajeron de dos clases, blanco y marcos**. El blanco tenía un hueco en el centro y la enfermedad le agarra más rápido. Es más débil. En cambio la papa marcos es más fuerte." (Stein 2000: 202)
"Ambrosio Evaristo: Sé que hace un año la Hacienda trajo la semilla de papas llamado "paltaq" en castellano. Nosotros le llamamos "marcos". Esa misma papa nosotros ya teníamos desde la época de nuestros abuelos. Yo siembro todos los años. Sin embargo, cada patrón que viene a esta Hacienda trae siempre sus propias semillas. Según dijeron don Enrique y don Mario, desde los Estados Unidos. Como repito es la misma semilla "paltaq", pero sí madura más rápido. Parece que es mejor que la nuestra. Produce mayor cantidad de papas y son más desarrolladas. Además el gusano no come como hace con las nuestras." (Stein 2000: 203)

Testimonies mention two varieties of potatoes: white and marcos (or paltaq). Most of the vicosinos were satisfied with the variety marcos, which seemed to be very similar to a potato variety they knew from before. The white potato, instead, was considered defective because it had a small hole in the middle. Vicosinos considered that the ideal potato should be "sandy, big, and abundant." (Stein 2000: 208) Peruvians' palate can be very exquisite, especially when it comes to potatoes.

The creation of the International Potato Center (CIP) and the goals of an epoch

The International Potato Center (CIP, for its initials in Spanish) was created in 1971 in Lima as part of the initiatives promoted around the world by the spirit of the Green Revolution and the Development Paradigm. At the time, Mexico had become a crucial center for agricultural research and development. The research done there by international scientists was being exported all over the world and new research centers were opened as well. In 1960, the Rockefeller and Ford Foundation established the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) in the Philippines; in 1969 they created a Center for Tropical Agriculture in Colombia and another one in Nigeria. In 1971, the Consultative Group on International Agriculture Research (CGIAR) was formed at the initiative of the president of the World Bank to finance the network of these international agricultural centers (Shiva 2002: 37-43).

Locating the creation of these agricultural research centers within a larger geopolitical context, Vandana Shiva affirms that the Green Revolution was used as a strategy to reduce agrarian conflict around the world. It was believed that an increase in material prosperity would defuse agrarian unrest. "The Green Revolution tried to restructure social relationships by separating issues of agricultural production from issues of justice. Green Revolution politics was

primarily a politics of depoliticisation." (Shiva 2002: 50) Stability was chosen over justice and equity. However, by separating issues of justice from issues of agricultural production, the Green Revolution led to the creation of new inequalities and scarcities. (Shiva 2002: 57)

These interventions were made in the name of science, and in the name of a development discourse. The money invested on these projects was not insignificant. In 1972, the Consultative Group had 16 donors who contributed $20.06 million and in 1981 the amount had increased to $157.945 million (Shiva 2002: 43).

However, agricultural research on potatoes did not start with the creation of CIP in 1971. A couple of decades earlier, North Carolina State College had started a technical assistance in agriculture program in Peru and Carlos Ochoa had already launched new potato varieties and his work had had an important impact among farmers. When CIP was created, he was the chief of the Potato Program at the Agrarian University in La Molina, Lima. On their Annual Report from 1973, CIP acknowledges the "strong potato research program" that existed in Peru for some years, assisted by North Carolina State University, under a grant from U.S. AID.

Beyond the larger political context and interests, there were many people involved in the work of CIP; people who were committed to their jobs and worked hard to achieve their goals. The newly created CIP needed scientists to work in their projects of potato breeding in Peru, and many of them came from the United States. Looking at the initial team of CIP, it is evident that many of them came from abroad. In fact, many of their first publications were mostly in English.

Maria was one of the young scientists who was part of the initial team of CIP. She is the daughter of a German Jewish couple who arrived to the Peruvian Central Highlands fleeing from the Nazi regime. They decided to settle down in Huancayo and all of their children were born and grew up there. After finishing High School, Maria was awarded a scholarship to go to study

in the United States, where she majored in Biology. She stayed there for graduate school as well, and returned to Peru in the 1972 with a Ph.D. in Plant Breeding from Cornell University. Borlaug had just been given the Nobel Peace Price for the improved wheat varieties he had created, according to the spirit of the epoch, which was to create high-yielding varieties.

When she returned to Peru, Maria started working on a project of Resistance to the Nematode Cyst in the recently opened International Potato Center (CIP) in the Central Highlands. As part of her Ph.D. research, she had been working on nematodes. Searching in the Germplasm Bank at La Molina she found some potato varieties that did not reproduce the nematodes. She later found wild Bolivian varieties in a bank in the Netherlands. Breeding these varieties, she could come up with a potato variety resistant to two different types of nematodes. After many years of experiments and testing, in 1988, Maria launched the variety Maria Huanca.

However, Maria Huanca was never successful among the farmers. CIP had to close the program because farmers did not request the new variety. Instead of considering this new variety as a solution to stop using pesticides, farmers had no problem in applying the most toxic pesticides, she recalls. However, she acknowledges that this new variety was not resistant to weevil. "Taste is another disadvantage," she accepts, the new potato was "*aguachenta*" (watery), and although its taste is acceptable, Peruvian palate can be very exquisite for potatoes. Still, Maria considers the farmers' rejection of the variety as an irrational decision and thinks it is paradoxical that farmers are today openly against transgenic crops but have no problem in using (and abusing) of pesticides. In the US, she tells me, farmers use varieties resistant to nematodes because they prefer not to use many agrochemicals.

She thinks the National Institute for Agrarian Innovation (INIA) is partly responsible for this problem because they do not cooperate in the promotion of the new varieties. But there is also a

problem in the farmers' mentality, she believes, because *"they ask you: what can I apply to it [to the crop]?"* The mentality of commercial farmers assumes there will be a product to apply to the crops to solve their problems.

In the 1980s, during the time of political violence, she decided to move to Australia, where she stayed for ten years. CIP decided to close the potato breeding programs and they were not opened again since then. After her return from Australia, Maria saw that there had been no work on new potato varieties and she started working on the launch of a new variety called "Huanquita." It has similar characteristics as Maria Huanca but it is better in terms of taste, she believes. INIA, again, has not put any efforts in the promotion of the variety, not even among the people from the community where the testings took place. They never have available seeds and they even had a confusion of seeds the year the variety was launched in 2002. Besides, INIA decided to launch the new variety without the participation of the community and their work was not recognized in the brochures printed to promote it. *"They are very disorganized,"* she tells me. Maria confesses she always thinks she herself should do more in helping the promotion of the recently launched varieties, but she never has the time.

Maria has a strong commitment to working with potatoes: *"To me potatoes are the big crop for food security. Quinoa has the advantage of having lysine, which is almost like eating meat, it has more amino acids, but with potatoes, one third of hectare gives you enough food for a year for five people. But a hectare of quinoa will never give you that, in two months you have no food."*

However, she recognizes that the work done over the years on potatoes has not really brought many results: *"CIP has proposed 15 solutions for weevil during its 45 years…all of them have been THE solution at their moment. There has been many pilot projects and evaluations…but*

farmers have always returned to pesticides, always." Maria thinks there is a problem with farmers' mentality, who want quick solutions to the problem of weevil –which is a prevalent problem and maybe the most important among potato farmers.

The list of pesticides used throughout these years is long, but many of them were abandoned because their use was forbidden because of their toxicity. Even the ones used today are very likely to be forbidden in a few years. The pesticide Temik was the most extended for a few decades, then replaced by Furadan, which was prohibited a few years ago, and now the most popular pesticide is Mocap. *"But they will forbid it as well, it's just a matter of time"* affirms Maria.

"One can never achieve the perfect variety," says Maria *"and that is why we keep working on new varieties,"* she adds. *"As a plant breeder, you cannot really direct the process, but within what you have, you have to make a selection with good criteria,"* she explains me.

The beginnings of commercial agriculture in Jauja: the "potato boom"

The Yanamarca Valley was not an agricultural region before the 1950s. In Chocón, my *abuelito*'s village, families had small *chacras* where they sowed some subsistence crops (barley, wheat, fava beans, a little bit of potatoes). During the 1930s there was a mechanical engineer from Jauja named Richter, who came to Chocón and started the potato crops for the first time. The young men from the village –including my *abuelito*– would enroll as wageworkers in his fields. Richter did not sow large plots, it was the first time he was working the fields, but his parents were farmers in other parts of Jauja. My *abuelito* remembers that the variety sowed by Richter was "Chata Blanca", and he got some good harvests.

[Figure 16. Potato fields in Chocon]

At the time, most of the agriculture was done with the "*al partir*" agreement, by which the owners of the lands would offer their lands to peasant families to work them and would get some of the production in exchange. But Richter did not use "*al partir*", he rented some lands and worked them on his own. After Richter, there was another engineer from Jauja who came to Chocón, his name was Madrid, and he sowed wheat in some chacras in Muquillanqui (the village next to Chocón). The young men from the surrounding villages would also go work there. Madrid later sowed flax in Espinoza's chacras. During World War II, the United States offered a special agreement to Peru for the production of linen fibre, so flax was sowed in different places in the highlands (Wilson 1986: 75). But in the case of Madrid, this last venture failed.

Gerardo Garcia was one of the traditional old farmers from Jauja. In the early 1930s, when he got married, he bought a farm in Molinos, where he sowed potatoes. But his family had several other farms in the region and started working the fields since very young. In my interview with his son, also named Gerardo, he tells me that during the World War II, Gerardo Garcia sent

potatoes by railroad to Lima and then to Europe. Being a time of shortage, other foodstuffs were also sent from Lima to the war fronts.

Gerardo started working with his father at a very young age. The whole family decided to move to Lima and the children –three men– studied there. They lived at their grandparents' house in downtown Lima and he remembers that there were many elite *jaujinos* in the neighborhood, around the Government Palace. At the time, downtown Lima was still a place where old elite families had their residencies. Although the father was constantly travelling, he had an office in the Aviacion avenue, very close to "La Parada," the wholesale produce market in Lima, where he would go to help his father. He remembers his father sent a lot of produce to the market and needed some help in controlling the distribution of it, so he was there to help with that.

Since Gerardo's father had many agricultural properties around the region, he had various storage facilities where he would collect the produce, prepare it, and finally send it to Lima. Next to their house in Jauja, they had a plot that his father used to prepare the produce to be sent to Lima. They also had a storage house in Acolla, another one in Jauja, next to his grandparents' house, and one more across the railroad station. He was very careful of the quality of the product, so he took care of sending perfectly selected and clean potatoes, he recalls.

Gerardo remembers his father was very wise in terms of trading abilities: he would play with potato prices according to the supply and demand. Gerardo thinks it was an interesting way of making business and recalls he learned many tricks from the traders at La Parada, when he used to go to bring the produce. He learned to be very clever in those negotiations with the traders, who would always try to take the maximum advantage possible. Sometimes, for example, they

would specially pick maggoty potatoes from a big load of produce, so that they could ask for an important discount.

Gerardo had six siblings but he was the only one truly interested in the work in the fields, so his father wanted him to be his successor. However, in an attempt to avoid him marrying at a young age, Gerardo's parents sent him to Puno, in the southern Andes. In Puno, he was admitted to its Education and Agronomy programs, but he ended up opting for Education, as he communicated to his father through telegram. He lived in Puno for ten years, and then decided to return to the Mantaro Valley.

Carlos Ochoa recalls that in the 1940s, although most of the peasants in the Central Highlands sowed a combination of multiple varieties, some farmers had begun to select varieties that they sowed almost exclusively. One of them was "Chata Blanca." Although the tubers were similar, the plant, the flowers and the leaves were different in each case. "Each farmer sowed its favorite and they said it was because of its higher yielding." (Ochoa 2006: 132)

"Chata Blanca" is precisely the first potato variety my *abuelito* and his brother worked with. *"It was white and round,"* he recalls. Everyone sowed that variety, even in the higher parts of the region. They would go buy potato seeds in Maco or Tarma. *"Now all the potatoes we sow are hybrid varieties, there are almost no native varieties,"* adds my *abuelito*. My *abuelito* recalls that the yields before were very low, around eight tons per hectare. But this amount would increase with the introduction of fertilizers. It came up to 10, 11, 15, and then 20, 30 and even 40 tons per hectare.

Throughout the years, my *abuelito* has had a lot of trouble with weather. Sometimes, they decided to sow early but frost would kill the crops; if they decided to sow later, frost would still attack the fields. Sometimes there was no solution; all the production was left there, burnt by the

frost. Thus when he finally bought his own *chacras*, he could decide not to sow potatoes or barley, or leave the fields to rest for the following year.

Maria's mother had a small *chacra* in the outskirts of Huancayo, where she sowed potatoes. But coming from Europe, Maria's mother did not like native potato varieties because she found them too sandy and dry. When Renacimiento was launched, she felt she had finally found potatoes like the ones she used to eat in Germany. Peruvians, on the other side, thought those new potatoes were too *aguachentas*, too watery, they could only be used for soups but not to eat on their own. Maria herself grew up with a very German palate and learned to like native potatoes only when she started doing research for her dissertation.

By the mid-twentieth century, SIPA[29] –the precursor of INIA– served mainly to rent tractors, in a time when the United States promoted the mechanization of agriculture in the region. Tractors were seen as a huge progress, a sign of civilization. Along with the promotion of tractors, people from CIPA started giving advise to the farmers *"lady, do not rotate crops, you don't need to do that because there are fertilizers now."* And that is how the soil started to present diseases. Crop rotation was widely practiced and even if people did not know what it served for, they did it as part of tradition. Maria thinks the advice those people from CIPA gave to the farmers was very irresponsible because they had no training in phytopatology whatsoever. *"It was terrible, really terrible."* The Agrarian University of Lima had no presence in the Mantaro Valley at the time.

[29] Servicio de Investigación y Producción Agraria (Research and Agrarian Production Service).

[Figure 17. Sacks with a mixture of pesticides, ready to be used during the sowing]

The period between 1950 and 1967 was marked by an important national development of urban capitalism and a decrease of the importance of the rural world. There was a general crisis in Andean agriculture and a national decision to give a boost to other economic activities such as industrial development. This required the constitution of an internal market of producers and consumers of commodities, which necessitated the abandonment of traditional forms of production and labor in the Andes. As a consequence, this attempt to develop capitalism weakened the alliance between landowners and the bourgeoisie (Klaren 2004, Contreras and Cueto 1999). Traditional landowners gradually lost their powerful position and left room for the emergence of other farmers.

