

***Runama Kani icha Alquchu?: Everyday Discrimination in the
Southern Andes***

by

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*To my daughter, who supported me with
her enthusiasm and respect for this project.*

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List of Symbols

Quechua = Quechua language

“Spanish”= Spanish language

(/) = Overlapping or disruption in the flow of utterances

(/:) = Break in the flow of utterances, hesitation

(.) = Pause

(?) = Question

CAPITAL LETTERS= Louder voice

Bold= Highlighted phrases

R= representatives (health facility staff members, school teachers, NGOs members and municipality agents)

Abstract

In the Peruvian highlands there is a pervasive pattern of racialized social hierarchy in which rural Quechua speakers are the objects of discrimination, despite public discourses of shared citizenship and equality under the law.

This dissertation is an ethnographic study of the social processes through which hierarchical relations are created and re-created in Cuzco (Peru). I especially concentrate on the ways in which face-to-face interaction is instrumental in creating and maintaining social hierarchy. Face-to-face interactions involve multiple intertwined signs including talk, other semiotic forms (e.g., silence and gestures), and material forms (e.g., government forms, desks, chair distribution) that materialize hierarchical relations among participants. The study is grounded in more than 18 months of systematic field work, including participant observation, the study of natural conversation, open interviews, an experimental study, and the analysis of face-to-face interactions in public, institutional, and private settings.

My findings are: (1) that despite an official ideology of “mestizaje” or social hybridity that reaches across the Peruvian political spectrum—and is routinely reported by social scientists—first-language speakers of Quechua and of Spanish are able to identify each other unequivocally by means of tacit linguistic cues, regardless of the language being spoken; (2) that the racialized social hierarchy is intertwined to a variety of everyday social practices, so that it is both reproduced and acquiesced outside of the conscious awareness of the persons involved in the interaction; (3) that nonetheless these interactions are frequently the subject of violent and conscious stereotyping; and (4) that these stereotypes are deployed *fractally* across all levels of social scale, from the most intimate and local setting of a clinic to national politics played out in the Peruvian parliament. An especially important finding is that both the tacit and explicit forms of social discrimination are qualitative in nature.

Introduction Everyday Discrimination

Cuzco:

Husiku walks toward me (M)¹
I am writing the “famous” dissertation
I stand up to greet him.
The guard (G) stands in the middle of the hallway
to keep Husiku away
I am surprised, and I run quickly over to where G stands
M: He is coming to see me, let him pass
Husiku: Por favor papá, déjame pasar por un ratito nomás
[Please, “papa,” let me pass. I’ll stay only a little bit]
My acquaintance’s body is inclined slightly toward G
G: No, no you cannot pass!
I can’t think quickly enough of anything to say²
M: I pay my money, and I have the right to talk with anybody
G: No, he cannot pass, it is my boss’ orders
M: I’ll attend to him and I’ll talk with your boss later
Husiku: Papa un ratito nomás [“Papá,” just a moment, please]
M: Husiku, come here and sit on the chair please
The guard keeps standing in the hallway
Husiku: *Ay, rihistrumanmi hamushani*
[Ah, I am coming to the Public Registrar]
M: *Kumputadurata wisq’asaq, urayman risunchis*
[I’ll close the computer and we’ll go downstairs]
Husiku: *Ya, Aktatan apamushani* [Okay, I’m bringing the Minutes book]
M: *Ñachu phirmasqaña?* [Does it have all the signatures?]
Husiku: *Ari, waqmantacha apasun abugaduman?*
[Yes. Will we need to bring it to the lawyer?]
M: *Ari, haku tapuramusun* [Yes, let’s go ask]
We left followed by the guard

¹ This event happened while I was in Cuzco. I was doing my fieldwork and trying to write something in advance. I was in the coffee bar where people usually chat with their classmates, friends, and acquaintances, or play with their lap-tops. People are there to learn English or Spanish and as a student they have the right to use all the facilities that the institution offers. I was a student. That morning I was there to do some writing when my Quechua-speaking acquaintance arrived to meet me to do some paper-work to get his village officially registered, so his village could have at least something official to avoid land seizure by the government and corporations.

² In Ecuador before the 1990s if a person was insulted with the word “Indian,” he would be speechless and feel frozen without being able to respond. (Sergio Huarcaya 2010, personal communication).

Lima:

Friend: You arrived without telling me in advance³

M: I was so overwhelmed with my writing

Friend: You are like an untamed horse

M: I won't allow you to tell me such a thing

Friend: You have come with your foot up! [You have an attitude]

This investigation is not a theoretical disquisition about the leading trends of ways of analyzing discrimination in Latin America or the Andes. It tries to shed a bit of light on cross-cultural interrelations by hinting at some of the most insidious prejudices that I was able to observe and experience during my time in the Andes. Since I cannot be understood on my own terms nor do I occupy a position from which I can lecture, my attempt is to analyze my data using the academic language to which scholars are used to hearing or reading, a language that does not belong to me, which I could not use to express my intimate thoughts or feelings in relation to what was and is the significance of the oppressive prejudices that have crushed and devastated those who cling to their non-Spanish cultural background, many of whom have incorporated these same prejudices although below the threshold of awareness.

However, it seems that my limited knowledge about academic ways of writing, phrasing and framing reality linked to a scholar's academic and personal goals have become a necessary weakness, and by the same token such ignorance has become a strength to keep me faithful to my core concerns such as discrimination, social exclusion, language, and inequality. That is, to be able to perform my aim of systematically showing the multiple ways of exclusion, discrimination or subordination, I should submit myself to the requirements of academic work and its constraints in order to be heard or read, otherwise my study might be regarded only as rambling thoughts without any coherence and consistency.⁴ Coherence and consistency seem to be the quintessential features of academic writing, despite the fact that a person may not be consistent or coherent. Laura

³ This event happened while I was in Lima.

⁴ Coherence, consistency and wholeness are features that academic and lay readers seem to look for or desire when they read any stories, novels, poetry, and history, among other literature.

Rival⁵ pointed out—15 years ago—that in our contradictory life, depending on the circumstances and contingencies, what we have to face does not always match our stated principles, i.e., we are imperfect and far away from our ideal.

Paradoxically, my attempts to be consistent and coherent are possible thanks to my training as an anthropologist, allowing me to weave my long life experience with data collected systematically to present my original arguments—as well as my personal position about social phenomena in the southern Andes in a painstaking way and from a comparative perspective.

Discrimination, subordination, and racialization⁶

Without looking for coherence and consistency, perhaps outside of a formal academic language, I sketch multiple coexistent forms of discrimination deployed in everyday interactions that preserve certain forms of social hierarchy. Sometimes, these forms of discrimination underlie genocidal practices such as the program of forced tubal ligations or the ease with which indigenous land resources have been shamelessly plundered.⁷ I examine the processual and dynamic nature, spread, shifts, and transformations of forms of discrimination, subordination and racialization, and how they persist across time—and across apparently differently positioned regimes of governance—dressed in new frames to legitimize social hierarchies and to justify the maintenance of political-economic inequalities.

There are multiple investigations that have explained discrimination, subordination, and racialization in terms of class, race, ethnicity, nationhood, or social standing. One of them is Dumont's famous book, *Homo Hierarchicus* (1980), which focuses on ideologies and people's representations of the caste system—or intercaste relationships—in India, stressing the “hierarchized interdependence” (18) of caste relationships. He pursues his research by including ancient religious texts about the four

⁵ Rival's comments were made in her seminar on “methods and methodology in anthropology” at the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales in 1995, Quito (Ecuador).

⁶ See a report on racial discrimination in the United States at <http://www.servindi.org/actualidad/23360#more-23360> (accessed April 12, 2010).

⁷ Desires to plunder indigenous people's lands in order to make the people disappear go far back. During the colonial or earlier republican time the “rightful” owners of native lands and resources came about through marriage or legalistic means (for insights see Burns 1999).

varnas to posit that people are bounded in castes according to a principle of hierarchy.⁸ Hierarchy is conceived by stages as value and rank, grading elements relative to the whole (xvii). In other words, the principle of hierarchy “is the attribution of rank to each element in relation to the whole” (91). For Dumont, to be human is to have ideas and values, and if a person adopts a value, he or she is introducing hierarchy. He argues that some “consensus of values, a certain hierarchy of ideas, things and people is indispensable to social life [i.e.,] hierarchy should encompass social agents, and social categories” (20).

Hence, equality is artificial, an ideal, an expression of human endeavor; it is opposed to the caste system since hierarchy is independent of natural inequality,⁹ which according to Dumont (12) is inescapable. The ideal of equality linked to liberty, for him, is a feature of modern society that has emerged as a result of the conception of man/woman as an individual. That is, “if the whole of humanity¹⁰ is deemed present in each man, then each man should be free and all men are equal... by contrast, as soon as a collective end is adopted by several men their liberty is limited and their equality brought into question” (11). According to him, if people are considered as equal and identical, nonhierarchically ranked in a variety of social or cultural groups, the differences of life and status between communities may be envisaged as proceeding from somatic characteristics (16). Nonetheless, as many scholars have shown, social systems of inequality are *not* natural. They need to be explained in social, cultural, historical and material terms.

Dumont focuses on ideologies and representations, using ancient religious texts to explain the system of castes in India, for which he argues that hierarchy is a necessity for

⁸ Dumont states that “the hierarchy of the varnas can be seen not as a linear order, but as a series of successive dichotomies or inclusion. The set of the four varnas divides into two: the last category, that of the shudras, is opposed to the block of the first three, whose members are ‘twice-born’ in the sense that they participate in initiation, second birth, and in the religious life in general. These twice-born in turn divide into two: The Vaishyas are opposed to the block formed by the Kshatriyas and the Brahmans, which in turn divides into two” (67).

⁹ The assertion that inequality is a natural fact reminds me of one of my professor’s comments about my research proposal that shocked me for a while. He suggested, why bother to invest energy in studying inequality when it was there from the very beginning of society?

¹⁰ Dumont’s “idea of the human individual: humanity is made up of men, and each man is conceived as presenting, in spite of and over and above his particularity, the essence of humanity...features: this individual is quasi-sacred, absolute; there is nothing over and above his legitimate demands; his rights are limited only by the identical rights of other individuals” (4).

the organization of social life and separated from power (237). In contrast, my aim is not to explore hierarchy per se, nor whether it exists, nor how it is implicated in other systems of social representation. Rather, I focus on the processes of discrimination, subordination or racialization that crop up in everyday life, through every day practices,¹¹ daily hierarchical interrelationships that are linked to politico-economic factors (for a contrasting view, see Dumont 235). These processes, I suggest, are not separated from relations of power nor from the values and ideologies in which they assign the attributes of quotidian interactions. I explore the relationship between representations, as displayed in face-to-face encounters, and interactional micro-politics in everyday life, as well as in public discourse.

Few studies have approached discrimination, subordination, or racialization in the way that they work in daily interaction, particularly the way certain hierarchical relations work despite people's feelings about—or adherence to—a particular class, ethnic or national category. For instance, Elias and Scotson's ([1977]1994) research in a community of working-class people in England offer an example of how social standing works in everyday life through relationship of power. The powerful group feels superior and "make[s] the powerless...feel that they...are inferior in human terms" (xvi). This study sheds light on the relationship among Peruvians, in which some groups are able to impose their status as the most worthy in relation to other groups while claiming equality.

Discrimination, subordination, and racialization—as Brubaker et al. (2006) point out—have to be approached not only through the larger discourses of class, ethnic and nationhood claims, but through relational, processual and dynamic practices. If people categorize others to assert social standing, superordinate position, or dominance in everyday life, it is crucial to look at how categorized individuals "appropriate, internalize, subvert, evade, or transform the categories that are imposed on them" (13) in other

¹¹Though recent work on education (Garcia 2005) has reported a rhetorical shift to a "multicultural" view of education, the rhetoric of "multiculturalism" reflects the goals of international funding agencies rather than a sea change in Peruvian public discourses of race. My own experience and work—of more than five years—has shown me that Bilingual Education to enable the minority cultures to converse on equal footing with other "major" cultures has not been yet achieved or started despite the best intentions of international cooperation and its intelligentsia. Indigenous leaders such as Luis Macas (2004) and Benancio Turpo (2003) have made similar observations (personal communication).

words, how processes of discrimination, subordination, and racialization are produced and reproduced relationally in face-to-face interactions.

In everyday life in Peru, participants in any social encounter are able to place their interlocutors socially according to their speech, personal hygiene, or geographical origin (see Orlove 1993). For example, the distinction between those who speak Quechua and those who speak Spanish as mother tongues appears to be a crucial component in indexing someone's origin, and by the same token to rank speakers of either language. Also, a discourse of hygiene is often intertwined with discourse of progress (civility) or development to the point of disturbing households and their dwellers. This is a discourse to which younger generations may resort to undermine age-based hierarchy. Therefore, such discourse might affect relations even between mothers and daughters to the point of reversing the relations of respect that a daughter should give her mother.

Geographical determinism essentializes those living in the Sierra—those highlanders “inherently” deprived of oxygen—as developmentally disabled with respect to intelligence. A coastal person may condemn a highlander for being from the highland, and many highlanders living on the coast, regardless if they belong to the coastal elite, may become the worst racists. The coastal region may be thought of as an excellent environment for the development of human capacities, while the highland would be considered as a disastrous environment for humans' well-being because the altitude would compromise human brain power. Thus, geography becomes a key player within the processes of social dominance.

Language, hygiene, and geography are key components in the processes of creating and re-creating discrimination, subordination or racialization alongside other signs—such as silence and gestures. These discourses legitimate and perpetuate socio-economic and political inequality. For instance, if these attitudes pervade everyday life, it does not matter that the so-called “Indians” lose their land—as was the case during colonial and early republican time.¹² At the end of the day, those same Indians could

¹² This was a time in which Spaniards, “criollos” and newly self-identified Peruvians stole indigenous lands to obtain profits. These acts continue, although their modalities—by marriage, juridical tricks and force—have changed across time.

simply be wiped off the face of the earth. As one elite said “if I had a gun, I’d shoot these ignorant Indians.”¹³

I suggest that myriad forms of discrimination, subordination or racialization coexist in the Andes, and are played out in everyday face-to-face interactions. These are social forms that permeate everyday life deeply, affecting even the most intimate relations among Quechua-speaking villagers in rural highlands. They are also reflected at the national level in government discourses and official encounters, which circulate in the mass media: TVs, newspapers and internet blogs. In what follows I examine the semantic categories used by scholars in the Andes. The literature channels an understanding of reality through these categories—as if reality could be understood only by them.

Trying to catch reality through categories: Are *Indian*, *cholo*, *mestizo* or *criollo* categories self explanatory?

Research on face-to-face interaction among Quechua speakers and Spanish speakers is scarce in the Andes (Seligmann 2003, Harvey 1991, and Howard 2009 are some welcome exceptions). These scholars have pointed out that participants in a conversation code-switch to insult others, to assert authority, to compel people to undertake an activity, as well as to mock people in order to undermine their language ability. Other studies (Isbell 1978, de la Cadena 1991) have identified and have described how categorical labels such as “Indio,” mestizo, criollo, and “cholo” work within interethnic relationships. These studies suggest that individuals labeled as Indio, cholo or Mestizo move from one category to another uni-directionally and indiscriminately: Indio to Cholo or from Cholo to Mestizo and finally from Mestizo to Criollo. That is, they frame ethnicity as a gradient phenomena or one that is always “in progress.” The Indians will gradually become modern by their assimilation to the westernized life of the mestizo or criollo, leading to a homogenous nation under the leadership of mestizo or criollo elites.

This linear or “in progress” way of understanding and explaining interethnic relationships in the Andes is described historically by Guerrero (1977) and Sulawski

¹³ This comment was made by a provincial elite who proudly avowed his Spanish descent and bragged of his close knowledge of “Indians” when we traveled in the same truck to the countryside (field notes 2010).

(2000). They illustrate that elite Spanish speakers depict Indians as servile and backward—as people who need to be governed by settlers (in the Ecuadorian case discussed by Guerrero), or integrated into the body politic through proletarianization because of their “indianness” [in the Bolivian case discussed by Sulawski (2000); see also Rivera (2004) and Cervone (1999)]; for Peruvian elites, in contrast, Indians must be assimilated to a modern culture represented by criollos.

In the Peruvian case, this linear thinking can be traced back to the 1970s. In that decade, intellectuals moved beyond genetic and biological factors to explain the “problem” of inter-ethnic relations. They produced abundant examples to demonstrate that interethnic relationships could be understood better by paying attention to cultural factors, social mobility, and political-economy. For instance, within the framework of “mestizaje,” they proposed that the system of ethnic categories was interwoven with a person’s own volition in moving from his ascribed label to another through modernization, making himself at least mestizo and even, perhaps criollo. Intellectuals such as Fuenzalida¹⁴ (2009) suggested that the process of mestizaje was taking place through social mobility and modernization (an idea shared by Escobar, Matos and Bourricaud), and this would in turn lead to a new Peruvian society based on economy and social class division rather than on racialized ascriptions. He recommended that Peru overcome the mosaic of villages and regions and look toward a unitary nation, a common language (Castilian), a common history, shared civic values, and modern skills instead of virtuous handicraft skills (307). That way, Peru, finally, would become at long last a modern homogenous nation—a mestizo nation.

During the 1970s Fuenzalida argued that in order to become modern a person must assimilate the values, stereotypes, attitudes and behaviors of the people standing on the summit of the social stratification of Peruvian society (67). People labeled as Indian, cholo, or mestizo must assimilate to the criollo¹⁵ lifestyle; to be modern is to be criollo.¹⁶

¹⁴ Fuenzalida is a leading Peruvian anthropologist who has re-edited some of his key articles in his last published book (2009).

¹⁵ Fuenzalida uses the term *blanco* (‘white’) or *criollo* to refer to Spanish descendants or later European immigrants. I will use *criollo*.

¹⁶ It is worthwhile to note that community “closeness”, according to Fuenzalida, will be broken by the forces of modernity (e.g., by criollo modernity) and urbanization processes (82-83).

He asserted that an indigenous individual or family could become mestizo in one generation if they move their residence (i.e., move geographically), improve economically, learn Spanish, and not speak Quechua anymore (p.71), while mestizos could strive to become criollo (74). People living in their village, who have a professional title, would need to move to the city. But if they moved to Lima, they would be identified as cholo (a transitional stage) because they would not have yet been fully assimilated to the criollo way of life. Once they had completed their assimilation, they would be recognized as criollo (36).¹⁷ In short, Indian would be assimilated through processes of mestizaje, and mestizaje provides the only possibility for Peru to become a nation.¹⁸

I suggest that this diachronic way of using categories to explain interethnic relations in the Andes does not help much in understanding how individuals contest categories imposed upon them in quotidian life beyond their own claims of class, ethnic or national ascription. Following this diachronic line of thought, De la Cadena (1991) argues that Indians “dis-indianized” themselves willfully by acquiring urban knowledge, thereby changing their status to mestizo or mestiza (21). Those who are not fully mestizo or mestiza are “in process” of becoming such (19). Her study implies that “mestizaje”¹⁹ is a driving force to which people orient their deeds in order to be integrated into the nation. Those who are in this process, between the status of Indian and mestizo, according to her, become “mestizo(a)” in the long run primarily by acquiring urban knowledge, and changing certain ethnic identifiers such as dress, language and food, among other things.

Méndez (1996) likewise asserts that there is a steady “process of cultural fusion and integration” (200) thanks to migration and the development of communication. Nonetheless, she argues that historical discrimination against those labeled as “Indians” was fierce within the project of criollo nationalism and criollo ideals of nationality and modernity. However, she points out that prejudices against “Indians” and the lack of self-

¹⁷ However, he points out that a *misti* is archaic in relation to a “criollo,” and that a criollo is archaic in relation to an inhabitant of New York City.

¹⁸ According to him, an individual from Lima that occupies a high status in relation to *misti* or an Indian will not lose such status throughout Peru. In contrast, *misti* or a “notable” from the provincial towns will become a simple “cholo” in Lima (1970: 73) like any other Indian.

¹⁹ *Mestizaje* understood as merging cultures in which the mainstream culture (*criollo*) will predominate.

recognition remain today as a task that needs to be worked out in order for Peru to become a nation.

Other investigations in the Andes challenge Fuenzalida's assertions about cholo as a transitional category. This line of research states that cholo is not a transitional category or group that Indians need to pass in order to become part of criollo culture. Instead, they are constructing a new culture—the *cholo* culture, built due to the force of progress and capitalism. “Indian” migrants are now cholo, and they constitute a new cultural group.

Isbell (1978) and Seligman (1989), among others, take this approach. They describe the way that categories such as Indian, cholo and mestizo work, which is useful in terms of labels that people use to classify—and discriminate against—others. Despite their innovative approach, they explain these categories in a linear way again, and what is more, the categories are regarded as equating persons that are moving from a traditional stage to a superior stage, a modern one. They seem to posit that persons labeled as Indians, can gradually become cholo by “migrating” or by becoming brokers among Indians, either mestizo or criollo people.

Isbell²⁰ defines the categories of Indian, cholo and mestizo as follows. Indians are those who speak Quechua and live according to the customs of their community while mestizos are those who primarily speak Spanish but also speak Quechua, and are peeled of their past ethnicity. In the middle of these categories she locates the category of cholo. Cholos are those who have migrated from their community and have not been fully integrated into the Peruvian society and still keep links with their villages, particularly as leaders. They represent a new social class in the urban landscape (67). She asserts that “emigrants” are not a group of Indians changing their status to become mestizo or criollo. That said, emigrants, Cholos, are constructing a new cultural system, different from their ancestors and different from criollos (Bourricaud 1989, Seligmann 1989).

Seligman (1989) argues that chola is not a transitional stage in the process of assimilation to mestizo or criollo norms and values, as Fuenzalida, de la Cadena and Méndez suggested. Rather, cholas as market women are an economically and culturally

²⁰ She currently participates in “Chuschinos” life, and knows and loves them profoundly. See details at <http://isbellandes.library.cornell.edu/collection.html> (accessed August 4, 2010).

different group, and a distinct socioeconomic and cultural category that people can manipulate as they like. In occupational terms they are the counterpart to cholos (703). Her study equates the chola and cholo categories to a group that supposedly has come to exist as a discrete ethnic group without a racial connotation, thanks to the necessities of capitalism, and despite her assertion that persons (e.g., mestizo) can label others as they please in order to maintain the hierarchical status quo.

Her analysis endorses Quijano's discussions of "cholificación." According to Quijano (1980), contemporary Indians are no longer looking to acculturate into the mainstream westernized criollo culture; instead they are becoming cholo. That is, migrants with some elements of their Indian culture and elements of the criollo culture are unconsciously creating a new culture, a new cultural system that will allow them to change their social situation and to be able to move upward. Indians traveling to cities are not Indians anymore; they are automatically dis-indianized by virtue of moving from their geographical location to cities and being re-labeled as "cholo." It is not clear when Quijano uses cholo as an analytical category and when he is using it referentially to discuss migrants. This is a common problem in the scholarship on Andean social categories. It is often unclear whether scholars are using these categories as analytical constructs or whether they are making the ontological claim that the categories are really "out there" in the world.

Can categories of analysis be categories of practice?

This diachronic use of synchronic categories (Indian—currently peasant—, cholo, mestizo or criollo) seems to be akin to my perception of the use of the Indian label in the United States, when a doctoral student pointed out,

““We” [English speakers] use “Indian” with capital letters as a label, as an analytical category and to refer to people.”

The label “Indian” conflates an analytical category with a denotational category in the academic milieu, as evidenced by the outrage provoked by the display of Native

Americans in the University of Michigan's Natural History Museum.²¹ Scholars from the United States follow folk usage of the labels, up to a point, because it appears to correspond to their way of framing their knowledge or their cultural expectations of Indians in the United States. I suggest that in the Andes, some North American scholars just as easily buy into the labels that Andean domestic scholars use to explain the interethnic relationships in which they participate on a daily basis (see Rosaldo 1993). That is, labels are used to characterize, identify, name or group—by essentializing some attributes (Gelman and Mannheim 2008)—and at the same time, to explain the user's desires, wishes or ideas about themselves and others.

Thus, elucidation by many scholars of categories within interethnic relationships in the Andes is often confused. On the one hand, "Indian", "peasant," cholo, "mestizo," and "criolla" categories are used as analytical distinctions to explain a social phenomenon. On the other hand, it is often assumed that the same categories refer to people that supposedly exist out there, and labeled as such, are recognizable to the untutored eye. Many scholars conflate folk and analytical understanding (see Brubaker and Cooper 2000:6).

If the categories are concepts, they cannot refer transparently to different groups of people per se. Mestizo is not a natural social category that exists objectively outside of discourse (as Howard 2009:26 correctly points out). "Indian," "peasant," cholo," "mestizo," or "criolla" cannot be used analytically as they are used in everyday practice to the point of reifying such categories, and by the same token, implying that, for example, "Indian" or "mestizo" exist (Brubaker and Cooper 2000:5-6).

The confusion between categories-as-analysis and categories-as-practice leads inexorably to the ideology that individuals can gradually move from an Indian to a cholo category, or from a cholo to a misti category, and in turn to the criollo category as they want,²² thus, leading to an allegedly enduring "reality": "mestizaje." This ethnic gradient conceals old and new forms of exclusion, discrimination, abuse, and exploitation against

²¹ More on this issue can be found at <http://www.michigandaily.com/content/daily-remains-shouldnt-remain-university-hands>.

²² Although achieving the status of criollo seems a little harder, on the one hand, intellectuals were and sometimes still are promoting "mestizaje" as the bedrock on which to have a Peruvian nation; on the other hand, coastal dwellers, particularly those dwelling in Lima claim a superordinate position in relation to all others that do not live in the city of Lima.

indigenous people who are labeled as x, y, or z by those who have the power to label or re-label within interethnic relationships.

Andean studies are colored by this conflation, and by an ideology of linear progress. Scholars' studies merge conceptual definitions with an old ideology that persons within interethnic relationships share in the Andes. Both Quechua-speaking and Spanish-speaking people appear to share the idea that an Indian or "campesino" can move upward or change his attributed label by moving to the city²³ or eating and dressing like *mistis* or *criollos*. It seems that the majority of Quechua-speaking people buy into the idea that their "indianness" can be left behind by becoming *misti* (fieldwork notes 1998-2000, 2006, 2007, and 2008-2009, 2010), following the ideology of "mestizaje." Both groups diverge at one point; whereas Quechua-speaking people believe that they will become *misti*, Spanish speaking individuals highlight that an Indian would be *cholo* or almost be *mestizo* but never fully *mestizo*²⁴ or *criollo* (for an example of similar ideologies about Africans by European settlers, see Irvine and Gal 2000:46).

Many Quechua-speaking people have internalized this ideology accompanied by a teleological view of progress, in which *misti* is a condition that anyone can achieve by wearing certain clothes (straight polyester skirts, pants, t-shirts, shoes, jackets or suits), eating certain foods (noodles, rice, or red meat) and speaking Spanish like a *misti*. It is believed that by giving up handmade wool clothing, hats, braids, rubber sandals, and even their language, they can bring themselves into a more equitable position vis-à-vis *mistis*, and blame themselves when they fail to do so. Thus, Quechua speaking people seem to take a position similar to that of many Latin American scholars in accepting a universalizing discourse of ethnic gradience at face value (for critiques see Hale 1999²⁵ and Palmié 2006, among others).

²³ Migration for Spanish speakers.

²⁴ This common view diverges when intellectuals and lay people (who are primarily Castilian speakers) state that Indians or peasants living in the city will remain always in progress, but will never achieve the desired status even in the fourth generation, because of their geographical location in the city, ways of dressing, eating or even behaving.

²⁵ Though Hale's observations are a decade old, and concern a case very different from mine, I know from my own experience and fieldwork—including conversations with scholars and NGO workers—that they continue to be relevant to the Peruvian case.

Even Allen (2002 [1988]), who has produced the most outstanding ethnography²⁶ in the Andes, has surrendered to this ethnic gradience, or “in progress,” way of understanding interethnic relations. In the afterword of the second edition of her book, she states that all *runa* are now mestizo (205), aligning her work with those studies that have considered synchronic categorical definitions (e.g., Indian, mestizo, cholo, and criollo) as diachronic. In this view, *runa*/Indian will become mestizo or cholo within a linear progress, which implies that Indians will evolve from their magical beliefs to a modern society.

This teleological idea leads to the ideology that indigenous people must make efforts to assimilate to the westernized life of provincial cities or of Lima by renouncing their language, values, norms and traditions in order to be successful and to access modernity (172). Allen, without realizing it, shares the teleological idea of ethnic identity that leads to modernity with some Bolivian studies. Despite her disagreement with Canessa (1999) about what will be regarded as the Andean culture, they both cultivate the image that indigenous people are gradually progressing to be mestizo by forgetting or throwing away certain practices or moving to the cities. Migration for Canessa implies a radical change in Indian ethnic status. That is, an Indian going to the city or the mines will become a cholo (an urbanized Indian), and in the long run will be a mestizo (72).

This gradualism in interethnic relationships—shared by Andean scholars—was pointed out by Mason more than 40 years ago (1966). Mason posited that bureaucratic employees, intellectuals, and the elite converge on the idea that Indians need to change from their traditional culture to a modern culture in which the outcome will be the *mestizaje* of the nation, which would form a homogenous nation based within Spanish framework.

The implication is that Indians need to disappear in order to achieve progress because they are “alien to modernity,” as the literary critic Jean Franco puts it (2006). Those who speak other languages apart from Spanish, have been and are still stigmatized, and blamed for the failure of Peru to become a fully modernized nation. This common sense, according to Franco, “derive[s] from a discursive formation that homogenizes and

²⁶ It has not been surpassed.

simplifies indigenous identity without regard to the historical sedimentation of discrimination” (177).

One has to recognize that early approaches to interethnic relationship in the Andes shed light on how the categories of *runa*, Indian, cholo, mestizo, and criollo²⁷ work, as well as the representation of race and ethnicity as socially, culturally, and historically situated phenomena. However, the categories are taken as representing particular beings that can change from label to label by the force of assimilation and progress. What is more, reproducing the idea that Indians will become modern if they become mestizo or criollo conceals the idea that progress can be achieved only by acculturation or assimilation. That is, “mestizaje” implies whitening or “blanqueamiento” (Safa 2005:311), in which the highest position is assumed to be mestizo or criollo. “Mestizaje” was and still is, in some Latin American countries, a way to “forge a unified and homogenous national image...and reassert the supremacy of western civilization” (307). This idea of the nation as a culturally homogenous entity of one language, one people and one territory is contradictory with the juridical ideal of citizenship that provides theoretical equality under the law to all native-born residents in Peru, regardless of sex, race, ethnicity and language. Nonetheless there is a widespread sense that those who do not speak the national language (Spanish) such as monolingual Quechua speakers and even those who speak Spanish with different levels of fluency do not have the same social standing as those who do. Therefore, not every legal citizen is a citizen within the framework of the national ideology. Classic notions of citizenship rely on the free exercise of contract (Locke [1823]1966), territorial boundaries, membership and participation (Kofman 1995, Brubaker 1992, Turner 1993). Although in theory such a definition appears to democratize, its effect is to establish parameters that make discrimination acceptable (Stolcke 1988: 152-54, Wallerstein 2003: 551-52, 673). This nominally inclusive definition is difficult to deploy when the jure citizenship is challenged by the rhetoric of hierarchy or social standing in everyday social practices in the southern Peruvian Andes, a rhetoric that is ignited by the ideology of “mestizaje” that

²⁷ This category is fading away as an analytical category.

allegedly dissolves the existence of multiple socio-cultural groups that have their own language by dissolving them into a national “identity.”

As MacCormack (2006) points out, “mestizaje”, understood as merging of culture[s], races and language[s], cannot explain everything nor be the model under which a country can be built as a nation, because “different groups (...) have their own ways of creating and interpreting meaning, ways that remain distinct (23). For indigenous people, different meanings emerge from their daily interactions (see Bakhtin 1981) — regardless of whether these interactions take place in institutions such as schools or health clinics or less informal settings. They also emerge from their interactions with material things such as other living beings, land, art, paper forms, books, vans, and so on (27).

Scholars’ earlier analytic efforts on interethnic relationship in the Andes hesitate to assert bluntly that there were at least more than two different cultures in place within the Andes: those whose native tongue is Quechua or Aymara and those whose native tongue is Spanish. As Mason states (1966) there was and still is a lack of understanding and lack of conversation among the cultural groups, particularly between Quechua speakers and Spanish speakers or between Aymara speakers and Spanish speakers.

The conversation between them may not occur until Spanish speakers (especially state and private institutions’ employees or representatives, and the elite) acknowledge that they cannot ignore or dismiss people with different cultural backgrounds anymore, and recognize that those who do not speak Spanish belong to a different culture and that they are not a problem for the existence, or the development of a nation (for a discussion see Gonzales Prada [1904] 1960; Mariategui 1973; Guerrero 1997; Zulawski 2000). Once Spanish speakers have recognized this fact, it may open a possibility to converse on equal footing about the process of building a non-homogenous country. That elite people from the coast (Lima), and the Sierra (La Paz, and Quito) may need to set aside their assumption that Indians need to be integrated into “the nation” by postulating “mestizaje” as the final solution (for a fruitful discussion about assimilation in the U.S. context see Omi & Winant 1994). What is more, the elite may need to get to know the unknown subjects/people about whom they used to and still write and deliver lengthy papers in

academic circles under the headings of “Indians,” “peasants,” “cholo,” or “mestizo” or even “criollo.”

Historical discrimination

The historical discrimination against indigenous people (for discussion see Urbano 1992:xxxvi-xxxvii; Walker²⁸ 1992:1,5-6,8-9; Seligman 1992; Remy²⁹1991), their destruction (see Urbano 1991), the exhaustion of their resources by the Spaniards’ pillaging and plundering, and their obligation to pay tribute during the Spanish colonial rule and even in the early Republic (for a discussion see Seligman 1992: 118,122; Betalleluz 1992; Manrique 1992:215-216, 234-235), can be traced to the very beginning of the Spanish invasion and conquest in the sixteenth century. For the purposes of my investigation, I briefly offer some examples of blatant discrimination since the 1970s; a year after the military government decreed the Agrarian Reform³⁰ in order to end the uprising of indigenous people who were fighting for fair labor hours within *haciendas* and land ownership rights. The Agrarian Reform contributed to ending the *haciendas* and established the term “campesino” (peasant) as a substitute for “indio” (Indian—cf. Howard 2009: 23). This term refers to indigenous people who lived at the *haciendas* as indentured serfs, and to those who farmed their own land but had to work for *haciendas*, taking, weekly, biweekly or monthly turns.

Changing the term “Indian” to “peasant” under the Agrarian Reform could not transform overnight the way people treat or address each other in daily life. The fact that discrimination or subordination of indigenous people did not cease appeared even in popular songs sung by the elite of provincial towns (who usually speak Quechua as a second language) during the 1970s.

²⁸ Walker describes the image of the Indian held during the last days of the colony.

²⁹ In her article, Remy discusses how the image of violent battle and blood is articulated as an exotic activity from the point of view of observers and scholars, a view which does not match what is happening during the annual practice of Chiaraje in the countryside of the city of Cuzco.

³⁰ The Agrarian Reform affected the *haciendas* of the highland and the coast. See the account of Hugo Blanco—a leader in the movement for land ownership—which describes the indigenous movement and the Agrarian Reform at <http://www.aporrea.org/desalambrar/a39181.html>>. See a journal account about the indigenous movement in the 1960s that led to the Agrarian Reform at <http://ahorahistoria.blogspot.com/2009/02/subversion-y-contrasubversion-en-los.html> (accessed March 11, 2010)

*Ministiriwmantas gubirnu kamachikun
machunta, payanta
sisinakuchun nispa
chalunakuchun nispa
wayna sipastataq ukhupakachun nispa
sinchi qullantataq uchu kutapaq nispa
uchu kutapaq nispa³¹*

The government through the Ministry has ordered
that all old men and women become dry meat
become dry meat
and that young men and women be buried underground
and take the tender flesh of the very young to be ground into hot sauce
ground into hot sauce

The song bluntly depicts what the elite of Cuzco thought³²—and many still think—about Quechua-speaking people. According to government law and the elite, Quechua speakers must cease to exist. Those who are babies must be made to vanish from the face of the earth by turning the youngest into hot sauce, the government and the elite are supposedly transforming worthless people into something useful, since younger Quechua-speaking people could be at least a useful commodity. In one way or another, those who are not integrated, incorporated within the “new nation,” must disappear forever. It does not matter by what means the Indians will evaporate. For the sake of the so-called nation people who do not comply with Spanish speakers’ westernized life, they must be made to vanish or be vanquished.

This explicit poetry can be linked to encounters between Quechua and Spanish speaking individuals in the 1970s. Kleymeyer³³ (1973) offers a poignant example,

Juan Huamani, mayor of the Quechua village of Incamarca, stood holding the reins of his horse at the bottom of the mountain path...He had led the horse for three hours down the steep slopes for Don Victor Manuel, assistant superintendant of the regional school system... Victor was making a visit to Incamarca...The sun beat down ferociously and...Victor had forgotten his straw hat... “Listen”, he said to Juan. “Step over here, my son”, Juan quickly moved near. “Yes, Papi [father]?”...Victor said nothing as he leaned over and removed Juan’s hat. Taking a handkerchief out of his vest pocket, he fastidiously wiped the entire inside of the hat. Only then did he put it on his head. As

³¹ Song: *Ministeriomanta*, author-singer: Quinteto Cusco.

³² The links between Cusco’s elites and the discriminatory attitudes of the coast can be seen, for example in two TV programs that depict countryside highland woman as dirty and stupid, and the black population as stupid animals; for details see http://www.diariolaprimeraperu.com/online/columnistas/racismo-y-basura-en-la-tv_60713.html (accessed April 12, 2010).

³³ Kleymeyer has done his fieldwork in the departments of Cuzco and Apurimac. He wrote his dissertation on how discrimination was structurally established between Indians and Criollos.

Juan tore a large leaf from a plant to cover his own head... Victor chuckled at the ludicrous look of the ill-dressed serf with tire sandals on his feet and leaf on his head. "If you would work hard and stop chewing that filthy coca," he instructed Juan, "you would be better off!" Then he spurred his horse, and turning to a member of the local Civil Guard who was "guiding" him to Incamarca, began to relate his favorite "indio bruto" stories. Juan spoke only when spoken to... His fields and his family were waiting. He hoped the patron would send a teacher so his children would not be as wretched as he (ix).

As it can be seen, Juan Huamani, a Quechua-speaking villager, submitted himself to the power of Victor, a *hacienda* owner, with the hope of his allowing an elementary school for the children of Juan's village so that they could learn Spanish. Juan's hope is that Victor would approve it if Juan behaved as if his whole life were under Victor's command. But Juan did not know, at this time, that his silent subordination may have been useless. Although their children may have learned Spanish, they and their descendants would still be part of the relations of discrimination, subordination and racialization.

It seems that researchers in the Andes have taken for granted the categories of peasant, cholo, mestizo, and criollo and assumed that they were adequate to explain the phenomena of ethnic relationships. They have ignored the blatant discrimination in the form of racialization and its persistence across time. I would suggest that semantic categories are not well fitted to fully explain the discrimination, subordination and racialization that seem to permeate Peruvian society. In order to explain these practices and ideologies, it is necessary to document and analyze all features of everyday encounters such as language, silence, gestures, material things, and spatial structure.

Beyond categories

The present research is not a new way of explaining interethnic relationships through the conceptual labels of *runa*/Indian, cholo, mestizo or criollo to which Andean scholars have dedicated their analytical efforts. It is also not a description of ethnic differences among Indians, cholo, mestizo or criollo categories. Rather, I propose to leave aside "the lexicon of difference" (cf. Howard 2009:30) to analyze the processes of

labeling (see Seligman 1989:707)³⁴ as context-dependent, which in some cases can be *fractal* (explanation below), expressing and re-creating the nature of social relationships among Quechua-speaking and Spanish-speaking people (see Scarritt 2006; Brubaker and Cooper 2000).

As Howard (2009) suggests, any lexical choice by participants in their utterances in a discursive field for social classification is contingent, and researchers may have to “suspend any preconceived notions” (21) about their lexicon (e.g., “Indian,” “mestizo,” or “criollo”) to explain any phenomena at hand. My focus, however, is not the discursive process of self-identification. What I explore is not even how the categories of “Indian,” “cholo,” “mestizo” or “criollo” have become or can be crystallized as powerful and compelling realities (Brubaker and Cooper 2000:6). I intend to avoid the reification of the above categories used in the Andes to elucidate ethnic interrelationships by adopting such categories, and unwittingly “reproducing or reinforcing” them (5). I explore these relations in the micro-politics of everyday life (small scale) and in the macro-politics of discourse at the national level (large scale), instead of looking for an explanation for the subjugation of the indigenous population as framed by class relations (Scarritt 2006³⁵) or ethnic categories interwoven with assimilation, progress, and modernization.

My aim is to explain processes and mechanisms of discrimination, subordination, and racialization among people in the southern Andes. That is, following my data, I focus primarily on how discriminatory, subordinate, or racialized relations—which penetrate profoundly the daily lives of villagers—are created or re-created in everyday face-to-face interactions. In other words, I analytically illustrate how labels that stereotype people crop up in daily interaction and how they are internalized, evaded, subverted, or transformed among people whose mother tongue is either Quechua or Spanish in the settings of a minivan, a health facility, and within households, regardless of individual

³⁴ Seligman points out that powerful people manipulate labels to validate their own vision of hierarchy.

³⁵ Scarritt analyzes racial discrimination within two highland villages among indigenous population in which “brokers” (those who can act as ‘mestizo’) disenfranchise and patronize villagers—in complicity with urban dwellers—reproducing and legitimating old systems of discrimination and exploitation. What is shocking and unsustainable is his assertion that there are different races emerging from the same nuclear family (36). He thus commits the same fallacy as De la Cadena, who claims that there are ‘indigenous mestizos,’ a fallacy that essentializes indigenous people and undermines their political deeds. This, by the same token, implies that they cannot be indigenous or claim indigeneity, since they have become ‘mestizo’ within the city, following the old trope of modernization ideology.

adscription or claims of class, ethnic or national belonging. In addition, my study investigates how these labels or stereotypes are transposed through the aforementioned settings to re-create or produce hierarchical relationships. I would suggest that participants in these settings pay attention to the way people speak either Quechua or Spanish, indentifying Quechua as worthless, and by extension, its speakers. Irvine and Gal (2000) point out that

...linguistic features are seen as reflecting and expressing broader cultural images of people and activities. Participants' ideologies about language locate linguistic phenomena as part of, and evidence for, what they believe to be systematic behavioral, aesthetic, affective, and moral contrast among the social groups indexed. (37)

That is, an iconization in which certain "linguistic features index social groups or activities [that] appear to be iconic representations of them, as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature or essence." (37) Gelman and Mannheim (2008:630) suggest that essentialism can be understood as an underlying, unchanging [...] essence that [...] causes [people's] outward behavior," which would be used to mark and essentialize persons as deeply different from the "civilized" one.

That is, processes of discrimination, subordination, and racialization may be displayed through the essentialization of differences that are mapped onto people. The essentialization may lead to processes of creating a stereotypical image that indexes people as representing or reflecting such an icon, by the same token, homogenizing such people as a unique group that supposedly share enduring essences, thus erasing any internal differences (Gal and Irvine 2000: 36-37, 40). I posit that stereotypes are deployed *fractally* across all levels of the social scale, from the most intimate and local setting of a health facility to those in national politics played out in the Peruvian Parliament. I also examine discourses at the national level that discriminate against those who are deemed a hindrance for the purported economic development and progress of the Peruvian "nation". At this macro level it seems that categorization is fractally played out in order to frame relations of power all the way up or down (i.e., social hierarchy), producing super-categories and sub-categories, depending on the context.³⁶ By fractal, I mean the "projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level

³⁶ For a recent Mexican-American example, see Mendoza-Denton (2008).

[...] the dichotomizing and partitioning process that was involved in some understood opposition [...] recurs at other levels, creating either subcategories on each side of that contrast or super-categories that include both sides but opposed them to something else” (Irvine and Gal 2000: 38).

Each side of a given opposition can be iterated by a further opposition, carrying over the valuation of the first. For example, in the opposition serrano-limeño, the serrano side can generate an internal partitioning between brutishness and intelligence. The limeño side can be partitioned between “criollo” and “pituco.” However, the given opposition can be included in one category of “sudacas” as oppose to an unmarked European Spaniards. Gal (2002:81) suggests that “calibrations are always relative positions and not properties laminated onto the persons, objects or spaces concerned. They are like Bakhtinian voicings or perspectives rather than fixed categories.” The term fractal is “used by mathematicians to describe certain geometrical structures whose shape appears to be the same regardless of the level of magnification used to view them”³⁷ or as Gal (2002: 81) points out, fractal is a concept “used in geometry to describe how a single pattern recurs inside itself—is self-similar—often with multiple nestings.”

Following Irvine and Gal’s insights, I propose that what is fractally reduplicating across different settings is the relationship between signs—labels such as “Indian,” “cholo,” and “mestizo”—and their accompanying ideological effects they produce on participants (who interpret the semiotic meanings). That is, the signs do not signify anything referential or an actual person out there, but politically laden images or stereotypes. The effects that such ideologies carry nevertheless become very real.³⁸ Thus, I suggest that there is no point in discussing the object of the sign since there is not any single object (within the real world) that is evoked, for example, by the signs “Indian,” “cholo,” or “mestizo.” It would be more fruitful to discuss the sign and how it affects people’s lives, for instance, the effect of “brutish Indian” or “Quechua speaker girls” on people with Quechua background and their political projects.

³⁷ “A standard example is a seacoast, which looks roughly the same whether viewed from a satellite or an airplane, on foot, or under a magnifying glass. Many natural shapes approximate fractals, and they are widely used to produce images in television and movies.” <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/fractal> (accessed June 25, 2010).

³⁸ My thanks go to Claire Insel for her friendly discussion on the concept of fractals from a semiotic point of view.

It is the images or stereotypes built into daily interactions that are fractally reproduced across settings from the small scale to the large scale, i.e., the level of interaction represented here changes from small conversations between individuals to large political decisions or pronouncements made about those that are identified as having a Quechua background. In any social encounter, participants intend to transform stereotypes into ontological realities by “making them real in some particular form to which is culturally attributed the phenomenological qualities that would intensify its significance and embed it in the very sensory relations and structures of people’s life” (Feeley-Harnik 2010 ms.).

The processes of labeling or categorizing creates images or stereotypes—as part of essentializing differences—in daily interactions as observed within a minivan, a health facility or households, may be reflected *fractally* at the national level in Parliament or politicians’ rhetoric. In the Parliament congresspersons’ categorizations may reflect or project the micro-politics of everyday interactions among Quechua-speaking and Spanish-speaking people, at the same time it may reflect back into the aforesaid settings; thus, reproducing old and new forms of discrimination but also reinforcing claims of social hierarchy that may have political consequences, rendering powerless even the most successful social and political movement in Peru (for example, People of the Rain Forest).

Moreover, the images and stereotypes that affect indigenous people in Peru may have been projected fractally not only through space but through time, i.e., historically as the assertion of the former democratic President Bustamante y Rivero³⁹ shows, he believed that Quechua-speaking people would hamper the incorporation of the aboriginal population into a westernized cultural model, because their life above 3,000m sea level would render a civilized status impossible (Manrique 2009). This is an image that is fractally depicted in the 1970s as it is shown in the preceding section through Kleymeyer’s vignette (1973).

To aid my explanation, I quote in length Weismantel’s (2001) observation in *Latacunga* (an Ecuadorian province located in the highland of Ecuador) about a *longo*

³⁹ Bustamante y Rivero was president of Peru during the early twentieth century.

(Quechua speaking person) who dared to sit at a restaurant table. Weismantel remembers stopping to eat in an open-air restaurant one afternoon when she saw the following:

. . . a man in a poncho came in and sat down at a table with his small son. The irritated owner, a tall skinny woman in her sixties, drove them from the building with kicks and blows, screaming racist curse words that no one had taught me in Spanish class. . . the man got up off the ground, gathered up the boy, and leaned back into the restaurant, his feet carefully planted on the sidewalk outside. In a high—pitched singsong, he begged humbly to be allowed to buy food he could eat in the street; the owner took his money and piled up meat, potatoes, and rice on two china plates, which she carried over to him. He held out his poncho, and she dumped all the food directly onto the cloth, telling him that he was now behaving like a good *longuito* (Indian) (author's emphasis; p. xxviii).

It is such a finely detailed interaction among Quechua- and Spanish-speaking people that I look at during my study. That is, how the open-air restaurant paradoxically was not open to all clients, how a man labeled as *longuito* needed to behave according to the expectations of the Spanish speakers. How the man internalized the *longuito* label imposed upon him to behave as such in spite of his attempt to be regarded as any other client. The restaurant setting depicts embodied verbal signs (spoken Spanish), material things such as plates, food, cloths, bench and sidewalks, as signs to create an instance of social discrimination and subordination.

It is interesting to note that the man had been behaving as any other customer to buy food, and then he quickly changed his behavior, acting as a *longuito* as expected by the food seller. The quick change in the man's behavior poses a question to Bourdieu's notion of habitus as an array of structured dispositions that structure people's practices, perceptions and attitudes, and which are structured by them (Thompson 1991:12; see Bourdieu 1991). How was the man able to set aside his structured dispositions to exhibit *longuito* behavior? I posit that the man's behavior as a *longuito* was produced by his interaction with the restaurant's owner. That is, the *longuito* had been produced as a subordinated subject in relational terms.

Everyday interactions

Investigations of everyday linguistic interactions have been concerned with how interactions among participants are institutionalized (i.e., regulated and patterned), which have contributed to understanding communicative processes and people's ways of

achieving meaningful interaction through language. However, language is not only a medium to communicate and obtain economic gains (see Irvine 1989) but it is also a “cognized system”⁴⁰ that contributes to the perpetuation of certain social distinctions. Therefore, it is important to focus on the social consequences of daily interactions. More so, scholars of the political-economy of language may have to take into account not only the materiality of the social hierarchies articulated through linguistic signs but also other semiotic signs and material things—such as government forms—with which they are associated. Forms, or paper headings to be filled in, are constitutive components of interaction among participants within an institutionalized setting (Goodwin 2000).

Following Brubaker et al, the insights of linguistic research, and the political-economy of language, I illustrate the social processes through which discrimination, subordination, or racialization are created and re-created among those whose maternal language is Quechua or Spanish⁴¹ in the countryside of Cuzco, Peru. I describe how face-to-face interactions involve multiple intertwined signs or communicative forms such as verbal (spoken Quechua and Spanish), other semiotic forms such as silence and gestures (Haviland 2000, 2004), material forms (e.g., government forms, and desks) and spatial structure (clinics, households and the minivan) that materialize hierarchical relations among participants in face-to-face relationship beyond identity, class, ethnic, national or equality claims.

Interwoven signs of discrimination subordination and racialization

The following lays out some conceptual tools that my data calls attention to. They are spoken Quechua and spoken Spanish, silence, gestures, material things (bureaucratic forms), spatial structures and the encounter itself.

Spoken Quechua and spoken Spanish

Gal (1987) suggests that the imposition of a language sponsored by state’s institutions (e.g., education) upon bilingual minorities could not lead necessarily to a regard of state-language highly valued and to the self-deprecation of a minority’s own

⁴⁰ See Mannheim 2007 (ms.)

⁴¹ I discuss problems of labeling in chapter 2.

language to the point of a linguistic domination. Instead bilingual minorities oppose such domination by using their language as a way of opposing values of status and individual mobility (638). Diverse practices of code switching among bilingual groups (Italians in Germany, Hungarian speakers in Austria, and Germans in Romania) can be better understood within the frame of political economy. That is, “the acceptance of the authority and prestige of the state language depends on the political-economic position of the minority group with respect to the state and the regional economy” (649). In the same vein, Harvey (1987) suggests that absence of communication correlates with relations of power and speakers’ potentialities to invoke authority in order to be heard. Quechua-speaking and Spanish-speaking people may resort to speaking Spanish—the language of power—to legitimate relations of power, but they must have the ability to speak a particular Spanish register.

Although bilingual interlocutors can communicate with each other and change codes to Spanish or Quechua according to the circumstances and their efforts to accrue power, the hierarchical relations in which they are involved may depend in the levels of Spanish fluency and other variables that Harvey’s article take as a descriptive background—e.g., the table and who has the right to be seated around it in the event of religious festivity, or the court room and the papers that the judge produces. The judge can impose the language of interaction (Harvey 1987: 116-117) not only because he speaks the language of power, but by virtue of being within the court room and the possible paper work that he may produce as a representative of the national judiciary power and the claims that the defendant and the plaintiff want to display.

Furthermore, code switching not only depends on political and socio-economic factors or the ability to speak the language of power within a particular register—as the interaction within the parliament floor shows (chapter 6)—nor the power that the speakers want to accrue in order to be heard and impose their will over their interlocutors (which is not only contested, but sometimes defeated through other semiotic devices rather than switching the spoken language). Its patterns are determined by the local social-political dominance. Code switching could be taken as a component of mechanisms to assert discrimination or subordination in face-to-face interaction within

social and institutional settings. As Gal (1987) suggests “attitudes toward the languages are, implicitly, evaluations of the groups, activities and social relations” (639).

Such evaluations happen not only by the judgment of languages, but in real time face-to-face interactions in which turns at talk take place as the interaction in which language and body are intertwined (Tedlock & Mannheim 1995: 9). Language—during speech—is tied to postures, gestures and orientations, including in a single package, semiotic fields such as lexico-semantics, syntactic structures, prosody or rhythm (Goodwin 2000). Such interactions are fully embodied. In other words, in face-to-face interactions, spoken languages, silence, gestures, and bureaucratic forms are instantiated to discriminate against, subordinate or racialize participants.

Silence

Silence in daily interaction may communicate acceptance, compliance, doubt, or rejection, among other things depending on the circumstances of the participants’ encounter and the setting (formal or informal) as would be illustrated in the minivan where a villager’s response is intertwined with silence, or the woman stays silent to avoid surrendering to a representative’s counseling on using a contraceptive method in the village health facility, and lastly within a villager’s household, a mother may stay silent in the face of criticism. Silence might be followed by gestures that are part of any interaction.

Gestures

Gestures, according to Haviland (2004), are part of communicative devices in which the bodily movement accompanying speech is relevant (197-199), i.e., gesture and speech are produced together. As Kendon (2000) points out, participants “often employ gesture in such a way as to make something that is being said more precise or complete” (51) (quoted in Haviland 2000: 198), or show participant’s attitudes. A gesture may appear linked in meaning to an utterance in which it may coincide with or precede speakers’ utterances (Haviland 2004:199). Gestures crop up according to the situation or social circumstance in face-to-face interaction; they are communicative devices use by participants (216-217).

Although Haviland (2004) suggests that gesture is language-like which can be analyzed within the frame of any linguistic act, my aim is to explore the way gestures—the “indexical properties of gestures as central to their import and effectiveness” (2000: 8)—and utterances are intertwined to show complementary meaningfulness along with other signs. That is, how in cross-cultural interactions, gestures, along with spoken Quechua or Spanish, silence, material things, and the event itself are constitutive components of displaying discrimination, subordination or racialization among interactants. In addition, the ways gestures may reinforce or defeat speakers’ social claims. By doing so I would suggest that utterances presented with a layer of practical gestures not only help support and monitor condition of speech but also are be one part of the changes of a participant’s alignment or footing (e.g., stance, posture, or prosody), as Goffman (1979: 5) teaches us, but they alone may convey meanings beyond a participant’s utterances.

In order to do so, I pay attention to gestures that crop up among participants within the minivan, health facility and the floor of Parliament. Gestures significant include for example: pointing with any body part; facial expressions—frowns, smiles, laughs, eye flashes, pointed and pursed lips, haughty nose; gaze—staring at, avoidance or engagement of eye contact; head movements—nods, shakes, tilts; and postures and movements of torso, shoulders, legs, and other body parts (2004:206). For instance, first, I examine how staring at someone becomes a demonstration of contempt which may happen along with speech and other body positioning in a shared spatial-temporal setting by speakers that travel in a minivan (chapter 3). Second, I examine how the absence of eye contact is linked with bureaucratic forms to legitimate authority within a health facility (chapter 4), and third, on the floor of Parliament, how head movement can be a sign of disdain toward congressperson’s peers (chapter 6).

Material things: Bureaucratic forms

Webb Keane (2006) suggest that it may be analytically fruitful to understand things—in social and historical terms—as relatively autonomous from human projects (197). That is, an analysis of objects beyond the opposition subject-object—on the basis of which the constitution of the subject is explained—, and human desires. Instead it

would be fruitful, first, to explore the subject-object relation in which the subject can be amplified by merging with the object—as happens within the health facility when the forms to be filled in are merged with the representative’s action and amplify the subject’s authority as a subject endowed with powers in relation to patients.

Second, the objects’ phenomenological characteristic such as the allocation of seats in the minivan, the way diagnosing rooms or households’ kitchen are furnished that “have become given components of peoples’ objective contexts, [and] shape persons through comfort [and] demarcations of space” (200). (For insights see Bourdieu 1991, 1991; Foucault 1977). That is, the distribution of the chairs and desk may shape the representatives’ comportment—body movement and seated position and orientation in relation to their interlocutor. The distribution of the clay burning stove, pots and dishes may invite women to move and take action in the kitchen⁴² in a particular way (as I explore in chapter 5).

Lastly, the oppressive properties of the objects that may constrain not only human creativity, but mainly human actions within an institutional setting. In the health facility, representatives are subject to the requirements of the bureaucratic forms’ headings that they must follow, in order to respond to state requirements; otherwise there would arise a potential risk of failing in their position as state representative.

However, I suggest that the oppressive properties of objects may be felt as such by representatives within their daily interactions and their solitary activities of reporting numbers to the headquarters of the Ministry of Health. But they may not be felt as such by patients, particularly by Quechua-speaking people.⁴³ Quechua-speaking people may feel that forms are material things that link them to an imagined community of Peruvians. Forms may drive holders to subordinate themselves to the opacity of the encrypted

⁴² According to Keane all this may make “possible new forms of possession and interiority” (2006: 200).

⁴³ It seems that within western thought and understanding the concept of subject is built around not only the opposition subject/object but also around the isolation of objects as such. I would like to posit that within the Quechua framework the subject cannot be understood outside of its relation with the material world, the entities that Quechua-speaking people may not articulate through a word such as “objects.” That is, a subject exists only in relation to “material” living entities that are endowed with power by virtue of sharing the same world. Such entities may become not only guiding entities for subject desires and deeds, but they could be embraced by subjects as truly powerful and determinant in their way of understanding the world. They may not be anything such as resistance or oppressive understanding. Subjects cannot be understood outside of material living entities.

language by virtue of being written in the authorized language of the state—Spanish—and being stamped with an institutional seal.⁴⁴

The materiality of objects, their formal properties and phenomenological qualities, are important as “media of signification”⁴⁵ and they “form the grounds for subsequent modes of action” (202). As media of signification objects⁴⁶ make available new possibilities for system of meanings and pragmatic action, therefore, they could be taken into account to explore the process by which insidious prejudices are enacted and how they become guiding paths for state representatives’ claims along with other signs in face-to-face interactions to enact discrimination against others

Hull (2003) continued, up to some point, Keane’s argument about the importance of material things as media of signification. He analyzes files, maps, letters, reports, and office manuals as fundamental mechanisms for governance seen as communicative practice; and “the role of files in the fabrication of collective agency and authority” (290). In his analysis, files and other material things are regarded as mediators of discourse or discourse-mediating things (290). I would suggest that material things such as health facility forms may not only be mediators or regimented in a certain fashion (Keane 2005: 193), but they could be considered as (sometimes opaque) entities—with formal and phenomenological properties—to which health facility representatives and patients may find themselves submitted. Furthermore, things may potentially instigate actions in relation to other things including humans, but they “can only invite actions, but not determine them” (194). Hence, material things may be key components in several forms of discrimination beyond even “the acting subject’s intentions” (189).

The forms’ formal properties that shape their significance (Hull 2003: 2929)—such as size, perdurance, visibility, printed headings and its genre, and way of structuration—along with their phenomenological qualities (channeling representatives’

⁴⁴ It was instructive how the board of directors from a countryside community was fascinated to see the community’s statutes written in Spanish in the Minutes book even though they could not read most of the text. The assumption seems to be that if the directors have the Spanish written text in the Minutes book, they may have a little bit of the power of Spanish words, be able not only to make themselves respected, but also to make the community be respected by other institutions.

⁴⁵ They may be “important vehicles of transformative pressure on, or provide openings to new possibilities for, system of meanings and pragmatic action.

⁴⁶ As Keane suggests, one needs to “stress as well the reality of the object and its contribution to as yet unrealized further possibilities, we can expand our analysis beyond human products” (2006:202).

way of interacting with patients) could be important to explore. That is, how they merge with the representatives' endeavors to increase authority and how to shape representatives behavior. Forms circulate in a web of social relations that may bring about people's actions, and, at the same time, they are archives—whose life might be bounded to other material things—that inform about their own production, and history (Hull 2003:203, 296). They may become non-linguistic and para-linguistic signs to reproduce authoritarianism, and to index or re-create processes of discrimination, subordination and racialization in daily cross-cultural social relations as I explore in chapter 4.

Spatial Structure

Keane (1995: 104) suggests that the house as a space is constructed as an object of discourse which could be understood as one kind of cultural representation within Sumba society. Although in the Andes the house⁴⁷ may become an object of talk, I focus more on the way spatial structures might frame a persons' movement, constrain a persons' actions and relations with others, incite certain kinds of behavior, bring people into odd situations, strengthen processes of discrimination, subordination and racialization, or reinforce processes of "otherization". Plus, how space is embodied and at the same, how it shapes a persons' bodily movement, actions or point of view. For instance, a minivan, a health facility and households as spaces that might posit or invite certain kinds of interactions that may undermine or encourage speakers' aims or claims in face-to-face encounters like what happens within the minivan, the health facility or even households.