When Maria returned to Peru after finishing her Ph.D., in the 1970s, she remembers hearing that in Jauja there were some very rich farmers who would go on vacations to Italy with their entire families. She started a CIP research project in Chocón, my grandparents' village. She decided to work there because it was a region of intense potato agriculture and it was infested with nematodes. It was the perfect place to test her new varieties. My *abuelito* remembers her

from those times. At the beginning they did not have green houses so they tested all the germplasm in the fields. They also tested pesticides with INIA. She cannot remember very well who were the farmers they rented the lands from because she was not in charge of those negotiations. But she recalls that they did not even pay for using those lands, which were not very big anyways, but she now thinks that it was unfair and even abusive not to pay rent. As researchers coming with members of INIA, they felt entitled to just use the fields.

She and her team tried to convince farmers from the region to sow a new variety in order to avoid the use of pesticides. Farmers, however, who had at the time some experience in commercial agriculture, were not ready to experiment and assume risks. Pesticides were the safe choice because they guaranteed high-yielding harvests. Maria worked in Chocón for eight years and talks about this experience with disappointment. She sees that nothing has really changed in the region since the 1970s when she was there. *"There has been no reinvestment in the lands, in reforestation against erosion, nothing…"*

By the 1970s, commercial agriculture was already an activity that people from peasant families of the region found attractive; it had proved successful for some people in Jauja and others desired to replicate that success. My *abuelito* remembers that by that time he already had some experience working the fields and other farmers came to him asking for advice. Goyo Hilario was one of them. He passed away some years ago, but my *abuelito* remembers him as someone very daring: *"He would not resign himself with having just a small plot of land, no way."* Goyo worked at the refrigerator in the mining company at La Oroya. With his savings from that job, he would go back to Jauja and start sowing small plots here and there: *"And he liked it. So he left the company and started working the chacra."*

As Goyo was initiating himself into the commercial agriculture, he befriended my *abuelito*. He would ask him about the fertilizers and pesticides my *abuelito* used, how to avoid potatoes becoming maggoty, and other things related to agriculture and potato farming. My *abuelito* would patiently explain to him which products to use and how. They established a friendship on the basis of the advice my *abuelito* shared with him. Being a source of advice to other people –in matters of agriculture and other issues– is something my *abuelito* has always enjoyed; it makes him feel useful and also gives him social recognition.

Both Goyo and my *abuelito* were very daring and adventurous, so they made a good duo. *"Once he told me: Why don't we go sow in those high lands, near Chupishuari?" "Sure!" I told him. But it was very risky, the fields were in a very high area and there was a lot of frosting or hail, it was always risky, it's not like working on lower and inhabited areas."*

Alberto Salas remembers when Goyo Hilario, came to the office of the Potato Program at the Agrarian University in La Molina, in 1970. They had just launched a group of new potato varieties, Tomasa Condemayta, Yungay, and Revolucion were among them. He requested some potato seeds and since they did not have them at the moment, they offered him to bring them to Jauja. Carlos Ochoa then asked Alberto to go visit Goyo in one of his collecting trips. He went to Jauja and started asking around about Goyo but nobody knew him. He went to his address and found a small old house in a corner. He came out wearing a poncho and when he asked him how many hectares he had, he replied that he only had his house and a small garden –the area was of one or maximum two thousand square meters. Alberto was surprised that he was willing to buy seeds if he had no lands to work, but Goyo was determined to start a business.

In his next trip, Alberto brought Goyo 50 kilograms of Yungay potato seeds. Goyo received the seeds with a huge joy. Every time Alberto was back in the region, he would go check Goyo's

chacra to see if he had effectively sowed the seeds. He had, and his crops were very beautiful. Three or four years later, Goyo showed up at their office in Lima again, but this time he was driving a light truck and was bringing one potato sack for each of the workers. He said it was an expression of gratitude for the seeds they had given him before, and explained them that after sowing his small garden at home, he started producing seeds and decided to rent lands to cultivate. He became a successful potato farmer and bought three big trucks.

A few years later, in one of his trips to the Mantaro Valley, Alberto went to visit Goyo in Jauja. It was the month of March –time of carnival– and Goyo was all dressed up. He was in charge of the *fiesta* that year and offered Alberto the outfit to join him. That day, Alberto could see how much power Goyo had acquired, how sumptuous were his expenses at the *fiesta*. My *abuelito* also recalls that Goyo liked very much *fiestas* and drinking, he was very friendly with everyone and loved sharing at the local celebrations. *"He was a typical case from those times, the story of a man who didn't have but a small piece of land and became a big potato farmer, a* rey de la papa*,"* tells Alberto.

Goyo bought some properties at the time of success. He had a house near La Parada –the wholesale market in Lima–, which he used as storage as well, and another small house in Lima where he lived with his family. They also had some urban properties in Huancayo, a house in the residential neighborhood of San Carlos, where his widow lives now, and a small house in Jauja. He achieved considerable success in the 1970s but was not one of the farmers who could maintain that success for too long. He passed away a few years ago and his children did not continue their father's work. An aunt of mine, who is a relative of Goyo, tells me in a *fiesta* –and after some beers– that he did not know how to use his money: *"he was not wise, he was not like your* abuelito*."*

My *abuelito* also mentions that Goyo's children did not achieve the status of "professionals" (college educated) unlike his children, he seems to imply. Having all of your kids go to college is a huge marker of social mobility, seemingly guaranteeing that the next generation will achieve a different status. Goyo's children are all over, mainly in Lima. *"But they aren't farmers. Although there was one, the youngest, I believe, that was a friend of ours. And he used to tell me: "I will be one of the great farmers", "that's great, congratulations!" I would reply. "Go ahead!" "The doors are opened for everyone who has conviction." But he didn't do anything. Now I think he's buying and selling used machinery…"*

Another case Alberto remembers is that of the Sarapura brothers, who were farmers and cattle breeder and had a stable in Jauja. Their fields were in Palo Seco, near Concepcion, in the old Jauja-Huancayo road. The difference is that the Sarapura brothers were well-off from the beginning, they had a established position with their stable. The Agrarian University of La Molina signed an agreement with them, by which the brothers would offer their lands and the university would sow them. They would divide the production in halves. After that, another farmer who had neighboring territories with the Sarapura brothers, in Matahuasi, also wanted to work with the University and started producing potatoes as well. Escobar was his name and he was a veterinarian.

[Figure 18. Breakfast time, before starting the work day]

The intricacies of "technology transfer"

The processes of "technology transfer" promoted by the Green Revolution are inevitably entangled with epistemological questions. Whose knowledge has to be transferred? How does it interact with previous types of knowledge? How do scientific/technical and native knowledge negotiate? Since the very beginning, the Green Revolution adopted a paradigm in which there was a glorification of scientific and technical knowledge; they were considered synonymous of development and progress.

Likewise, there were some actors, the "experts," who had the right to define the problems and decide what to do with them. Certain organisms, such as the United Nations, held the "scientific," legal, and economic authority to define strategies. (Escobar 2007: 81)

In Peru, INIA[30] is the only institution legally allowed to launch new crop varieties. Being an international organization, CIP (International Potato Center) cannot do this; it works in cooperation with National Agriculture Research Centers (NARS) around the world. In the case of Peru, although very often CIP researchers do all the work involved in the creation of new

[30] Instituto Nacional de Innovación Agraria (National Institute of Agrarian Innovation).

varieties, it is INIA who launches them. Maria has had to work with INIA for the launch of the varieties she has created and has seen that INIA does not recognize the work done by other researchers and takes credit for it. She also expresses frustration because she considers they are disrespectful towards the work done by farmers who cooperate with them in the testing of the new varieties.

I interviewed many engineers who work at INIA and CIP, both in Lima and Huancayo. Some of them, had many years of experience; others were newer and didn't know the history of potato agriculture in the region. Most of them knew my *abuelito*.

Most of the engineers who work in Huancayo and Jauja, are also farmers, they have their own *chacras* and have some crops there; some of them are peasants' children[31]. Their relationship with the land is then not only professional but also more personal. They have not learned about agriculture only in the classrooms, but with their parents, at home.

Considering that it is mostly men who work on these issues. Maria's experience is then even more valuable. But also Noemi's, an agronomist from Huancayo, who works at the regional office of INIA. She started working there in 1980, with the community of Casablanca (the ex Hacienda, located in between Jauja and Tarma), creating varieties resistant to frost and wart. When she first started working, Yungay was the most popular variety in the region, then came Perricholi and Canchan. When she first started working, Noemi was interested in corn. However, potatoes' genetic diversity makes them most attractive, so she worked with potato breeding for her master's thesis. It was during this period that she met Carlos Ochoa. When I ask her about Carlos Ochoa, Noemi's eyes glow. She remembers him as his professor, his friend, his counselor. He gave her invaluable advice for her work, as well as all of the books he published.

[31] The case is different for the engineers I interviewed in Lima. At CIP headquarters in Lima, many engineers are still foreigners.

"He was a man who worried about the appearance of new potato varieties but also about the taste. She remembers him as a very hard working man, a very enthusiastic and generous person.

For her Ph.D., she went to Mexico and kept working with potatoes' genetics. She learned a lot from her Mexican experience, but also realized that the genetic diversity there is in Peru is incomparable.

Noemi has worked extensively with my *abuelito*'s brother, Santiago. She explains to me that for the past decade, they have been working with a new research methodology that includes all of the members of the commercial chain of potatoes. This is a more strategic approach and is intended to have better results in the introduction of new varieties. They are also using a participative methodology, that allows them to have a more horizontal relationship with farmers, one of mutual aid and collaboration. Now the evaluation of the new varieties is a collaborative process, where farmers have a very active role. This new understanding of the research process should help to have better reception of the new varieties because farmers themselves are in charge of their diffusion. However, this is not necessarily evident yet. And, in fact, Maria told me that these changes are mostly discursive and not actually real.

She thinks the main factor to determine the success of a new variety is the market. There are many new varieties that have not been successful in the market and farmers have left them aside. However, the farmers who participate in the testing of new varieties do not get certifications for their seeds. Noemi says that this is because of the legislation that establishes many requirements that constitute limitations to do this. In general, the certification of seeds is very limited and the legislation doesn't adapt to the reality. In the end, less that 1% of farmers use certified seeds.

In my interviews with engineers from agricultural organizations (both public and private), they mentioned that the bigger farmers are usually not interested in collaborating with them for research purposes, “they only care about high yielding”. Very few of them are really willing to participate in the testing of new varieties, most of the farmers already know the ones that are high yielding and don’t want to risk, “they only have a business mentality." One of the engineers I interviewed, an old friend of my family, tells me that he thinks there are two kind of big farmers: the ones who work with big parcels of lands, and the ones who are big because they also have better farming practices. The second type are farmers who are always aware of innovations and are willing to improve their practices, they do not stick to the same technologies.

Jauja is a land especially fertile for potatoes; it has become the most important potato seed producer place in Peru. Engineers from the region tell me that “successful farmers” regularly change their seeds, buy pre-basic seeds and keep a good quality. “The quality of potato seeds from Jauja is amazing, even not so good seeds have good results in other regions," explains to me an engineer from INIA. Indeed, farmers from all over the country come to Jauja to buy seeds. In harvest time, they appear in the *chacra* and ask for my *abuelito*. He knows many of them and sells them seeds every year. But when he doesn’t know the people who show up at the *chacra*, he looks at them with suspicion. He doesn’t sell his seeds to anyone who comes and offers money for them. There seems to be some special aura around those potato seeds.

[Figure 19. Fresh potatoes, just taken out of the soil]

[Figure 20. Potato buyers in my *abuelito's* fields, taking the produce into the truck]

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Critiques of the Green Revolution emphasize the violence with which it imposed its ways. "The American strategy of the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations differed from the indigenous strategies primarily in the lack of respect for nature's processes and people's knowledge." (Shiva

2002: 34) However, considering the characteristics of local engineers in the Central Highlands, who are from the same region as the farmers and have peasant origins themselves, we see that the picture is not that simple. Although it is possible to identity certain levels of violence in the imposition of new seeds and specific ways of farming, this is not always a one-way and authoritarian process.

Maria is very critical of the way scientists and technicians from governmental and non-governmental institutions establish relationships with farmers' and peasants' knowledge. Despite everything Noemi told me about the new research methodologies they are using in INIA, Maria believes that INIA's practices today are as bad as they were 60 years ago. Their work is not only mediocre, she affirms, but they also request money from the farmers for everything. *"This is terrible especially for small farmers, who cannot afford to pay for their transportation and other things."* Maria expresses frustration about INIA's work and I can see this comes from many years of dealing with these problems.

Regarding the current promotion of green houses in Jauja, Maria wonders how are native potatoes kept for thousands of years without the need of them. According to the discourse that INIA has about peasants' seeds, native potatoes would not exist any longer because their seeds are full of virus and pests. But peasants have their own system of seeds that does work. She says nobody really knows how this system works because there is no interest in working with them and recognizing their ancestral knowledge. *"INIA considers that only what they do is correct, and what they do is all a copy of CIP, and CIP is a copy of what is done in the United States and in Europe…they have a good, technical system, but it doesn't really fit the country. Our country had a system that worked well before the system of green houses was implanted. We have*

produced potatoes for more the five thousand years!" Maria considers it absurd the change to a system that is more expensive and difficult to monitor, "why do you fix something that works?"

Peasant communities have seeds that work, but INIA tells them that those seeds do not produce enough. Maria thinks that is a biased rationale and that it is product of a lack of examination. Under the conditions where the peasant communities sow their potatoes, over the 4000 meters above sea level, the seeds from INIA would not yield as much as in lower lands. Maria affirms then that it is not a matter of the seeds but of the sowing conditions. Besides, there is a whole package of pesticides and fertilizers that is attached to the seeds distributed by INIA. There is also a problem in trying to compare different varieties because they have different characteristics and dynamics.

Alberto Salas has a similar opinion. He believes that it is necessary to work with peasant communities on their own fields; their *chacras* should be used as laboratories in order to recreate what the Andean people did before. He considers it key to do this kind of work instead of working in laboratories and doing molecular experiments. *"Students don't want to do works of classic genetics, classical breeding…they consider it boring and too long. Everyone is doing laboratory work; they get results in three or six months. But these are purely theoretical results. I am not convinced of this kind of work…but that's what students are doing now. And the same happens with the professors. I think there is a problem in how research is oriented."* While work in laboratories are focused on one or two genes, or even with parts of them, the work in the fields offers a more complete spectrum and therefore could develop richer results.

Potato farmers do not buy certified seeds, the official statistics show that less than 1% of them do. Almost nobody. Certified seeds are not necessarily the best. *"It is often better to buy*

seeds from someone you know than from INIA" confesses Maria. INIA's seeds are more expensive and often not so good, in terms of yield, shape, and taste.

One night, after coming back from the chacra, I sat down with my *abuelito* and asked him to tell me about the potato varieties he had sowed over the years. And it is not a short time; he has been working with potatoes for more than 60 years now. I had a list of improved varieties since the 1950s from an INIA book. I read the list with him and he could say something about each of them, remembering the shape and size of the tubers, how good or bad yields they brought, and other details. I told him I was amazed to see how much he remembered. *"Why wouldn't I remember? If I've hold them with my own hands!"* he replied. Those might not be the native potatoes that carry with them thousands of years of traditions, but they certainly carry a lot of meaning for him and many farmers of his generation.

[Figure 21. *El rey de la papa*. My *abuelito*, very proud of his potato harvest]

c) Changes in "scientific" facts: from improved varieties to preserving biodiversity

Over the last 40 years, there has been a huge increase in the agricultural soil productivity around the world. A big part of this is related to the Green Revolution. Asia is the continent where the impact of the Green Revolution was most evident. (Gutiérrez 1996: 233) However, after a few decades of the Green Revolution's peak, the balance is not very positive and there have been critical reactions to the multiple consequences of this agricultural trend. With the reduction of fertile lands available and the loss of genetic diversity, now the long-term effects of the Green Revolution are in question. Critiques of the Green Revolution tend to center around three types of analysis: an economic one, a sociopolitical one, and an ecological one. In this section, I would like to focus more deeply on the ecological critique and its relationship with the ways in which notions about "ecological issues" are "scientifically" constructed (Latour 1986).

From an economic perspective, many authors affirm that the Green Revolution did not really help to improve economic conditions of the peasantry around the world but rather impoverished them. There are works from different regions of the world that demonstrate that in the long term, peasants end up in a more vulnerable position. And the supposed benefits of improved varieties are not as evident as they seemed. In fact, the comparison of levels of yielding between native and improved varieties is not really fair because it takes for granted all the additional products needed by improved varieties. (Shiva 2002) Furthermore, it is medium and big farmers who benefit from the Green Revolution's advances, but small peasants only see their conditions worsen.

At the social and political level, there are questionings regarding the destabilization of models of traditional societies, and the foreign dependence generated by the Green Revolution.

(Gutiérrez 1996) Cleaver (1979) works on the political tensions that emerged with the Green Revolution: intensified regional conflicts, changes in rural class struggle, growth of the urban lumpen, and the speedup of change. Vandana Shiva has extensively worked on the political conflicts that arose in Punjab following the Green Revolution, which she affirms left the region ravaged by violence and ecological scarcity. Although the Green Revolution was prescribed as a solution to hunger and violence, in Punjab it has had the opposite effect, with thousands of deaths. Unlike most scholars' opinions about the conflicts in Punjab –who reduce the causes of communal conflict to religion– Shiva claims that the conflicts are also economic and political. Furthermore, she affirms "ecological and ethnic fragmentation and breakdown are intimately connected and are an intrinsic part of a policy of planned destruction of diversity in nature and culture to create the uniformity demanded by centralized management systems." (Shiva 2002: 12)

According to Shiva, the Green Revolution's vision of nature was very different from the one traditional farmers had: "The American strategy of the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations differed from the indigenous strategies primarily in the lack of respect for nature's processes and people's knowledge." (Shiva 2002: 34) Instead of looking for cooperation with nature, the Green Revolution proposes its conquest, through the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides. Instead of being based on self-reliance, their vision is based on dependence. (Shiva 2002: 29) Although, Shiva's statements regarding the ecological effects of the introduction of improved varieties are definitely true for the Jauja region, I believe we can construct a more complex characterization. In fact, the image she shows is one very static, where farmers do not have any agency and are left defenseless against external interventions. Farmers in the central highlands appropriated the

technology brought by the Green Revolution but also negotiated with it; furthermore, they don't consider having had that technology imposed on to them.

The Green Revolution was presented as a technical intervention, which supposedly did not have any political implication. However, politics are always involved in the development of scientific and technical research and application. As Shiva argues, injustice is part of the worst forms of scarcity and politics cannot be taken out of the picture, "by-passing the goals of equality and sustainability led to the creation of new inequalities and new scarcities." (Shiva 2002: 57)

But the main focus of critique of the Green Revolution today is related to its ecological impact. Referring to the Green Revolution's contradictions from an ecological point of view, Harry Cleaver (1979) pointed out the devastation of the ecosystem. "The runoffs from the heavy inorganic fertilizer applications called for by the new technology will also add to the process of protein destruction as it results in massive eutrophication of lakes, streams, and rivers." (Cleaver 1979: 231) Besides, he adds that the less plant varieties we have now are taking us into the danger of oversimplified ecosystems.

Stressing the multiple changes that peasants are required to make as part of the Green Revolution interventions Van der Ploeg (2000: 372) argues that the introduction of improved varieties comes along with a whole reorganization of very complex farming routines. There is, for example, an important redefinition of the agricultural calendar. There is also the establishment of new models of dependence: new goods, new procedures, new knowledge, new commercial circuits, etc. Local knowledge, which Van der Ploeg calls "*art de la localité*," becomes marginal and even an obstacle for change and progress. (Van der Ploeg 2000: 372-376).

Improved varieties appear as something "magical[32]," which offer promises that go beyond reality. They appear as something coming from another world, as a "gift" brought to the peasants. However, that gift loses its power after some time. Still, the effects of the "gift" remain among the peasantry, which has seen its farming styles absolutely deteriorated. (Van der Ploeg 2000: 377-380)

Latour's work (1986, 1987) has explored the processes of construction of scientific facts, and has demonstrated that these processes are not exempt of complications and intricate trajectories. Here, I would like to explore the ecological critiques of the Green Revolution in light of the construction of "scientific" facts. After having seen the history of the ideas of the Green Revolution, I am interested in analyzing how is it that certain ideas about the best farming practices are constructed as "facts" at certain moments in time and are reinterpreted later. How is it that farmers are in the middle of these changes and how do they react to them? Farmers have had to constantly negotiate with these interventions in order to decide what to appropriate as part of their farming practices. Today, after decades of implementing a discourse on what is correct to do with farming, they are receiving messages that are contradictory to what they have always been asked to do. There are issues of responsibility in the spreading of "scientific" facts that need to be acknowledged.

The introduction of new seeds was tied to a technological package that included fertilizers and pesticides. The new seeds are able to absorb chemical fertilizers with which they obtain more productivity than traditional varieties. However this generates a dependence of fertilizers, which is a problem especially among poorer farmers. Maria tells me it is difficult to know if it

[32] The question of "magic" appears reiteratively in accounts of the Green Revolution. In many places, they would talk about "miracle seeds," for example. Shiva (2002) says the Green Revolution can be seen as a new religion, which promised abundance. Norman Borlaug's program for training agronomists in Mexico was even called "Practical School of Wheat Apostles."

was the new varieties or the technological package that caused the success of the Green Revolution. *"The case of Jauja is singular because it has a very fertile soil, those red soils are high-yielding,"* she adds. Many authors have in fact argued that the "miraculous" effects of the seeds of the Green Revolution are not really so, considering the technological package required to make them yield. (Shiva 2002, Gutierrez 1996)

The intensification of the agricultural production that promoted the Green Revolution had an effect on genetic diversity, which has consequences on the crops' resistance to natural plagues. New crops are more vulnerable and therefore need massive quantities of pesticides. This has multiple consequences not only in the crops but also in the agricultural costs, as well as environmental pollution. Pesticides have effects not only on plagues but also on other species that are good for crops. Over time, the plagues develop resistance to pesticides and new ones have to be applied. The effects of chemical fertilizers and pesticides are not only dangerous for the environment but are also counter-productive because they reduce the seeds' resistance and thus contribute to pest vulnerability. (Shiva 2002: 95)

Shiva affirms that after decades of Green Revolution agriculture in Punjab, there has been a destruction of soils fertility. This can be explained by the use of non-renewable inputs of phosphorus potash and nitrates as chemical fertilizers. The traditional nutrient cycle has been replaced by a linear and non-renewable process, leaving soils completely poor (Shiva 2002: 104).

The Green Revolution also imposed specific ways of farming, leaving aside traditional strategies, such as the rotation of crops, which used the land more carefully. The promotion of single crop farming has also had negative effects on the agricultural soils. The over exploitation of the soils end up affecting the productivity over time. (Gutiérrez 1996) An adequate irrigation

system is another requirement for a good performance of the new seeds. This also increases the costs for the farmers, and has consequences in their lives. (Gutiérrez 1996: 238-239)

The critiques of the effects of the Green Revolution started very early on, and Norman Borlaug himself replied to some of them: "Do you say that it is morally incorrect to use chemical fertilizers under these conditions? Do you think you can build world peace on poverty, empty bellies and empty words?" (Borlaug 1972: 33) He justified the usage of chemical fertilizers and pesticides alluding to the issue of "hunger."

Responding to Borlaug's argument, other authors emphasized the issue of unequal distribution of resources at the core of the problem of hunger: "The problem of hunger in the capitalist world has rarely been one of absolute food deficits, particularly when the productive capacity of the developed countries is taken into account. It is one of uneven distribution caused by a system that feeds those with money and, unless forced to do otherwise, lets the rest fend for themselves." (Cleaver 1979: 233) The world does not need more production of food, but rather a more egalitarian distribution of the food already in existence.

Borlaug also responded to the critiques arguing that underdeveloped countries were not in a privileged position from which they would be able to choose among various options to solve the hunger problem: "(…) I think this is a vast over-simplification when we are talking about nitrogen and also phosphate. And, it's one thing for the USA and all its privileged to speak this way when we enjoy an abundance of food." (Borlaug 1972: 33) Cleaver turns around the question and considers that "the United States can afford a limited number of such "mistakes"; the Third World cannot." (Cleaver 1979: 231)

As a long-term effect of the Green Revolution, there is also a loss of well-adapted, genetically variable varieties. Parallel to their work in potato breeding, CIP has promoted a work

of collection of wild potato varieties in the Germplasm Bank in Lima. Alberto Salas, which has been one of the most important contributors to the bank, explained to me the incredible genetic richness of wild potato varieties. These are very old varieties, they are thousands of years old; throughout this time, they have adapted themselves to the multiple changes occurred in the environment. Climate change thus is not a significant change for these varieties because they have faced abrupt changes like that before. Over time, the menaces to potatoes –plagues and diseases– are also permanently changing, mutating. Wild potatoes have demonstrated the ability to resist all of those changes and therefore have a truly genetic richness. *"That's why I say that I'm not afraid of change, let the change come! We have material to work on that here,"* tells me Alberto with excitement.

Alberto explained to me that the Andean man has worked for many years domesticating potatoes from wild varieties. The processes of domestication are very long, so the varieties domesticated before are now 500, 1000, 3000 years old. *"Imagine the huge changes there have been! What are you going to worry about? That's why I am satisfied and calmed. A lot of people are alarmed, but we should keep calm, let the change come. Everything is going to change, potatoes, men, and the agricultural system. We just need to be careful about what we select. (...) "Ancient Peruvian people have selected many good varieties, that's what we have to do now. And now we know better the mechanisms, we can work even better. We can accelerate the processes in the laboratories. I'm not worried!"* he concludes.

Ecologist discourses are very emphatic in rejecting genetically modified crops. In Peru, in 2011 the Law 29811 established a ten-year moratorium on genetically modified crops. The law was promulgated in light of the uncertainty that exists in Peru regarding the effects of transgenic crops in human health and in the environment. There has been some debate in Peru regarding the

implications of transgenic crops and the general opinion agrees on their negativity. Even the big media in Peru promoted a campaign against transgenic crops. However, genetically modified crops are not necessarily the evil as they are pictured, Maria explained to me. She recalls that once, in the 1980s, someone at CIP suggested to make transgenic experiments with a gen BT (Bacillus thuringiensis) as a biological alternative to pesticides. It was a scandal. The person who made that suggestion was sent to Africa so that it could be clear that CIP would not get involved in those kinds of transgenic experiments. Maria thinks that reactions against genetically modified crops are exaggerated and that the gen BT could help agriculture a lot in eliminating the use of many toxic pesticides. *"I believe we can struggle against weevil without genetically modified crops but it is very difficult…they say we are a country with huge biodiversity but they never think what it would mean to have genetically modified potatoes…but not using agrochemicals, we're protecting farmers' health, we're protecting water…people would need to think a bit further when they affirm something without really studying the situation. Being against genetically modified crops does not necessarily mean to be for agroecology."*

In the mid 1990s, when she returned from Australia, Maria had a lot of enthusiasm to work on new research topics in Peru. She also came back with different perspectives and her work was now focused on the conservation of biodiversity. This change, she tells me, is related to a turn in the focus of development programs related to agriculture, oriented by the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. If before Maria's work was focused on medium and big farmers, now it is oriented towards small and poorer farmers. She is working on a project that helps peasant communities to preserve the genetic resources of their traditional potato varieties. Although she is aware that it is not possible to make those farmers abandon new cultivars, her

work attempts to make them keep traditional varieties as well. *In situ* conservation is the name they give to this system.

Maria also keeps working in projects related to potato breeding. One of them is a project with native varieties from Huancavelica. The goal is to fight against kids' malnutrition creating new potato varieties with high content of iron and zinc. Considering that changing people's diet is a huge challenge, reinforcing the nutritious content of potatoes is a good solution, she tells me.

Alberto tells me that he sees a social and cultural problem in peasant households and in rural areas in general today. *"What's happenning with agricultural valleys like the Mantaro? When I first went there it was an agricultural valley, but now it isn't anymore. There's no more agriculture. I see a displacement, and this a cultural issue."* Comparing contemporary rural families with how they were before, Alberto remarks that before all the children were engaged in the agricultural work, they worked the fields and learned from their parents about plagues, ways of farming, etc. Families were more united, he tells me, and this helped to maintain certain traditional knowledge. Now, kids are more interested in watching television and peasant families sow only for their own consumption. *"If they keep sowing potatoes, it's only because potatoes are their daily food. Their mentality is oriented to protect the food security of their family. They are wise."*

But medium farmers as potato kings still find it profitable to work in agriculture. Even if "scientific facts" establish today that it is time to preserve biodiversity and take care of the lands that have been intensely worked over the last seven decades. Who will tell them now that the way they have learned to farm is incorrect? That the seeds they were sold are no longer miraculous? My abuelito tells me that he doesn't see the lands in Chocon lasting for too many

more years, *"they are tired, after all these years."* But he's determined to keep working until his own forces let him.