Moreover, the health facility can be seen as a personification of the government and the village house as a personification of a particular family. The components of the house can be identified with the members of the family, for instance, the patio with the household's head: a man or woman, depending on the circumstances of the household duties. The kitchen is usually identified with the woman (the spouse) and the children. The corral is identified with the children or the woman. Therefore, encounter may happen

⁴⁷ I examine the disruption of households to make them an exemplary of hygiene or cleanliness in chapter 5.

on the patio with adult member when visitors are strangers or in the kitchen if the visitors are relatives.

The encounter itself

Encounters occur within a space-time frame in which people deal with particular social situations. During encounters, talk takes place, which is “a system of mutually ratified and ritually governed face-to-face interactions” (Goffman 1964: 136). In these interactions, people express their point of view of the situation “and through this [their] evaluation, of the participants” by performing a pattern of verbal and non-verbal acts (for an insight into patterns of behavior, see Sapir 1985[1949]), i.e., performing a *line* in Goffman’s terms (1967: 6). Face, in Goffman’s definition, is the alleged social value a person claims for himself in relation to the patterns other participants assume the person has taken throughout a specific situation. That is, “face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes” (6).

Social attributes endorsed in cross-cultural relations may be highly challenged, contested, or even be a source of assertions of everyday discrimination or subordination according to the evaluations of the participants shown by the line performed by each of them. That is, during cross-cultural encounters, participants are not only involved “in mutual signaling and interpreting of each other’s presentations of self along...dimensions [such as] rituals, frames, talk, staging, roles, and emotion” (Turner 2002: 25), but they are enmeshed in a situation in which their assumed social value—face—may be at risk or in jeopardy at the very beginning of the event as I analyze in chapter 3. Cross-cultural encounters are embedded in a “system of meanings” and larger institutional structures, i.e., macro-structures (22, 32-38) although the system of meanings may not be necessarily shared by participants as a common background to convey a message or may be meanings that intend to denigrate or downgrade speakers as I examine in chapter 3 and 4. Furthermore, encounters would be interconnected to form what individuals take to be the larger social world in which they live.

Moreover, changes in footing during a talk would show the way speakers manage the production or reception of an utterance (Goffman 1979: 5, 15-16) which may be harsh, unkind or may illustrate an open contempt or denial that may offend or hurt

participants. There is no formal or informal cues to signal that a speaker is about to relinquish the floor, or that the addressee may signal a “desire to be given the floor” (Goffman 1967: 34-35) in cross-cultural encounters as I explore in chapter 3. In cross-cultural encounters a participant may maintain face by not only taking “into consideration his place in the social world and beyond it” (1967: 8) but by taking advantage of the place in which others are situated in relation to him, particularly if the participant enjoys social attributes approved within the interaction by other participants and/or within the larger society as the legitimate attributes to hold in order to claim a social value (face). Thus the line maintained by the participant—to himself and for others—may be legitimately institutionalized, and by the same token, reproducing or reflecting historical discrimination against, relationships of subordination and racialization as I examined in chapter 5. Consequently, if there is a lack of “mutual considerateness” during an encounter, it may become “an arena in which a contest is held” (Goffman 1967: 24) to assure not only each participants line, but to perpetuate, evade, subvert, or transform discriminatory, subordinate or racialize relations.

As I see it, communicative forms such as verbal forms (spoken Quechua and Spanish), other semiotic forms such as silence and gestures (Haviland 2000, 2004), material forms (e.g., government forms, desks), spatial structures, and the encounter itself are constitutive components to materialize multiple forms of discrimination, subordination and racialization in face-to-face interactions among with those who speak Spanish or Quechua as a mother tongue, regardless if they may also speak Quechua or Spanish as a second language.

Outline of Research and Analysis

I carried out my field work in summer 2006, summer 2007, from May 2008 to August 2009, and from January to April 2010 in a Quechua-speaking village an hour and a half from the city of Cuzco. I did not have any problems communicating with the villagers and government representatives since I speak Quechua natively and Spanish fluently.

I traveled back and forth daily for more than 6 months by minivan between Cuzco and the village. For more than 6 months I participated in everyday functioning of the

health facility. I spent an additional 8 months in households visiting those villagers who agreed voluntarily to be visited. In the settings in which I was allowed to do so, I taped natural conversations.

I examine face-to-face interactions among Quechua speakers and Spanish speakers in the following chapters that comprise the results of my fieldwork. I seek to explain how discrimination, subordination and racialization are enacted by paying attention to labels, words or utterances, along with other semiotic signs (which include silence, gestures, spatial structure, and encounters), and how they are internalized, evaded, subverted, or transformed by participants within institutionalized and non-institutionalized settings.

In other words, my analysis includes a) speech as an integrated system that includes, silence, the physical body—gestures (e.g., gaze, facial expressions, postures and movement of torso and shoulder), and bodily positioning, b) material things such as circulation and the use of papers, that is, bureaucratic forms, c) spatial structure, and d) the interaction itself as a social event. These dimensions, I would suggest, are all interconnected to constitute or display hierarchical relations.

In order to do so, I have done my fieldwork across three different settings: minivan (a public transportation popular in Peru), a village's health facility (funded by state to provide primary care) and the household of villagers. According to my findings in these settings I set out the following themes: a) framing the village Uqhupata (chapter 1), b) refusing labeling but ascribing identity (chapter 2), c) contempt and disdain in a "combi" (chapter 3), d) elusive conversations: conceding or deceiving oneself (chapter 4), e) encroaching on the household and its members (chapter 5), and f) oxygen deprivation: llamas and vicuñas (chapter 6).

In "Framing Uqhupata" (chapter 1), I illustrate the village in which I have carried out my research in general terms. In "Refusing Labeling but Ascribing Identity" (chapter 2), I explore how interactants' first language is asserted, i.e., Quechua-speaking and Spanish-speaking peoples alike could tell what another person's first language is, and treat them accordingly. I have tested their response to some carefully chosen linguistic cues through matched-guise tests, in which Quechua speakers and Spanish speakers listen to a short story told by one speaker in two styles of Quechua and in two styles of Spanish

each, and report their subjective reactions to the “guises,” male and female, *misti* and *runa*. The respondents identify both the sex of the speaker (from vocal aperture—narrow to women, wide to men, and their social identities (*misti* or *runa*, regardless of the language being spoken). In this chapter, my aim is to illustrate that labels are highly contested, at the same time, to identify the specific linguistic cues that are being used as the basis of social discrimination. By doing so, I would show that identity attribution from speech seems inescapable regardless of the language being spoken (contrary to the belief that Spanish allows speakers to escape discriminatory practices against them).

However, many Quechua speakers (paradoxically) assume that speaking Spanish is a crucial strategy through which they can counter their marginalization. They “buy” Spanish expressions in order to have a word to say when they feel insulted, disrespected or marginalized from the benefits they are owed by the state as Eva, a villager says “*yuyayta rantikushaykuña*” (we are buying another kind of intelligence [through the acquisition of Spanish]). To be able to speak Spanish entails having a ‘palabra’ (a powerful language to claim or defend a stance), to be able to defend oneself (for a contrast see Isbell 1970). In their view, if one speaks Spanish, one can make others respect one and avoid abuse; Quechua is regarded as worthless as a means of defense against marginalization or discrimination.

In “Contempt and Disdain in a “Combi”” (chapter 3) I examine the patterns by which subjects (as downgraded, subordinated or dominated) are produced relationally. These patterns, especially visible in public transportation (a minivan), are displayed through silence, gestures including bodily positioning, verbal signs, and the distribution of seats. The space of the minivan illustrates the enduring way by which discrimination against, subordination and racialization is weaved unambiguously.

In chapter 4, “Elusive Conversations: Conceding or Deceiving Oneself,” I examine how—within the diagnosing room in the health facility—speech, silence, and gestures are intertwined with material things (e.g., papers and tables) to place participants in subordinate, super-ordinate or dominant position. Such placement and positions could be complicated when relationally produced utterances (e.g., “doña” and “miss”) may lead to subtle and insidious authoritative attitudes. I discuss, in addition, the way the distribution of paper forms within the health facility defines the realm of interaction

among participants. Participants' interactions are interlocked not only by their aims, but also by the burden paper (forms) that may provoke people to act in certain ways.

In "Encroaching on the Household and Its Members" (chapter 5), I am concerned with linguistic signs (spoken Quechua and spoken Spanish), and other semiotic forms (e.g., gestures) that villagers display while interacting with occasional visitors, mainly staff members of the health facility and municipal representatives. Interaction with these non-family members within the household may be characterized by linguistic signs and body positioning that highlights the politeness of the hosts to downplay social status while their guests, representatives of public institutions, emphasize their super-ordinate position.

Finally, in "Oxygen Deprivation: Llamas and Vicuñas" (chapter 6) I aim to weave all the preceding chapters together to suggest that forms of discrimination against, subordination and racialization in daily face-to-face interactions happens persistently not only among highlanders (who speak Quechua or Spanish), but these forms are also played out on the floor of Parliament in daily interactions and discourses among those who claim to be in a super-ordinate position, being from the coast, and those who are identified or identify themselves as being from the highland. That is, multiple forms of daily discrimination are displayed at the larger scale that may be reflected back at the smaller scale, particularly through discourses among participants in any social encounter. Discourses travel back and forth; people take them with their baggage of meanings and imprint new meanings according to the situations and contexts in which participants find themselves.

I take up the processual and dynamic ways by which discrimination, subordination and racialization are deployed in the research sites to show how social subjects, as object of knowledge, and social subjects as objects of dominance or subordination, are produced relationally. My investigation suggests that social hierarchy is played out in face-to-face interactions that permeate the daily life of Peruvian society. In Mauss' terms hierarchical relations

...are at once legal, economic, religious, aesthetic, morphological and so on. They are legal in that they concern individual and collective rights, organized and diffuse morality; they may be entirely obligatory, or subject simply to praise or disapproval. They are at once

political and domestic, being of interest both to classes and to clans and families... They are economic, for the notions of value, utility, interest, luxury, wealth, acquisition, accumulation, consumption and liberal and sumptuous expenditure are all present. (Mauss 1966 [1923]:34)

With my dissertation, I expect to contribute to further the discussion about the pervasive forms of discrimination, subordination and racialization⁴⁸ in the southern Andes, and by extension in the remainder of the Andes and Latin-America, and how these forms seek to maintain not only social, but political and economic inequalities.

⁴⁸ For current forms of racialization see <http://www.racialicious.com/2010/07/06/the-potawatomis-didnt-have-a-word-for-global-business-center/> (accessed July 14, 2010).

Chapter 1

Framing the village of *Uqhupata*

Llank'apakuqmi rishani, sarata t'ipimusaqku
I am going to work. We will husk corn.

This quote forms part of an unstructured conversation with a villager in *q'asapata*¹ (a lookout that also serves as a minivan stop). The villager is an old man dressed in an Italian dark grey suit with a light blue long sleeved shirt, a hat and *usut'a* (sandals made of tires). I will call him Tata (T). Tata is waiting for the next minivan. We chat while he waits.

M: *Manachu Qusquman rishanki?*

T: *Mana. Parurumanmi rishani. Kay p'achaytaqa wawaymi Italiamanta apachimuwan*

M: *Aa, Qusqumancha rishan niranin.*

T: *Mana, llank'apakuqmi rishani, sarata t'ipimusaqku. Kumpañay hamunqañacha, paywanmi munhaqkunaq chakranman llank'apakuq risaqku.*

M: *Munhaqkunaq?*

T: *Ari, chakrata hap'ishankuraqmi, ichaqa mana hatuntañachu. Mana kaypi hinañachu. Ñawpaqqa hatuntaya kaypi hap'iranku, chaypi llank'aq karayku mana paguyuyq.*

Kunanqa pagankuya.

M: You are going to Cusco, aren't you?

T: No. I am going to Paruru. The suit I am wearing was sent to me by my children from Italy.

M: I thought that you were going to Cuzco.

T: No, I am going to work for somebody else. We are going to husk corn. My coworker will soon be here. I am going with him to work at the nuns' farm.

M: The nuns' farm?

T: Yes, they still own land, but it is not large. It is not large like they used to have here.

Before, they used to have a large piece of land, and we used to work for them without any payment. Of course, now they pay.

Learning the past: Hacienda *timpu* (Plantation time)

*Uqhupata*² (in a Quechua frame), or “Occopata” (in a Spanish frame) is an indigenous village³ that received official recognition in 1926. This recognition of the

¹ A mountain pass. It can facilitate the building of a pathway or a major road.

² The village was established on an unwanted marsh land. There used to be a small lagoon in the middle of the village, formed by the marsh and the many brooks that passed nearby. Around the small lagoon grew an aquatic plant that people picked to prepare meals. This plant, called *Uqhururu*, gave the village its name: *Uqhupata*. According to villagers, in legal terms the village was first named *Uqubamba* (Occobamba), but

village as a community was crucial for the earliest villagers' fight against the hacienda (plantation) with which it shared borders. The village was surrounded by several haciendas. The most influential was a hacienda "owned" by the church. The church had a free labor force through the practice of giving small portions of "its" land to indigenous people who did not otherwise have any access to land. The church made its indentured workers farm their land to produce potatoes primarily because the land does not have any access to irrigation. While the village land has rich black soil for the cultivation of potatoes (e.g., natives varieties or hybrids), there are other kinds of tubers that can be cultivated there: *uqa* (a sweet tuber), *añu* (another kind of sweet tuber), *ulluku* (finger potatoes), pulses (legumes) such as *tawri*, broad beans, and some cereals (e.g., barley). However, the church focused on the production of potatoes. The oldest villagers remember how they and their parents, grandparents, great grandparents, and great great-grandparents brought potato sacks on their backs and on the backs of llamas and donkeys to the nuns in Cuzco.

Before 1970 the church's hacienda owned the best lands for growing potatoes. All this land was located about two to four kilometers from the village of Uqhupata.⁴ Despite the fact the hacienda already owned the best flat lands around the village, it also wanted to take over the surrounding hillsides, small ravines and marsh land. The villagers were outraged by the hacienda owner's desire to monopolized vast amounts of land and decided to fight through the judicial system.⁵ As the villagers' trial against the hacienda was happening, the military government⁶ decreed a Reforma Agraria (agrarian reform) in 1969 that affected all haciendas throughout Peru. With the Reforma Agraria Uqhupata

one of the first dwellers decided to change the name to Uqhupata because there was another village not far away named Uqubamba. In this way Uqhupata will not be confused with the other village. People living around the lagoon used to take advantage of the existent brooks and the great amount of pasture that grew thanks to the nearby marsh land. Currently, there is no lagoon and only one brook remains

³ Also named *ayllu* or peasant community. *Ayllu* refers to anyone who is member of a group of extended kin. The term has also been used to make reference to a group of people who share a territory and may not be necessarily related as kin.

⁴ Originally the land was divided in seven *muyu* (a land division to be cultivated by taking turns) or *suertes* to cultivate crops. A different *muyu* was cultivated each year. This system of cultivation allowed the soil to rest and to recuperate its fertility over six years. In the seventh year the first *muyu* could be cultivated again. Nowadays the *muyu* system rotates the parcels every four years, in order to allocate some land to the village's younger generation.

⁵ I was shown some papers from the trial that illustrate there was an alliances between some villagers that supported the hacienda and the hacienda owners.

⁶ The government was led by Juan Velasco Alvarado, who overthrew the Francisco Belaúnde Terry government.

villagers were granted the right to keep the land under dispute. They were also granted the hacienda's lands with this reform.⁷

Those who are under the age of 35 have no memories of the hacienda, as I was told by a villager

“Nosotros no sabemos la historia de aquí, tú sabes mas que nosotros ya estás tiempo aquí.”

We don't know the history of here, you know more than us since you have been here some time.

Speaking Runasimi (Quechua) or Castilian (Spanish)

H: *Kaypitaq wayk'ukusun.*

R: *Papatari imapitaq churapusun?*

H: *Mankapiya.*

A: *Mihunatachu wayk'ushankichis manachu wallpata qhawashankichis?*

H: And we will cook here.

R: What will I put the potatoes in?

H: In a pot, okay.

A: Are you cooking food, instead of taking care of the chickens?

In whatever they do daily, children in Uqhupata converse in *runasimi*. The above example is a conversation among two sisters (H=Hasiku, R=Risaku) and a brother (A=Ahiku). The conversation took place in an open space next to a patio. Hasiku and Risaku—five and three years old respectively—were playing when their older brother approached them. He was surprised they were playing and not paying attention to the chickens. Teens and adults people speak also in Quechua among themselves. Quechua is the language villagers learn from the time they are born. Through Quechua villagers understand and render the world meaningful, i.e., they frame the world by speaking Quechua. Villagers frame jokes, make-up nicknames, name any entity, tell stories, love each other, and do any number of things including talking and thinking in Quechua. But they do not read or write in their language.

Despite this reality, Quechua is as minoritized as any other aboriginal language (e.g., Aymara, and Ashaninka) with the hegemonic language of Peru being Spanish. In order to pursue their endeavors Quechua-speaking people must know Spanish in order to interact with the representatives of public and private institutions. Uqhupata villagers

⁷ Most of the hacienda land has been distributed to the villagers, who are organized into seven groups to work the portion of land the community has assigned to each group. They produce potatoes to sell in the market and for potato seeds. If they obtain some profit, part of the money goes to the community and another part is to cover the expenses of cultivating the crop.

know that Quechua—in contrast to Spanish—is not an accepted language as a means of interaction in an institutional setting. They identify Spanish as the language of power and a powerful language that can be used to defend themselves from any kind of debasement in the city. In the following they reported that *sichus pipas k'amirusunki mana kastillata rimaqtiykiqa manaya imanakuyta atinkuchu* (if someone insults you and you do not speak Castilian, you cannot do anything about it). Villagers feel helpless if they are not able to contest insults against them by city dwellers.

Villagers encourage their children to learn Spanish so they send them to the village's elementary school and—if they have enough income—to high school. When parents feel that their children are not learning Spanish they send them to the city of Cuzco to study and work. Parents feel that if their children do not learn Spanish, they will be humiliated as Chuchiku told me “bahupi churawanku” (they put us in a lower standing).

In Cuzco children learn Spanish although their fluency in the language differs according to their experience and time spent in the city. Almost all male villagers below the age of fifty have a basic command of Spanish although some of them understand but cannot speak Spanish. The majority of female villagers under the age of fifty can understand, but cannot express themselves in Spanish. None of this group is able to read or write in Spanish. Those above fifty understand a little bit, but just enough to survive in the city.

There are few males and females that speak Spanish fluently and can write and read it. Villagers with this ability are usually those who have gone to the city when they were kids or teenagers and have spent more than five years there. If they return to their village, they occupy offices on the village council.⁸ This group of villagers can read simple Spanish texts, but they cannot read academic or legalistic Spanish texts. On one occasion I was asked to explain the homework assigned to one villager's daughter. The mother was worried what the term “experiment” meant in order to help complete the homework her daughter was assigned.

⁸ Females are always elected to positions as treasurers or secretaries while males are elected to positions as president, vice-president or board member. Within the village it is unthinkable that a woman would be a president. One reason for this among several others is that women's core function is to have children. They are also expected to attend to their husband and children by cooking.

In the village those who interact in Spanish are representatives of public and private institutions (e.g., teachers, health care professionals, people from the municipality and NGO workers). They converse, laugh and make jokes among themselves in their mother tongue: Spanish. Most of these representatives speak Quechua with different levels of fluency. Those who have a greater degree of fluency are teachers (see chapter three). I was able to witness the fluency of teachers when they reprimand their pupils or the pupils' parents. NGO and municipality representatives, as well as health care professionals are less fluent than teachers and some of them do not speak Quechua at all. For instance, in the village's health facility the physician did not speak Quechua like his colleagues. Among them the most fluent in Quechua is usually the nurse's aide, thus she is in charge of explaining the way to take any prescribed drugs. They usually lack the vocabulary to ask the patient questions or explain their illness (e.g., cough, flu, fever, stomach ache, headache, pneumonia or nausea).

Some of the representatives explained that they learned Quechua from their domestic servants in their provincial hometowns or by working in a community where nobody else spoke Spanish, so they were forced to learn Quechua in order to communicate with community members. They speak Quechua by attaching a Quechua suffix to a Spanish word; for example, they may use "cuida" (care) and add the Quechua suffix *-nki-* (third person and second person marker) which becomes *cuidanki* (you have to take care of him/her). This kind of combination pervades the representatives' way of speaking Quechua as I show in chapter four and five. They speak Quechua within a Spanish framework.

Since the villagers' mother tongue is Quechua, but they know Spanish with different levels of fluency, and representatives speak Spanish as a primary language with degrees of fluency in Quechua, I will refer to the former as having a Quechua background and to the latter as having a Spanish background in order to avoid the difficulties of explaining in every interaction what language participants use in daily life as their primary language of conversation.

A sight of Uqhupata village

The first time I arrived in Uqhupata I hung out at *q'asapata*. Villagers chat while waiting for the minivan at *Q'asapata*.⁹ I greeted the villagers waiting by saying “buenos días señora, buenos días señor” (Good morning Ma’am, Good morning Mister). Turning towards me villagers looked at me with a surprised face, some replaying “buenos días,” but others remained occupied with their tasks. The villagers were surprised because non-villagers never address them as Ma’am or Mister. A villager (V) standing with his bike asked me,

V: “De qué ONG está viniendo?”

M: “No vengo de una ONG. Soy estudiante de la universidad de Michigan” [I show my university ID].

V: “A, no eres de una ONG, no estás trayendo ayuda” [switching to Quechua] *Mana imatapas apamushanchu*.

V: Which NGO are you coming from?

M: I am not from an NGO. I am student at the University of Michigan.

V: Aa, you are not from an NGO. You do not bring help. She does not bring anything.

Uqhupata is a small countryside village situated in the highlands at over 4,000 meters above sea level. It is located about 8 kilometers north-west of Cuzco. The main road that links the village to the city of Cuzco is not asphalted and a trip to the village takes an hour and a half by minivan. Initially the village population was comprised of two or three families.¹⁰ These settlers established their households on hacienda lands that were not in used, on a small flat marsh land located between mountains.¹¹ Currently, the village is made up of three hamlets: “Selva”, *Munhaspata* and *Llawlliq'asa*. Most dwellers of these hamlets moved to the center¹² of the village ten years ago to benefit from the electricity and water systems that have been distributed to households by the

⁹ From *q'asapata* one can see the distribution of the households, public and private institutions, unpaved main and pedestrian streets, a chapel (occasionally open to hold a mass when the priest arrives from Cuzco or to celebrate Virgin *Asunta* in September), a communal assembly house, and a small paved soccer field. The households made of tile roofs and adobe brick walls line the streets. The village has two main streets: one of them is also used to perform the parade to commemorate Independence Day (July 28th). The other street links to the main road that leads to the villages of *Wasanpata*, *Qallpa-Qallpa*, *Chiquipirqa*, and *Anqaschaqa*.

¹⁰ The village has grown in terms of population over the last 30 years. It has increased from 3 families to 100 families, i.e., there are now 100 registered heads of households.

¹¹ It is common during the rainy season to see villagers draining out their patio or the animals' pen (e.g., cow or sheep pen).

¹² It is the most populated area.

government and a NGO respectively. Only a few families still live in the aforementioned three hamlets. They do not have access to electricity.

The village is a crossroads to many of the other communities in the area. This is because the residents of other communities (*Wasanpata*, *Chiquipirqa*, *Anqaschaka*, and *Qallpa-Qallpa*) catch the minivan to Cuzco there. It also has a health facility, a private high school,¹³ a kindergarten and an elementary school. Its public elementary school¹⁴ offers education from 1st to 6th grade in contrast to other surrounding villages where elementary schools offer education from 1st to 4th grade. If villagers from the other villages cannot afford to send their children to Cuzco for elementary school or high school, they send them to Uqhupata. These villagers have also to go to the Uqhupata clinic if they are looking for medical care, or if they have been told to appear at the clinic for the regular check-up for their children.

Uqhupata is located in the department of Cuzco, Peru. It stands between the borders of Paruru province and Cuzco province. It is formally part of the municipality of Santiago seated in Cuzco. In regards to Quechua-speaking villages like Uqhupata located in the countryside, the Municipality's overwhelming concern is to develop them and lead them toward modernity. Thus, the municipality has had an explicit policy of "modernizing" villages according to city parameters. These parameters are surprisingly exhaustive.

Is Uqhupata an isolated place?

Pr: The communities in which I am working are isolated places.

A paper presenter (Pr) made the statement above in a conference organized by the Inter-American Grassroots Development Organization. She was discussing the relationship between communities and the mining companies in Peru. I was shocked. It seems that the word "isolated" has become a quintessential way of describing villages among many scholars whose focus of study is Latin America. This misconception has reinforced the idea that villages are stagnated, backward and self-contained and populated

¹³ The school is a building with two floors. It is managed by an NGO that subsidizes the education for Quechua speaking youth. Parents must contribute something. They contribute by allocating a share of locally produced products and pay 25.00 soles (roughly 10 USD) to the high school a month.

¹⁴ The elementary school is a two floor building with a small patio.

by inward looking villagers (e.g., see The Vargas Llosa Commission report 1983, for a critique of the report see Franco 2005:7-9). On closer examination, the idea that Uqhupata is an isolated village would not stand.

Leading Uqhupata towards modernity or modernizing the village

F: *Khuchipaq mihunata q'ipispa rinki.*

S: *Nuqaña, nuqaña q'ipirikuspa risaq.*

M: *Khuchipaq?*

F: *Uywaykuya khuchita. Chimpa wasiypi uywayku. Mana kallikunapi kananta munankuchu, qhillichamanya. Mana kampu kanchu kaypi uywanaypaq.*

F: Load the food for the pig on your back and you will go [over there].

S: I'll be in charge of it. I'll load it and go [over there].

M: Food for the pigs?

F: We raise pigs at my other house over there, across [the cemetery]. They [the board of directors] do not want pigs wandering the streets. Pigs will dirty the streets. I do not have any space here to raise pigs.

This was a conversation between a father (Fasiku), his son (Satuku) and the researcher (M) about the food for the pig that has to be carried to the other family's house located in *Munhaspata*. I learned that day that the village's council, the municipality of Santiago, and an NGO had agreed on the need to keep Uqhupata streets free of pig and other animal manure. The decision was in line with other guidelines about household location and distribution.¹⁵ Each house has to be built next to other like houses in the city. The house must have toilets, and the kitchens should be kept free of *quwi* (guinea pigs). The patios should be walled. If villagers comply with these enforced guidelines, the village is on the correct path to progress. In the eyes of the municipality and its representatives,¹⁶ the urbanization of Uqhupata means progress and will overcome the village's backwardness. The idea that Uqhupata is backward in relation to the city and has stagnated in time is part of the common sense shared by municipality representatives and many other visitors from the city. This idea is also shared by foreigners who occasionally visit the village.¹⁷

¹⁵ This way of urbanizing the village is somewhat reminiscent of Toledo's reductions by which it was possible to control the number of tributaries during the colony.

¹⁶ They also need to modernize countryside villages in order to be regarded as a modern institution by other municipalities in Cuzco. This idea colors many municipality projects such as the paving of the Cuzco-Uqhupata-Cuzco road, and the construction of the sewage system for the village.

¹⁷ A visitor to the village has posted a comment in his web page that illustrates he holds a similar idea that village is backward. He states that: "Going to [Uqhupta] was like going back in time. All of the

Making Uqhupata “hygienic”

A: *Bañutaraqmi lak'achisq mana hinaqa multawanqaku.*

M: *Hayk'ataqri?*

A: *50 sulismi ninkuntaq. Inagurashunsi dumingupaq kanqa. Laq'arachispaña, tukurachispaña chakraman risaq.*

A: I had to have [an ayni] to stucco the bathroom, otherwise I would be charged a fine.

M: How much is the fine?

A: They said it is 50 soles. Sunday will be the day of inauguration. After I have finished the stucco I'll go to the field.

This dialogue was part of a conversation I had with Antuka (A) when I passed by her home to ask if she was going to the field. Antuka was worried about not being able to finish the bathroom according to the municipality's requirements for opening day. After the municipality had approved the bathroom and inaugurated the sewage system, it started to send a representative in order to make sure that its policy of “modernizing” Uqhupata was being followed.

The representative has the duty of making sure that villagers are using the bathroom “properly” and keeping their homes “hygienic.” She is in charge of visiting villager's households without prior notice and checking off on a piece of paper—a form—if everything is organized and clean.¹⁸ After the municipal representative fills in the form,¹⁹ she asks an adult member (usually a woman) to sign it. The representative's main concern seems to be cleanliness. Her recommendations revolve around kitchens, patios and the proper use of toilets.²⁰

buildings were made of adobe bricks. We watched a woman weaving bright traditional tapestry on a loom. There were villagers carrying enormous loads of straw on their backs. Others were herding sheep and llamas along the dirt road.” <http://www.voluntourism.org/news-feature143.htm> (accessed September 12, 2009)

¹⁸ The form contains several criteria to evaluate the cleanliness of drinking water, the bathroom, the kitchen, the patio, how garbage is disposed of and even the households members themselves (e.g., if members wash their hands before preparing food or eating and after using the toilet).

¹⁹ The form is filled in using numbers. One means the household complies with the requirements, and zero means it does not comply. Adding up all the criteria, the household needs to score at least a seven to be considered of average cleanliness. A score below seven means that the household is not in hygienic condition.

²⁰ Adult villagers used to defecate while going to their farms (many villagers still do), and never in a bathroom located next to their kitchen. Villagers are not accustomed to using toilets; only some of those who have lived for many years in Cuzco, Arequipa or Lima use toilets. Villagers prefer to use any open space far away from their homes. In contrast, I remember that my supervisor (a physician) was not able to defecate in an open place when he visited us in a countryside village. He stayed 5 days and he did not go to the bathroom!

The representative urges women to use forms of organizing the household that are common to the city. The kitchen and the patio must be organized to make the household and its members look “urbanized.” Some villagers joke about the representative’s actions while on breaks when farming or while enjoying breakfast in the kitchen. One joke they like to tell is the following,

Asuki prisirintiq wasinman risqa. Mana pipas kasqachu. Hawapi ch'uñu manka chuqarayashasqa. Asuki mankata h'aytaspa k'uchumanraq aparqaripusqa.
Asuki has gone to the village president’s home. No one was there. Outside the patio there was a pot sitting with some *ch'uñu* (freeze dried potatoes) in it. [Out of frustration] Asuki kicked the pot until it ended up in the corner of patio.

All participants usually laugh, but sometimes women get annoyed and make comments such as

Maypi mankatari hayt'anman, mankari imanashantaqri.
How she can dare to kick the pot, the pot is not doing anything to her, is it?