Maria remembers that she once asked Carlos Ochoa if he felt bad about the way (his) new cultivars had displaced many native potato varieties. He answered very firmly with a negative, and said that he preferred to secure food for people rather than traditional agriculture. He also told her a story about a family he met during one of his trips to Cusco. He was driving at night and his car broke, so he started walking, looking for help. He found a small peasant house and when the owner heard his name, he couldn't believe it was "Carlos Ochoa from the Renacimiento variety." The man thanked him very fondly and said that all of Peru should be grateful to him for giving them everyday food.

Carlos Ochoa did not think that there was a choice, because Peruvians needed food. However, he was also very emphatic on the importance of collecting native varieties in germplasm banks. He believed that genetic erosion was inevitable and native potatoes would be completely replaced by new varieties. Therefore, he considered crucial to keep big germplasm banks. After several decades of improved varieties, native potatoes have not disappeared in Peru (unlike Ecuador, another Andean country like, for example).

[Figure 22. My abuelito and his workers, preparing the land to sow]

Chapter 4. Reconfigurations of Race and Indigenousness in Jauja

Summary.-
This chapter explores the racial tensions that emerged with potato kings' economic mobility, and the difficulties in gaining social recognition for their new position. Through ethnographic material and local newspaper analysis, this chapter analyzes the urban social life of urban mestizo elites in Jauja since the mid 20th century, emergent potato farmers' attempts to fit in, and the transformations of the city with indigenous migrants from rural areas. I argue that although an explicit racism does not appear as a reaction to emergent potato farmers, racism is present covered by "culture" and the associated preoccupations around education, hygiene, and order. Emergent potato farmers are then sign of what disrupts with the established order. Potato farmers' identity is very complex because it is located in the border: they are not longer Indians but are not fully mestizo either.

> "For Tijibaou and many of his compatriots it has never been a matter of choosing one or the other, tribe or city, tradition or modernity, but of sustaining a livable interaction as part of an ongoing struggle for power" (Clifford 2001: 471)

"I don't want people thinking I'm a peasant," explained my *abuelito* one morning, on his way out to work, responding to my mother's compliments about his (very Western) outfit: wool pants, a flannel shirt, a nice alpaca coat, and a hat. As part of a rural bourgeoisie of potato kings who emerged in the 1950s in the Peruvian central highlands and who have experienced struggles for recognition, my *abuelito* constantly feels the need to demonstrate that he is no longer a peasant. But why do we find that insistence in marking a distance? Precisely because he was one of the peasants he now wants to distinguish himself from. He feels the need to demonstrate that he is something else now.

Although he is not referring to any specific group of "people," but just making a general statement, it is important to note that potato kings' presence –and especially their "emergence"– is not necessarily pleasing to everyone. Traditional mestizo elites, for instance, have found in the label potato kings a way to react to the disruption caused by the mobility of this new indigenous bourgeoisie and to "root" them back to their Indian and peasant origins in the highlands. The

pejorative connotation of the term has now expanded in Peru to refer to *nouveaux riches* more widely, and is an expression of the elites' resistance towards processes of economic mobility and social change. I am interested in the tensions that arise in the struggle for social recognition in a context of economic mobility. Although potato kings have been able to experience a degree of upward economic mobility, they ultimately find themselves bound by interlinked racial-spatial signifiers of identity attributed to them but also vertically reproduced by them in their relations with wageworkers.

Material and economic transformations alone do not explain the complex transformations of the central highlands' peasantry. Identity and subjectivities are also transformed and I am interested in exploring them in this chapter through the concept of race. I aim to analyze how the reconfigurations of racial categories becomes a crucial field in potato kings' contestation of power. In order to do so, I analyze Jauja's local newspaper from the period 1940s-1960s to trace the social life of the epoch and the emergence of certain transformations. Resistance to social change, I argue, is elaborated around racial categories that despite not being rigid and openly used, operate in very complex ways. Covered by the ideas of hygiene, education, and order, race does not appear explicitly all the time, although there are moments where it cannot be hidden anymore. Power does not work so much in a coercive way, but rather attempting to produce and shape an individual and a city that are distant from indigenous signifiers.

Understanding race from a decolonial perspective

Racial and ethnic categories are used to mark distinctions, to establish boundaries, to exclude and include. Used either externally to classify others, or internally to claim a specific (or various different) identity/ies, these categories are always relational and mobile because

boundaries are not permanent. (Barth 1994) Therefore, identity is always in a formation process and is constructed from the ambivalence of being something but not something else.

Identity is also a narrative, a representation, a story about oneself and others (Hall 2010: 321). Stories help us to make sense of the world; we need to construct them to help our lives. This dissertation is a story about some "successful" Peruvian farmers and their economic and social emergence at a particular moment in history. It is also a story about my family; it is, in the end, a story about myself. Therefore, writing this story is a process of helping myself to make sense of the world, and my own place within it. When reading academic literature on race, I have always been surprised by how very few people are willing to racially situate themselves. Understanding race as a sign, I would like to claim the right to reconstruct family memories and lineages through racial categories. Despite all of the negative connotations of race, it can also serve as a thread we can follow to help us to go back to the origins, a guide, a compass to understand who we are. (Segato 2007)

Races, as has been demonstrated scientifically, do not exist: there are no genetic differences among what we know as different "races." However, races still exist as categories used in everyday life to classify people; they have a social existence that is important to understand and explain. I am interested in analyzing race as a "sign," (Segato 2007) a historical mark in the subject, a mark that determines a position and shows a legacy of dispossession. Race then operates as an effect and not as a cause and it has to be read historically. The permanent construction of racial categories is a way of subalternization and expropriation; racial classifications are part of a colonial order of domination. Instead of seeing races as the signs of a constituted people or ethnic group, I would like to see them as marks of colonial histories (Segato 2007: 24-25, Quijano 2014).

Racial categories have specific histories and trajectories; they are products of particular contexts and need to be understood in their changes throughout time. It must be acknowledged thus that they are fundamentally linked with the *coloniality of power* in the New World: relationships of labor exploitation came together with the formation of new inter-subjective social relations. The creation of races helped to justify exploitation and subalternization. The particular historical context of the Iberian Peninsula at the time, the intra Christian conflict (Reformation and Counter-Reformation), and the conflict against Muslims, were decisive factors in Spaniards' approach to native populations in the New World. Race, however, was not a category used with the same connotation as today, but was related to "cleanliness of blood", which actually referred to "purity" of Christianity (Quijano 1993). Quijano demonstrates that the category of "race" was invented then with the colonization of the Americas, and races were constructed in order to construct the idea of "Europe."

Despite an initial attempt to "assimilate" indigenous population in the new system, Spanish and Indian Republics were created as separate groups around 1570 (Burns 2007). However, mixtures did occur and the continuous trespassing of boundaries made racial classification almost impossible. The general term for naming the "mixed" people was "mestizo" (Wade 1997: 29). The category was born as conceptually hybrid, combining different epistemological paradigms: faith (the pre-Enlightenment discourse about cleanliness of blood) and scientific reason (the discourse about races). The latter did not replace the former but rather added to it, producing a combination of different knowledge regimes, both politically dominant and promoted by the state (De la Cadena 2007). Racial discourse, thus, is built upon a fundamental paradox since it "invariably draws on a cultural density of prior representations that are recast in new form." (Stoler 1995: 90)

Racial categories have intricate and very complex histories we need to reconstruct. However, and precisely because race can be seen as traces left on our bodies, there is the possibility of taking those traces, as if taking threads to re-knit them, and reconstruct skeins of racial histories (Segato 2014). My dissertation, as I have mentioned before, is in part an attempt to retake and re-knit the threads of historical weaves that have been abandoned, silenced, hidden.[33]

Skin color is a "sign" and it has a sociological value because it has a capacity to signify. Therefore, signs' meanings depend on an attribution, on a socially shared reading and on a historical and geographically limited context. Being a sign, race depends on determined contexts to acquire meaning and be socially relevant (Segato 2007: 133-137). And these are contexts localized within the historical national processes. National formations of alterity are hegemonic representations of the nation that produce determined realities. It is only within a frame of national formation, where interior alterity is organized and managed that we can see with clarity race as a sign. It is important to work with nationally specific ideas of race and alterity because they are part of national projects. (Segato 2007: 28-30)[34]

Just as in Brazil, being black is not equal to be part of a differentiated culture or tradition (Segato 2007: 133), being indigenous in Peru has a similarly indefinite status. Furthermore, who can claim an "indigenous" identity? This issue of the lack of representative value of racial categories can be challenging in anthropological attempts to study race and identity in contemporary Peru, especially in urban and periurban regions.

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[33] Edouard Glissant's theory of traces in opposition to systems is very useful to think of the ways race works in social relations. Traces put us in relation with others, so Glissant refers to a poetics of relation. (Glissant 1997)

[34] Segato is very critical of identity politics and how they become "canned" identities. There is no coincidence, she argues, between political identities and historical alterities or deep-rooted ways to be "other" within the context of the nation and the region. (Segato 2007: 139) Zizek makes a similar critique of multiculturalism.

One particularity of the Andean region is the historical link between the categories "peasant" and "Indian." Therefore, the study of the peasantry in the region needs to include race and ethnicity as important variables (Stern 1987: 16-8). Spanish conquistadors used "Indian" to refer to the native population in America, erasing several of the ethnic differences that existed at the epoch. The birth of independent republics in America did not entail a process of decolonization (Quijano 1993) and instead constituted an imperial project of internal colonization of territories and cultures by the white creole elites (Larson 2002: 14-5). Latin-American nation-states were built following an ideal of homogeneity, which made elites talk about the "Indian problem."

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries "scientific racism" –a belief in the superiority of some "races" over others– was considered a scientific fact and ideas of racial superiority of the white population only saw an end after World War II, with the revelation of Nazi atrocities in the name of a racist ideology (Wade 1997). In Peru, scientific racism oriented state policies for a long time. Jose Carlos Mariátegui (1979 [1928]), the founder of the Peruvian Socialist Party, was one of the first authors who discarded biological arguments, and established a clear connection between the "indigenous question" and the regimes of land property. The discussions about racial and cultural inferiority, he affirmed, were only hiding the real problem: the *gamonales* feudal system and Indian servitude. The solution had to be social and carried out by the Indians themselves, returning to the ideas of community and practical socialism existent in the Andean past (Mariátegui 1979: 29-32).

In the first half of the twentieth century *indigenism* emerged in Latin America as an artistic and cultural movement led mostly by elite intellectuals who shared the idea of vindicating the figure of the "Indian." However, unlike many other countries where *indigenism* promoted

mestizaje (meaning education and acculturation of the indigenous population) as an official ideology and a goal for the construction of the nation, in Peru neither the state nor intellectuals and public figures considered it as positive but as degradation. The effort was instead for the preservation of Andean culture, though modernizing life in the countryside, which was also a way to prevent indigenous migrations to the cities (De la Cadena 2007: 102-105). The category of "Indian" remained in force and it was only within the context of Juan Velasco's left wing military government, in 1969, that "Indian" was banned as an official term and replaced by "peasant." Despite the desire to vindicate the indigenous population by discarding pejorative labels for them, the result has been the interchangeability of the terms, which ends up rigidly classifying indigenous subjects as peasants.

a. The construction of a Spanish Identity in Jauja

One of the reasons that makes potato kings' emergence singular is the context in which they emerged. People from Jauja have built a particular identity around a supposed Spanish heritage, based mostly upon having been the first Spanish capital of Peru. Although this happened almost five hundred years ago –and did not last for too long– it still appears as a reason of pride in Jauja. Although Jauja is the name of the province, it is the city of Jauja, the province capital, which has the hegemony in political and cultural terms. None of the other districts has a similar size and urban development, nor a symbolic hegemony. In this section, I am not interested in reconstructing the history of Jauja but rather the history of how Jauja assumes this Spanish identity; and of the cultural mechanisms developed for that purpose.[35]

[35] Because narratives are not linear and unidirectional, in the introduction of the book "Facetas de Jauja", Emilio Romero refers to Jauja as a place that evidently could not have stayed as the capital of the colonial regime in Peru: "Jauja era demasiado fuerte i pujante de sangre nativa para poder resistir como capital. La sierra fuerte e inmensa presta energías desconocidas. (…) Jauja no podia ser la capital permanente de un nuevo imperio colonial. Su

i. Jauja as the first Spanish capital of Peru and utopian land

Although the Central Sierra did not stand out in Peruvian history during colonial times it did play an important role during the Spanish conquest, or at least in its representation in the national narrative. One of the factors usually mentioned in the relatively easy conquest of the Incas by the Spaniards is the internal conflicts the Incas had with populations they had recently conquered: the hatred against Inca rule would have led these groups to serve as the Spaniards' allies. The "Wankas" are often mentioned as one of these groups that had tense relationships with the Incas. Porras (1950) made references to this cooperation, and Arguedas (1977) also builds on it for his broader argument about the singularities of this region; however, it is Espinoza who most strongly affirms the alliance between Spaniards and Wankas. His analysis is based upon some *Memorias* and *Informaciones* dated in 1558, documents written by *kurakas*[36] from the Mantaro Valley to list the types of collaboration given to Spaniards during their conquest of the Incas. The purpose of these documents was, of course, to claim recompense from the Crown (Espinoza 1986).[37]

More recent research demonstrates that the Wankas were not against the Inca rule as a block, but rather some *kurakas* of the region actually made alliances with them in order to gain more power (Perales 2011: 53). Considering the important role that local *kurakas* maintained after the Inca conquest and the lack of a unified group in the region, it is reasonable to assume

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personalidad era demasiado pujante." (Espinosa 1936: 6)

[36] Kurakas, hereditary leaders of ayllus/communities, were one of the prehispanic institutions kept by Spaniards after the conquest; and they maintained most of the functions they had previously. They were offered more opportunities (exemption from tributes and forced labor) but also they had some of their previous rights restricted. Their position gave them opportunities for personal profits and this resulted in a gradual increase in their participation in the colonial system. (Silverblatt 1987: 112, Spalding 1974)

[37] Don Felipe Guacrapaucar, don Francisco Cusichaca, and Carlos Apo Alaya are the names of the kurakas that Espinoza mentions. The "Memorias" and "Informaciones", which were written for the purpose of claiming pay back for the kurakas' loyalty to the Spaniards, were presented to the *Consejo de Indias*.

that kurakas' reactions to Spanish conquest across the region were not uniform but were rather based upon local decisions (De la Puente 2011: 95). In fact, the documents analyzed by Espinoza (1986) seem to be part of the political strategy of local *kurakas* who wanted to defend their properties from the threats of colonial reforms.[38]

The city of Xauxa (Jauja), in the Central Highlands, was established as the first Spanish capital of Peru in 1533 by Francisco Pizarro, and was for a time the conquistador's operation center and place of residence[39]. However, there was still political turmoil and power struggles among the conquistadors themselves. In one of Pizarro's trips to explore the recently conquered territory, he was alerted of a rebellion, which made him return to Jauja immediately and realize that its location was not the ideal because of the distance from the coast and from Cuzco, which was still the indigenous administrative center. Worried about these reasons, Pizarro called a *cabildo* in Jauja and after some debate; they decided to move the capital to Lima (Rostworowski 2003).