The municipality not only carries out this program, it promotes other activities and administers the “Vaso de Leche”²¹ (glass of milk) program.²² The activities it promotes include traditional weaving (shawls, blankets, ponchos and bags), knitting garments (e.g., sweaters, vests, and scarves), and raising *quwi*. To carry out these activities²³ villagers (mainly women²⁴) organize themselves into groups. Each group receives 50% of its funds from the municipality to initiate its small project. The other 50% has to be covered by the members of the group. The municipality offers these

²¹ It is a program that the leftist politician Alfonso Barrantes Lingan created as the Mayor of the city of Lima in 1984 to make sure that every child has access to at least one glass of milk a day during their childhood. This program has been extended to all municipalities throughout Peru to alleviate infant malnutrition. However, it has become a program to serve political interests, particularly on the outskirts of the city.

²² In this program female villagers are organized into groups “Club of Mothers.” The municipality representatives distribute supplies to the Club monthly who distributes them to each of its members. The supplies consist of canned milk and flour enriched with vitamins. They are allocated in equal portion to each household. The distribution sometimes generates bitter discussions. Some women blame others for not helping to comply with the obligations the municipality imposes on them according to its schedule such as attending meetings, parades or marching in Cuzco. Some groups of women have one or two children, while other groups have more than three children. The amount of goods that the former group receives lasts more days than the latter group’s portion. Thus the program generates mixed feelings of jealousy, or powerlessness.

²³ The most successful activity seems to be raising *quwi*. Villagers sell *quwi* in different forms (e.g., alive, grilled, and stewed) in the market every Sunday in Cuzco. Less successful is the weaving that the women produce—the pieces are not easily sold in the market. On the one hand, villagers do not have access to information about what kinds of garments tourists like. On the other hand, they do not have a booth or spot within the Cuzco handicraft market in order to sell their product, and even worse, they are not part of the artisan network.

²⁴ Women engage in these activities as a way to obtain cash.

activities with the goal of encouraging an “entrepreneurial vision”²⁵ among the villagers, encouraging them to produce for the city market. Women are eager to participate in these activities. They consider it a way to make their own money and avoid having to ask their husbands for money when they need to buy something for themselves.

Other parties helping Uqhupata modernization

I: *Papa nativamantas parlaramusaqku.*

H: *Manachu misata apanki?*

I: *Aparuspaya risaq. Allichaspa imaya saqirampusayki.*

H: *Wakinkuna ñacha chaypiña kashanku, qhatushankuñacha. Manaya mihuna chayayta atishanchu.*

I: They said we will talk about native potatoes.

H: You won't bring the table [there]?

I: I'll go to my meeting after I have brought the table to where the fair will be held. I will leave it ready.

H: Others are already there, maybe they are selling already. The food is not cooking quickly.

This conversation occurred in a household where Istiku (I) and Husiku (H) were chatting about Istiku's duty to participate in a meeting with the representative of the Ministry of Agriculture about native potato seeds. Husiku was worried about getting ready to sell food in Uqhupata's annual fair that was scheduled for that day.

The Ministry of Agriculture

Once a week, the village is visited by representatives from the Ministry of Agriculture, a public institution that has been present in the village for more than five years providing guidance on how to store potatoes. The Ministry currently carries out one project: the recuperation of native potatoes for sale in the market. The representatives organize villagers into small groups and encourage them to produce native potato seeds²⁶ for sale on the market. The groups are composed mainly of men. The production is directed to the market to obtain some cash income, but they are usually sold to the

²⁵ According to municipality and NGO representatives, villagers had to have a vision oriented towards the market and produce crops accordingly.

²⁶ The Ministry encourages the production of native potatoes such as *Qhachun-Waqachi*, *Lumu*, *Siwayllu*, and *Luli*. They are regarded as truly “traditional” crops around which studies have been conducted by the Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad de Cusco, and the Universidad Agraria de la Molina. There are also many private organizations that have native potato seeds. These potatoes have been introduced in large amounts as authentically Peruvian in the market. Before they were only sold in small amounts because they were less appreciated as native and traditional.

Ministry. If there are seeds leftover, they are sold at the market in Cuzco or at the *Wankaru* agricultural fair held in June.²⁷ This is a place where villagers may sell native potatoes and meet villagers from other communities. Villagers are proud of working with the Ministry. They are willing to produce native potatoes only as long as they will be able to sell them at a good price; otherwise they will produce only *qumpis* potatoes, with fetch higher price on the market of Cuzco.

The Word Vision NGO²⁸

The NGO World Vision²⁹ is a private institution that implements developmental projects with villages that it considers in need of help. Its representatives are called developers and it has been in Uqhupata and the surrounding villages for more than four years. Its main foci seem to be infant health, and workshops to train mothers in nutrition. In alliance with the municipality of Santiago the NGO sponsors a yearly annual fair³⁰ in the village to display and to sell agricultural products, traditional weavings and food, in order to improve the income of Uqhupata villagers and the resident of other villages nearby. Although the intent of both institutions is to offer villagers a means to sell and receive a fair price for their products, the municipality still controls the prices at the fair. At the most recent fair, villagers were selling native potatoes priced according to the market demand,³¹ but a representative of the municipality finally stood up and spoke over the microphone to tell the villagers what would be a fair price.

²⁷ This annual fair seeks to showcase different forms of local production such as agricultural products, breeding animals, and small factory products.

²⁸ It is a private evangelical institution whose activities are linked to development and religion.

²⁹ NGOs are private developmental organizations. They do not usually coordinate with government representatives to carry out their activities. Sometimes they do coordinate with other public or private institutions, but only if they want to. Their activities cover spaces that are not attended to by the Peruvian government.

³⁰ The fair day coincides with the festivities for the Virgin Asunta in September, and many villagers who live in the city of Cuzco are there to participate either in the fair or the festivities. Some villagers do not participate in the fair, mostly those who have signed a contract with the municipality to work on the main road (Cuzco-Uqhupata-Cuzco). Their day starts at 7:00 a.m. and ends at 6:00 p.m. Their unskilled labor is required to break and remove the mountain's slope. Machines cannot climb the mountains or stand on the cliffs. Their monthly payment fluctuates between 600.00 soles and 900.00 soles. This income is mainly used by the villagers to send their children to school in Cuzco, to buy supplies to build their houses and to buy cows.

³¹ One of the villagers was selling 25 pounds of native potatoes (*qhachun-waqachi*) for 16.00 soles (5.5 USD). It too was good deal.

“¡Quiero que me escuchen, no pueden poner precios muy altos, eso no es justo. Me han dicho que están pidiendo 16 soles por la arroba de papa. No pues, no pueden abusar. Que el precio de la papa de primera sea entre 12 y 13 soles, que sea 12 soles no pueden pedir más!”

I want you to listen to me, you cannot set high prices [for your products], that is not fair. I was told that you are charging 16 soles (around 3.5 USD) per 25 pounds of potatoes. No. You cannot abuse [the buyers]. Thus, 12, or 13 soles (4.5 USD) will be the price for first class potatoes, first class will be 12 soles and you cannot charge more!

None of the NGO representatives or other representatives, villagers or the village council dared to challenge the imposition of this price, which is far lower than what is charged at the market in Cuzco. Paradoxically, the municipality was going against their own avowed goal of helping the villagers become entrepreneurs and compete in the market. If one analyzes the cost of production of one *topo* of land,³² twelve or even sixteen soles per twenty five pounds of potatoes does not yield any profit.³³

The NGO World Vision also organizes a program for women that emphasizes nutrition and the physical development of children.³⁴ Women who have children under the age of five are called on to participate in the program and asked to take turns volunteering their kitchen in order to cook a breakfast for the children. Representatives persuade women to improve how they care for their offspring by showing them how to combine ingredients to enhance breakfast proteins, vitamins, and minerals.³⁵ Other program activities include monitoring the weight and height of children with the help of

³² *Topo*, according to Pease et al. (2006), is equivalent to 3,496.00 m², a little more than a third part of a hectare (more or less 0.32 has.).

³³ Satuku did the math covering what investment is needed to produce potatoes. The cultivation of one *topo* was roughly 450.00 soles (150.00USD). He may recover his investment if it is a good year (e.g., if it rains on time and not too much, just enough to water the potato field), but he will not make a profit because the prices are low in the market. The market will not help Satuku recoup his investment. He lost last year's production because of the excess rain. His potatoes were infested with worms.

³⁴ It uses the Ministry of Health standards as a reference. It appears the NGO wants to improve the growth of infants (representatives monitor the village infants' weight and height).

³⁵ Representatives usually bring oatmeal; canned milk and sugar to the village while women are required to bring any other ingredients to contribute to preparing breakfast (e.g., wheat or barley flour, broad bean flour and quinoa). They arrive in the village early and call all mothers to gather in the house where the breakfast will be prepared. Women gather at the house, and set fire to sticks and small branches to feed the burning stove. Representatives mix the ingredients that they and the women have brought. They mix milk and oatmeal, oat and barley flour, or milk and quinoa. When the breakfast is ready, it is distributed to each woman's child.

health representatives.³⁶ By doing these activities the NGO attempts to improve the growth of the children of the village to avoid malnutrition.³⁷

Most of the mothers participate in the activities the NGO sponsors. The mothers explain that their children might receive a better breakfast than the sweetened boiled water they receive before the women have finished preparing the morning soup to feed their children. Second, they are happy to have time to share with their co-villagers and talk. Lastly, they think that their children can take advantage of the NGO's desire to help them with the alimentation of their children.

Organizing for the sake of ourselves

V1: *Rundan sabaru kanqa, rinkichu?*

V2: *Mana, Wankaruman haykusaqku, papatan apayusaqku, taritaña imapañaya riyman.*

V1: This Saturday there is going to be a "Ronda" meeting. Are you going?

V2: No. We will go to *Wankaru*, we will bring potatoes [to sell]. It does not make sense to go [to the meeting] in the afternoon.

The conversation above occurred in *Q'asapata* between two villagers (V1 and V2) while I was a bystander. I found out that *Uqhupata* villagers have organized at least two formal organizations: the "Ronda Campesina"³⁸ (Peasant Guard) and the Farming Producers. Members of the "Ronda Campesina" are chosen in the general village assembly. Members for this office are chosen on the basis of how they treat their wife (i.e., they are not prone to domestic violence), if they farm in a timely manner, comply with village obligations, respect their neighbors, and know a little bit of Spanish. If a "rondero" cannot fulfill his communal duties, like inaugurating a road or festivities, his

³⁶ NGO representatives and health representatives coordinate their schedule to visit the villages' families.

³⁷ However, before I left the village the level of malnutrition was the same among children as it was the year before. In one of the communities where the NGO works, only one child was above the line of malnutrition. For a detailed study of malnutrition among children in Mali, West Africa see Katherine Dettwyler (1993).

³⁸ Because of the internal war between the Peruvian state military and the Shining Path guerrillas, villagers in the countryside—in the highlands and the rain forest—decided to organize themselves into patrols in order to protect their families. Since 1980 they had been murdered by both sides—military and guerrilla—to the point of emaciating or cleansing up their people from their very existence. After 1985 the internal war has spread throughout the highland. The Governments in office—Belaunde, Garcia, and Fujimori—did not care about highland villagers. It seems that for them the murder of Quechua speaking people or rain forest people was fine. No one was disquieted or alarmed by the fact the military and the guerrillas had been perpetrating genocide. It was a time of desperation and anguish, I witnessed "ronderos" going to fight the guerrillas with sticks and small branches, while military with their guns and arms were following "ronderos" to fight the guerrillas (for a full understanding see the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Final Report 2003).

wife will stand in for him.³⁹ The “Ronda” takes care of the village safety and villagers conduct.⁴⁰ If a robbery occurs, they “Ronda Campesina” is in charge of leading an investigation—with the affected family—to find out who stole the items and if they can still recuperate the stolen goods.

The Group called the Farming Producers—sponsored by the Ministry of Agriculture—is a small organization composed mainly of women whose goal is to sell their products at the market in *Wankaru*.⁴¹ Each Saturday women wait at *q'asapata* with their loads⁴² of products to catch a van to travel to Wankaru. In Wankaru villagers who sell medicinal herbs and flowers line up along both sides of the street. Those who sell live *quwi* accommodate themselves in a larger booth with other *quwi* sellers, and the same is done by those who sell potatoes, *ulluku*, *añu*, or *muraya*,⁴³ and the roasted *quwi* sellers. After they have sold their products they then go to buy goods in small amounts⁴⁴ for themselves.

What villagers sell in *Wankaru* depends on the season. If it is harvest time, they sell mainly the *qumpis* variety of potatoes,⁴⁵ medicinal herbs⁴⁶ and flowers.⁴⁷ If it is sowing time, they sell mainly *ch'uñu*, *muraya*, and *quwi*. In the rainy season villagers do not have much to sell, it is a time of scarcity. While Timuku and I were having lunch she told me,

Enirupiqá aswantaya imatapas munakun, mana imapas kanchu mihunapaq, lliwya tarpusqa. Askha wawayuqqa manaya mihuykunata tarpachikunchu. Suriku askha wawayuqmi, asukartaqa munallanqaya riki.

In January one wants; one is in need of many things. There is nothing to eat. All products are sowed on the farm. Those who have a lot of children do not have enough to feed their children. Suriku has a lot of offspring; she would like to have sugar.

As is illustrated in the examples above, Uqhupata villagers' are not isolated, enclosed, self-contained or inward looking, neither are they stagnated nor backward—to

³⁹ The “ronda” forms part of a central “ronda” organization that meets twice annually.

⁴⁰ If a villager has beaten his wife, the “ronda” takes matters into their own hands to make sure that the abusive husband will not beat his wife again.

⁴¹ This Saturday market is open to all villagers from the countryside of Cuzco.

⁴² Villagers gather their products to sell the day before to prepare their loads.

⁴³ Potatoes are soaked for one week in a brook or stream, and after they are dried under the sun.

⁴⁴ Villagers usually buy sugar, salt, noodles, rice, matches, onion, garlic, fruits (e.g., bananas, apple, or orange), and vegetables (e.g., carrots, lettuce, or tomato). If it is school time, they buy school supplies and uniforms.

⁴⁵ This potato variety is highly appreciated in the market.

⁴⁶ For example, *panti*, *manayupa*, *yawar ch'unqa*, and *p'irka*.

⁴⁷ The flowers are mainly gladiolus and daisies.

speaking Quechua or to live in the countryside does not make them backwards. Villagers interact with the city of Cuzco in many different ways. They seem eager to be engaged in developmental projects despite the risk of being dismissed (an issue that I analyze at length in the following chapters). What is more, their daily life is intersected by multiple activities instigated and carried out by the representatives of the municipality, the Ministry of Agriculture, and the NGO World Vision. Thus, they interact with other non-villagers on a daily basis in many contexts and situations. The same occurs in the village's health facility, a space in which villagers interact almost daily with health representatives.

Uqhupata Health Facility

NA: *Seguroyki?*

P: *Chinkarachinin*

NA: *Phaway mashkharamuy!*

P: *Q'alatañaya mashkrarakamuni.*

NA: *Mana segurowanqa, mana atendesaykichu.*

NA: Your [health] insurance form?

P: I have lost it.

NA: Find it [at your home], hurry!

P: I have already searched [at my house].

NA: Without the insurance [form], I won't attend to you.

I heard the above conversation occurring between the nurse's aide⁴⁸ (NA) and a patient (P) while I was approaching them in the health facility waiting room. The aide stopped talking and turned her attention towards me. I was so preoccupied⁴⁹ that I was not able to articulate "buenos días" (good morning) which would have been proper behavior in a Spanish frame, instead I said "hola" (hi) which is not a good starting point in any institutional setting in Peru. I asked if I could talk to the head of the clinic. The aide said that the physician was with a patient and that I would have to wait. I sat down on one of the two benches with patients waiting in the crowded waiting room.. The patients were all women, some pregnant and some accompanied by their babies or children. The patients looked at me suspiciously and with curiosity. A woman (W) asked me (M),

W: *Siñurita maymanta hamushanki?*

M: *Qusqumanta?*

⁴⁸ Aides wear a white uniform in Peruvian health centers.

⁴⁹ I was concerned about being allowed to carry out my research in that setting.

W: *Kaypichu llank'anki?*

M: *Ari.*

W: Miss, where are you coming from?

M: From Cuzco.

W: Will you work here?

M: Yes.

We stopped talking when the nurse's aide came out from one of the health facility's rooms. She invited me to go in and talk with the physician. When the physician reviewed all my paperwork from the Cuzco Regional Health Administration (Dirección Regional de Salud), he granted me permission to observe the diagnostic procedures being performed in all examining rooms in order to do my research. The physician walked me through the other examining rooms to introduce me to his coworkers—a nurse, an obstetrician and a nurse's aide—and explained my presence.⁵⁰ He asked me if I would like to begin that day. I said I will come back tomorrow. We shook hands at the entrance door and said see you tomorrow.

There are usually four health representatives working in the health facility under a temporary contract,⁵¹ along with at least one student working to become a nurse's aide. At the very beginning only one aide was appointed to the health facility. The nurse's aide had worked at the clinic for almost twenty years. In the 1990s a nurse was also appointed. The nurse and the nurse's aide work from Monday to Friday and take turns working on Saturdays and Sundays.⁵² The health facility is open from 8:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. and it offers health care not only to Uqhupata, but also to eight other villages.⁵³

The village health facility stands between Uqhupata's two main streets. It was built during the 1970s as a community health center; it was funded by The Ministry of Health which paid for some of the building materials, while villagers contributed labor

⁵⁰ The patients were mute observers of this process.

⁵¹ Since the Fujimori's dictatorship labor rights have been reduced to the minimum. His government imposed temporary contracts as a means to undermine worker rights and unions. The contracts were among the initial actions taken in imposing a neoliberal economy as the supposedly best way to develop the country and benefit all Peruvians.

⁵² Each month representatives of the health facility must fill in an invoice for professional services in order to obtain their monthly payment. They receive very little pay. A nurse receives 600.00 soles (roughly 200.00 USD), a nurse's aide receives 550.00 soles (roughly 180.00 USD), an obstetrician receives 650.00 soles (roughly 220.00 USD), and a physician receives 1300.00 (roughly 450.00 USD). Representatives cannot strike because of their temporary contracts (which are renewed quarterly) among other issues (e.g., unions today do not have the same strength as eighteen years ago).

⁵³ *Wasanpata, Chiquirqa, Anqaschaka, Qallpa-Qallpa, Quyllurpuky, Wamancharpa and Mayrasku.* In these villages dwellers speak Quechua.

and adobe⁵⁴ bricks to the construction of the building. In the rainy season the compound baseboards become damp because it was built on a marsh land. It is a small single-story building with a backyard and a patio. The patio houses the bathroom and a faucet for washing.⁵⁵

The compound is made up of five rooms. There are three examining rooms, one room to store medicines, and another room where the patients' clinical records, a sterilization chamber, a computer with a printer, and office supplies are kept. These rooms are distributed around a waiting room that is also used as a hallway to access the other five rooms.⁵⁶ Between the physician's examining room and the medicine room there is a small, narrow, and open space that is used as a kitchen⁵⁷ to prepare breakfast.⁵⁸

The physician's examining room and the medicine room each have a window, and the remaining rooms have two windows each. The examining rooms (including the physician's), and the clinical records room each have a desk that faces the door with two chairs. Each representative sits behind the desk, facing the door, while the chair placed on the other side of the desk is used by patients. Frequently the nurse uses an extra chair when an aide helps her attend to patients. All rooms have at least a metal shelf or a cabinet to store files and health care books.

The physician's examining room is 3 meters wide and 3.5 meters long with one window. Behind the desk is a wooden display cabinet which holds government forms (for example, medical forms, health insurance forms, and drug list forms). Close to the cabinet is a couch where patients lie down in order to be examined. To the right side of the wall is a poster about avoiding alcohol. Near the window is a small table with health care supplies such as forceps, tongue depressor, surgical gloves, a kidney shaped bowl, gauze, cotton, alcohol, hydrogen peroxide, liquid soap and iodine.

⁵⁴ Adobe is made with soil, straw and water.

⁵⁵ The faucet is used to wash hands, rinse out mops and clean kitchen utensils.

⁵⁶ The waiting room is located at the entrance to the building. To the left is the physician's examining room and the narrow space that acts as a kitchen. On the right is the nurse's room and next to it is the obstetrician's room. The clinical records room that leads to the medicine room is next to the obstetrician's room.

⁵⁷ In the kitchen there is a shelf for miscellaneous items, a stove that is attached to a propane cylinder, a table, some plates and cooking utensils. It is kept from sight with a folding screen.

⁵⁸ Representatives usually have a break between 10:00a.m. and 11:00a.m. The aide and the student aide prepare breakfast. They like to have a cup of coffee, cocoa or tea which is accompanied with fried eggs and bread. Sometimes, they have boiled potatoes with fried eggs or sardines and onions for breakfast.

The nurse's examining room is almost the same size as the physician's examination room. On the right side of the door there is a table that is covered with vaccination needles and medicines. Next to the table is a middle sized refrigerator where the vaccines against infectious viral diseases⁵⁹ for children are kept, as well as bottles of cold water.⁶⁰ There is a scale and two stadiometers near the refrigerator. To the right is a small cradle⁶¹ that faces a window. There is a calendar and a visitation schedule hanging on the wall.

The obstetrician's examining room is the biggest of all the rooms. Behind a desk hangs a circular calendar to calculate the day on which a pregnant woman will deliver. To the left of the door is a small table that holds tools and supplies needed to check a pregnant woman such as a stethoscope, a doppler, and a sphygmomanometer. Near the table is a stretcher where the pregnant woman lies down in order to be examined. Next to the stretcher is a bed with some blankets. The stretcher and the bed are protected by a folding screen.

The clinic records room is almost the same size as the physician's examination room. Clinical records are filed by numbers so record can be found by the representatives attending to the patients who have come to the clinic for health care. It is common to see the nurse's aide looking for a particular clinical record in order to bring it to her colleagues. On the left of the entrance to this room is another door that leads to the medicine room.

The medicine room is bigger than the physician's examining room; it is the only one that is locked with a padlock. The room stores pharmaceuticals, food, and baby food (a kind of pap). The pharmaceuticals are organized alphabetically on a shelf; which facilitates the handing of any prescribed drugs to the patients. The food has been placed on a wooden platform.⁶² It is intended for women who are pregnant or breastfeeding

⁵⁹ For example, there are vaccines against poliomyelitis, chickenpox, smallpox, and measles stocked at the health facility.

⁶⁰ Health representatives keep the vaccines in a cooler with 'cold water bottles' in order to preserve them while they are visiting the villages under their charge during vaccination campaigns.

⁶¹ Babies are undressed in the cradle in order to be weighed, have their height measured, and get their vaccination shots.

⁶² It may include *ch'uñu*, wheat, canned fish, lentils, and sometimes beans and dry meat.

(until the child is 6 months old), and the pap is for children under three years old.⁶³ The waiting room is medium sized,⁶⁴ with two benches and a skylight. There is also a TV⁶⁵ (next to the physician room door), a cloth rotafolio,⁶⁶ and a radio through which the health facility communicates with the Cuzco health center. Two sides of the wall are covered with maps⁶⁷ of the villages and above the TV is a poster that states “los derechos de nuestros usuarios deben ser respetados” (our clients’ rights have to be respected).⁶⁸

A glimpse of Uqhupata households

M: “Buenos días.”

N: “Entra señorita, entra!”

W: *Mamay mihunata*

N: *Kunallan, kunallan mihuna chayarunqa, ya?*

N: *Papachata mihuyrushay. Achachaw!* “Que me dirás señorita no he terminado de cocinar”.

M: “Tu hija está de hambre”.

N: “Si, estoy con gripe y me levanté tarde”.

M: Good morning.

N: Come in Ms., come in!

W: Mom, I want food.

N: It will be ready in just a minute, in a minute, okay?

N: In the mean time eat this potato. Ah! I haven’t yet finished cooking, [I am ashamed of] what will you think of me.

M: Your daughter is hungry.

N: Yes. I have a cold. I got up late.

⁶³ The nurse is in charge of allocating the food for each woman and child according to her clinical records and vaccination records.

⁶⁴ It is a square that is 4 meters wide and 5 meters long.

⁶⁵ It is near the physician’s room. The TV is turned on for patients’ entertainment while they wait. It is set up to watch the state channel and sometimes channel 5. Those are the only channels with a signal that works in the village. Channel 5’s owners (Shultz and Parker) were accused of corruption during the 1990s. In some now infamous videos, Vladimiro Montesinos (president Fujimori’s former right-hand-man) can be seen bribing both owners to broadcast information in favor of the government. The broadcasting of this channel, like other private channels, now supports the current Garcia government.

⁶⁶ It contains images to explain the importance of care during pregnancy and children care.

⁶⁷ The maps depict the number of households in Uqhupata, *Wasanpata* and *Chiquipirqa* villages. They were gifts from the workers at the World Vision NGO with whom the current health representatives coordinate to monitor infant development and growth. Thus, the map intends to help representatives link each house with particular children.

⁶⁸ The statement intends to reflect the content of the Ley General de la Salud No. 26842 (General Health System Act #26842) that seeks to provide and regulate health care to all persons or citizens in Peru.

Niriku (N) invited me to enter her kitchen when I showed up on the threshold of her patio. Her three-years-old daughter Wariku (W) came in asking for food.⁶⁹ Niriku quickly ground soaked *muraya* on a *mushk'a* (a grinding stone)⁷⁰ while we were conversing. As in any kitchen in a countryside village, it consists of a clay stove,⁷¹ a *mushk'a* with its *qulluta* (small rounded stone), a wooden cabinet or a clay shelf combined with sticks,⁷² wooden or clay benches,⁷³ chairs, and a clay or mesh corral⁷⁴ to keep *quwi*. In order to fatten up the *quwi*, families let them out of the corral to wander around the kitchen.⁷⁵

The kitchen is part of the household compound. The compound is comprised of two other independent rooms; plus a corral,⁷⁶ a bathroom,⁷⁷ a place with a faucet to do the laundry and a patio. One room is a bedroom and the other stores the annual harvest,⁷⁸ hand-made dry *ch'uñu* and *muraya*, as well as farming tools.⁷⁹ Some households have two levels of rooms where the ground room stores crops and tools and the second floor is a bedroom. A few households have some electrical appliances.⁸⁰ Their owners work for the municipality or in the city.⁸¹

⁶⁹ A breakfast in the Peruvian countryside consists of soup. The main ingredients to make a soup are potatoes, *ulluku*, quinoa, barley, wheat, maize or *ch'uñu*. The soup is accompanied by carrots, squash, onions, tomatoes, broad beans, peas, meat or eggs.

⁷⁰ A *mushk'a* is used to grind hot peppers and spices such as cumin, garlic, coriander, and *wakatay*.

⁷¹ The stove may be in a corner to either the right side or left side of the door. Sometimes however it faces the door. On the top of the stove sit pots, a kettle, a fry pan, and a *k'analla* (a kind of fry pan used to roast).

⁷² On the shelf or cabinet, plates, mugs, pots, and cutlery are kept. Pots, plates, mugs and bowls are made of tin (that is porcelain enameled) and are used daily. Several years ago they were used only for important festivities or occasions (e.g., birthdays and weddings). Those made of clay have begun to be replaced by tin material since the 1970s.

⁷³ The benches are made from adobe and stand against the wall.

⁷⁴ The *quwi* corral is always in the corner of the kitchen away from the burning stove.

⁷⁵ In this way the *quwi* has a chance to eat all vegetables or cereals remaining such as potatoes, carrots and onion skins.

⁷⁶ It is built with sticks, branches or adobe. The corral is used to keep mainly cows, sheep and llamas although only two families raise llamas. Other animals such as donkeys or horses are tied to the corner of the patio.

⁷⁷ The bathroom was built as a requirement by the municipality of Santiago in order to accommodate the sewage system. It is not widely used, but the place for washing is widely used.

⁷⁸ Annual harvest consists of potatoes, *ulluku*, *añu*, *uqa*, broad beans, *tawri*, and quinoa.

⁷⁹ Some of these tools are *chakitaqlla* (foot plow), shovels, pickaxes, sickles and ropes.

⁸⁰ For example, a TV, a DVD, a gas stove, and a blender.

⁸¹ Villagers travel to Cuzco or other places to work after the harvest time has ended. A few villagers receive money from their relatives who live in cities or other towns.

The patio⁸² is the central point around which all rooms are distributed including the kitchen and the corral. It has a threshold with no door. It is a place in which villagers freshen themselves up, comb their hair or weave some cloth as well as arrange their tools, crops, or feed their dogs and chickens. The patio is also a site where villagers exchange products⁸³ with villagers from other villages or peddlers from the city. They also receive the representatives of NGO's and public institutions on the patio.

If peddlers show up to exchange goods, they are usually met by women. Peddlers arrange their goods on the patio while women bring potatoes, *muraya* or *ch'uñu* to exchange. Both parties make a deal regarding their goods in Quechua and talk about the fairness of what they receive in the trade. If there is time, peddlers are invited to have some soup. In contrast, if representatives⁸⁴ step onto a household's patio, someone (women or men) quickly come out to meet them. Representatives would either stand or lean against the patio's wall. Villagers, as hosts look for a place to invite the visitor to sit and cover any seating⁸⁵ with a cloth, inviting the representatives to sit down, which sometimes they accept. Villagers address household owners in Spanish combined with some Quechua words. They—as representative of institutions—highlight the institutional requirements to carry out a project or emphasize villagers' duties in institutional programs. These include abiding by the criteria of cleanliness, caring for their children, and giving birth at the health facility.

Villagers have encounters with peddlers and representatives on a daily basis. On the one hand, villagers build a close relationship trading with peddlers, which seems to be reinforced by the use of the Quechua language. On the other hand, representatives seem to exert pressure on villagers—in order to make sure that their institution's aims are going smoothly—with a sense of estrangement and rejection. In turn villagers act as a host and try to speak Spanish to communicate with representatives. By yielding to this

⁸² When I asked permission from the head of the household to stay in his house early in the mornings to share breakfast and help me do my research, I was hosted on the patio. However, when we become *riqsisqa* (friends) I was allowed to sit wherever and to go to their fields if I wanted. As *riqsisqa* villagers told me not to address them as “señor” or “señora”, otherwise they would keep addressing me as “señorita.”

⁸³ Villagers exchange potatoes or *muraya* for bread, sugar, prickly pears, oranges, bananas, onions, hot peppers, lettuces, tomatoes, spices, *kuka* leaves, ears of corn or maize.

⁸⁴ Sometimes the host offers cooked potatoes, *muraya*, or *ch'uñu* to the visitors which some representatives accept and others pocket in a plastic bag.

⁸⁵ These sitting places might consist of a bench, a chair, an adobe brick or a big stone.

pressure, villagers downplay the sense of estrangement and rejection that the encounters with the representatives generate.