In a very short time, the town the Spaniards had beautifully described was abandoned, as they not only declared Lima the new capital in 1535, but also abandoned Jauja for other Andean cities (Arguedas 1975: 6-8). At this time, the importance of the region laid mostly in the proximity to the mine of Huancavelica, where the mercury for the exploitation of silver at Potosi (the most important colonial mining center, in present-day Bolivia) was produced.

Colonial exploitation of land and labor were accomplished through the establishment of *reducciones*, *encomiendas*[40], and later *corregimientos*[41]. These unities concentrated groups of

[38] De la Puente (2011) argues that the "Probanzas" were written as part of a larger strategy to keep lands and Indians during a time when there were discussions about this in the colonial administration.
[39] Jauja is known as the place where the first mestiza was born: Francisca Pizarro Yupanqui, daughter of Francisco Pizarro and the grand daughter of the Inca Huayna Capac, Ines Huaylas. She was born in 1534.
[40] These gave relative independence to the conquistadores who were later considered dangerous by the Crown, which set about to eliminate them and establish *corregimientos* in their place.
[41]By the mid-seventeenth century, the post of *corregidor* was not bestowed but bought at very high prices, which

native population for labor and tribute collection, and they were also a way of isolating Indians to break ethnic identity and prevent rebellions. Indians were assigned to Spaniards (in grants of *encomiendas*) and were obliged to offer them personal services; in exchange the natives would receive evangelization (Spalding 1974: 116-117).

In the Central Highlands, the situation had certain particularities because most of the Spaniards left after the removal of the capital city to Lima. The Hispanic re-population of the region seems to have taken place when the indigenous control of the land was already consolidated. In fact, Indian nobility had a very powerful position in the region and, thanks to marriage alliances; they continued to consolidate their power for a long time[42]. Consequently, Spaniards did not become the principal landowners and the lands they received were not those that belonged to the *ayllus*. The fertile valley was mostly divided in small properties that belonged to peasant communities, and the plots of white or *mestizo* landowners were generally small. *Haciendas* were present only in the arid uplands above the valleys, suitable only for livestock or some Andean crops. Although their boundaries were extensive, the proportion of the land actually used was small (Mallon 1986: 19). Hence, this region was not destined to become the site of large numbers of *haciendas*, as was true elsewhere. Nevertheless, the situation was not as "ideal" as described by Espinoza (1986), who said Indians lived in a free environment. *Haciendas* required labor from the peasant families, who were given the right to pasture their own animals in *hacienda* lands in exchange for their labor. Indian communities held a certain

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implied that Spaniards would usually go into debts to obtain these positions. To pay their debts, they invented the *repartimiento de mercancias*, an institution whereby a Corregidor sold goods to the Indians he was in charge of. This became a way of subjecting the Indians and introducing them to a money market. (Spalding 1974: 128-132) Tribute had to be paid in metallic currency or equivalent commodities, which obliged the Indians to enter into the commercial economy. The Indian labor became a commodity and *corregidores* started distributing it to estates in exchange for money. (Spalding 1974: 142-144, Golte 1980) The colonial system made use of aspects of the Inca system, such as reciprocity between *ayllus* and kurakas; however, the transfer of goods from Indians to Spaniards was not reciprocated. (Watchel 1977: 119)

[42] A clear example is Blas Astocuri Apoalaya, principal cacique and governor of the three regions of the Valley during the period 1726-1751 (Hurtado 2011).

power but this did not imply a lack of servitude in the region (Manrique 1987: 52-53).

In order to understand the particular situation of the region, Arguedas (1975) analyzed the records of population classified by "race" in the Archives of the archbishopric of Lima from 1778. Despite some zonal variations the Spanish population in the Central Highlands was rather low. Such a demographic reality was consistent with that of neighboring regions, leading Arguedas to conclude that the special characteristics attributed to the valley could not be explained by racial differences. According to him, the explanation lies in the early alliance established with the Spaniards, which gave the local elites special status and power (Arguedas 1975: 18-22). Though it has recently been demonstrated that such an alliance was not uniform across the region, the property structure that it implied has clearly contributed to the region's particularity. One visual result of this is the region's lack of magnificent colonial architecture, including the types of churches present in other Andean cities like Cuzco or Ayacucho. The first small church, built in 1554 in the place where Padre Valverde replaced a *Huaca*[43] by a Christian cross, was gradually destroyed by the passage of time and there are no remains of it today (Arguedas 1975: 25-26).

ii. The European myth of Jauja

There is a medieval myth that tells about a utopian land of plenty, prosperity and abundance. The first references to such a place appeared in the 12th century in Italy, and the place is called Cuccagna. It also appears as Schlaraffenland in Germany and as Cocagne in France. I all the cases, it is a place full of food and other pleasures offered by nature. The image of the country of Cuccagna –or Jauja, later– was thus a paneuropean myth.

At a certain point, during the 16th century, those legends were overlapped with the

[43] Andean shrine.

references to the Peruvian valley of Jauja, keeping the same topics but with a different name. Some authors conclude that Spaniards created their own legend later and adapted it to the Italian and French images. The first text that referred to Jauja in this sense was Lope de Rueda's farce "Tierra de Jauja," published in 1547. (Delpech 2012)

Cuccagna is a myth of original times, of a lost Paradise. That utopia is also a land of opposites, where there is no control and things are upside down. Cuccagna is the perfect place for gluttonous people but also for lazy, player, and rogues. Nobody is required to work and, in fact, good people are punished and mean ones are compensated. The contrast between dream and reality is mediatized by mockery; a very evident fiction is created against a reality of hunger and insecurity. (Delpech 2012)

[Figure 23. *Il Paese della Cuccagna*. Bruegel il Vecchio, 1567]

The image of that utopian land was identified as a trap for idiots. The myth was reinterpreted from a critical and moralizing perspective. Cuccagna was seen as a place of madness and chaos. The same myth was also used then as an ascetic and moralizing dispositive.

This happened especially in Germany at the time of the reform, and it served as a way to illustrate the condemnation of an earthly paradise. Cuccagna worked as a dangerous illusion, a dispositive of moral control. (Delpech 2012: 16-17)

The historical moment of the conquest of America was especially fertile for the proliferation of this kind of myths. There was, among the conquistadores, the idea of being about to discover the paradise in the new conquered territories. The fantasy, the abstract idea that had been forever present in the literature and mythology was then becoming real. America was at the time conceived as a gigantic country of Cuccagna. Therefore the native name of Xauxa was immediately associated with the Spanish "Jauja" that was already part of a semantic and symbolic construction of a food and richness paradise. The "country of Jauja" (país de Jauja) became then a representative place of richness in the new world. (Delpech 2012: 18-20) There was an interesting reinterpretation of the place originated by a medieval legend that came to America from Europe and then traveled back to become a new referent of the Hispanic popular literature. (Urani 2012: 24)

The myth of a utopian land of abundance was also a way to symbolize the absurd and false idea of Spanish prosperity during the colonization of the new world. The particular features of the Spanish myth are clearly dependent of the growth and decadence of the Spanish colonial empire. It also worked as a compensatory myth that was naively praised and served to represent both the joy of the rich as well as the desires of the hungry masses. (Delpech 2012: 21) The myth around Jauja (or Cuccagna) reveals the difficulties of the colonial enterprise and the contradictions of the discourses that described it. The prosperity described in the myth is such that whoever believes it deserves to be mocked. Popular literature finds thus a way to lighten the disillusion of the colonial project through a compensatory topic. (Urani 2012: 29-30)

"País de Jauja" is also the name of the very praised novel written by the jaujino writer and researcher, Edgardo Rivera Martinez (National Award of Culture, 2013). It has been considered one the most important Peruvian novels of the twentieth century. The book is a *bildungsroman*, a novel of learning: a teenager from Jauja in the 1940s tells his everyday life and through his experiences we learn about the history of the city and the cultural richness and particularities of the region. Jauja, again, is built as a space of singularity because of its identity of *mestizaje*.

The myth has contributed to the construction of the idea of Jauja as a singular and unique place. Jaujinos enjoy referring to this idea even nowadays and it is at the core of their pride for being jaujinos. The contents of the myth might not be the same but the consideration of Jauja as a place of uniqueness still persists.

b) The "Casino Jauja", *carnavales* and the cracking of the mestizo elite in Jauja, 1940s-1950s

> "Carnival celebrations, *cortamontes*, *pandillas* give life to the *barrios*, and in fact *barrios* exist precisely for carnival celebrations." (Monge 1980: 15)[44]

In the nineteenth century, the Central Highlands had been a region with a powerful elite that concentrated the lands and economic power. Their hegemony, however, was shaken by the Pacific War and all the economic, social, and political turmoil it brought about. Furthermore, the organization of indigenous people for the resistance to the foreign army ended up being a threat for the landowners: in the post-war most of the haciendas of the region were invaded by peasants. They had already felt the power of being armed and organized around a "national"

[44] My translation of the original in Spanish: "Los carnavales, los cortamontes, las pandillas, dan vida a los barrios, y los barrios existen precisamente para los carnavales." (Monge 1980: 15)

cause, they had seen that landowners were not invincible; why wouldn't they defend their own causes? (Manrique 1988) By the 1940s, the hegemony of local elites was thus no longer what it used to be. But Jauja somehow maintained this feeling of specialness it had always had; even if in a decayed state, local elites kept considering themselves in a singular position. Beyond the material –economic– basis for this hegemony, I am interested in analyzing how it was maintained through cultural mechanisms, and how it was also cracking up through both economic and cultural mechanisms.

"País de Jauja," the novel by Edgardo Rivera Martinez, is a book that depicts the social world of Jauja during the 1940s-1960s. This book captivated many jaujinos because they could see themselves in the experiences of the main character and his descriptions of the city and the valley. My mom, who reads a lot of fiction, considers it one of her favorite books. All of my aunts were also fascinated by the novel. The book definitely captures some of what jaujinos consider essential to their identity: a singular combination of tradition and modernity; of Andean and western culture.

"País de Jauja" is in the end a proposal about *mestizaje* as an experience of the everyday life and an invitation to rescue and appropriate tradition, to explore the origins and project them to the future as a decolonial gesture (Portocarrero 2015). The official ideology of a creole nationalism sees *mestizaje* as a process already finished and constitutes a colonial and anti-indigenous position. Rivera Martinez establishes a critique of that narrative and points out an alternative view of the nation as plurality of intertwining that doesn't abolish difference but rather acknowledges it. (Portocarrero 2015: 63)

In Rivera Martinez's novel *mestizaje* is not seen as something ideal and metaphysical but rather as a practice of everyday life, of acknowledging the "other." The author is far from both

the colonial creole world and the Andean fundamentalism, instead situates himself in a multiplication of encounters and fusions between the indigenous and westerns worlds. (Portocarrero 2015: 69-73)

Claudio, a teenager and the main character of the novel, has a challenge: to discover who he is, where he comes from, but over all, to make a path for himself. The novel presents the complexities of the social world of Jauja: the main character has very present within his family the deterioration of "notable" people and the captivating world of Andean traditions and mythology, altogether with he falling in love with an indigenous girl, and playing Bach, Chopin and Mozart in the piano as well as local *huaynos*. Jauja appears as a place of cultural encounters of the indigenous and the western world. (Portocarrero 2015)

To me, the experiences that Rivera Martinez narrates in his book are not necessarily familiar; I have never seen that city of Jauja he describes. Moreover, as fascinating as I found his narrative, I felt that he pictured a somewhat idealized vision of Jauja. Some of the stories I have heard about Jauja were not necessarily present in his book. Not that "Pais de Jauja" should capture everything, but I felt that some crucial social conflicts of the city were absent in the novel.

Maruja Martinez, a sociologist and another important intellectual from Jauja, wrote an autobiographical book that I read and loved when I was a teenager. At that time, I was fascinated mainly by her stories about her leftist militancy, but also about the stories about her childhood in Jauja. So when I moved to Huancayo to start my fieldwork, I decided to take Maruja's book with me. And rereading it, after a decade and from Huancayo, was very revealing. She includes in her book a couple of letters she wrote to Edgardo Rivera Martinez after reading his novel "País de Jauja." In one of those letters, she says about the book:

> "Reading your book I find a recuperation of my adolescence. It was a time when I was happy but didn't belong. In your book, I find the other side of my life, that one I wish I had lived…including Mozart! On this side, the one I was put into, there was a lot of the declining provincial petite bourgeoisie that was usually at the Casino Jauja during the 1950s and 1960s, as ignorant as arrogant, as poor as wasteful. Why didn't I belonged to the city you picture in your book? I asked that to my mom and she couldn't give me an answer…I lived in the wrong side of the city, in the side that didn't want to accept mestizaje."[45] (Martinez 1997: 280)

Indeed, the image of Jauja Rivera Martinez pictures in his book is a particular one. I would like to explore that other side of the city that Maruja Martínez mentions, the side of the provincial elite who spent time at the "Casino Jauja" and didn't want to acknowledge social changes in the region. We can get a glimpse of that Jauja looking at the local newspapers, such as *El Porvenir*.

El Porvenir was one of Jauja's most important newspapers and was first published in 1908. On his pages, we can get a glimpse of the social atmosphere in Jauja. The newspapers from the 1950s that I studied at the Peruvian National Library demonstrate the importance the Casino still held, and I can affirm that even today the name "Casino Jauja" is very significative. The "Casino Jauja", opened in the 1930s, and became a central place in the social life of the city of Jauja during several decades of the 20th century. It was a point of reunion for the families of the urban elite of the city. Families would go there on Sundays, after mass, and kids would spend some time playing ping-pong or board games, while their parents would play cards and chat among them (of course men and women would usually do different activities). The Casino Jauja was the central place for the production and reproduction of the traditional urban jaujino elite identity.