Daily life: Helping and being helped

It frequently takes villagers two years to build their houses.⁸⁶ They do this after harvest time in two consecutive years with the help of relatives. As Miraku points out

Aruwita sik'ichishani wasi siqachinaypaq. Watamanña tihachisaq, kunanqa manan atiruymanchu, wakin ruwanayri?

I am being helped to make adobe bricks, in order to build a house [I am in charge of it]. Next year I will roof it [with the help of my relatives]. Right now I cannot build it; I have to take care of my other duties.

To build a house, villagers rely on their relatives' help. Thus they have to take into consideration other people's availability.⁸⁷ Otherwise villagers may see the absence of relatives involved in constructing a house as a lack of family ties and support.

The villagers' days begin around 5:00 a.m. Women prepare a hot herbal tea.⁸⁸ When all family members have drunk the tea, they start fulfilling their chores for that day, which are linked to the season. Men may go to cut the pasture, look for a relative to obtain help for a day, ask for news about a job, gather and bring some frozen potatoes, or drive the cows to a grassy pasture. Sometimes they stay home chopping logs or cooking when their wife is sick or has traveled. Women prepare soup,⁸⁹ take care of children, feed the *quwi*, and boil potatoes, *ch'umu* or maize. They bring the food out to the fields at noon where family members are working.

If it is sowing or fallowing time, women cook a special lunch for their husbands and their *ayni*.⁹⁰ Woman may prepare a special meal, accompanied with boiled rice, corn, and cooked *ch'uñu* or *muraya*.⁹¹ If women prepare a meal to feed *ayni*, they call their

⁸⁶ The walls of the households' are made with adobe; its roof is made with a combination of sticks, reeds, wood, and tile.

⁸⁷ If the timing to build a house does not match with the availability of relatives, the house will not be built. There may be enough adobes, but the house's walls will not reach the required height to be roofed as I witnessed last summer.

⁸⁸ Some families who have relatives in Killabamba (a rain forest region in Cuzco) prepare hot chocolate from cocoa beans. The taste is superior to any industrialized chocolate.

⁸⁹ It can be soup of *ulluku*, squash, *ch'uñu*, or *muraya*, rice, noodles, barley, wheat, maize or quinoa.

⁹⁰ Help is given reciprocally.

⁹¹ Families who cannot afford a special meal make a more simple meal from chopped potato mixed with roasted noodles and a little bit of carrots and peas; with a side of boiled rice. Those who have a little bit of

relatives for help. If their mom is alive, she will be the first one to help. When the meal is ready women pack up the food, plates and spoons in their *unkhuña* (small blanket) and bring it to the farm around noon. At the farm, men stop working in order to have lunch. The owner of the farm will invite all *ayni* to sit. He sets out a blanket with boiled corn and broad beans or *ch'uñu* and *muraya*, while a woman⁹² serves the meal. Women eat in silence, and if there are not enough plates, they do not eat. In contrast, men happily converse and make jokes.⁹³

The harvest time or dry season seems to be the most laborious time. Some families ask peddlers who speak Quechua and live in the city for help. In this season peddlers with Quechua background eat at the villagers' home and work on the hosts' farms.⁹⁴ Some peddlers present themselves at the farm to exchange goods (e.g., avocado, cheese, salt, maize beer, and fruit) for *qumpis*⁹⁵ potato. If they have exchanged all their goods, they willingly accept work in the potato field when they are asked to do so.⁹⁶

At harvest time household members are up around 4:00a.m. If it is a full moon, men run to the potato field to scratch the furrows and bring back sacks of potatoes.⁹⁷ Women prepare tea and soup as quickly as they can. They also make a salad of lettuce or ground hot pepper to bring to the potato field. To work in the potato field all family members, even children as young as three-years-old are provided with a small *allachu* (similar to a hoe)⁹⁸ to harvest potatoes. In the field women prepare *wathiya*⁹⁹ so that the family can eat it with salad, cheese or avocado.¹⁰⁰ All household members are happy that there is a great amount of food.

income make meals combining chopped potatoes and *tawri*, with a side of rice and fried eggs on top. Or they make a meal combining chopped potatoes, squash, cheese and broad beans; with a side of rice and spaghetti. The distinction between simple and elaborate meals is made by the villagers. Special meals are prepared for roofing a house, special festivities or to sell in the market.

⁹² The person is usually the wife of the owner.

⁹³ After they have finished eating, they chew *kuka* leaves in great quantity.

⁹⁴ After they have eaten soup, they head to the villager's farm to harvest potatoes.

⁹⁵ This kind of potato is highly appreciated in the market and its price is higher than hybrid varieties.

⁹⁶ Peddlers like to work in the potato farm because the amount of potatoes they receive for their work is more than the amount they obtain exchanging their goods.

⁹⁷ Men bring potatoes on their backs and on the backs of horses, or bring sticks and bushes to build a small corral.

⁹⁸ They dig up potatoes and gather them on a large blanket or on a flat place.

⁹⁹ Potato cooked in clod oven.

¹⁰⁰ If they are thirsty they drink maize beer or soda. Harvest time is a time of plenty.

In contrast, during the rainy season, while crops are growing, villagers may not have enough food to feed themselves or their.¹⁰¹ Food is scarce from December through February. It is a time of anguish.¹⁰² Villagers try to meet their needs by selling the medicinal herbs that grow on the mountain cliffs and farmed land. Some of them are obligated to sell their remaining crops such as potatoes or *ch'uñu*, in order to buy other basic goods such as matches and salt.

Traveling on “combi” (minivan) transportations

V1: *Q'ipichayta.*

L: *Siqay, siqay. Pataman churasaq.*

V1: *Manachu kayllapi apayman?*

L: *Mana, mana.*

V2: *Ama hina kaychu papay, khuchichayta kargarapuiway.*

L: *Ya, ya; siqay.*

V1: My [“loved”] load.

L: Get on, get on. I will put it on the roof rack.

V1: Can I keep it with me to travel?

L: No, no.

V2: Please [I implore you], *papay*, load my pig up [on the roof rack].

L: Okay, okay. Get on.

This kind of conversation is typical at *q'asapata* minivan stop. Lusiku (L) is the owner of a *combi* and villagers (V1 and V2) negotiate with him in order to travel with loads in the van. The minivan¹⁰³ is a medium sized car. It is a second hand or third hand and imported from Asian countries (e.g., Japan and Korea). The minivan usually has two sliding doors on either side of the van, one of them is locked while the other is used to get in and out of the van. A minivan can transport up to 15 people seated, but it can be as crowded as a sardine can when passengers decide to travel while standing. This became the most common form of transportation during the 1990s when Peru was under Fujimori's dictatorship. It has come to dominate public transportation throughout Peru.

¹⁰¹ During this time, villagers eat more noodles, *ch'uñu* or *muraya* soup.

¹⁰² I witnessed the same scarcity in the highlands of Paurcartambo, Chumbivilcas, Canas, Canchis, Paruro, Anta and Quispicanchis (provinces of Cuzco). For instance, Pablo from Paurtambo told me, *mamay siwara hak'uta huk puqtuta quwaq ch'isiyaqpa, yarqaymanta sachasachakunaq rurunta maskhaq kani, awaymantu rurunkunata mihuq kani* (my mother gave me one handful of toasted barley flour for the whole day. I was so hungry that I used to look for bushes with seeds; I even used to eat *awaymantu* seeds).

¹⁰³ The front part of a minivan is composed of three seats, one for a driver and two for passengers. Behind these seats stand three rows of seats, each row seating two people. In addition, there are two benches in which seven people may sit.

There are two private vans that offer transportation for traveling from Cuzco to Uqhupata and vice-versa.¹⁰⁴ They offer service early in the morning, at noon, and around 1:00 p.m. or 2:00 p.m.¹⁰⁵ The passengers are largely villagers and institutional representatives. One minivan belongs to a villager—who I will call Machali—and the other belongs to a person with a Quechua background who has lived in Cuzco since he was a teenager.¹⁰⁶ I will call him Lusiku. The minivans' stop in Cuzco is on Luna street near the Chiri health center, grocery stores, and the old San Pedro market. Passengers arrive there between 6:00 a.m. and 7:30 a.m. to get a seat in order to commute to Uqhupata.

Early every morning—from Monday through Friday—both minivans park at their stop in Cuzco. Lusiku's minivan arrives first and Machali's after it. Machali's van usually arrives from Uqhupata transporting students from the village who go to Cuzco schools, as well as few villagers. Lusiku transports people without any preference on a first-come-first-serve basis only. He will not depart until his minivan is crowded. Passengers submit themselves to traveling jammed into Lusiku's overcrowded van because Machali's van might not pick them up. There is no other transportation. Typical passengers include villagers, as well as kindergarten and elementary teachers who work in the villages near to Uqhupata. Many of the passengers who travel in Lusiku's van stand having to bend their heads and backs over the seats and other passengers.¹⁰⁷ If villagers miss this scheduled minivan, they hope to catch Machali's van. Machali, however, transports mainly representatives of public and private institutions (kindergarten, elementary and high school teachers, health professionals and municipal representatives) who work in Uqhupata.

Once the minivans arrive at the *q'asapata* stop, Lusiku's minivan loads passengers from 8:30 a.m. onwards, until the van is crowded enough to depart. Sometimes, Lusiku waits until 11:00 a.m. to find enough passengers. After this time, he drives toward Cuzco regardless of whether there are enough passengers. At the

¹⁰⁴ There was a third minivan; it was taken out of commission given its shabby conditions. One day villagers and I were traveling in the minivan when its sliding door fell off around a bend.

¹⁰⁵ If there is no minivan, villagers flee to catch any small truck passing by. Representatives catch a station wagon (taxi) which they can afford.

¹⁰⁶ He was born in the countryside next to Pitumarca and near the town of Sicuani (province of Canchis, Cuzco).

¹⁰⁷ The minivan's ceiling is not high enough to allow people to stand.

q'asapata stop he competes for passengers with other minivans coming from Paruru or Wanuk'iti that pass by the village. The minivans coming from Paruru frequently pick up villagers if they are without any load, otherwise, they do not stop. The majority of villagers from Uqhupata and other villages travel with loads of potatoes, *muraya*, *ulluku*, barley, broad beans, flowers and medicinal herbs. Therefore, passengers are in some measure almost obligated to travel in Lusiku's van.

Machali's van does not offer any transportation service to villagers during the day. He parks his car near his home and not at the *q'asapata* stop. Around 1:00 p.m. he drives towards the elementary school door to wait and pick teachers up. Health representatives are often late in catching the van and Machali often waits for them despite teachers' demands that the van depart. Villagers always board the van as it is about to leave if they want to travel.

The two vans are extremely crowded every Monday. Kindergarten, elementary school and high school teachers commute on Mondays. The teachers in surrounding villages who spend the week away and only return to Cuzco on Fridays also return to the villages on Mondays. In addition, health care representatives, and some representatives of the municipality use Mondays to fulfill any unforeseen requirements like required data, catching up after a delay in their activities or to supervise ongoing projects in Uqhupata and nearby villages. Lastly, villagers who come to the city to visit relatives or attend to institutional duties, or missed the van the day before (Sunday) are also looking to travel home. If they were left behind by Lusiku's minivan, villagers try to get on Machali's van at the cost of mistreatment (This is discussed in chapter three).

Lusiku and Machali work the whole day on Saturdays. They transport villagers beginning at 6:00a.m. Both drivers drive back and forth between Uqhupata and Cuzco through late afternoon. *Q'asapata* is filled of passengers from all villages wanting to travel. They head to *Wankaru* or other markets within Cuzco. If villagers do not get on the last van departing from Cuzco around 3:00 p.m., they go to a relatives' place to spend the night in order to catch the first van the next day.

The lack of sufficient transportation has allowed the minivan owners to increase the fare from 1.50 to 2.00 soles.¹⁰⁸ Owners raised the fare when the price of oil increased above 120.00 USD per barrel.¹⁰⁹ But when the price of oil went down to 40 USD toward the end of December 2008,¹¹⁰ they did not lower the price.¹¹¹ However, in the city of Cuzco, when the transportation fee increased from 0.50 to 0.70 soles, students from the public university went on strike. Thus the fare was lowered from 0.70 to 0.60 soles for urban transportation in the city.

The above description is the general context in which the present study analyzes hierarchical relations amongst people—whose primary daily language of communication is Quechua, and those—whose primary language of daily communication is Spanish. I would suggest that the interaction of these people, on a regular basis, represents processes of discrimination, racialization, dominance, and subordination. Concurrently, these kinds of articulations can be evaded, subverted, transformed or perpetuated by the participants involved. In the next section I discuss the problems of labeling and categorizing, and examine the results of a variant of the matched-guise-test. A bilingual individual was recorded telling a short story twice in Quechua (with narrow and wide vocal aperture), and twice in Spanish (with narrow and wide vocal aperture). Those listening to the recording are invited to listen and identify the speaker according to a number of features. Listeners believed that each recording was performed by different speakers, they were unaware of the fact the speaker was one person.

¹⁰⁸ By local standards this is an expensive price. Representatives express their nonconformity while villagers do not dare to say anything.

¹⁰⁹ Oil prices had increased to 140.00USD worldwide by January 2008. It is worth knowing that West Texas Intermediary (WTI) distributes gas in the United States. In Europe; Brent distributes gas, so they decide the gas prices to some extent for the public.

¹¹⁰ Oil has decreased to 40.81 per barrel by December 8, 2008, the lowest price since December 2004. <http://www.diariocritico.com/mexico/2008/Diciembre/noticias/115456/el-petroleo-vivio-mala-semana-por-noticias-economicas-a-la-baja.html> (accessed December 10, 2009).

¹¹¹ Private transportation companies allege that although oil prices have decreased, the intermediary companies present in Peru such as REPSOL are selling gas at an expensive price, as if the oil price were 140.00 USD. Intermediaries, in turn, state they have bought the oil at a high price so in order to recuperate their investment they have to sell gas as expensive as it was when the oil price was 140.00 USD.

Chapter 2

Refusing Labeling but Ascribing Identity

Kampisinu kayku
We are peasants

In the preceding sections I laid out a general context (chapter 1), and an overview in which I examined the mainstream approach (with some notable exceptions) to interethnic relationships in the Andes as a gradient of acculturation or of modernization. To unravel this discourse of ethnic gradualism—which *is* supposed to result teleologically in “mestizaje”—and to dismantle the ideology that this process alone will end discrimination against the so called “Indians”, I discuss: a) social labeling and framing as a quest for equality, recognitions and understanding; and b) the use of speech style as the basis of a qualitative rather than gradient ascription of identity.

Contesting labels

Is it fair to be labeled as peasants, producers or agriculturalists?

A villager told me:

Chakrata llank' aqtiykuya kampisinu niwanku, kampisinu kayku.

Because we work in the farm, they (non-villagers) name us “peasants”. We are “peasants,” sure.

The villager illuminates the unintended political, social and economic consequences of labeling people. Once villagers are labeled as peasants they become bounded within that category; that leads us—scholars and lay people alike—to focus on what people grouped as peasants should look like; while erasing from view other features that could be equally important to know and learn about them. Considering the other, erased features may complicate the picture, but they can also facilitate understanding the historical and present places and positionalities in which people are enmeshed through their quotidian social interactions.

It may be argued as far as categorized people feel identified with or recognize the category as theirs, it is useless to meditate about the implications of labeling individuals as x, w, or z as the phrase “[w]e are peasants” invites us to assume. The label “peasant” seems appealing to people and it allows us to avoid other labels, many of which are more stigmatizing. For instance, villagers whose mother tongue is Quechua (Quechua speaker) may prefer to claim the label “peasant” to avoid being labeled as *cholo*, *ch’utu*, *uhutiru*, *pata rajada*, *motoso*, *queso*, and *longo*, among others. Labels whose hegemonic meanings couch Quechua speakers as Indian, uncultured, uncivilized, unintelligent, ignorant, unhygienic, dirty, and worthless, as well as disclose “subjective perceptions of how [those with Quechua background]... fit... in the social order and of the terms on which society should engage with them in varying contexts and at different points in time” (Moncrieffe 2007: 2).

The above labels, including “peasant” (with its overtones of backwardness) frame norms for treating Quechua speakers with those labels in daily interactions. The frame informs how non-villagers make sense of or understand their social surrounding and relationships with Quechua speakers. It also impinges on the ability of Quechua speakers to interact in the same floor as Spanish speakers (Goffman 1979). But above all it is a framing that represents those with Quechua background as hopelessly stupid, *filthy*, and simple-minded persons that reduces their accountability and validity as true interlocutors.

Although the “peasant” label is appropriated by some villagers, others reject it and claim another label such as

Prudukturmi kayku, “kampisinu” nispaqa marhinawashanchisma

We are producers; they [non-villagers] are marginalizing us by calling us “peasant”.

For these villagers the “peasant” label is understood as a form of marginalizing and ostracizing them from the rest of the society. Instead, the label “producer”¹ emphasizes the ability and skills of people to produce not only crops, but also to create artifacts and breed domestics. These are tasks that require knowledge, expertise, intelligence, and experience. Despite its positive outlook, there are others who are not captivated by the label “producer”—they prefer to be labeled as “agriculturalist.”

¹ A Spanish category appropriated by those whose work includes the production of native potato seeds.

*Agrikulturya kayku*²
We are farmers/agriculturalists

The category underscores the knowledge and skills required to cultivate land successfully, and also underscore their ownership of the means of production. To own the land implies freedom to decide about labor and to allocate time to its cultivation; time is valuable to villagers.³ Freedom based on the ownership of a fundamental resource such a land is freedom to shape their life as they will. It is not a claim on an absolute ontological freedom as in Keane (2005), in which an individual's freedom cannot be constrained by any economic, biological, social or cultural underpinnings.

These labels may be satisfactory and rewarding to villagers, but some assert that how they are labeled depends on who they are interacting with. Here is Kasiku's account.

K: Hawawanta hamuqkunaya kampisinu niwanku. Manaya kampisinuchu kayku, Qusqumanta hamunku riki?

M: Aha.

H: Paykunaya chhaynata suti yawanku. Runa kaymantaqa runaya kashayku.

M: Imaynata suti yakunkichisri?

H: Mana imatapas suti yakuykuchu, mana suti yakuspachu puriyku, millaycha kanman.

K: Those who come from outside of the village call us peasants. We are not peasants. You know those who come from Cuzco, right?

M: Yes.

H: They have named us like that. Of course, we are *runa* [like any other human being].

M: How do you name yourselves?

H: We do not call ourselves anything. We do not relate to each other putting names on people. To do so would be disgusting.

Kasiku contest the very idea of labeling. On the one hand, Kasiku is contesting the label "peasant", and indeed all labels, as they categorize villagers as objects of other people's knowledge. On the other hand, it is a cultural critique, which interprets labeling as a form of mockery. Mockery for villagers suggests a lack of social accountability; if people are addressed as unaccountable by a label imposed upon them, they will contest or elude it.

² Another Spanish category accepted by those whose work closely with the representative of the Ministry of Agriculture.

³ This sense of freedom may explain why countryside people long for owning their own business as peddlers populating the sidewalk offering goods from a simple hairpin to a sophisticated meal. There are other variables to take into account to explain the situation in which these people are.

Labeling a group of people as “peasants” is unsuitable for some villagers, for whom each villager is a person different from all others.⁴ It is treated as if it were a nickname by Quechua speakers. But a nickname may be used to refer a person but in connection to specific encounter, event, or situation in which a person was nicknamed. Nicknames for villagers are snapshots to remember or remind them the person’s character to facilitate communication, engage a fellow or distinguish him within specific cultural norms and values. Consequently, to lump all villagers under any single label as if it were a nickname is socially and culturally an insult and lack of respect, within a Quechua frame of understanding and building relationships as I was made aware of by Turiku.

Mana uy agrikultur! nispachu puriyku

We do not interact telling each other, hey agriculturalist! [Come on].

To be *runa* means...

Hasiku highlights also that villagers are *runa* as any other human being without attaching any particular ethnic identification to the term “Runa” (for a contrasting view see Allen 2002). However, like Allen (2002) there are others who state that

Imañacha runa kapushayku. Iskiylapi wawakunata manaña nuqaq usuykutachu yachamunku. Kastillata yachachispa imatacha yachachinkupas, runa kasqaykuqa chinkapunqacha.

What we are going to be. Children at the school are not learning our customs. What kind of things they are learning... [I do not know about] making them to learn Castilian. Our way of being *runa* would be probably lost.

From this point of view, *runa* seems like an appropriate label to identify villagers in ethnic terms, and even suitable as analytical category. If *runa* is used this way, what kind of objective is it responding to? It might respond to some villagers’ desire to be known as ethnic others, or to the objectives of other individuals, of scholars or of developmental

⁴ Villagers like to highlight their individuality linked to their uniqueness which is not held by labels that lump all into one box. Villagers may feel that people from Cuzco do not want to know them since they do not address them as persons. The necessity to be acknowledged as persons is backed by a sharp critic about the confusion I made with proper names. The person who I addressed as Hasiku instead of Husiku was so mad that complained *imatacha sutitapas churakuwanku, manachu huk suti karan?* (What kind of name I was given, there were no other name available?) A complain to which Asuku responded by correcting me HU-SI-KU.

constituencies. Whether or not to use *runa* to frame a social reality is difficult⁵ when even the label *runa* is contested within the frame of villagers

Runama riki kashayku, manama alquchu. qampis runan kashanki riki icha imachu kashanki?

We are not dogs, we are humans aren't you see? You are human too, right? Or are you something else?

Villagers' refusal to be categorized under any label, even under *runa*—with its ethnic implications—and the emphasizes on *runa* label as referring to a human being without any essential ethnic overtone, is a claim to humanity on equal footing with non-villagers, that is, the right to be seen as who they are. It is a denial of being the object⁶ of subordination; instead it underscores their desire to be understood and recognized on their own terms; as persons capable of being accountable and legitimate interlocutors like any other non-villager. They want not only to understand others, but to be understood *by* others in their interaction *with* others, as Nazario Turpo⁷ pointed out when a translator failed to convey what he was trying to say (Krebs 2003:8). If they are recognized and understood as who they are, it might facilitate ways to fight discrimination against them.⁸

The claim for equality, recognition and understanding appears to be villager's priority rather than their quest to preserve any *runa*-ness, or political standing to be acknowledged as culturally different from other groups. As Mariano Turpo⁹ asserted, recognition and understanding on the same footing are crucial to being heard by the state (Krebs 2003: 10-11). It does not mean that villagers do not know or care about their ways of framing the world. Moreover, Nazario Turpo's (2001¹⁰) analyses and description of the *despacho* ritual¹¹ and of weaving shows a peculiarly Quechua framing of life (see Krebs 2003: 13, 22).

⁵ Despite the best intentions of developmental agencies, policy makers or analysts, the use of categories do not always respond to the goals of the labeled. Sometimes categories respond hardly to the intended aim of villagers.

⁶ For a discussion on objectification see Keane (1997:12-13).

⁷ A friend who loved my way of speaking Quechua, i.e., I speak with Quechua accent. Who used to tease and joke me when we were in Cuzco or Bolivia with other *runamasi*.

⁸ For example, Nazario Turpo was targeted as robber and stopped in a little town city by a policeman.

⁹ I had the luck to know Mr. Mariano Turpo while I was hired as a translator.

¹⁰ A personal conversation with Mr. Turpo (2002).

¹¹ The offering is made to mountains, earth or water to be blessed.

I have shown that labeling and framing people as “peasant,” “producer,” “agriculturalist,” or “*runa*” are neither neutral nor innocent. Apart from *runa*—the complexity of which I have already discussed—these labels create processes of appropriation, stigmatization, misunderstanding and contestation. The labels may seem innocuous, but hide the historical processes and social contexts in which Quechua-speaking people have been interacting socially with Spanish speaking people since the European invasion. They may dilute and utterly overlook the essential and dynamic power relationships underpinning peoples’ conditions (Moncrieffe 2007). Labels reflect and illustrate how they emerge from different frames and how they influence the shape and form of frames.¹² Frames give us only partial and restricted views of a social reality and sometimes mistaken views; not a whole truth only partial truth.¹³ Being aware of this partiality is central if labels will be used as analytical categories to explain any social phenomenon and not to take for granted local ways of labeling and framing. Rein and Schon (1993) point out that

“Framing is problematic because it leads to different views of the world and create multiple social realities... scholars working in different disciplines, and individuals in different contexts of everyday life have different frames that led them to see different things, [and] make different interpretations of the way things are... (147, [quoted in Moncrieffe 2007: 8]).

Each of these labels—standing in for the stigmatized terms *Indio*, *Cholo*, and *Ch’utu* carries the same racialized denotatum, but in each case further erases the individuality of Quechua speakers by tying them into a single economic position and occupation, reinforcing their positioning in the teleology of modernity as rural, traditional, and backward (for a critique on the use of labels see Howard 2009).

Deceptive framing and labeling

Framing (including labeling) can also lead to the production of a deceptive reality to maintain hegemonic meanings, interpretations and values, or to justify historical discrimination. For example the historian Cecilia Méndez (2001) illustrates how the *Iquichano* category appeared in nineteenth century in state documentation. The category

¹² However, it does mean that one does not recognize the fact that labeling is intrinsic to social interaction. For a fruitful discussion see Moncrieffe, Joy & Eyben, Rosalind (2007).

¹³ For a discussion of partial truths regarding ethnography, James Clifford and George E. Marcus (1986)

was used copiously by state authorities to refer to indigenous rebels but was used much less by the rebels. *Iquichano* supposedly derives from the place name *Iquicha*; but there is no any town or community named *Iquicha*. Méndez unmasks a long standing “truth” among historians and even among anthropologist and journalists: the assumed existence of a place called *Iquicha* which misguided to label people as *Iquichano* when there were not any *Iquichanos* at all identified as such. This assumption guides the “Informe de la Comisión Investigadora de los Sucesos de Uchuraccay.” The report “enlightens” the murder of eight Peruvian journalists in the village of *Uchuracay* during the internal war between the Peruvian state and Shining Path insurgency.

Vargas Llosa who chaired this commission and their commissioners identify *Uchuracay* villagers as *Iquichanos* and describes them as a primitive and isolated people who have managed to preserve their archaic culture. The report goes on telling that these *Iquichanos* descend from a pre-inka ethnic group called *Iquicha* who were warriors always at the ready to fight for their autonomy. The category *Iquichanos* is used to explain a rebellion in nineteenth century and it is linked to elucidate their contemporary behavior in terms of cultural stagnation and war-like personalities. Although Vargas Llosa’s commission was there no more than 3 hours, they did not hesitate in labeling *Uchuracay* villagers as *Iquichanos*—poor, monolingual in Quechua, and violent.¹⁴ The commission report reveals an essentialist view of cultural differences in which the community is represented as isolated, primitive and outside the bounds of citizenship. In this view progress is understood as “a linear development from communities bonded by magical beliefs to a modern society [...] that [...] demands the disappearance of [...] indigenous” people in order to attain progress (Franco 2006:177).

The case of *Uchuracay* shows how villagers has been produced within a historic frame as stagnant, archaic, and primitive objects to be known as such. Even when they faced trial *Uchuracay* villagers were not able to contest this depiction. The villagers of *Uchuracay* lacked the power to reply, not only because of translation problems, but also because they have been framed as *Iquichanos*, that is, as backward people guilty of hindering progress. This framing led to the objectification of villagers as the objects of

¹⁴ None of the Vargas Llosa’s commission speak Quechua, thus they did not converse with the villagers at all.

subordination even within the courtroom, in which the power of the Spanish speakers' frame was enhanced and prevailed in relation to the Quechua speakers' frame. The floor was exponentially uneven in the interaction that occurred between Quechua and Spanish speakers.¹⁵

Ascribing identity

Uqhupata villagers, according to the preceding discussion, cannot come to terms with any label to identify themselves. Villagers may appropriate some labels such as peasant, producer, or agriculturalist, but there are others that avoid the imposition of any label on them. While they consciously avoid labels, they are able to tacitly sort their interlocutors into hard-and-fast categories. Since many villagers and many of their urban interlocutors speak both Quechua and Spanish, it is not language competence per se that allows them to do so; rather, they—including city dwellers—use the articulatory style of their interlocutors—in either language—as the basis for sorting people into one or another category. Pierre Bourdieu (1991: 86) explains “articulatory style” as follows:

Language is a body technique, and specifically linguistic, especially phonetic, competence is a dimension of bodily hexis in which one's whole relation to the social world, and one's whole socially informed relation to the world are expressed. There is every reason to think that through the mediation of what Pierre Guiraud calls 'articulatory style'. The bodily hexis characteristic of a social class determines the system of phonological features which characterizes a class pronunciation.

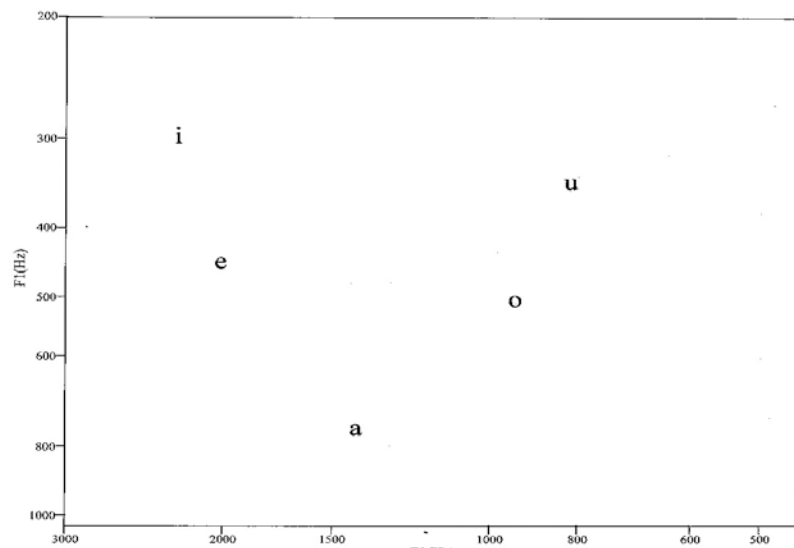
It is well known that Quechua and Spanish have distinct vowel systems, Quechua a three-vowel system (usually written i, a, u) and Spanish a five-vowel system (i, e, a, o, u). The Quechua vowels move back in the mouth adjacent to certain back consonants (for a description see Mannheim 1991: 102). The backed vowels of Quechua are sometimes

¹⁵ Framing and labeling can lead not only to profound errors that determine people's life, but also they can lead to the creation of artificial fixed boundaries. For instance, the category of herders as separated and different from agriculturalist category may be handy in methodological terms. The division may hide the historical process in which indigenous people after the Spaniards conquest were forced to move from the valleys near to mountains' peak and how their strategy of holding land at different ecological niches in different altitude were broken. Today there are herders in some highland niches, as well as on the plateaus of Puno and Bolivia, bus is not a general characteristic across the Andes. But it is still characteristic that people holds pieces of land at different altitudes to have access to a variety of crops, at the same time they herd cows or sheep. So when the rainy season comes and the crops are growing, people bring their animals to the top of the mountains to avoid any animal grazing within the growing crops. It does not mean that they are only herders or only agriculturalists.

written as “e” and “o,” leading many people to believe that the vowels of the two languages are pronounced in essentially the same way. But two recent studies of the acoustic structure of the vowels have shown that they are pronounced very differently (Pasquale 2001; Pérez Silva, Acurio, and Bendezú 2009). The articulatory styles of native speakers of Quechua and of native Spanish speakers use their buccal cavities differently, native speakers of Quechua producing their vowels with narrower buccal aperture and native speakers of Spanish with wider. Native speakers of Spanish use a larger acoustic space to produce the vowels of both languages; native speakers of Quechua use a narrower acoustic space, with more centralized vowels.