[45] My translation of the original in Spanish: "Pero al leer su libro encuentro como una recuperación de mi adolescencia. Mi adolescencia fue feliz, pero fue ajena. En su libro encuentro el otro lado de mi vida, aquel que hubiera querido vivir…¡incluyendo a Mozart! En este lado, el que me tocó en suerte, hubo mucho de la pequeña elite decadente provinciana agrupada en el "Casino Jauja" en los años cincuenta-sesenta, tan ignorante como arrogante, tan pobre como dispendiosa. ¿Por qué no pertenecí a la ciudad que usted retrata? Se lo pregunté a mi madre y no supo responder…Viví en el lado equivocado, en el lado de los que se resistían a aceptar el mestizaje." (Martinez 1997: 280)

The Casino was also the scene for some of the most important social events in Jauja. All of the important parties, anniversaries, carnival celebrations and social events would take place there. The Casino was founded in the late 1920s and was (and still is) located in one of the old houses in the main plaza in Jauja. The house is not private property but rather belongs to the municipality. In fact, one of my interviewees tells me a story regarding this. He finds it ironic that although his father was one of the founders of the Casino Jauja he was a promoter of closing it down when he was member of the city council. He remembers that in the process of political regionalization in the 1990s a regional session took place in Jauja and he had to make the role of the host. He decided to take the visitors –a group of important regional authorities and political figures– to the Casino Jauja. Once they got there, a man who holds one of the most prestigious last names in Jauja stopped them and didn't want to let them in, saying the Casino Jauja was private property. They had to leave and find somewhere else to go.

Once the visitors left, in the next city council meeting, my interviewee asked about the Casino Jauja and its status in terms of property. He learned that the establishment was actually property of the municipality, and that the organization Casino Jauja had not paid taxes in the past fifty years. He was outraged and pushed the other members of the city council to react and force them to pay their debts. The sum was very big and they evidently could not afford to pay it. The Casino Jauja was thus shut down. And although it has been re-opened, it is no longer the important and fabulous place it used to be.

The Casino Jauja appears in the imaginaries of jaujinos as that site where all the important celebrations took place. At a certain point in the 1930s, as I will explain later, celebrations surpassed the walls of the Casino, but until then, everything important occurred there. *El Porvenir*, the local newspaper, is full of announcements of celebrations at the Casino

Jauja: carnival mask balls, anniversaries, birthdays, and all kind of social events. The announcements summon “the most distinguished elements of our society” to these important celebrations. My interviewees remember with longing those parties.

EL PORVENIR

DIARIO INDEPENDIENTE

Jauja, Miércoles 8 de Febrero

Baile Social

SOCIALES

Movimiento Democrático Pradista

AVISO

SE ALQUILA

Chicgestes

Serventinas

Tales

Globos

"EL ERIAL" AYUDA A VIVIR

Calamina Andes el Techo del Perú

Alberto Kriete e hijos
Junín 1064-Jauja

[Figure 24. Casino Jauja was the place for the most important social celebrations in the city. El Porvenir, February 8th, 1956]

[Figure 25. Jauja urban elite in a social celebration. Early 1970s]

Jaujinos, as I have mentioned, are very much attached to tradition and rituals, to their *fiestas*. Tradition is for them something that should be preserved in a very strict way. The preservation of tradition seems to be the guarantee of their authenticity as jaujinos. That is the official discourse among jaujinos in general. However, we all know that tradition is not fixed and stable. And of course it hasn't been like that in Jauja either. The discourse that praises tradition has been very clever in hiding that tradition also has a history, often intricate. That is the case of Carnavales, carnival celebrations.

Carnaval Jaujino is one of the most important *fiestas* celebrated in Jauja and by jaujinos everywhere they are. They are also called *cortamontes*, because of the celebration that happens at the central day of the fiesta, when people dance around a decorated tree and cut it in the evening. The dance occurs in couples, and the couple who cuts the tree is in charge of paying for the fiesta the following year (this is not random but previously decided). I can clearly remember the *cortamontes* my parents and relatives celebrated in a park near my old house in Lima. The park

would get filled with people, joy and even chaos that day –I, as a little girl, felt confused among the multitude and the huge quantities of beer. When I lived in Boston, I learned that my relatives who have lived there for a few decades have not renounced to celebrate *carnavales*; they used to go to New Jersey where there is a Peruvian community who organizes *cortamontes* every year. And I recently learned that for the past three years, they have been organizing their own *cortamonte* at one of my uncles' backyard. For jaujinos, *fiestas* are definitely a very serious issue.

The story of the first *cortamontes* in the neighborhood of La Samaritana in Jauja is very important for this section. It helps us discover the origins of this *fiesta* and the ways it has been transformed over the years. Pedro Monge, a jaujino priest, school teacher and local intellectual tells this story in his book "Estampas de Jauja" (published in 1980 but collecting texts from the 1950s, 1960s).

Monge (1980) explains that *cortamontes* have a crucial role in the social and spatial organization of the city of Jauja. Neighborhoods, *barrios*, are defined not principally in spatial terms but rather in terms of the association of organized neighbors with religious and social responsibilities. Carnival celebrations is among those responsibilities. Each neighborhood gets organized with a council and a president. Each *barrio* has a chapel with a saint and organizes religious celebrations mixed with traditional fiestas. *Cortamontes* are therefore important peaks in the organization of the *barrios* and express the collective will to get organized.

Monge (1980: 4-6) even argues that the increase in the number of *barrios* in Jauja (from the original five to more than ten) was not due to the natural growth of the population in the city but mainly because of the will to have independent fiestas and especially *cortamontes*. And with more barrios having independent *cortamontes*, it became inevitable to lengthen the original

duration of *carnavales* that is now longer than a week. Barrios, moreover, have more than one *monte* (decorated tree that a couple is in charge of), which makes that period very intense in terms of celebrations. According to Monge, the importance given to cortamontes in Jauja is proof of the communal spirit and the gregarian vocation of jaujinos.

In fact, *cortamontes* were originally very popular celebrations, in the strictest sense; they convoked mostly working class people. In the multiple days of carnival celebrations, a moment of celebratory chaos and euphoria is that of "pandillas" (literally, gangs), which go across the city dancing, singing, making scandal. *Pandillas* reclaim the public space of the city and invade all of their streets with their euphoria. In the first half of the twentieth century, *pandillas* were seen as the main moment of carnival celebrations and cortamontes were therefore seen as working class and peasant celebrations. So called "decent" people would not participate of these celebrations but rather looked at them with disdain for considering them too popular. The popular character of *pandillas* was very evident in the women's costume, which was that of "barefoot" women, those that wore traditional peasant indumentary (Monge 1980: 6).

Cortamontes, nowadays, have a very different status from what Pedro Monge recalls. They are very prestigious fiestas and not necessarily accessible to everyone in the city. In fact, there are barrios whose *cortamontes* are more esteemed than others. My mom always remembers this story: when she was a teenager –in the early 1970s– my grandparents were asked to be *padrinos* of a *cortamonte* in the *barrio* of Huarancayo, one of the most prestigious ones in Jauja. Being *padrino* of such a celebration gives people prestige and public acknowledgement. It is the chance to show yourself in front of all the barrio and the city; the chance to demonstrate prosperity offering plenty of food and drinks to everyone. It could have been an opportunity for my grandparents to make a point regarding their economic and social mobility.

Although they first assumed the opportunity of being *padrinos* of that *monte* they later regretted their decision and declined. They didn't dare to do it. Or at least that's how my mom remembers it. They passed the responsibility to a relative, even though they still covered the expenses. My mom has that memory very clear and I've also had it with me since she told me about it, many years ago. It is a memory of how shame ended up being bigger than a desire of acknowledgement. But, shame of what? Shame of being pointed out as those who were there where they didn't belong to. The power of racism can be seen in the ways it has been internalized by subaltern populations, as a part of a contradictory consciousness.

Some years later, of course, feeling more secure about their social position, my grandparents were finally padrinos of a *cortamonte* in Huarancayo. And later they repeated the experience multiple times. They somehow were no longer ashamed. Time–and their escalated social position– had helped to decrease the shame.

[Figure 26. My *abuelitos* at a fiesta in Chocon, 1970s]

[Figure 27. My *abuelita* among a group of women at a fiesta in Chocon, 1974]

But going back to the history of *cortamontes* in Jauja, I am interested in pointing out the mutation of the fiesta over the years. As Pedro Monge recalls, although the *cortamontes* were originally very popular, lower classes celebrations, they were gradually appropriated by "high

society young ladies." How did this happen? Monge points out at the moment when some distinguished women dared to participate of the pandillas at the *barrio* "La Samaritana." Until 1934, there was not an organized *barrio* in La Samaritana, there was not chapel and cortamonte, which were the elements that gave the status of *barrio* to a neighborhood. The lack of a plaza was also an impediment for a *cortamonte* to be celebrated in the neighborhood. But one of the neighbors decided to build a plaza for a cattle fair and later it was also used to build a chapel and inevitably *cortamontes* started in La Samaritana.

Since 1935, cortamontes in La Samaritana acquired a notorious fame and convoked the city elite. In 1937, Dr. Julio Santerno Morales, a very important man was *padrino* of the cortamonte and threw a huge party. All of the members of the elite were present that day. And, for the first time, the girls from the elite, who had usually kept themselves out of those fiestas –seen as lower classes' celebrations– wore the traditional attires and joined the *pandillas*. The most beautiful women, tells Monge, threw themselves to the dancing around the tree (Monge 1980: 8-9).

Critical reactions didn't wait and the "good taste" of the girls who decided to join the *cortamonte* was put in question. Some religious people even said that they were a bad example for the youth because they were participating of a party during Lent time. There were recriminations and even sanctions for a lot of them, who were expelled out of their religious congregations. However, after the scandal, the following years the participation of members of the elite in *cortamontes* was normalized. (Monge 1980: 9)

What is interesting is that these women first had to leave aside they western attires and dress with *cholas'* clothing, in order to be able to participate of the *pandillas* and fraternize with working class and peasant people. The enthusiasm for dancing on the streets was expanded and *cortamontes*, which were initially popular celebrations, became social events. In what Monge

calls a triumph of the barrios, *cortamontes*, he affirms, became celebrations that gathered the city's diverse population, forgetting prejudices and erasing social differences (Monge 1980: 6-7). What Monge understands as a demonstration of the strength and vitality of the popular world, seems to me as an extremely enthusiastic point of view.

In 1957, the editorial column of *El Porvenir*[46], was dedicated to a long elaboration around the celebration of *carnavales* in Jauja. After an initial praise of the fiesta and how important it is because it represents tradition, the newspaper expresses discontent regarding the organization of it. Two year before, the newspaper started a survey among the readers, where they asked for opinions regarding the celebration of *carnavales*. In that survey, most of the readers agreed on the need to regulate the fiesta in several ways (limiting the alcohol consumption, limiting the time of the presentations, limiting the participation of minors, and limiting the spaces where the fiesta took place). The newspaper readers suggested that fiestas (not only *carnavales*) should be celebrated in coliseums that should be build in each neighborhood. That change in the location of the fiestas would guarantee safety and comfort to the dancers and the participants, the newspaper argues. That change, I believe, would also have taken away from *carnavales* their core identity: being the *barrios'* fiestas, those who are the most popular and take place on the streets because everyone is invited.

What is clear after reading the newspaper column, is that although *carnavales* had acquired prestige and importance, they still provoked inconveniences to some people in the city. However, the column also says that the readers did not agree in a proposal of modernization of *carnavales* celebration: "we can conclude then that the typical, traditional and folkloric is rooted in the people's soul and they want it to survive." (El Porvenir, 1957) The attempt of regulating *carnavales* is a demonstration of one of the ways power was exercised in Jauja at the time, an

[46] El Porvenir newspaper. February 18th, 1957.

attempt to forbid and restrict through “regulation”.

[Figure 28. Carnavales are celebrated during the rainy season. That is not an impediment for people to keep dancing under the rain. Jauja, 1970s]

[Figure 29. Carnavales in the city of Jauja in the 1970s. The photo is from a family album of one of my interviewees.]

One of my interviewees in Jauja, a local intellectual and researcher, also refers to the origins

of the carnival celebrations. As part of his research on regional cultural history, he found texts that referred to *"the indians of Huarancayo celebrating the carnival on the streets while the elite looked down on them and had their celebrations at the Casino Jauja."* He tells me that when he mentions this among local intellectuals, they get mad at him, the tells me: "People from Huarancayo don't want to accept that they were once the indigenous people looked down on by the traditional jaujina elite." It is indeed paradoxical that *carnavales*, one of the *fiestas* more strongly claimed by jaujinos as a fundamental part of their traditional identity, has popular origins.

Jaujinos' great pride in their origins is selective and does not really see the complexities of history. One of my interviewees tells me that jaujinos have always felt themselves as the center of the universe and have treated badly the people from the other districts and from other towns in the valley. He can remember that even when he was a kid and studied in San Jose School –the most prestigious public school in Jauja– distinctions among students were very clear. In some levels, there were two sections: one for jaujinos from traditional elite families and another for the kids of the migrants from other districts.

Jauja has had a conflictive relationship with Huancayo for a long time. After the very short time during which Jauja was the capital of the viceroyalty of Peru –in the 16th century– it has not hold any political importance in the region. Huancayo, on the contrary, was named as the capital of the region in 1931 and is now the biggest and most important city in the area. People from Huancayo like saying that "while Jauja dances, Huancayo goes forward.[47] Jaujinos, however, like adding at the end "but it never reaches it," which continues the rhyme and stresses that it doesn't really matter how fast Huancayo tries to go forward because it will never catch up Jauja.

To a certain extent, this rivalry between Jauja and Huancayo also has a racial dimension.

[47] The original saying, in Spanish ("Mientras Jauja danza, Huancayo avanza), has a rhyme that gives it more sense.

While Jauja built its identity around the idea of a Spanish heritage, Huancayo was made out of peasants' migrations and embraced and identity of entrepreneurship.

One of my interviewees, a jaujino poet, confesses that some of his friends tell him that he does not look jaujino any more (and, indeed, when I interview other people who know him, they mention a bit as a joke: "he is become huancaino now"). He is not afraid to show his disagreement when in some meetings other jaujinos propose to close the entrance to the group to huancainos. He considers himself lucky for having received good things from Huancayo and its people, and he certainly has lived in that city for the past two decades. He loves Jauja but is sure that Huancayo is a better place to live in: "Jauja needs to get rid off that idea that we are the first Peruvian capital because it has been very harmful to everyone".