The production of vowels uses the vocal tract as a complex resonator, producing regular overtones. The overtones are concentrated in bands of frequencies called *formants*. In order to plot the acoustic space used by vowels, the first set of overtones or formants is graphed against the second as in the figure below, which shows the average frequency values for the vowels produced by a first-language speaker of Spanish from Cusco, speaking Spanish (from Pérez Silva, Acurio, and Bendezú 2009:17, 19)

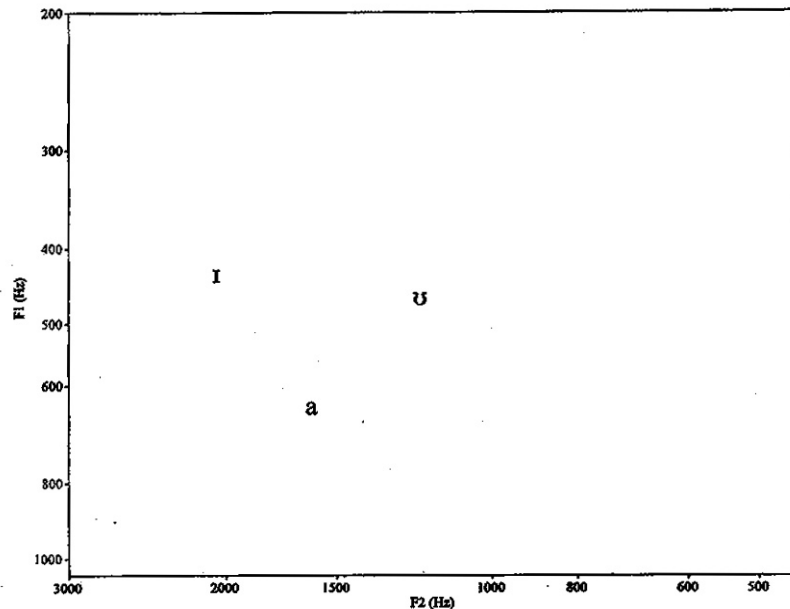
Figure 1. Spanish Vowel System (after Perez et al 2009: 17)



The frequencies of the first formant are on the y-axis and the frequencies of the second formant on the x-axis.

Compare the vowel positions for a first-language speaker of Quechua, also from Cusco, speaking Quechua:

Figure 2. Quechua Vowel System (after Perez et al 2009: 19)



Notice that the Quechua vowels are more centralized, that is closer together, meaning that the Quechua speaker is on the average using a smaller acoustic space for their vowels.

Villagers and city dwellers are sensitive to the vowel systems of other speakers and can use the vowel positions to gauge the linguistic histories of their interlocutors—that is, whether they grew up speaking Quechua (regardless of which language they are speaking at a given moment) or grew up speaking Spanish (regardless of which language they are speaking). In order to test this, I administered a match-guise test to villagers and non-villagers. There are three points that this test makes: (1) that both villagers and non-villagers are able to identify speakers tacitly, using their vowel systems to identify their linguistic backgrounds; (2) that these judgments are qualitative rather than gradient (thereby falsifying the standard claim in the Andean social science literature that social identification is made gradiently); and (3) that the identifications are intrinsically associated with social stereotypes.

The matched-guise test was designed by the social psychologist Wallace Lambert et al (1960) to study language attitudinal reactions toward French Canadian and English

Canadian speaking groups in Montreal. Bilingual speakers (French and English speakers) were recorded reading a passage once in French and once in English. Listeners were unaware of the fact that speakers were bilingual, speaking in English at one time and in French at another. They were asked to rank speakers according to a set of traits. Bilingual individuals in their English guise were evaluated more favorably than in their French guise by English speaking listeners. This favorableness was expressed in seven traits such as height, good looks, intelligence, dependability, kindness, ambition and character. French speaking listeners, also evaluated more favorably individuals in their English guise than in their French guise which was expressed in 10 traits such as height, good looks, leadership, intelligence, self-confidence, dependability, ambition, sociability, character and likability. Above all, bilingual individual in their English guise were evaluated as intelligent, powerful, secular and tall, while in their French guise were evaluated as nice, religious, and filial (see also Lambert et al 1966).

A variant of the matched-guise test was used by Susan Blum (2001) to carry out her work in southwest China. She designed the test to produce identification of a broad scale of linguistic varieties spoken in Kunming and to draw attitudes toward these varieties (41).¹⁶ I designed a variant of the test to generate identity attribution among monolingual and bilingual speakers of Quechua and Spanish languages (villagers and non-villagers), i.e., speakers of these languages are invited to listen to recorded speech in Quechua and in Spanish and assign identity to the speaker listened. I call my test “attributing identity through speech.” It seems that speech evokes stereotypes linked to particular groups “and reveals attitudinal responses to the group that uses it” (Lambert 1960: 44).

The designed variant of the match-guise test allowed me to examine whether identity ascription from speech is unavoidable--regardless of the language being spoken. I posited that beyond visual and other non-linguistic behavioral cues, there are linguistic cues that identify speakers as Quechua- speaking people or Spanish-speaking people regardless of whether they are actually speaking Quechua or Spanish. I recorded the passage four times, with the same speaker, a bilingual who was sensitive enough to the

¹⁶ Bender (2004) extended the matched-guise methodology to test the social evaluation of copula presence and non-presence in AAVE.

distinctions to produce all four speech registers, two in Spanish and two in Quechua. Even so, I had to record the passage several times in each register to get it right. The speaker read a passage that described everyday duties in the village. I pretested the recording with both bilingual and monolingual speakers. Those with Spanish background identified the Spanish guise in wider aperture as more educated because of the phrase *cuando el sol se está poniendo* (during sunset). Conversely, monolingual Quechua speakers thought that I was trying to get them to speak about the rhythms of daily life.

I therefore replaced the guise with a second passage about life during the time of the haciendas. Again it took several tries to obtain a usable recording of the speaker using both guises in both languages. Thirty four listeners were asked to identify the language, gender, age, education, and place of living of the speaker in her four guises. Twenty listeners were consisted of villagers and fourteen of non-villagers (representatives of the health facility and the municipality, and elementary school teachers). Listeners were asked to characterize each guise by gender, age, education, place of living, and attribute identity or label to the guise.

Given what I said earlier about ethnic labels, it is not surprising that there was poor consistency attributing labels to the guises on the part of villagers from Uqhupata. On the one hand, even though they were able to identify the guises consistently, there was no consensus among villagers about what label may identify them: labels such as “peasant,” “producer,” “agriculturalist,” and *runa* are all highly contested.

In addition, villagers may use *hanku-misti* (still raw misti), *misti* (one who fully speaks Spanish and does not speak Quechua), *mestiza*¹⁷ (one who fully speak Spanish and may also speak Quechua), *q’uqa* (one who is from Lima and does not speak Quechua) to refer to individuals who live in the city while conversing among themselves, but they do not use these categories to address them in an ongoing interaction.

Furthermore, “Indian,” “peasant,” “*runa*,” “cholo,” “mestizo” and “criollo” categories—as they have been used within the academia—are confusing because they are sometimes used operationally to refer to individuals and sometimes used as analytical categories. This confusion seems to reflect the scholars’ own subjective views about

¹⁷ Field work notes (2000, 2001, 2006-2009).

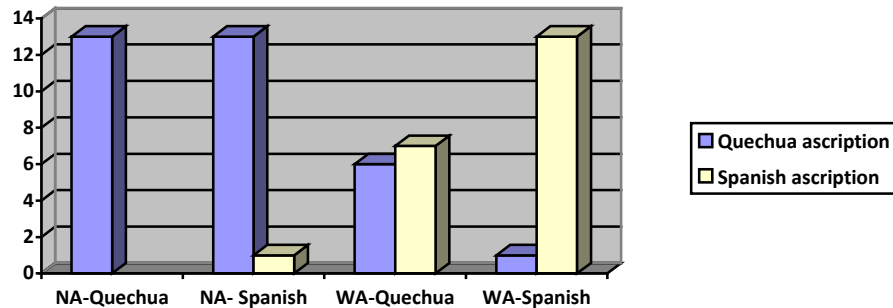
identity ascription, and tied to sometimes tacit ideas about gradual assimilation and modernization of those individuals who do not belong to the “mainstream” culture. For most scholars, the most noticeable feature is the language they speak.¹⁸

Rather than use an ethnic label or one of the more common substitutes, then, I propose to use the category Q for any speaker whose first language was Quechua and S for any speaker whose first language was Spanish, with both monolinguals and bilinguals included in each category. In what follows, the result of the test “attributing identity through speech” is shown.

Figure 3. Identity Ascription by First Language Speakers of Spanish (n=14), by stimulus

NA= narrower buccal aperture

WA= wider buccal aperture

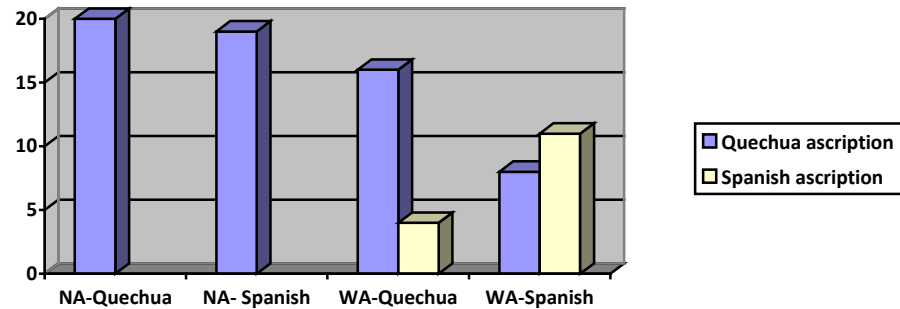


¹⁸ For instance, in Lima an offspring of a highland hacienda may be labeled as *cholo*. A descendant of an hacienda owner in the highlands whose father went to Lima with their Indian servant to attend the University told me that his father was not recognized as equal by the children of coastal hacienda owners nor by their Black servants. The same category, *cholo* is used for Quechua speaking people from the countryside who travel to Lima.

Figure 4. Identity Ascription by First Language Speakers of Quechua (n=20), by stimulus

NA= narrower buccal aperture

WA= wider buccal aperture



Figures 1 and 2 graph the responses of native speakers of Quechua and Spanish respectively, to the four guises. Notice that both Quechua and Spanish native speakers identify the narrow aperture articulatory style with the “Quechua” identity ascription almost qualitatively, regardless of the language being spoken. Native speakers of Quechua are more likely than native speakers of Spanish to ascribe wide aperture Quechua to the “Quechua” identity as well.

When interviewed about the guises after the test, native Spanish speakers commented that the wide aperture Quechua guise was more “clearly articulated” and “organized” than the narrow aperture Quechua guise; as they put it, the words were produced “correctly” so they could understand what the speaker was saying. They assumed that they knew Quechua well enough to evaluate the narrow aperture guise as being “too fast” and “not making its listeners understand what the speaker was conveying as a message.” Some asserted that narrow aperture Quechua guise’s Quechua was not a truly *Cuzco* Quechua (meaning spoken Quechua with Spanish accent) because the vowels were not pronounced “clearly.”

In short, native Spanish speakers evaluated the narrow aperture *Quechua* guise as substandard, as “rumbling without purpose.” Almost half of the native Spanish speakers evaluated the wide amplitude Quechua “articulate,” someone who could read and who had learned Quechua at a university level. They based their characterization on the

assumption that the recorded message was a reading. According to them only educated people can read and pronounce properly Quechua that all people can understand.

In addition to identifying the guises as “Quechua” or “Spanish”, subjects were asked to identify them by education and residence, as these are two common surrogates for talking about “race” or “ethnicity” in highland Peru. For “education” they were asked to choose between four categories: utterly unschooled, primary education only, some high school, and university education. For “residence,” they were asked to choose between rural and urban. The results are quite robust, though less so than direct ascription of identity.

Figure 5. Education Ascription by First Language Speakers of Spanish (n=14), by stimulus

NA= narrower buccal aperture

WA= wider buccal aperture

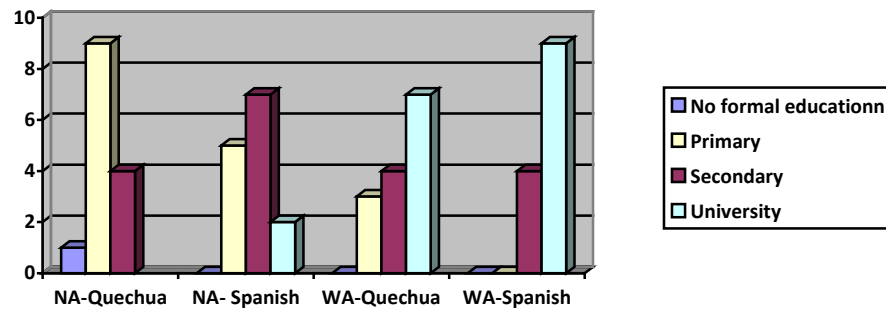


Figure 6. Education Ascription by First Language Speakers of Quechua (n=20), by stimulus

NA= narrower buccal aperture

WA= wider buccal aperture

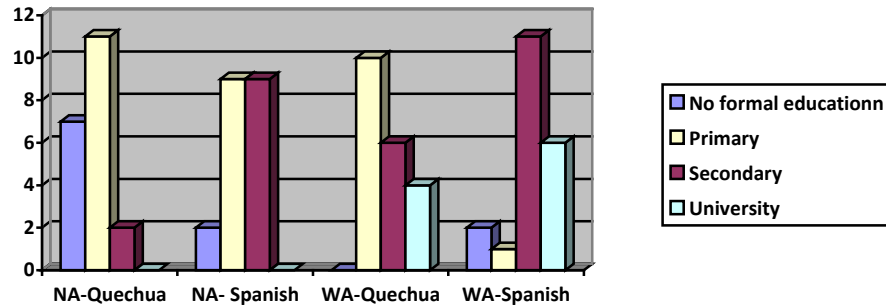


Figure 7. Urbanism Ascription by First Language Speakers of Spanish (n=14), by stimulus

NA= narrower buccal aperture

WA= wider buccal aperture

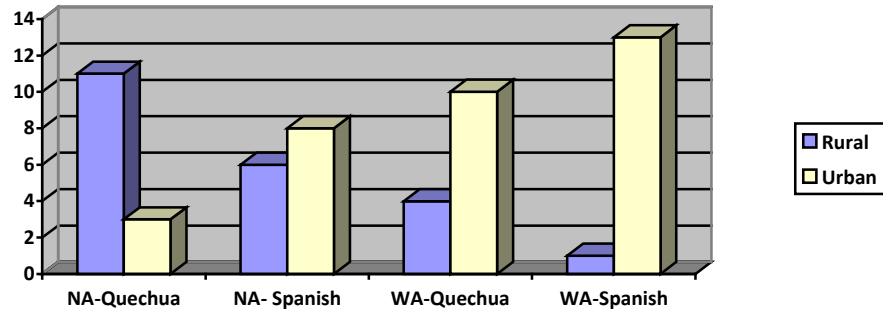
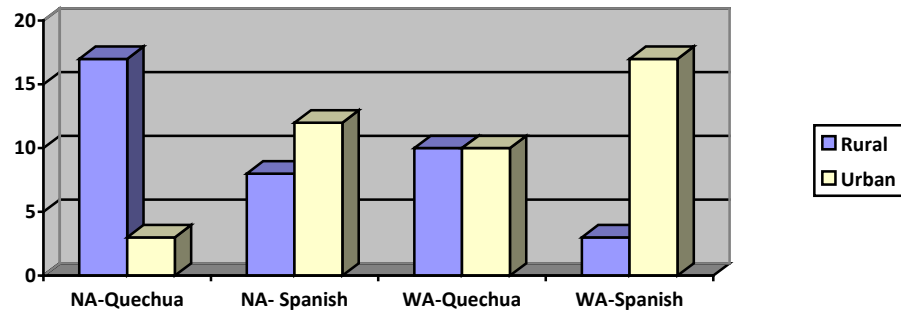


Figure 8. Urbanism Ascription by First Language Speakers of Quechua (n=2), by stimulus

NA= narrower buccal aperture

WA= wider buccal aperture



A final Discussion

Native speakers of Spanish commented that the narrow aperture Spanish guise lacked “correct articulatory traits,” which can be explained by the study of Pérez et al (2009) that states that monolingual speakers of any language tend to project their own sensory expectations onto their interlocutor’s phonetic performance (10). Thus when native Spanish speakers listening the Q guise feel that there is not a “clear cut” distinction between vowels /i/ and /e/, and between /u/ and /o/ according to their sensory perception, it is assumed that the speaker is not making the distinction and mispronouncing Spanish vowels. This becomes a tacit cue to target the social origins of any speaker. That is,

native Spanish speakers identify a speaker as having Quechua background if he is not making such a distinction, so that the narrow aperture Spanish guise with a Quechua accent is identified as Quechua speakers (92.85%) by Spanish speakers.

Spanish-speaking listeners are not aware that Quechua and Spanish use different vowel spaces as Pérez et al (2009) show in their research. They illustrate that an incipient bilingual and intermediate bilingual (those who are learning Spanish as a second language) perceive Spanish vowels within their own vowel system and produce them within this frame. Incipient bilinguals produce Spanish vowels similar to Quechua vowels (45), while intermediate bilinguals acquire the skills to produce /i/ and /e/ as different categories, even though /u/ and /o/ are relatively undifferentiated (49). Therefore, Quechua speaking people speaking Spanish as a second language¹⁹ may not necessarily produce Spanish vowels within the phonetic space of Spanish vowels, which allows Spanish-speaking listeners to use the vowels as an implicit cue to mark social origin, but also to make social distinctions. In other words, those who speak Spanish without the Spanish phonetic frame will be marked as Quechua in a pejorative way, regardless of the fact that they are speaking Spanish in the first place.

It is important to notice that Quechua-speaking and Spanish-speaking listeners mostly attributed a Quechua identity to the Spanish narrow-aperture guise, which highlights the fact that no matter whether an individual is speaking Spanish,; he or she will be identified according to the listeners' phonetic sensorial expectations. That is, identity ascription from speech is inescapable regardless of which language is being spoken. Quechua and Spanish speakers can equally tell what each other's first language is in any interaction and treat each other accordingly. The acoustic space—narrow or wide—in which Quechua or Spanish vowels are produced is a linguistic cue that people use to ascribe identity regardless of which language is being spoken.

Nonetheless, the results cannot be interpreted as Spanish being hegemonic in the terms suggested by Mannheim (1991). Although Spanish continues to be dominant, it is not a totalizing hegemony. It does not preclude contestation—whether successful or

¹⁹ Learning a language not only takes years, but in order to gain fluency is important to have access to multiply resources which is not always accessible to Quechua speakers to learn Spanish as a second language.

not—at small scale or large scale face-to-face interactions in Peruvian society. Were this the case, Quechua-speaking society would have disappeared a long time ago, and scholars would be digging the earth to find archeological remnants. Identifying linguistic features as representing people’s essence is central to discrimination; it usually comes first in any face-to-face interaction, when other “ethnic” signs are not available (e.g., rubber sandals, braids, and a hat) , but if this identification fails or is not available, Peruvians resort to other sources such as geography or skin color.

In the following chapter (3) I examine how Quechua-speaking and Spanish-speaking passengers interact on daily basis while they get into a minivan. The minivan is a social space in which Quechua- and Spanish-speaking passengers struggle over an invisible boundary that both distinguishes them and sets them into a social hierarchy.

Chapter 3

Contempt and Disdain in a ‘Combi’

Don't touch me,
don't stay so close to me,
don't recline on my shoulder,
you stink,
I touch you
I stay close to you
I recline on your shoulder
so you could smell me
feel me
feel my very existence

In the preceding chapter I laid out Quechua-speaking villagers' thoughts about the labels that representatives of public and private institutions use to refer to them. In addition, I have shown that villagers and non-villagers can tacitly identify their interlocutors' linguistic background by using their vowel system as the basis for sorting people into those having Quechua or Spanish background.

In the present chapter I examine how the interaction between passengers on the daily van transportation to and from the village of Uqhupata and Cuzco are colored by processes of racialization that produce social hierarchy, and by processes of discrimination, subordination or domination among passengers. The van becomes a mini-society by virtue of the space and time passengers share during an hour or an hour and half together— almost 200 days per year—until they have reached their destination. In this mini-society multiple events arise in which passengers,—through intertwined linguistic signs (such as spoken Quechua and Spanish, gestures, or silence), body positioning, spatial distribution within the van and the particular situation itself—evade, subvert, transform, or perpetuate hierarchies in face-to-face interactions.

A brief history of the appearance of “combis” (vans)

Before the 1990s, public transportation in Perú was comprised of omnibuses and minibuses¹ in which people commuted. The omnibuses were not as well kept as are vehicles of public transportation in the United States, but they fulfilled the general need to transport people² with a degree of comfort. They were run by private or public companies³ that had to meet local and municipal government regulations. ⁴Public transportation was not a primary concern of the state or the city council, particularly since the Fujimori dictatorship, so it lacked an overall plan of bus transportation such as the one that South Africa is attempting to build after their violent history of segregation.⁵

At the beginning of the 1990s, the Fujimori government issued a set of decrees that liberalized the transportation routes, allowed fares to rise according to the demands of the market⁶—ending regulation of urban public transportation—and allowing the free importation of any kind of second-hand car.⁷ (For an explanation of the sharp contrast between transportation left to market demands and state-run transportation in Russia see Lemon 2000).

Among imported cars were “combis” (minivans). Combis look more like small vans, and cannot comfortably carry as many people as omnibuses. This kind of transportation has crowded⁸ all the cities in Peru including small cities like Cuzco.

¹ For an historical account see <http://www.monografias.com/trabajos24/transporte-urbano-lima/transporte-urbano-lima.shtml#elomnibus> (accessed January 18, 2010)

² See more details at <<http://www.arkivperu.com/blog/?p=1852>> <http://vlex.com.pe/vid/decreto-enatru-peru-adquirira-omnibus-29911959> (accessed January 18, 2010)

³ For example, cooperatives, or Administradora para-municipal de transportes de Lima” (Parallel-Municipality management of Lima transport) supported by the municipality of Lima

⁴ If the companies wanted to provide transportation beyond the urban framework they needed to comply with norms established by the Dirección Regional de Transportes (Regional Board of Transportation).

⁵ For details see <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/22/world/africa/22bus.html?emc=eta1> (accessed May 18, 2010)

⁶ The Peruvian Congress entrusted its legislative power to Alberto Fujimori and he released the legislative decree 640—declaring urban routes of transport free, and 651—assuring free competition on terms of the tariffs in public transport in urban areas without any binding or required norms to improve transportation in Peru. For details see <http://www.desdeeltercerpiso.com/cat/choferes/> (accessed January 18, 2010)

⁷ For a current state transportation in Lima, the effects of the legislative decree # 651 and the Lima municipality responsibility about the chaotic transportation see Claudia Bielich at <http://www.larepublica.pe/archive/all/domingo/20100221/12/node/251177/todos/1558> (accessed February 22, 2010)

⁸ The majority of employees, who were “invited” to renounce or quit their jobs by Alberto Fujimori are now the owners of minivans. They have established minivan transportation as a means of subsistence given that there are not any other jobs available.

Although combis have made urban transportation more disorganized and chaotic than ever, they opened routes on the urban outskirts where omnibuses usually did not provide transportation.

In Cuzco these uncomfortable and tiny vans⁹ are always crowded during rush hours; passengers get in regardless of whether or not there is space to hold anyone else. It is common to hear van drivers say:

“¡Avancen, avancen!”
Move forward, advance!

Or fare collectors say:

“Pasen más adentro, atrás hay espacio.”
Go more towards the inside; there is space in the back [of the van].

Passengers hustle to catch a van if they are in a hurry. This hastening also occurs in long-distance transportation. Those who commute from a city area to the countryside villages for work and resident villagers going back to their village may have a difficult time finding transportation if they do not arrive on time to catch the scheduled truck, bus or combi, particularly to villages in which transportation is scarce. Villages located within an hour and a half drive from Cuzco are usually serviced by combis as happens with Uqhupata.

Traveling to Uqhupata

As I said in chapter 1, to travel to Uqhupata passengers count on only two vans. These vans are old and third hand. They depart early in the morning and only one of them (routinely) goes back and forth from Cuzco to Uqhupata carrying passengers. The vans pick up passengers at *q'aspata* (the lookout) in Uqhupata or on an empty street on the north side of Cuzco. The vans belong to a villager from Uqhupata who I will call Machali and also to Lusiku who is from Pitumarka.¹⁰ Lusiku's van is scheduled first, which departs before 7:00 a.m. and Machali's is scheduled last, departing after 7:00 a.m. They are crowded early in the morning, which provokes confrontations among passengers.

⁹ One cannot stand straight within the van given that the van height is short, even their seats are tiny.

¹⁰ It is a district in the province of “Canchis” (Cuzco).

The usual passengers are representatives of the public and private institutions in Uqhupata (teachers of kindergarten, elementary and a private high school run by an NGO, health care professionals, and representatives of the municipality)—whose mother tongue is usually Spanish; and villagers and peddlers, whose mother tongue is always Quechua. Passengers who do not reach both scheduled vans may decide to catch a taxi or any available truck on the city outskirts. Those who are government representatives might take a taxi and pay 20.00 soles. Villagers may wait for any truck¹¹ that will allow them to pay the two soles they can afford. Two soles is the amount passengers pay for riding the van to reach Uqhupata village.

Getting a seat on a combi

“¡Están ocupados, es para el resto de profesores que recién van a llegar!”
They [the seats] are reserved for the rest of teachers who soon will arrive!

This is a common statement that one hears at the minivan stop in Cuzco if one wants to travel to Uqhupata and its surrounding areas. Institutional representatives (e.g., teachers and health professionals) reserve seats for their colleagues by resorting to their professional status. They claim all seats on basis of their profession: “profesores”—they have a higher education degree so they should have priority for the available seats in the van even if they have yet not arrived. Seats are reserved more rarely in Lusiku’s van. Passengers get in the van regardless of whether they have a college degree. If there is an available seat they sit. It does not matter if they have to stand with their heads bent, as the van has a low inside height.

Both minivans, Lusiku’s and Machali’s, are crowded every morning; passengers sit wherever they can, according to the time they arrive. The first van was boarded mainly by early birds and the second one by slower travelers who come late. Lusiku’s van, the first, was boarded mostly by villagers, who needed to travel on time to reach home and a few peddlers and representatives who needed to travel on time to comply with their duties. Machili’s van, the second in departing, was boarded mostly by representatives and a few villagers.

¹¹ Trucks that go to Paruru province pass by Uqhupata village. They carry people or supplies although sometimes they are empty.

Villagers and peddlers prefer to board Lusiku's combi because he does not charge for villagers' loads while Machali charges 1.50 soles (0.50 dollar) for each bundle. Thus, those who do not have bundles mostly board Machali's "combi." Once the vans depart, villagers talk among themselves and representatives converse about their business although they sometimes complain about the uncomfortable transportation, the dust, and the crowdedness.

Ridership rights on a combi

One morning (in July) Lusiku's van was crammed; villagers were hustling to get into the combi, which departed before the usual time. Machali's van door was closed, and was then opened by Machali with alacrity when the representatives began to arrive. Once the representatives boarded the van, its door was closed. Meanwhile two villagers arrived and asked facing Machali (Ma) to open the door. He faced them and refused to do so.

Ma: "Que van a subir, hay mucha gente".
There are too many people; you will not get in [the van].

This was totally unforeseen for the villagers, who begged to board the combi before going back to the sidewalk and waiting. Machali that day decided to allow his fellow villagers to board the combi. Villagers boarded it without paying attention to the representatives who were seated there. Some representatives complained—although the van was not crowded—claiming that they had exclusive use of the transportation service.

"¡Esta combi es únicamente para los maestros, no es para otros particulares, tampoco para las negocianteras. No somos animales para ir uno sobre otro!"

This van is only for the teachers. It is not for other strangers or for peddlers. We are not animals to travel like that, one on the top of each other.

According to the representative, the combi is too crowded by strangers (by the villagers and me) who do not have the right to get in the van since it can be ridden only by "maestros." "Maestros" are not only educated people, but they are going to teach villagers' children and are above other passengers who travel without offering any professional services. What is more, neither villagers, strangers nor peddlers should ride it because the teachers are not animals. They are people. The implication is that the villagers and other passengers might like to travel like animals, or are themselves animals

that enjoy traveling squashed and touching each other. Only animals are prone to be squashed or crushed since they do not have the capacity to feel what it is like to travel crammed. If villagers and other non-government passengers get into the combi, they are animals, since they do not have the capacity to notice the van's crowdedness—even though, inside there may be some seats available, which can be occupied by any other passenger.

In contrast, Lusiku's van—the first scheduled—is not claimed to be exclusive for government representatives or anyone else. Passengers get in the van without claiming any priority, on the basis of the time they arrived. Sometimes, early birds, such as villagers occupy the most desirable seats which are those located in the first and second row¹² whereas late comers such as some representatives sit silently in the last two seats rows (third and fourth row) and benches. Sometimes passengers may reserve a seat for a kin or friend, but that is not common.

Representatives (including municipality agents) do not make overt claims, as happens in Machili's van. They may ask the driver to depart as soon as possible when it is past 7:00a.m.: “Ya Lusiku vamos” (Okay Lusiku, let's depart). Unlike Machali, Lusiku would not say to villagers that they may not get in the van. He tries to fit all those who are willing to travel for the fare even if they are crammed in, like sardines in a can. Nobody claims an exclusive ridership in this first van; their behavior is more like the typical behavior of passengers in urban transportation. Passengers get in the van willingly because they want to arrive as fast as they can to their destination. They travel touching each other's bodies without any concern, trying to hold their bodies strongly in order to avoid falling over onto the seated passengers.

What passengers from the village realized after a number of trips is that Machali had a ‘contrato de palabra’—an oral contract—with representatives (mostly kindergarten and elementary school teachers¹³): that since representatives had to travel back and forth every workday, they would always have preferred access to transportation Machali in

¹² These seats are preferred because passengers feel less bumped when the van bumps along the road.

¹³ It seems that the villager needed the help of the elementary school principal to submit all the paper work necessary to obtain an insurance card and a driver's license. Thus, he feels obligated to the teachers.

turn would have a guaranteed ridership by transporting teachers and health care professionals.