[Figure 30. My *abuelitos* at the Virgin's fiesta in Chocón, December 1970s]

c) *Los resbalados*: Indians and mestizos' power struggles in Jauja, 1940s and 1950s

The city of Jauja has constructed its identity around the idea of tradition but also around the city itself and its urban character. And, of course, in opposition to the rural towns that

surround it, the *pueblos*. People from surrounding towns have been very mobile and some of them have established themselves in the city of Jauja, where there is access to bigger schools and other services. Those migrants, as I learned during my fieldwork, have been called by some people, the *resbalados*[48], those who slipped and have poured into the city. The metaphor is very pejorative and reveals the profound racism even among intellectuals and public figures in Jauja.

"Potato kings," I would like to argue, are part of these "*resbalados*" who have "invaded" the city of Jauja, provoking resistance from traditional elites. Although the context after World War 2 no longer allowed for the existence of explicitly racist discourses, there are other ways in which racism was manifested in the press.

I would like to explore how these emergent identities played out in daily life in Jauja of the time, how they were negotiated, contested and reinvented. I focus on this particular time period because I have identified it as the moment when things started cracking up not only in economic terms but especially in cultural issues: the established power relations and racial classifications started to appear as outdated. *El Porvenir*, the local newspaper gives testimony of how power is exercised and contested, and how racial categories are displayed in this struggle. I argue that power is exercised in everyday life regulations and in the production of a modern individual, under the ideals of hygiene, education, and order. Foucault's (1995) understanding of disciplinary power is crucial in my analysis of cultural racism and the way it apparently hides racial categories. Power, understood as "dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functionings; that one should decipher in it a network of relations, constantly in tension, in activity, rather than a privilege that one might posses (…)." Power is exercised rather than possessed. (Foucault 1995: 26).

[48] This term was used by a jaujino intellectual in a public meeting organized around a political campaign.

Hygiene and alphabetization are two dimensions of a discourse of cultural racism that appear very powerfully in the newspapers of the 1940s and 1950s. In this context, there were health, hygiene, and alphabetization campaigns, as well as a preoccupation about dirt, noise, and disorder in the city. The newspapers of the 1940s and 1950s show that there were hygienic campaigns directed to the workers of hotels, restaurants, *chicherias*, *pulperias*, etc.; but with special emphasis to the street vendors and people who had stands in the market. It is also important to note that all of the domestic personnel was as well an important focus of this campaign. The city council asked all of these people to pay a fee in order to go through a medical inspection and obtain a hygienic certification afterwards. There is a very clear attempt to shape a specific kind of individual.

EL PORVENIR

DIARIO INDEPENDIENTE

Jauja, Viernes 21 de Mayo de 1954

ENFOQUES

Se acentúa el Verano.-Urge medidas profilacticas en la ciudad

DIOGENES

CONCEJO PROVINCIAL DE

AL PUBLICO

Lea "El Porvenir"

[Figure 31. *El Porvenir*, May 21st, 1954. *"The summer deepens. We need urgent prophylactic measures in the city"]*

Hygienic and sanitary campaigns were very extended and focused on different publics.

On December 1948[49], a Sanitary Education Campaign started in the city of Jauja. *El Porvenir* newspaper relates that the education office of the province, in association with the Office of Educational Experimentation of the region and the American Cooperation on Education launched this campaign among primary school students and their teachers. During three days, students and teachers watched ten films on issues related to mosquitoes, tuberculosis, rats, cattle flies, water, etc. The newspaper finishes the note affirming that this kind of activities are "in benefit of health and national greatness". Campaigns like this one, were clearly related to the discourse on development, implanted after World War 2, which also involved the technification of agriculture, as I explained in chapter 3.

Alphabetization was also part of this "development package" that was considered key for the progress of the region. The newspapers demonstrate the existence of intense alphabetization campaigns during these decades. In May 1944, *El Porvenir* announces the launching of a Nationalist Alphabetization Campaign that would help to transform the "illiterate masses" in order to "make the name of Peru bigger." The announcement intends to stir the patriotic fervor and calls the readers to cooperate in encouraging the teachers who are involved in the campaign. Assuming that the greatness of the country is closely linked to the "cultural development" of its people, this campaign intends to promote nationalism all around the country through alphabetization. Announcements related to alphabetization campaigns are very enthusiastic and intend to engage the readers. As if in the middle of a war, some notes in the newspaper refer to "news from the combat front against illiteracy."

[49] El Porvenir newspaper. December 9th, 1948.

¡Ojo! ¡Padres de familia!

EL PORVENIR

DIARIO INDEPENDIENTE

AVISO ECONÓMICO

INTI

VENTA DE FOSFOROS

[Figure 32. *El Porvenir*, March 9th, 1956. *"News from the war front against illiteracy"*]

Education has been used worldwide as a way of "incorporating" indigenous population into national projects. If illiteracy has been considered as a "threat" for the health of the Peruvian nation, education was conceived as a "task of life" and an expression of the foucaultian bio-power executed by modern states (De la Cadena 2007: 97-8). The newspapers' notes that talk about the war against illiteracy are a very clear example of these ideas. However, education was more than just an instrument of power; it was also part of indigenous people's claims for civil rights and citizenship. Literacy (and Spanish, the language of power and the state) was something to be achieved. Racial categories are linked with ideas about "culture" and what is to be "cultured." Racism evolves thus into a cultural racism.

De la Cadena (2004) has worked with the redefinitions of "racial" identitary categories and has demonstrated that even if rigid "racial" differences are denied, there is an acceptance of the idea that education and "culturization" are ways of "de-indigenization". The category "mestizo" is often used to identify people who maintain indigenous cultural practices but are educated and do not have a self-perception of a miserable condition: they are no longer

"Indians." The desire of "de-indigenization" is a reproduction of racism by subaltern people although, challenging the "official" understanding of the process, it does not necessarily imply the abandonment of indigenous "culture." This belief has redefined essentialist notions of culture and has created infinite degrees of indigenousness or "mestizaje," making these terms completely relative (De la Cadena 2004: 24-25).

To understand the complexities of identitary transformations in the Andean region, Carlos Iván Degregori (1986) postulated a transformation from a desire of returning to an idealized Andean past (the Inkarri myth) to a desire for attaining progress through education, commerce and wage work. Although this change could be seen as acculturation, Degregori notes the persistence and even reinforcement of some elements of Andean culture, as well as the disappearance of some others. In the end, he considers that the result of this transit has been mostly positive, in terms of democratization and integration of Peruvian society. However, the emergence of a new cultural identity (*chola*) is not enough to solve national problems, and it is evident that the positive aspects of these changes are usually not reflected in social mobility.

The indigenous' struggle for education has not necessarily been part of a desire of acculturation, as the State expected, but part of an alternative project that could articulate different orders and regimes. Indigenous people could appropriate non-indigenous practices, without abandoning their indigenous identity. These *mestizo* mixtures can articulate different orders without producing a "third" one but rather turning the "external" and the "local" as indistinguishable (De la Cadena 2007: 112-5).

Sanitary and alphabetization campaigns were planned at the national government level but executed locally, and had impacts beyond the campaigns themselves. From my archival research with newspapers, I can see these campaigns and the ideas that were promoted by them,

influenced the ways in which local issues were seen.

***

As the capital of the province, the city of Jauja has always been a commercial center where peasants from surrounding towns come frequently, especially for the weekly fair, where they can sell their produce and buy other stuff they can't buy in their towns (matches, soap, detergent, pasta, etc). Their presence, however, is not necessarily well seen in the city. Pedro Monge refers to how the peasant women who came to Jauja in the 1950s preferred to buy some of the products they needed in the neighborhood of La Samaritana, rather than in the stores of the city center. Their inferiority complex and their shyness, as poor peasant women, made them buy where the products were even more expensive. (Monge 1980: 24) Just like my grandparents did not dare to be exposed in public at the *cortamonte* from barrio Huarancayo, these indigenous peasant women also found ways to evade the racist gazes of traditional jaujinos.

An issue that appears very often in the newspapers is hygiene, or the lack of it, very clearly linked to the presence of street vendors in Jauja. The newspapers from the 1940s and 1950s show a general discomfort with their presence in the city. El Porvenir[50] refers to street vendors as a plague that needs to be eradicated. Calling them "hucksters," the newspaper considers them as absolutely detrimental for everyone in the city: the owners of formal commercial establishments, consumers, and local government. Accusing the street vendors of not paying the required taxes to the local government, the newspaper requires that the competent authorities intervene to eradicate their presence on the streets. A month later, another note on *El Porvenir* is concerned with the sanitary problems that summer brings and calls for urgent prophylactic measures in order to prevent epidemics.

[50] El Porvenir newspaper. April 5th, 1954.

Sometimes, the local newspaper echoed national newspapers in their notes regarding these issues. A note from the national newspaper *La Cronica*[51], refers to the street vendors who sell fruits on the pavement and persist on that activity even if local police has tried to stop them multiple times. The newspaper characterizes these street vendors as anti-hygienic and irresponsible because they risk people's health and become a focus of infection. During that month, the "Week of Health" was carried out in Jauja as well as in other cities around the country to divulge hygiene and sanitary measures among the population.

The characters that appear more often in relation to hygiene issues are street vendors. And they are of special interest to me because of their role in the commercialization of agricultural products. The fair that takes place in the city of Jauja on Wednesdays and Sundays brings people from many of the surrounding towns, who come to sell their produce, as well as local traders, and business people from other towns. This fair and all the hygienic problems that it leaves appear in the local newspapers as conflictive issues. A note I found from 1956[52] expresses concern about how dirty are the streets left after the days of fair.

[51] El Porvenir newspaper. December 12th, 1955.
[52] El Porvenir newspaper. January 28th, 1956.

EL PORVENIR

ENFOQUES

Que hacer con la plaga de vendedores ambulantes

SOCIALES

DENUNCIA

VENTA DE MADERA

OSCAR BRAVO OTAIZA

DIOGENES

[Figure 33. *El Porvenir*, April 5th, 1954. *"What to do with the plague of street vendors?"*]

The regulation of the sanitary conditions of commercial transactions by the municipal government appears as a very important problem in the local newspaper. There are complaints about street vendors who sell cakes, candies and ice-cream to school kids, without having a sanitary permission nor caring about hygienic measures at all.

Decency and "good appearance" are claimed as very important elements of the identity of the city, elements which are supposedly threatened by the presence of people who are not locals. "People from the countryside" are blamed responsible for the dirt and disorder left after the days of the fair, and they are characterized in opposition to the "educated" inhabitants of the city.[53] It is the bodies of certain people which need to be regulated and shaped in the name of these ideals of "decency," "cleanliness," and "order."

[53] El Porvenir newspaper. October 16th, 1956.

Although the bodies of certain people do appear, race itself does not appear as an issue linked to hygiene in an explicit way. However, at some point it can no longer be hidden: those who are provoking disorder, filth and noise are precisely the people who are not from the city of Jauja, those who come from the surrounding towns. A note about the sale of guano in Jauja serves as the opportunity for the racial issues to emerge. In October 1956, the newspaper El Porvenir tells about some small farmers from the districts and small towns having problems to buy guano at the sale office in Jauja. Coming from far away, these farmers often return without being able to buy the fertilizer. The newspaper explains that since the workers of the office are from Huancayo, they arrive late and leave earlier, without attending all of the customers. The newspaper therefore invokes to open a sales office in Jauja that is autonomous from the office in Huancayo.[54]

Until now, race does not appear as an issue: the problem is simply that the small farmers who come to the guano office are not able to buy the fertilizer due to the high demand. However, a week later, *El Porvenir* echoes a note that appeared in *La Crónica*, the national newspaper, where the bad service that the customers constantly receive at the guano office appears to be something else. Small farmers from the region complained with *La Crónica* regarding the rude treatment they received by the sales officers. Beyond the irregular hours of attention and the established deals they have with certain shipping people who are the only ones allowed to transport the merchandise, the small farmers' discomfort is related to the disrespectful treatment they receive. At the very end of the note on the newspaper, the racial issue finally appears: customers are complaining because the sales officers have a pejorative behavior with them, calling them "impertinent *cholitos*"[55] when they claim for their right to be attended.

[54] El Porvenir newspaper. Jauja, October 6th, 1956.
[55] In this case, the diminutive works to reinforce the pejorative connotation of the term.

EL PORVENIR

DIARIO INDEPENDIENTE

Jauja, Sábado 13 de Octubre de 1956

Consejo Provincial de Jauja

Licitación

Botica de Turno

SOCIALES

DESPIERTESE feliz durmiendo en camas

Latino Industrial

Llantas GOOD-YEAR

[Figure 34. El Porvenir, October 13th, 1956]

Quijano (1980[1968]) introduced the term *"cholification*" in the 1960s to characterize the changes that were occurring in the Peruvian society of the epoch. Defining it as a transitional society instead of as a society *in* transition. His intention was to remark the non-necessary linear evolution from indigenousness to non-indigenousness, but rather the existence of a non-fixed and mobile socio-cultural structure although with a level of institutionalization strong enough to be considered as a different society (Quijano 1980: 52-3).

The word "*cholo*," originally used in colonial times for *mestizos* with physical features that were predominantly indigenous, has become the term used to refer to an emergent social group that not being part of the indigenous culture nor of the western one has links with both of them. Although Quijano's –now proven– excessive optimism about the group consciousness that the "cholo" groups were generating and the possibilities of a struggle for a social revolution,

Quijano's elaborations opened the field for new questions around the complex definitions of race and identity in Peru, focusing on the transformation of established identities.

A month later, a note similar to the above appeared in the newspaper in Jauja, echoing, once more, *La Crónica*[56]. The same farmers had approached the newspaper's office to complain about the same issues. The racial references are no longer mentioned in this note, but the rude and abusive service appear very clearly so we can imagine the situation was similar.

What seems crucial to me about these notes on the newspaper is not so much that small farmers were discriminated in a store in the city of Jauja, but rather that they were complaining about it. This not only demonstrates that they had an increasing buying power but also that they had a consciousness regarding their rights and were willing to defend them even beyond local platforms.

Furthermore, it is important to highlight that the small farmers' complaints appear first in a national newspaper rather than in the local one. This demonstrates that despite being small farmers (or weren't they too small farmers?), they had access to the press in the capital and furthermore, they knew that existed some channels to express their complaints.