Teachers have priority in boarding Machali's van. They sit in the rows and benches following an order of seniority. Health care professionals board it and sit on first-come-first-serve basis without paying attention to seniority. They ask Machali to open the door van when it is closed, sometimes, he opens it immediately; other times he whispers that he will do so after villagers go away. Health care professionals have built a level of friendship with teachers with whom they get along well. Teachers from the NGO-run a private high school who have missed the first van, are allowed to board the van if there is a space. Otherwise they have to catch an express taxi.¹⁴

Sometimes, representatives from the municipality (R) might not get in the van if kindergarten and elementary teachers claim all the seats for their colleagues. They do not pay attention to any claims and get into the minivan and sit on any empty seat anyway. They often state,

R: "Necesitamos viajar, la movilidad es para todos y tenemos derecho a viajar, tiene que recoger a todos los pasajeros."

R: We have to travel, it is a public transportation for all and we have the right to travel. It must pick all passengers up.

Representatives defy openly the 'oral contract' by highlighting that everyone has the right to travel, that the van cannot make preferences because it is for the public. While this interchange occurs, Machali usually stands a few meters away from the van and acts like he is not hearing anything and nothing happens. It seems that among those who identify themselves as being city dwellers and speaking Spanish as a means of communication, they can discuss on the same footing without any hesitation, sharing the floor.

Representatives take the floor and address other representatives such as teachers not only as their equals, but de-authorizing their claims of keeping reserved seat for their colleagues. However, both representatives and teachers may stand together and keep an

¹⁴ These teachers work for an NGO that manage the school through a bilateral contract with the Ministry of Education. They commute on a weekly basis and their monthly income is a little higher than elementary teachers. These two characteristics seem like a challenge to the regular elementary teachers and generate envy. Regular elementary teachers seem to have a lack of commitment to their students.

alliance--open or silent--if they have identified other passengers as not having a Spanish-language background, as we will see later.

Once the entitled passengers (teachers and health care professionals, who I will call also representatives) and some municipality representatives have boarded the van, Machali occasionally opens the van door to allow villagers to get on. Although representatives may complain loudly that the minivan is full—even if the van is empty—and that villagers should have boarded the earlier van. Villagers manage to get on—greeting representatives—without further explanation if they do not mind representatives’ rejection and angry comments. Representatives and teachers ignore the villagers’ greetings.

Though representatives usually do not acknowledge villagers’ greetings, they greet each other or other professionals with “buenos días profesor(a)” (good morning teacher), “buenos días señora Mari” (good morning Mrs. Mari), or “buenos días doctor” (good morning doctor) following age or rank, though those who are under temporary contract¹⁵ may greet the school principal first even if they are older. Health care representatives follow an order ranked according to their profession. Nurse’s aides must greet all their co-workers. Nurses and obstetricians greet each other as equals, but all of them greet any physician first. The rank order is broken only if they are friends, in which case they greet each other with a reciprocated kiss in their cheek. Representatives use titles such as “señora”, (ma’am) “señorita” (miss) or “profesor(a)” (teacher) in public or when they are performing their duties within their institutions.

Below I examine several situations that emerge within the cross-cultural, temporal-space shared by passengers within the combi. Within this mini-society multiple semiotic devices (spoken language—Quechua and Spanish—, silence, body positioning, and gestures such as their gaze, facial expressions, postures, and the movement of their torsos) are displayed and deployed among passengers to claim, evade, subvert, or perpetuate discrimination, dominance or subordination.

¹⁵ They are hired each academic year. If they want to continue working in the same place, they need the principal of the school’s approval.

Peasant/“Comunero”: A limited and inferior being

The chances that Machali gives his fellow villagers to get into the van are few. He is bound by the oral contract to which he himself has agreed in order to make money securely and safely. He must comply with the contract and he tries to do so even ignoring his fellow villagers' right to board the van like any other passenger. His agreement and his frequent warning to villagers that they cannot board the van has made him part of the Spanish-speaking passenger group, perhaps without his even being aware of it. Siding with the government representatives Machali has created an invisible boundary between him and villagers, he becomes the one who decide whether or not villagers can get in his van, while the villagers become subordinated to him, begging to get in the van.

Despite his siding with representatives, he may not be as respected or considered equal to representatives as he may have assumed. Representatives sometimes forcefully addressed him as “Don Machali” which occurred a couple of times when they realized that I was pulling out my field notes; otherwise they address him with just his name without the honorific, as Machali. The driver *always* addresses them by their professional degrees, or with “señora,” or “señorita” to show his respect. Representatives do not hesitate to address him as “tú”, which signals that he is below them and he is not respected as an equal.

Representatives may remind the driver of his Quechua background regardless of his being a driver and owner of the van, if they believe that they are not being served according to their demands. As entitled passengers they sometimes ask the van owner to comply with the oral contract by threatening to get off the van and catch a station wagon, since they will pay the same amount. The owner surrenders to the pressure and often makes the unwanted villagers leave the van. It seems that the oral contract has forced Machali into a situation where he is trapped in a vicious circle from which he cannot be released,¹⁶ as the following event attests.

One day all representatives except one were aboard Machali's van. He started to drive slowly away, but suddenly, one of the representatives (R1) turned to her right and confronted him by staring daggers and raising her voice.

¹⁶ His children attend the elementary school and he may need some health care or medical referral in the future for family members or himself.

R1: ¡Oye! ¡Machali te he dicho, hace rato todavía, que la profesora ha llamado para que le esperes! ¡Lo que pasa es que te haces el que no escucha!

R1: Hey! A while ago I told you that the teacher phoned to ask that you wait for her! What happens is that you pretend not to hear!

This is a hard assertion. “¡Oye!” is a word used to address somebody with dislike and disgust. This word is linked to a sentence with the intent to scold the driver as if he were a child for not paying attention to the profesora’s phone call. It is the profesora’s call, not just anyone’s call. The driver should be more attentive and wait for the teacher because she is a professional and part of the oral contract and above him in social status. The driver (Ma) stopped the car and without saying anything, got out of the van and walked toward the van door to wait for the missing passenger. The R1 passenger turned left towards the van door and with glaring eyes said:

R1: “¡Qué gracioso éste malcriado! ¡Ya se pasó de la confianza! ¡Qué se cree! Al fin, pobre campesino, comunero tenía que ser, qué chinchoso de miércoles. Mira pues, éste campesino para la gracia que tiene. ¡Se dan cuenta!”

R1: How bad-mannered is this fool! He has taken liberties beyond the confidence we have given him! Who does he think he is! After all/anyway, poor shabby peasant, commoner he would have to be! What a coarse sh...! Look at this peasant who irritates us foolishly. Can you believe it?!

The R1 passenger was angry because her authority was contested. What is more, Machali ignored her. Therefore, she—to keep the upper hand—asserted that although Machali has a van and knows how to drive, he is in the end just one more poor peasant whose inner being has not changed--he still is an “Indian” who behaves disrespectfully by not obeying R1’s instructions. The use of the words “peasant” and “comunero” defines the villager as a piece-of-shit-Indian, ill-mannered, incapable of thinking without remedy—no matter how he ascends economically or what other skills he learns—he will be always an Indianan inferior being in relation to her and her colleagues’ humanity as a “comunero” (an Indian) will not be able to learn proper human behavior, the basic civility and civilized manners that could be displayed by acquiescing in passenger R1’s instructions (for a view on how categories emerge during interactions see Stokoe 2008: 139-157),.

The racialization of the Quechua-speaking driver through the use of the words “campesino” and “comunero” as surrogates for “Indian”—a word that has had longstanding pejorative connotations—is part of a long historical practice in the Andes, bound up with an equally long history of dispossessing Quechua-speaking people from their lands and their right to govern themselves, of justifying their indentured servitude within the hacienda (see Lyons 2006), of profiting from their labor, and of claiming a super-ordinate position within Peruvian society. What is more, *comunero* is the word that Quechua-speaking people use to identify themselves in legalistic terms to pursue their efforts to obtain some assistance from the state. However, the term is racialized to undermine Ma’s status as a human being, as part of the Peruvian citizenry, and by the same token it is used to undermine the status of all Quechua speaking people. That this kind of racialization, even when it involves just two people (with a ratified audience of bus passengers), has broader socio-economic and political consequences, shown vividly in President Garcia’s article, “El perro del hortelano” (The dog in the manger, 2007):, in which he asserts that indigenous people are lazy and ignorant, and do not know how to take advantage of their resources. (See a fuller examination of this discourse in chapter 6).

In this interaction Ma subverted his submissive position as a villager by ignoring the teacher—regardless of passenger R1’s claim and her framing of the situation. What is more, he removed himself from the sight of passenger R1, responding to R1’s command silently and practically. The driver successfully avoided being framed as social subject of domination. But still he cannot transform the discursive realm in which he is re-framed as an object treated as an inferior under the category of peasant and comunero. The representative further infused these terms with racial undertones by suggesting that they have limited capabilities, in a real sense less than human.

While this interaction happened, other representatives were silent and showed their support of passenger R1’s command. None of them uttered a word; they looked at the driver as he positioned himself by his van’s door. The driver, despite having an oral contract to facilitate government representatives’ transportation, was expected to be subordinate to them. When he challenged that assumption, he was lambasted for

allegedly having an essential attribute—lack of intelligence--that cannot change.¹⁷ He was cast out as not equal to a representative's social standing and was made aware that he should recognize the representatives' super-ordinate position.

Machali, to respect the representatives' ridership rights may humiliate his fellow villagers by not allowing them to get in his van—a sign of his higher economic status in relation to his fellow villagers; but he will be humiliated by those he is expected to respect, by being reminded that in the end, he is a limited peasant, just like his fellow villagers. Machali may position himself as different from his fellow villagers by deciding that only representatives may ride his van, but representatives remind him that he is still another villager, which is a fractal form of displaying hierarchical relations. That is, Machali located himself in a higher position in relation to his fellow villagers by his economic success, creating an opposition between those who own a van and those who do not. This opposition disappears under the eyes of the representatives for whom Machali and his fellows are peasants without civilized manners in opposition to an unmarked and tacit category: “professionals” represented by teachers.

This kind of downgrading interaction does not happen in Lusiku's van, as he has not granted anybody exclusive ridership rights. As described in the preceding section, passengers board the van on a first-come first-served basis. Like Machali, he is addressed by only his name by representatives, while his acquaintances address him with his nickname and some villagers address him as “wiraqucha Lusiku.” Wiraqucha is an honorific and may express the gratitude of the villagers are grateful for providing the combi transportation. It may also imply a kind of subordination to him as owner of the vehicle, as the villagers' transportation depends on Lusiku.

The contestation above is not a unique case in a society that casts Quechua-speaking villagers as inferior beings. In what follows I analyze in detail how villagers either contest or submit to their interlocutors' demands in face-to-face interactions within the van space.

¹⁷ Racial slurs also occur in the example of Korean transportation. For details see <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/02/world/asia/02race.html?scp=42&sq=&st=nyt> (accessed November 1, 2009)

Papa and Mama as forms of address

As I mentioned earlier, villagers usually arrive early to catch the first scheduled van (Lusiku's) to return to their village. They occupy the van on a first-come first-served basis and their load, if they have any, is accommodated on the roof rack by Lusiku. If they do not reach Lusiku's van, they try to board Machali's van. They board the van if its door is open, but Machali (Ma) is expected by the teachers to get rid¹⁸ of villagers. So he might try to dissuade his fellow villagers (V1) for getting on his van by raising the fare.

Ma: *Mana mamá siqawaqchu, pruphisurkunan mana llapankuraqchu hamunku, manan kampu kanmanchu mamá* [facing V1]

V1: *Hinataya papa Q'achunaq hawankamallan rishani, amaya chhaynaqa kaychu* [facing Ma]

Ma: *Ichaqa iwaltan pasahita pagawanki*

V1: *Maskicha riki hinatapas pagasayki* [sighing with resignation]

Ma: [Love] mother you cannot board [the van]. Not all teachers have arrived. There will not be enough space [facing V1].

V1: Papa let me board [the van]. I am going only beyond *Q'achuna*¹⁹. Don't be like that [facing Ma].

Ma: But you will pay the same fare [as you were going to Uqhupata].

V1: What can I do? I will pay you the same fare [sighing with resignation].

Some villagers are in such a rush or are driven by necessity that they accept to pay a higher fare as long as they can travel since Machali's van is the last chance to arrive home. Quechua-speaking passengers' probability of finding another means of transportation to their village, such as an express taxi, is not guaranteed for them given they cannot afford the price—which is between 15.00 and 30.00 soles. Hence often their only chance is to board the last van. The format of this interaction is kept within a Quechua framework, as marked by the address forms. The driver addresses the Quechua-speaking passenger as “mama,” a word that shows respect and his interlocutor replies by uttering “papa,” an equivalent way to address men. Their respectful way of addressing each other while negotiating a spot to ride in the van changes with Machali's last utterance, as he threatens to charge 2.00 soles if V1 boards the van—even though V1 will get off way before reaching Uqhupata. V1 finally gives in to the driver's demand by her last phrase: *maskicha riki hinatapas pagasayki*, in which V1 says that she needs to pay

¹⁸ A female villager got on the minivan and left her load underneath the bench. When she came back she was told to leave without any explanation.

¹⁹ This community is a half hour away from Cuzco.

the full amount even though it is not fair, leaving Ma with the “burden” of thinking about it.

Keeping boundaries

Crouching and Staring

Passengers who are villagers (V2, V3...) are usually the last to board Machali’s van. They try to stand during the trip, without speaking, but in several cases they undergo an openly spoken rejection from the representatives. The representatives (R1, R2...) complain if any villager stands too close to them. On one of the trips a male representative angrily faced two female passengers who stood close to the back of his seat, a seat on which he was seated with his colleague,

R2: *Ama ñit’imuwaychu yaw, imayraykutaq mana ñawpaq kaq karupichu ripurankichisri, kay combiqa profesorkunaq karrunmi, incomodawashanki.*

V2: *Manan aypamunichu pruphisur chayraykun kayllamanña siqaramuni, tiyarukusaqya chhaynaqa.*

R2: Hey! Do not crush me. Why don’t you go on the first van. This combi is the teachers’ car. You are making me uncomfortable.

V2: I could not get to [the first car], teacher, that is the reason why I decided to board this one. Since you are not comfortable I will sit [on the van floor].

The phrase *ñit’i-mu-way-chu* implies that the addressee is crushing the speaker’s body to a point at which he cannot hold the addressee’s weight any more. The phrase is accompanied by *yaw* which is an address used among contemporary kin or intimate friends within Quechua framework. R2’s *yaw* signals that the villager being addressed is like a minor who does not deserve to be respected as a person, which is shown by the next scolding utterance. V2 is scolded like a child. The other representatives were silent—they usually side with their colleagues or with those they consider their peers—but R2 was not really being crushed. The female passenger grasped the seat back to stand straight and was careful not to touch R2.

What the male Spanish-speaking passenger²⁰ means—by complaining about being touched—is that he did not want to feel her respiration or to be touched even casually by a Quechua-speaking passenger. This is shown by the combination of the last utterance: a

²⁰ Many representatives speak Quechua as a second language. They have learned it like any other provincial town elite to communicate with rural dwellers (for details see chapter 1).

Spanish word “incomoda” plus the Quechua suffixes *wa-sha-nki*, and R2’s shoulder movement forward from the seat back, as well as the frown visible on his forehead when he started to complain. R2 was attempting to re-establish a boundary between the representatives and the villagers after the expected boundaries—drawn between those who are entitled to occupy the van and those who do not—were shattered by the fact that the villagers boarded the van. A boundary *must* be kept to maintain the status differential between representatives and villagers. Representatives, when among themselves, that is, among equals, touch each other and have close physical contact.

The representative’s claim to “social space”²¹—and maintaining an invisible boundary—is accepted immediately by the woman who—facing R2—not only recognized the professional status of the representative by uttering “profesor,” but she also makes her presence legitimate to him by apologizing: *Manan aypamunichi... chayraykun kayllamanña siqaramuni*. Her apology is followed by removing her hands from the seat back and sitting on the van floor, as if it was her own “fault” that she missed the first van and boarded the representatives’ van. V2’s last utterance *tiyarukusaqya chhaynaqa* implies that she wanted to appease the situation, and by the same token, to please R2 in order to avoid the potential conflict that she may not be willing to confront.

The van has become a medium to create a boundary between the representatives who take it and the villagers who do not do so. The Quechua-speaking woman erased this boundary—without being aware of it—making villagers and representatives share the same temporal-space. However, the woman villager complied with R2’s unsettling claim, helping him to draw another boundary (for insights about the concept of boundaries see Abbott 1995). Both the woman and her companion sat on the floor. This act of sitting creates a spatial disposition in which the women’s bodies are situated below the Spanish-speaking passengers’ bodies sitting on the seats. This relational spatial disposition and body positioning re-creates a hierarchical boundary between villagers and Spanish-

²¹ In the context of van transportation it may almost be unrealistic since everybody that travels in a van knows that there is not enough space to maintain any personal space. Personal space in Peru is hierarchical and depends on who the interactants are and how they display themselves within a particular situation.

speaking passengers in which the latter is located spatially in a higher position in relation to the former.

The women's concession, however, is not enough for R2 passenger, who was irritated by V2's verbal response. He would have preferred the woman sit on the van floor without addressing him, acquiescing silently, following the unspoken rule that Spanish-speaking passengers command explicitly and Quechua-speaking passengers agree, by silently doing what is requested of them, at most nodding their head, uttering 'ya,' or a short phrase like "ya señora". Quechua-speaking passengers do not have the right to address a Spanish-speaking passenger on the same floor as if they were at the same social level. Even though V2 and another woman complied with R2's demand by eventually sitting on the floor, their behavior did not follow the expected norms. The exasperated male passenger used his last resource; he glared with hostility at the villagers, while his companion R3 supported him by also staring at the women and saying bitterly:

R3: "Estas mujeres esperan el carro de los profesores sabiendo que es de los profesores, encima con tremendos bultos, se pasan éstas" .

R3: These [problematic] women wait for the teachers' van when they know it is the teachers' one. On top of that they [carry] large loads. They have gone too far.

The speech by R3 recruited the silent support of the other representatives. Both villagers replied with a surprised stare²² at the Spanish-speaking passengers, and one of them (V3) addressed R3 by pointing out that

V3: *Manan señora tupayamuykichu muquy patallapin tiyashani.*

V3: I have not touched you, "senora." I am sitting on my knees [facing R3].

Something unthinkable was happening. R2 and R3 were shocked. The lower standing—inferior—women were defiant in their gaze and defiant in answering the representatives as equals. Moreover, V3 addressed R3 on the same footing when she said that R3's statement was unfair, since she did not touch her. Her behavior did not violate the invisible boundary. Moreover, in the middle of her Quechua utterance V3 used the

²² Staring is unusual among Quechua-speaking villagers. It may happen when something unusual happens such as a car accident, the fall of an animal in a precipice, or when someone wants to identify someone who is at distance. If somebody stares at someone else would be interpreted as a kind of disrespect and interference into somebody's private business as occurred when Hisaku's neighbor was staring at her front yard. Hasiku grumbled and said *imatan qhawakamun?*

Spanish address form “señora” which conceded superior status to R3. “Señora” signals respect and social status, at the same time reminds the addressee that she would have to respect the speaker or keep silent if she wants to be respected as such.

After all, they had submitted to the expected hierarchy by assuming a squatting position without even touching the seat back. V3 conceded being reduced to a lower spatial disposition, but she was not willing to accept any further claims and much less one that undermines her social being—as the language of R3 tacitly suggested. In this context the previous word uttered by R3 “ésta” is used for animals or for objects that do not possess the capacity for thought. “Estas” is interwoven with “mujeres,” which groups the Quechua-speaking passengers as a bunch of female objects. “Estas mujeres”—it does not acknowledge her interlocutors as individuals. The utterance is a refusal to address V3 as a person worthy of being spoken to. Among Spanish-speaking strangers “señora” would have been the only way to address a woman on urban transportation.

Likewise, to say “se pasan” is to criticize the women’s conduct—because they replied verbally as if they were in the same footing as the Spanish speaker by boarding the van. Moreover, “ésta” and “se pasan” refer to a third person—in the linguist Émil Benveniste’s (1971) formulation, an “unperson” that refuses to ratify the women’s status as interlocutors.

Faced with the women’s unexpected utterances, R2 and R3 passengers quickly lowered their gaze to the women’s entire being, glaring daggers at them from head to toe (for a similar example of glaring while riding see Lemon 2000: 31). The women could not stand the staring and re-directed their gaze toward the window and finally gazed at the floor. In the end, even though the women contested the representatives’ claims, they were silenced by the stares of the latter. The women sat with their eyes directed towards the van floor until they have reached their village.

Among Spanish-speaking strangers, individuals rarely stare at each other. Strangers traveling on any combi or bus to rural areas do not stare each other. They sit or stand silently, concentrating on their own thoughts and shout “baja” (get off) when they have reached their destination. Staring happens only when they want to undermine or criticize somebody’s position, for example to place a fellow passenger in a lower standing because their forms of dress, speech, or any other visible markers do not match

their idea of a city dweller. This happens occasionally but there is no guarantee that other passengers would back any claim of super-ordinate position.

Speaking Spanish does not help, either

Even speaking Spanish as a second language would not affect the kind of interaction describe above. The villagers will still be rejected as unsuitable to board the van, much less to share a seat with a representative. For example, a villager (V4) boarded the van with two kindergarten teachers. The villager positioned herself in the aisle next to the second row of seats and grasped the seat back to stand. The male passenger (R4) seated there frowned and with another representative stared at the woman for a few seconds and looked at each other with surprise. The villager (around 55 years old) did not mind being looked at angrily and kept grasping the seat back. She could not stand upright very long and reclined on the right shoulder of R4 passenger. The R4 passenger who was reading his newspaper was offended. He lifted his head, turned right and glared at the woman penetratingly from head to toe and raising his voice said:

R4: “¡Por favor párese bien! ¡Estás aplastando mi hombro!”

V4: “Disculpe señor me están empujando, es que no hay otro carro para Uqhupata, tengo urgencia por eso nomas estoy yendo”.

R4: Please, stand straight! You are crushing my shoulders

V4: My apologies sir, I am being pushed. There is no any other car that goes to Uqhupata. I am going because I have an emergency.

The phrase “[p]or favor” followed by “párese bien” signals a call to V4 to pay attention to her way of handling her body and to be conscious of R4 passenger’s body space and comfort. The R4’s complaint is followed by V4’s apologies: “disculpe señor,” and an explanation about boarding the van. “Disculpe señor” is a phrase that addresses R4 as “usted” (‘you, formal’), a stranger like any other passenger including V4. V4’s utterance was not considered appropriate by R4. R4 could not believe what he was hearing, frowned, sneered (lifting his lips to the right side), and turned left toward his companion ignoring the woman. He was not expecting an answer at all, much less in Spanish. According to the unspoken rules, his directive should have been followed by a silent movement of the woman’s hand from the seat back. She should not have addressed him on the same footing, even in Spanish. The woman defied the male’s directive and

complaint by addressing him in Spanish, apologizing, and pointing out that she had no other alternatives.

At the same time, she kept grasping the seat back and gazed at R4 silently without uttering anything further. The Spanish-speaking passenger's intent to draw a boundary between him and the woman was unsuccessful up to a point. Although R4 ignored the woman and showed his contempt and rejection, he did not succeed in obtaining the woman's acquiescence to the unspoken rules surrounding the van. Thus, for the time being, the woman had broken the invisible boundary by touching R4. However, she still had to endure R4's contempt.

The van approached a village (Mayrasku²³) before reaching Uqhupata and stopped. Several passengers got off and the seat next to R4 at the window was now free. R4 moved over and looked at another passenger (R5) standing by. R5 caught R4's look and was almost to the point of sitting on the seat, but V4, who was closer caught the seat and sat next to R4 and commented to herself without facing anybody:

V4: *Hananay*, "me he cansado. Por fin voy a sentarme. Ya no aguataba mis pies"

V4: What a pain. I am tired. At least I will sit. My feet hurt [I cannot stand anymore].

Hananay is an expression that signals a hazardous situation or harsh time. V4 was having difficulty standing because she was being pushed by other passengers. V4 was relieved when she sat. Though she expressed her difficult situation without addressing anybody in particular, she spoke loudly enough to make sure that R4 heard her. Her sitting was unexpected. The woman broke the usual rule: villagers are not supposed to sit if there is a person of Spanish-language background standing.

Moreover, the male passenger was annoyed, given that the woman dared to sit next to him. He turned right and glared at her, sneering briefly before turning left towards the window, realizing he could not do anything else. This "scandalous" occupancy of the seat was totally unexpected. Villagers do not usually compete for seats. They are obligated to grant preference to representatives to show their good behavior and respect. If they are seated in the minivan, they will be asked by Machali or representatives to

²³ This is a small village located on the road that goes to Uqhupata village.

stand up and give up the seats. It does not matter if some of the villagers are traveling with their babies.

There *are* a few occasions in which villagers are allowed to sit in Machali's van, for example on holidays, when representatives do not commute to Uqhupata. Villagers travel happily without constraints as one of them commented:

V5: *Hay khunanqa ashway ashintuchapi tiyayrukushanchis, mayninpiqa manan dehawanchischu riki?*

V5: Now, we have the chance to sit on the seats. Other times they do not allow us to do so, right.

In the above interactions, gestures (for example, gaze, facial expressions, postures, and movements of the torso and shoulders) and body positioning are crucial components of participants' utterances--whether in Quechua or in Spanish--to convey passengers' disdain, contempt, compliance or contention. Sometimes, gestures²⁴ alone communicate passengers' contempt as in the case of R4. As Haviland (2004, also 2000) points out gestures are signs, having indexical properties, used to communicate individuals' feelings effectively. They are also interwoven with words²⁵ to show complementary meaningfulness (219) creating hierarchical social positionings among the passengers on Uqhupata combi transportation between Uqhupata and Cusco. Gesture and positioning provide insights as to how in cross-cultural interaction—in which gestures are not necessarily shared conventions—passengers convey their dominant or submissive behavior artfully while they find themselves sharing the same space for almost an hour and a half.

For instance, Quechua-speaking passengers, most of the time, face the repulsion of Spanish-speaking passengers if they board the teachers' (Machali's) van. In this van, if villagers do not manage to stand straight by grasping the handrail and without touching the seat backs, they will be reprimanded to behave properly. They are always being compelled to behave according to the directives and claims of representatives. Representatives want to make sure that they are in control of their higher position vis-à-

²⁴ See how facial gestures (e.g., smiles and frowns) influence mood at <http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/10/27/a-language-of-smiles/?hp> (accessed October 27, 2009)

²⁵ According to Haviland (2000:15) "word and gesture conjointly index the spatio-temporal context of the speech event."

vis the villagers and the minivan space. Grasping the seat back, or sitting on the seat turns into a gesture perceived as obstinate and unruly behavior on the part of villagers.

Framing some passengers as...

Obstinate: Being there

One day, two Quechua-speaking women boarded Machili's van to reach Uqhupata. One of the women grasped the back of the seat in the second row where representatives were seated. They stared at her with hostility and one of them yelled,

R5: *Allinta sayay duñita ñit'imuwashanki!* “¡Por qué no van en vuestro carro! Esta gente no hace caso, nos incomodan”.

V6: *Mana mamitay tupayamuykichu sayakullashanin, manaya huq karu kanchu lluypis wihakuytaqa munanchismi riki?*

R5: You are crushing me, stand properly! Why you don't travel in your assigned car. These nasty people do not obey, they are making us uncomfortable.

V6: Mamita I am not touching you, I am only standing. There is no other car. We all want to travel, right?

The word “duñita” from Spanish “doña” addresses V6 as a child. “[D]uñita” is woven to *nit'imuwashanki* which R5 uses to make the claim they are being crushed even though nobody even touched her. The Quechua phrase is followed by a Spanish sentence that claims that both women should have gone in “their” van, Lusiki's van. R5's last utterance: “no hace caso, nos incomodan” portrays passenger V6 and her companion as stubborn and obnoxious, as women who like to make a nuisance, as troublemakers. R5 is exasperated, showing that she believes she belongs to a separate and superior realm, but also that villagers do not obey directives properly.

V6 addressed R5 as *mamita-y* (my loved mother) to show her respect and to acknowledge R5's superior social standing. She, at the same time, pointed out that she did not touch R5: *Mana tupa-ya-mu-yki-chu*, which means that V6 had not even touched and much less crushed her. Standing near R5— *saya-ku-sha-lla-ni-n*—should not bother or cause any trouble to anybody, implying that R5's claims are out of place. V6's closing statement *lluypis wihakuyta munanchismi riki* makes the point that everyone on the van wants to travel. People travel out of necessity, they do not travel to cause trouble or to be harassed others.

In view of this response R5 frowned and turned left toward her companion; both of them looked at each other and frowned in disapproval of the woman's behavior. V6 claimed herself to be at the same social standing while she addressed R5, discrediting her claims of being bothered. The woman looked briefly at the representatives, resting her gaze on the window and uttered nothing further; likewise, her companion did not utter a word, covering her forehead, and most of her eyes with her hat. She was not willing to deal with the Spanish-speaking passengers or back V6's statements. When they van reached Uqhupata both Quechua-speaking passengers got off quickly on the main road, paying 2.00 soles each to the driver. They walked as fast as they could and disappeared from view.

Unruly: Touching

As I have shown, Quechua-speaking passengers are framed as having an obstinate attitude and as being difficult to control when they do not obey Spanish-speaking passengers' demands. Labeling villagers as obstinate appears to be linked to the issue of being touched. Representatives must not be touched in order to maintain an invisible boundary between them and the villagers. If they are touched, the boundary may disappear and the status claim by representatives will be in jeopardy.

The possibility of being touched arises when anyone of a Spanish background finds themselves on any kind of transportation commuting to work. It also arises at the soccer stadium, movie theaters, or musical performance venues, when they enter or exit. Beyond these situations touching would happen among kin or among intimate friends. In contrast, touch among Quechua-speaking villagers happens within their households and far from public eyes. Touching in public is considered inappropriate and immoral. Even husbands and wives do not usually touch each other in public.. If some touching happens, it may be in situations that are not under their control.

To be touched is synonymous with losing higher social status for Spanish-speaking passenger in relation to villagers. If villagers board the van, they are policed by representatives who do not want to be touched by them. Hence, they are commanded to stand straight and not to touch representatives. When representatives feel that villagers are too close to their bodies they show their repulsion by yelling and staring at them. For

instance, a female representative was bothered by the nearness of a Quechua-speaking passenger who was grasping her seat back to be able to stand. She lifted her torso from her seated position and turned to her right side to face the villager and, staring, raised her voice to say,

R6: “Ay doñita me estas tocando. ¡Párese bien! Sabes muy bien que ya no hay campo, para qué ya subes. Nos estás incomodando, debiste de ir en el primer carro que es de los pasajeros. A la última hora esperan la combi de los profesores. ¡¡Párese bien por favor!!”
V7: *Karru sayaqtinmi siñurita siqamuyku manan waktaykutachu. Amaya chhaynaqa kaychu, kumuranaykusunya mama* [facing R6].