On the other hand, it is also important to mention that the newspaper received these complaints and published them. Even if the local newspaper had been publishing notes of discomfort with the presence of street vendors and people from the countryside in the city of Jauja, they opened spaces for the expression of other groups. Power, as we can see, was not completely captured by the traditional elites. There existed cracks that started to break down hegemonic ideas and behaviors, de-stabilizing and shaking them. This case also demonstrates that economic power does not necessarily guarantee other kinds of capital, or not immediately.

[56] El Porvenir newspaper. November 16th, 1956.

There are multiple factors that influence the ways in which people in Jauja are socially and racially classified.

In this context, I find the idea of articulation as fundamental to the study of identity construction (in terms of racial and ethnic categories), and especially pertinent to understand *mestizaje* and de-indigenization processes in Latin America. Stuart Hall (2010) builds his theory of articulation upon Gramsci's innovative Marxism, although he was not explicitly concerned with issues of race. Gramsci's critique of economic reductionist versions of Marxism (centered on "class") opens up the study of other dimensions of social life on their own, without considering them merely as a reflection of economics. Additionally, his concept of hegemony highlights the inexistence of an absolute coercion or consent, emphasizing the always-distinct combinations of those dimensions (Hall 2010: 268-273).

"Articulation" refers to those not necessarily determined, absolute, or essential connections that, under specific conditions, unify two different elements. This theory challenges the reductionist logic of classical Marxism and enables the understanding of the ways in which, in certain situations, ideological elements appear as part of a coherent discourse. (Hall 2010: 85-6)

In the case of identity construction in Jauja, the concept of "articulation" allows to see how mestizo elites' no longer existent economic prosperity is still linked to a sense of social and cultural superiority that is imposed over the emergent social groups in the city. We can see that if identitary categories are built under the logic of articulation they are therefore unstable, complex and open to transformations.

Not only hegemonic groups build identitary categories articulating different elements, indigenous and emergent groups also do. James Clifford (2001) proposes the "articulated" nature

of “indigeneity” today in order to affirm indigenous identities as pragmatic, rather than as essentially primordial and transhistorical. Articulation theory goes beyond “postmodern” identity politics and considers the diversity and long history of indigenous people’s struggles for their rights. Authenticity is not at all an important question in the study of identity from this perspective because cultural forms are understood to “be made, unmade and remade;” articulated ensembles of identity work tactically and do not establish rigid and reductive confrontations (Clifford 2001: 472-479).

I would like to argue that the concept of articulation can be very useful for understanding reconfigurations of identity in the context of the emergence of “potato kings.” Articulation allows to see change and transformation rather than focusing on what is supposedly primordial and stable –as if something actually could be. The newspapers revised on this section show the transformations that were happening in Jauja during the 1940s and 1950s. The established power positions started being questioned, the city no longer looked as it has always looked: some new characters were appearing and disturbing the lives of jaujinos: new faces, new colors, new smells. Changes were not considered positive and newspapers gave account of this malaise. New identitary configurations were emerging in Jauja at the time, generating new articulations.

[Figure 35. Maxima wears the national emblem on her *lliclla*. Articulations in everyday life. Designs like this one are present throughout the 20th century in the region]

However, it is also true that articulations, the possible connections and disconnections are not totally contingent and variable. "Certain forms and structural antagonisms persist over long periods" (Clifford 2001: 481) and they also need to be taken into consideration. Articulations are not necessarily positive, absolutely open, nor permanently variable. Although articulation allows us to see transformations, we cannot avoid seeing the persistence of certain ideas over time, as it definitely happens in Jauja with traditional ways of understanding jaujino identity. In any case, taking both dimensions into account, the theory of identity as articulation is useful to understand the multiples variations and continuities in the definition of racial and ethnic categories and identities.

Several ethnographic studies have demonstrated that racial categories are not fixed but have multiple and contextual meanings (Fuenzalida 1971, Hale 1996, Wade 1997). We cannot understand identity outside of history. In Peru, the conception of indigenousness was

transformed by the changes brought about by modernization, urbanization, and the transformations of rural areas that started more evidently in the 1940s and 1950s.

The concept of "hybridization" –defined as the sociocultural processes through which discrete structures or practices, previously separated, are combined to generate new structures, objects and practices– is also useful to analyze changes experienced by the peripheries in their relationship with modernity (García Canclini 1995). Although García Canclini does not mention a fusion and recognizes dynamism in the relationship with modernity –which is "entered" and "left" according to different strategies– his theorization does not necessarily question "modernity" and "tradition" as opposite and separated terms.

Other authors consider hybridity more as an ongoing condition of all human cultures, the expression of an epistemological struggle rather than a third space in between the poles. Homi Bhabha (1994) remarks on the ambivalence and instability of the colonial discourse and the emergence of *mimesis*, a way of appropriating for oneself what is alien, as a subaltern strategy of resistance and camouflage. *Mimesis* destabilizes and threatens colonial authority because it shows that colonizer and colonized are not as different as the stereotypical constructions imply. However, the possibilities that parody has to remake the dominant culture do not appear as clear.

The discourses around "mestizaje" and "hybridization" are problematic because of the connotation of harmony they produce, when reality is, instead, troubled and belligerent. The ideal image constructed by the discourse of "mestizaje" is in fact oriented by powerful positions that consider it convenient to imagine Latin American societies as spaces of smooth and peaceful coexistence (Cornejo 1998: 7-8). Cornejo Polar's response to the category of "mestizaje" is the concept of "heterogeneity:" he proposes to leave aside a romantic vision of the subject (as stable and strong) as well as the Marxist one (centered in class) in order to recognize the complexity,

dispersion, and multiplicity of human beings as subjects without clear horizons and open to transformations (Cornejo Polar 1994: 18 – 20). The term "mestizaje" appears thus as insufficient to give an account of this non-dialectical heterogeneity.

However, the official discourse of "mestizaje" is appropriated and negotiated by indigenous and non-indigenous people in everyday life, making it a still useful category. Ethnographic evidence is hence crucial to analyze uses and experiences of mestizaje and racial categories. In fact, the experience of being in the border, that "consciousness of the Borderlands," can allow for creative ways of self-definition that challenge the idea of border itself (Anzaldua 1987).

The exceptional evolution of the indigenous communities of the Mantaro Valley and the city of Huancayo caught the attention of the writer and anthropologist José María Arguedas, who, in the 1950s, considered them as a focus of indigenous identity and of resistance toward the modernizing influence of Lima. He believed that this case could serve to affirm a Peruvian mestizo culture that would not imply a static permanence of indigenous ways of life, but instead include modernization and urbanization without eliminating indigenous traditions (Arguedas 1975: 32)[57]. Therefore, he saw the reality of the Mantaro valley as a model of economic and cultural development that could serve as a guide for other regions.

Arguedas' study of the Fair of Huancayo (2004 [1956]) is also a discussion of modernization and mestizaje in the region. Against certain official attempts to "re-Peruvianize" the fair and to recover "local indigenous tradition," Arguedas critiques commercial and touristic interests and instead praises its elements of modernization. He demonstrates that the fair was never originally

[57] Arguedas affirmed that the social and cultural differences in the region were not marked by rigid distinctions and attributes, and the variation in clothing between Indians and *mestizos* that used to be very clear appeared less important: "Del mismo modo que arrojaron los trajes indígenas, aprendieron el castellano y empezaron a olvidar el quechua. Desaparecieron de ese modo los signos de la antigua división de castas y culturas. La comunidad así integrada funciona como un cuerpo social libre de conflictos culturales específicos" (Arguedas 1975: 55).

indigenous but mestiza, and had always been conceived as a complete market, where products of indigenous and regional art were just an element in the multiplicity that it offered. (Arguedas 2004: 44). 58

In an interview with a local intellectual, school teacher and researcher of regional archaeology and folklore, he tells me that part of the Spanish inheritance in Jauja is that habit of looking down on peasant people. The elite in Jauja was composed by a few families that didn't like to share spaces with other people. He says that is a characteristic of Jauja elite even nowadays. A few months ago, he was convoked to a meeting to talk about local elections in Jauja. A very famous jaujino intellectual expressed that day his opinion on a non-jaujino candidate that was running for the mayor's office: he openly said that as jaujinos, they had *to "close all doors to those* cholos *who want to govern Jauja."* My interviewee couldn't accept those racist words and raised his hand to express that since he was one of those people from small towns surrounding Jauja, he would leave the meeting. I look at him with solidarity and he adds: *"if that happens during the 21st century, I can't even imagine how were things before."*

He later adds:

> *"The concept of Jauja is a whole context, bigger than this city, (...) but people believe that it is only this city. That is why city men have not integrated the idea of Jauja. In reaction to this discrimination, some people no longer say they're from Jauja but rather from their small towns. Traditional jaujinos still complain about the lack of real jaujinos in the city today, about the city being invaded by people from the surrounding small towns,* cholos, pueblerinos, resbalados*."*

One night, while having dinner, my *abuelito* started talking about racism and discrimination, although this is an issue he rarely openly talks about: *"before, people used to say "that's serranos' music, indians' music" but now we hear it everywhere"*. And then he added: *"that's*

58 "No debemos tener en cuenta si esa feria gusta o no a los turistas extranjeros y nacionales. ¡Allá ellos! ¿Qué conviene más al mejor desarrollo de la feria; a la expansión de su dinámica, al cumplimiento de su fin económico? Eso es lo fundamental y nada más" (Arguedas 1954 In: Fell 2004: 72-74).

what they call racism…certain people have always been looked down on, but not anymore. In Jauja it was the same. I remember I had a friend from Marco [a rural town nearby Jauja] who had been hired as a teacher for a school in Jauja, San Jose [one of the oldest and most prestigious schools in the city]. Jaujinos looked down on him arguing he was an Indian, they wanted to fire him."

My *abuelito* shows certain optimism: *"But things aren't like that anymore, things have changed."* His own life story is certainly a proof of how some things have changed, but at the same time show how these changes do not guarantee the erasure of discrimination dynamics. Power relations have been fundamentally transformed in the region, but inequality and discrimination keep existing in other ways. The economic prosperity of "potato kings" has been built upon their hard work and effort, but also upon the poorly paid workers who work their lands. These people, who come from even further and smaller towns, are of course even more indigenous, less educated, and less "cultured."

Epilogue. As a way of closure

It has been difficult to think about writing a conclusions section for this dissertation. I was indeed tormenting myself with the idea. How to write the conclusion for a dissertation that is not so convinced of traditional and unilinear ways of constructing knowledge? This section then, does not attempt to conclude but to mark a closure, explaining the main findings of this dissertation. These findings are, in the end, new questions rather than statements that intend to be "true."

This dissertation explored family origins, economic mobility, and social transformations in the Peruvian Central Highlands in the past 50 years. It explored issues such as the introduction of science and technology innovations in agriculture, global discourses on development and geopolitical interests in the Cold War period. It also analyzed scientists' discourses and practical work in the fields in the Peruvian Andes, and their relationships with local farmers. Racial categories, their contestation and transformation are also part of this dissertation.

In telling this many-sided story, I argue that potato kings are a symbol of social and economic transformations in Peru in the past decades. These transformations, I demonstrate, need to be understood within a particular historical framework and certain trajectories.

By weaving together political economic studies of the peasantry with critical studies of race, this dissertation depicts class formation/social transformations as predicated upon complex politics of racial and social mobility. I would like to list and discuss some of the main contributions I present in this dissertation.

First, my dissertation proposes an innovative understanding of mobility as a key concept to grasp the links between economic and racial struggles in processes of class formation.

Mobility allows me to consider racial and social reconfigurations as formative to cultural politics rather than as a mere consequence of economic changes, thus proposing a dialectical relationship between political economy and studies of culture in order to understand the complex dynamics of social mobility. My dissertation not only contributes to a better understanding of the Andean region, but also has larger implications to analyze processes of class formation more broadly.

Second, my dissertation demonstrates that global discourses of development had a direct impact on local and regional realities. This was not a mechanic process but rather one with multiple negotiations and changes in the trajectories of those ideas. There were global projects but also national, regional, and local ones. These different scales show that the trajectory of those ideals did not follow a unilinear path and arrived differently to their destinies.

Third, my dissertation analyses the trajectories of racial categories in the context of this process of economic and social mobility. Although racism does not appear openly as an element for establishing discriminatory behaviors and policies, it nevertheless operates in hidden form under the idea of "culture." In the 1950s, literacy, hygiene, and order appeared as ideals that covered the importance that race still had in establishing power relations in the Central Highlands. And although these ideals were used to discipline the bodies of certain subjects, they were also embraced by indigenous people in a more emancipatory act.

I argue that the identity of potato kings is transgressive because it is located on the borders and does not necessarily attempt to trespass them. Their identity is rather inhabiting the borders: they are no longer Indians but they are not fully mestizo either.

An open topic is what happens with the following generations, when, I believe, this issue of inhabiting the borders becomes more of a decision of what way to take. Whereas "potato kings," the pioneers, have more explicit marks of their origins, the next generation doesn't have

them, and can either embrace those family origins or reject them. They therefore have more agency in terms of defining their identity. These are some intuitions that would have to be developed further in other research.

Fourth, tradition appears as a crucial category throughout this dissertation. Tradition appears however with different contents. On the one hand, I use "tradition" to refer to the long existent elements of Andean culture: ways of exchange, reciprocity, ways of working the lands, relationships within the community, etc. On the other hand, I use "tradition" to talk about some of the older well-off families in Jauja.

I don't understand tradition, of course, as something static and permanent. In fact, in my analysis of the traditional mestizo elite in Jauja, I demonstrate that some of their "traditions" are actually very recently constructed. However, tradition can be a tricky category, since it might hide the possibilities of change. Furthermore, when does something become "traditional" and when it is considered as "alternative" or "innovative"?

Fifth, anthropological studies of the peasantry have often emphasized their exploitation and marginalization, focusing on their relations with modernization and capitalism or on their political struggles. From that perspective, "rich peasants" have generally been considered negatively. In that context, my project's focus on the emergence of a singular rural elite of peasant origins located on various borders (Indian/mestizo, rural/urban, poor/rich), challenges the "romance of resistance" (Abu-Lughod 1990) around the peasantry. By acknowledging the multiple tensions that emerge with this new elite of "potato kings," my project will contribute to an understanding of the rural world as diverse, dynamic and in constant transformation.

Finally, my dissertation presents a critical discussion of the epistemological basis of ethnographic work. Discussing upfront my position as a "native anthropologist," I question the

conventional divisions between the subjects who do anthropology and the ones that are studied by anthropologists. I argue thus that "neutral" ethnographies are not only impossible but also hinder ethnographic research. I defend instead the crucial role of emotionally-charged ethnographies, that shake both the ethnographer and the basis of his/her work.

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