R6: Little woman you are touching me. Stand straight! You know there is no space left; you shouldn't have boarded [the van]. You are making us uncomfortable. You should have gone in the first van because it is for passengers. You came late and wait for the teachers' van. Please, stand properly!

V7: Ms., we boarded the van because it stopped. We are not joking. Do not be like that. Mama, we will accommodate ourselves.

The twofold utterance “párese bien” in a command form—the phrase “por favor” that follows the utterance the second time shows the representatives' exasperation and irritation—which is linked to an evaluation of boarding the van as a stubborn attitude belonging to a child who is misbehaving which is hint by ‘sabes’ and ‘debiste’. These two words address V7 as “tú” (Levinson 1987), marking the receiver as having a lower status with respect to the speaker. Spanish-speaking passengers do not address an unknown person with “tú”—unless they have identified their addressee as being of lower status—if they do so they face the risk of losing face and, shaming themselves.²⁶ However, for them to address Quechua speaking passengers as “tú” (marking the Quechua speakers as subordinate) to command them is accurate. This is connected to an ideology that those who speak Quechua as a first language are subjects to be educated to behave appropriately within a Spanish framework.

‘Sabes’ and ‘debiste’ are also connected to Quechua-speaking passengers' duty to board the first van to show their respect for representatives' space, and to maintain the boundary established through the use of the van. In addition, these two words indicate that those villagers who do not comply with the representatives' distribution of the van

²⁶ See for example a case of resistance to being subordinated between sellers and clients in the context of France at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/8500246.stm (accessed February 15, 2010).

use are not obedient. That is, Quechua-speaking passengers get in the van when they are not entitled to do so, which breaks the fragile boundary. Villagers are asked by representatives to behave according to their status: as ‘minors’ who have to show their respect by not leaning on other passengers or holding the seat back and not touching representatives.

Spanish-speaking passengers attempt to maintain a spatial and temporal distance between themselves and the Quechua-speaking villagers. Woven through it is a distinction between irrational behavior and rational behavior—highlighted by “sabes muy bien que ya no hay campo, para que ya subes”— and a dichotomy between educated and uneducated—highlighted by “esperan la combi de los profesores.” What is more, in order to maintain the hierarchical boundary of the representatives, they must not be touched. This hierarchy is supported by other representatives’ silence—as demonstrated by the phrase “me estás tocando.” The word “incomodando” is uttered by almost all Spanish-speaking passengers when they address villagers—the villagers provoke inconvenience and discomfort on other passengers such those with Spanish language background. Not only do the Spanish-speakers find themselves in an “awkward” situation, but they are obsessed with maintaining a super-ordinate position, which is revealed by their terror of being touched.

Passenger V7’s response to the representative however is more daunting to R6 passenger because the representatives might not be able to untangle the implications or subtle meanings of the statements made in Quechua. The woman (who was 60 years old) had grasped the back of the seat with her two hands where the representative was sitting. When confronted by R6, she—immediately withdrew one of her hands and tried to stand straight. She turned her face right towards R6 and without raising her voice argued that the van had stopped and they boarded the van just like any other passenger would have done. Villagers do not board the van because they find pleasure in making representatives feel uncomfortable. This is signaled by the phrase: *siqamuyku...manan waqtaykutachu*. *Siqamu-yku* and *waqta-yku-ta-chu* are uttered in plural which is marked by the suffix /yku/ implying that they boarded the van because they had to travel. This is highlighted by the statement *manan waqtaykutachu*.

The suffix /yku/ denotes not only the inclusion of other passengers like the speaker riding the van, but also it connotes the rights that Quechua-speaking passengers have to ride the van as far as the van is willing to pick them up, as signaled by *karru saya-qti-n-mi*. In this word the suffix /mi/ denotes the speaker's certainty and, at the same time, it colors her utterance with a sense of truth. This statement imparts a sense of morality to her comments. She is not doing anything wrong; instead, she is doing the right thing. Of course, the van's driver does not care who rides the van, he cares about making money.

After the woman's assertion that she was behaving morally, according to the situation, she suggested that it is R6 that should not behave as she was doing, as demonstrated by the statement [*a*] *maya chaynaqa kaychu*. *Amaya* is a word composed by the root *ama* and the suffix /ya/. The suffix *ya* plus the suffix *qa* in this sentence weakens the imperative form used and transforms it into a polite form. That is, V7 asserts that her and her fellow villagers' behavior is morally correct and at the same time, she switched her last two sentences to a polite form to signal respect. Finally, she utters *kumuranaykusunya mama* in the end to make it obvious that she truly wants to avoid any confrontation. Having said what she wanted to say, she rests her gaze on the front window.

Moreover, the woman has also used two key words to subvert the relationships I am describing. R6 was addressed as 'siñurita' to let her know that she was recognized as a distinct person and perhaps a socially superior one at that—socially superior in terms of culture or power—who, at the same time, also needs to comply with the social conventions of her status. A "siñurita" should behave as such. She should be nice and avoid yelling or being harsh to others. The closing word *mama* shows complete respect. It identifies the addressee²⁷ as having higher status and that she in turn has to show her superior status by taking care of her subordinates if she wants to maintain her superordinate position. R6, though was upset by V7's response, respectful as it was.

²⁷ In France sellers use class-leveling ways to address each other, see details at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/8500246.stm (accessed February 15, 2010)

It was clear that V7 woman's attitude was perceived as subversive because her words and gestures incited a quick response from R6 who turned right to face the woman again and glared at her. After that she turned to her left side to gossip with her colleague, asserting that

R7: "¡Ay, estás mujercitas son unas boconas, la boca que tienen!"

R7: These little women, they are vociferous people/ shouting their head off. They have such big mouths!

V7 answered R6 without hesitation on the same footing, without removing her hand from the back of the seat, briefly dissolving the thin boundary between the villagers and the Spanish-speaking passenger and threatening the hierarchical status of the latter. R6 gestured to show her contempt and disdain toward V7 and ignored her. She turned to her colleague sitting next to her and recreated the thin boundary while forcefully discrediting V7's response. She re-asserted that the villagers misbehaved in the very act of addressing their fellow passengers' claims. The word 'boconas' (plural) refers to all the female Quechua-speaking passengers. It suggests that not only V7 but all Quechua-speaking women do not know how to behave properly because instead of keeping silent and showing respect and obedience, they answer back to their superior's commands. Finally V7 is not being taken into account as an individual person, but referred to as if she is part of a mass of females. The gestural disdain of R6 shows that V7 is not worth responding to directly. This has the effect of not giving V7 any opportunity for further action. With these gestures the Quechua-speaking woman is discounted and made insignificant.

Offensive: Smelling

"Puedo sentir el olor a fogón, el olor del humo del fogón cuando lo beso."

I can feel the clay stove's smell; the smell of the clay stove's smoke when I kiss him.

This comment about the smell of a man she was dating was made by a friend, who was speaking about the different odors she was discovering in the city Cuzco. Smelling like the smoke of a clay stove would be a way of identifying somebody's personal fragrance as linked to a particular space that produces a smell that cannot exist in any other place. The smell—depending on the relationship among the one that smells

and the other identifying the smell—could be considered as something new, stinky, or as an identifier of a particular person, in this case, a loved one.

If the relationship is not one of love, the comment about the clay stove's smoke smell may change in a kind of a displeasing smell as "stinks of smoke" for those who consider this kind of smoke as being always unpleasant: "Mi pelo está apestando a humo, me lo tengo que lavar" (my hair stinks of smoke I have to wash it). In Cuzco, for instance, a smell like that of the smoke from a clay stove may be taken as a sign that a person belongs in the countryside or to a lower status. Even the odor of soap can be depreciated, although some people might like the smell of baby soap, because it reminds them of the way that babies or children smell. Children cannot use any industrialized perfume yet. As my classmate highlighted:

"Me gusta tu olor, hueles a bebe. Me recuerda los bebes, ellos huelen a jabón."
I like your smell, you smell like a baby. It reminds me of babies, they smell like soap.

But, others may not like such odors,

"No me gusta su olor, huele a jabón"
I do not like her odor, she smells of soap

It seems, in general terms that in Cuzco odors with positive evaluation are those coming from creams and bottled perfumes, as is suggested by the kind of gossip I overheard in coffee bars.

"Me gusta tu perfume, ¿dónde lo compraste?"
I like your perfume, where did you buy it?²⁸

In contrast, Quechua-speaking people may not pay attention to industrialized odors. Odors, for them, may be signs that identify people, animals, and plants and may characterize the odors of the earth, landscape, seasons, or institutions with which they interact. However, if they stumble upon person—for example a government agent—wearing bottled perfume, they may make comments about the perfume's quality,

Uma unutacha hich'arakamun, añas hina asnashan
What kind of water has she been under, she smells like a skunk's spray.

Industrialized perfumes are considered pungent odors, neither good or bad in themselves. However, villagers may evaluate some institutions' odors as bad. For instance, when

²⁸ People buy perfumes through Esika, Unique or Yanbal catalogs.

villagers comment on the physicians' nastiness in Cuzco's hospitals they state in passing that,

Uspitalqa millayta asnan.
The hospital gave off a bad odor.

That is, hospitals have a peculiar odor which is identified as really bad according to villagers' ideas of smell.

On city transportation, if passengers identify an odor they consider foul-smelling or bad, they frequently open the van's windows or cover their mouth and nose with their hands without making any comments. On the contrary, on the van service between Uqhupata and Cuzco, several passengers appeared to feel entitled to express their rejection of certain odors that they identify as unbearable. Particularly in Machali's van, villagers face the blunt mockery of representatives who act like they hate them and qualify them as "stinky".

Representatives usually wrinkled their noses and covered them when villagers boarded the van, and if the Quechua-speaking passenger is a teen or a student, she or he can even be thrown off the van as was the case when Spanish-speaking passengers were seated in "their" van on its return trip to Cuzco. Matuku, after boarding the van, sat on the seat next to the van's door. The elementary school principal, who was sitting in the first row of seats, turned (right) to face the youth and in a commanding voice said:

R8: "Sabes que oye Matuku no necesito tu perfume ¡bájate!"
R8: You know what, Matuku, I do not need your smell, get off!

The phrase "sabes que oye" signals an open abhorrence and contempt toward the student—"oye" is a word that treats the addressee as dirt—who was obligated to get off the van because of his 'perfume'²⁹ or smell. Perfume refers sarcastically to the student's odor as an unpleasant and disgusting stench. The phrase "no necesito" before the utterance of "tu perfume" implies that R8 may like to smell his own pleasant odor instead of Matuku's exudations. The word "bájate" compels the addressee to comply with the speaker commands.

²⁹ Within a Spanish framework perfume may be considered a language that informs on women's characteristics. For an example see Hildebrandt at http://www.diariolaprimeraperu.com/online/columnistas/el-perfume_54938.html (accessed February 15, 2010).

R8 identified the teen's smell as stench to expel him from the van; the teen's odor becomes a decisive criterion to discriminate against him. The disdain expressed by R8 is linked to his effort to establish a clear-cut distinction with the villagers and locate the villagers below him (see Corbin 1986: 142-151, 272). What odors are pleasant and enjoyable to the olfactory sense are culturally constructed³⁰ to create social distinction. In early nineteenth century Sweden, for example, exudations were regarded as natural and healthy. Any emanation from the body was not a preoccupation in peasant life; it was a sign of work—until the bourgeoisie deemed exudations as stench in Swedish society (Fykman and Löfgren 1987: 190-194, 204-220).

What is more, while the other representatives kept silent in the situation described above another representative reinforced R8's contempt openly by bluntly expressing her support and demanding not only that the student be tossed off the van but also that teachers encourage better hygiene among their students.

R9: "Profesor dile que se baje a tu Matuku. Está oliendo mucho, no soporto. ¿Quién es su profesora? No le dicen para que se bañe. Cómo es posible que ande así. Deberían de explicar sobre la higiene."

R9: Teacher³¹ tell him to get off, tell your Matuku. He smells too bad, I can't stand it. Who is his teacher? How is it possible that he is wandering around like that, smelling. No one tells him to take a shower. Someone should explain hygiene to him.

Passenger R9—sitting in front of R8—expressed her discomfort with Matuku's odor by speaking loudly and looking toward the teacher. She backed R8's demand to toss the student of the bus by asking "dile que se baje a tu Matuku." The expression "a tu Matuku" implies that R8 is in charge of and somehow responsible for Matuku, "a tu" that the student is R8's subordinate and must comply with what his teacher or "boss" orders. Passenger R9 seems to be aware of the fact that bodies smell, but Matuku's body odor is too strong-- "está oliendo mucho." Bathing is something that must be taught as part of hygiene—which is the responsibility of the teachers, according to R9—since Matuku (and by extension, Quechua-speaking people) do not know the importance of bathing to get rid of their stench.

³⁰ If somebody in Peru is wearing a perfume I cannot help but be reminded of the smell of a skunk.

³¹ He is the director of the elementary school.

However, just as for Swedish peasants in the early nineteenth century “washing the body had a ritual character,” (Fykman and Löfgren 1987: 190-191), bathing for villagers is not part of their focus.³² Villagers have a pragmatic approach to their bodies, which they wash if they are going to talk with teachers or take care of paper work in public institutions in Cuzco. Matuku’s classmate got off the van following Matuku. Young villagers are frequently thrown off the van. The youth are generally students of the elementary school teachers and they depend on their teacher’s decisions to pass them to the next grade. They are also minors, so they also have to obey their teachers as adults. Accordingly, the youth remain silent without uttering a word, and get off as fast as they can when they are chastised and criticized by the teachers and other representatives. Youth are unable to articulate any response because of their age and their position subordinate to representatives. By the same token, this kind of incident socializes and perpetuates submissiveness that may become part of their behavior as adults.

In contrast, adult villagers cannot be excluded in that way. An adult can contest Spanish-speaking passengers’ derision by speaking back. Representatives, sometimes say nothing outright about odors when villagers board Machali’s van, but still conspicuously cover their noses and mouths with their hands and comment among themselves,

R10: “El olor es horrible ¿no? No se puede soportar”.

R10: The smell is horrible, right? I can’t stand it.

Here R10 suggests that villagers give off a pungent and awful odor, which is intolerable to the representatives’ nostrils: “no se puede soportar.” Other representatives subtly cover their nose and mouth. An untrained observer may not be aware of this, as I was not for the first month of in which I traveled in the van. It only became obvious when I was told “¿huele feo, no?” (t smells bad, right?) by a representative who sat next to me. She pointed out the unbearable smell and feigned being deep in thought by gazing unfixed, while covering her nose and mouth. Her disdain was shown surreptitiously. This surreptitious rejection is subtle but is still a practice that maintains a pervasive discrimination because only those affected may be aware of it.

³² Bathing is for children, for those whose are below the age of 2.

If villagers board the van with their babies, they also have to face the contempt of representatives. Spanish-speaking passengers do not verbalize their discontent but stare with hostility at villagers. At the same time, they turn toward the window and lift their torso to move away from the aisle a little bit. It seems that disdain for the villagers increases exponentially if they board the van with their babies. They sit on the van floor next to the door and travel facing the window and avoid being close to representatives' seats, although that is almost impossible since the van's passageway is narrow. Thus, many times villagers cannot avoid representatives' hostility.

For example, one morning a villager boarded the van with her baby and sat next to the van door. The Spanish-speaking passengers sitting in the two first rows of seats frowned, wrinkled their noses, stared at the woman and lifted their torsos to turn (left) and face the window. They were showing their repulsion toward the women's odor.³³

Facing the window a representative asserted,

R11: "Ya no deben subir éstas doñas. Yo no sé cuántas veces vamos a decir a estás mujercitas que no comprenden".

R11: These [untamed] doñas shouldn't board [the van]. I do not know how many times we have to tell these little women [to not board the van] who don't comprehend/ don't get it.

The woman is rejected not only because her odor is unpleasant for Spanish speaking passengers, but also disratified as an interlocutor. She is referred to as part of a group 'éstas doñas' in the third person. To address someone in the third person when the person being referred to is actually present is a signal that the addressee is a non-person, someone who does not even exist as interlocutor. The phrase is used to curtail any opportunity this woman has to respond.

The phrase not only made female villagers invisible, as if they are not worthy to converse with, it also marks villagers as nothing, non-existent, unworthy, non-persons or things upon whom representatives attribute certain traits. This is reinforced by the phrase "éstas mujercitas." This phrase of disdain intends to ostracize villagers as ignorant and incapable of reason. Villagers are regarded as unable to hear, lacking the capacity to even understand any message or command because they obstinately board the van all the time

³³ The only odor I can remember is the dust.

when they have been told countless times not to do so which is shown by the phrase “no comprenden.” “[N]o comprenden” alludes to women who supposedly do not understand that only entitled passengers (representatives) can board the van. Women behave stupidly when they insist on traveling in Machali’s van. In other words, women should know their place in relation to the representatives without having to be told.

Ignorant: Quechua-speaking

A representative who boarded Machali’s van to return to Cuzco bluntly emphasized the quality of stupidity. He said

R12: “¡Estos indios brutos han roto la pila!”

R12: These brutish Indians have broken the faucet.

The R12 passenger was already sitting in the van when his pupil came and said that the faucet was broken. He was obligated to go back to the school to fix the faucet. The phrase ‘indios brutos’ refers to those who are ignorant and lack intelligence, but particularly to those who are ‘indios’, backward people whose inferiority is based on not being human enough. The teen was cast alongside animals.

To mark villagers as ignorant or lacking intelligence is a way of racializing them. It is a daily racialized practice, something that Spanish-speaking passengers do without thinking. They do not wake up thinking “today I shall downgrade or debase passengers from countryside villages.” It is a racist and naturalized practice to claim a super-ordinate position and subordinate those who are identified as unworthy, pre-modern, and backward people. They subordinate those who they believe do not discern the right thing to do or the right way to behave; subordinating those who fail to show their respect and submission to those claiming a higher status, such as the representatives within the van.

As I have shown, within the van a cross-cultural mini-society is created, a society in which passengers—representatives and villagers—travel together and interact, often against their will. In these interactions racialized processes are sometimes perpetuated, sometimes subverted, and sometimes evaded, but must always be reckoned with.

Racialization within the several situations I described above could be interpreted as referring to inborn attributes that a lack of intelligence and brutishness characterizes villagers, but it is inborn in a cultural sense. That is, villagers’ lack of intelligence is

linked to their cultural distinction, whose core identifier is their first language: Quechua. Persons who are distinct culturally by speaking Quechua are labeled as unintelligent: an attribute that is inborn culturally. In other words, the lack of intelligence or capacity to reason can be equated to race-inborn properties. In addition, all those who speak Quechua are identified as less human, as the villagers allegedly share negative social attributes such as an intractable and obstinate behavior, stench or filthiness.

These attributes, in the above examined data, are highlighted countless times. They perpetuate the idea that villagers have “an underlying, unchanging...essence that... causes their outward behavior” (Gelman & Mannheim 2008: 630). The essential attributes that allegedly Quechua-speaking people share would not disappear even if they learned Spanish as a second language and gained the ability to speak it. In the interactions that I have examined, there are no words or other signs that make reference to skin color,³⁴ either implicitly or explicitly (for an example of racialization on the basis of skin color see Lemon 2000: 33-34, and for an examination of the preoccupation with building a “clear-cut” racial taxonomy in the U.S. see Dominguez 1998.) For example, in the United States the ideology of “black blood,” the infamous one-drop rule³⁵ was and still seems to be used as an ideology to segregate and disfranchise African-Americans. The interactions examined above hint that there does not seem to be a similar biologically based taxonomy in Peru.

The data show that racialization is played through multiple signs, such as spoken Quechua and Spanish, gestures, body positioning, the use of space in such enclosed areas as the minivan, as well as in the interaction amongst villagers and representatives. All

³⁴ Skin color is widely used in Cuzco to describe and identify people. It can also be used as an insult among participants while referring to an absent third person. I posit that skin color may be a mark of inferiority (for an analysis of skin color as a mark of inferiority see Dominguez 1998) as happens when a person from a community does not fit the stereotypical image that non-community members have of her. The broad image that characterizes an “Indian” is that they are short, with black straight hair, and wear old, fashionless, or cast-off clothes. If this image is questioned in a particular example then people do pay attention to skin color in great detail way. They use shades of lightness or darkness to locate the person in a new box or label that does match their ideological image and recasts the person as black or “selvático” (a pejorative way to refer to dweller of the Amazonia). Although I have not witnessed any direct use of skin color labels to insult an addressee or speaker in face-to-face interactions in Cuzco, I was amazed when some town’s elites use labels such as “cholona,” “media cholona” (half chola), “media mestiza” (half mestiza), “media blancona” (half white), “blancona” (looking whiter) or “palida” (pale) to describe people. It is an issue in need of research.

³⁵ And they do not use the blood quantum to establish whether an individual is “Indian” or not.

these signs, the spatial structure and the actual interactions themselves are interconnected dimensions that create discrimination and claim to higher social status, while at the same time they concede to or contest such claims.

In the next chapter (4) I examine how hierarchical relations are re-created within a health facility, a space in which the social defects attributed to villagers are strengthened bluntly or subtly in interactions among villagers (patients) and government representatives. Representatives may follow institutional norms and rules, but they also use their own understandings of the situation at hand.

Chapter 4

Elusive Conversations: Conceding or Deceiving Oneself

In the preceding section I explored the patterned ways in which verbal signs, gestures, space, and bodily dispositions are intertwined to display disdain and contempt--to draw boundaries to assert the defectiveness of the villagers of *Uqhupata* as social beings, and how at the same time, to assert the villagers' contestations of their depiction as such. The defectiveness attributed to the villagers, however, seems to be not only an issue within the minivan, but a far reaching matter that may permeate villager encounters with government representatives within the community health facility that delivers health care to patients who are members of a mainly Quechua-speaking population. The degrading image of Quechua-speaking villagers as lacking the capacity to reason and understand, and as disobedient, obstinate, smelly and filthy people appears to prevail in the health facility as well.

A brief etymological background

A health facility, generally known as a clinic, is smaller than a hospital, and is dedicated to the care of outpatients, in contrast to a larger hospital which also provides inpatient services. The word hospital is etymologically derived from old French *hospital*, that is, a hostel that provides food and lodging, which in turn comes from Latin (L.L.) *hospitale*, meaning for the housing of strangers. *Hospitale* is the neuter form of the Latin adjective *hospitalis* "of a guest or host"¹ from *hospes*, meaning a stranger or foreigner, therefore, a guest. This early origin hints at the idea of hospital as a place where a stranger can find essential care. Consequently, a health facility as a branch of a hospital is supposed to take care of strangers, and to treat them as if they were guests, paying

¹ hospital. Dictionary.com. *Online Etymology Dictionary*. Douglas Harper, Historian. <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/hospital> (accessed June 05, 2010).

attention to their needs. On the contrary, the Peruvian health facility in Uqhupata, a Quechua-speaking village, does not attend to its visitors as guests who need care and empathy during their short stay. Instead the patients may be treated as the unwelcomed “other” to be shaped or changed according to the representatives’ image of the guests. The temporary incorporation of the “other” within the health facility, I would suggest, first is a means to frame the visitor as a mere object that allows representatives to implement public health policies and at the same time comply with their own duty. And second, representatives exercise medical authority in an authoritarian fashion (Heritage 2005: 98), despite the fact that villagers visit the health facility according to their own assessment of their health. In addition, medical authority is reinforced by government paperwork and some of the villagers’ non-health-related issues.

Different time frames: different results

If villagers visit the health facility, they do so early in the morning hoping to be examined as soon as possible so that they can return to their workday chores. That means that depending on the season villagers expect to be in their fields at least before noon to get work done. For instance, during the planting and harvesting seasons they are in a hurry to sow or to harvest in a timely manner. Untimely planting or harvesting would comprise the resources available to sustain the family and to provide seed for the next season. If the season is delayed by weather, they may delay their agricultural activities a bit. Whether to sow or harvest does not depend on the hours, minutes, and seconds marked by a clock (see for an insightful comparison Frykman and Lofgren 1987).

In contrast, the clock does determine the time frame within which staff members must deliver health care. Regardless of the season, their work in the health facility goes from 8:00a.m. until 2:00p.m. Within this time frame they have to fulfill their work load to secure their monthly salaries. They have to assist as best they can both patients with appointments and the few patients that show up unexpectedly. Although almost all patients visit the health facility according to the staff members’ schedules and allotted time slots, the representatives seem overwhelmed most of the time with the number of women and children expecting medical attention.

Representatives in the examining room spend more than 20 minutes with each patient, because of the paper work they have to fill out, such as health insurance forms, medical sheets, and children's care cards or women's cards. Sometimes, by 2:00 pm, the representatives have not yet seen all the patients; however, they have to close the facility until the next day when it will open again at 8:00 am. Most of the time, staff also have to run to catch the minivan. Sometimes they still have a lot of paperwork to submit to the health center² in Cuzco.

Villagers and representatives have different time constraints, which sometimes clash to the point of generating anxiety among them. The former worry about their workday chores to be done before the season ends and the latter worry about being able to deliver medical attention to all patients, in addition to completing their paperwork before the clock tells them that it is 2:00p.m. It is within these different time constraints that both villagers and representatives interact within the health facility.

A general context: Medical attention within the health facility

The health facility is a single-story building. It stands almost at the center of the villagers' homes and close to the village's chapel and school building. It consists of five rooms, three of which are examining rooms accessed through the waiting room. These rooms constitute the space where representatives--physicians, obstetricians, nurses, and aides--interact with patients most of the time, although aides go back and forth between rooms to bring patient medical records to their colleagues. The health facility mainly provides primary care, preventive care, health education, and—if a general practitioner is present—treats acute and chronic illnesses.

The majority of patients are women with children, the elderly, and some high school students. Few men seek health care; sometimes they bring their child or come with their wife to register a newborn. Patients arrive early in the morning. They wait in the waiting room to be examined. Some days when the waiting room becomes crowded, patients decide to wait on the patio. Peak crowding occurs when staff have to distribute staples for pregnant or breastfeeding women, as well as baby food for children below

² The representatives' work does not end at 2:00p.m. given that they have to present or request medical resources in Cuzco. They work at least two hours more for free, since the government does not recognize extra hours worked by people under temporary labor contract.

three years of age. It is a tiring day for representatives and patients alike. Representatives fight the clock,³ while women fight the boredom and fatigue of their children.⁴ One can frequently hear children asking their mothers:

Haku, ripusun.
Let's go, are we going home?
Yarqawashan.
I am getting hungry.

Each patient according to their needs hands the necessary document to a representative in order to obtain medical attention and medical assistance. Women with their children hand in the child's "cartilla" (card) which is a combination of an immunization record and a growth and development record. Pregnant women submit their pre-natal care card, which includes their monthly check ups and number of pregnancies. Women who use certain control methods and women or men with any kind of sickness hand in their health insurance "card"—a sheet of paper—which is a government form. All these cards or forms show at the top the bearer's name and medical record number, so that representatives can easily and quickly find medical records. Medical records are distributed among representatives according to their medical expertise: obstetricians monitor pregnant women's progress, nurses check the immunization, growth, and development of children, and physicians diagnose patients' illnesses.

If patients do not bring the cards needed to find their medical records, they will not be seen by a representative. Once a clinic record arrives in an examining room, the patient is called to go in, which is done on a first-come, first-served basis. In the examining room patients are asked about their illness or their particular concern. The terms in which the patient is asked depends on who is doing the examination. A physician may ask:

¿Qué te duele?
What is hurting you?

A nurse may say

¿Le toca su vacuna o no?
It is time for his/her vaccination or not?

³ They want to finish before 2.00 p.m., so they can catch the minivan.

⁴ Children become bored, start to cry, ask for food or want to go home.

An obstetrician may say

Humm. Fica, tú estás en tu quinto mes, ¿no?

Humm. Fica, you are in your 5th month of pregnancy, aren't you?

During examination time, representatives have to fill in several forms while seeing a patient. They fill in a patient's assistance form which is linked to the Seguro Integral de Salud ("comprehensive"⁵ health insurance) known as SIS, a medical chart that will become part of the medical record, the cards of children and pregnant women, the drug prescription and instruction sheet, and the register of assisted patients. The assistance form must be signed by the patient (including a print of her index finger) and by the health representative (including her seal and signature). The remaining forms, except for the register, must be stamped and signed by a physician, nurse, obstetrician or aide that has examined the patient; if there are several aides, they are in charge of filling out the register.

All the forms or cards are formatted with headings requiring general information, such as the medical record number and date, as well as the patient's full name, age, sex, and birth date, but each section requires specific information. For instance, the medical sheet must be filled in with a description of the sickness (including symptoms), weight, height, treatment and medication. The patient's assistance form needs to be filled out on both sides; the front side requires the patient's national identification card number, health insurance number, dwelling place, and illness's code number. The back side needs to be filled out with numbers that codify the treatment and medication that is handed to the patient.

The pregnant woman card has to be filled in with the woman's weight, belly size, the month of pregnancy, and the possible date of birth. The child's card requires the vaccination date, the nutritional line progress, weight, height, and activities that the child can achieve according to her age. The drug prescription and instruction sheets have to be filled out with the name of the drug and its dosage. The register requires a summary of the patient's illness, the name of the representative who has seen the patient, and the representative's signature.

⁵ It does not cover all illnesses.

Physicians, obstetricians, nurses and sometimes aides must fill in the medical sheet, the patient's assistance form, the drug prescription and instruction sheet, and the register. An obstetrician also must fill pregnancy-care card and birth certificates. A nurse has to fill in the child-care card. An aide helps with whatever else has to be done to facilitate a patient's care. They usually help nurses if they are overwhelmed with patients, by filling in the child card, vaccinating children and measuring the height and weight of children.

It is in this context that patients interact with health representatives in the health facility. Such interactions may involve multiple intertwined signs or communicative forms such as verbal signs, both in Quechua and in Spanish, other semiotic forms (e.g., silences and gestures), and material forms (government forms) by which participants achieve their own aims. These can be as diverse as displaying repulsion toward the patient, or the patient subordinating herself to a supra-level entity depending on how the participants are positioned within the institutional frame in which the encounter occurs.

Negotiating or Conceding?

It is a sunny day during planting season and the health facility is crowded. Representatives have begun to deliver medical assistance. I was in one of the examining rooms; from its threshold I can see a desk, three chairs, a cradle, a stadiometer and a scale. To the left of the door is a small table with primary care medicines and next to it, a refrigerator. These objects crowd the room, and there is not much space left for patients' care or movement. The representative (R1) sits on the chair and her colleague (R2) is sitting to her left side close to her. A woman (P1) with her child in her lap sits on the third chair—across the desk—facing both representatives.

On the desk are two medical records with a light green cover and next to them on the right, a small calendar, and a set of drug prescription forms on the left, and in the middle, many children's care cards. The children's cards are picked up at the beginning of each day by a representative to speed up the process. R1 is dealing with children's cards as well as the medical charts, while R2 is in charge of filling out the drug prescription sheet. While R1 is clarifying to P1 that she should have brought the baby on the scheduled date and not that day, another patient (P2) stand at the door with her two

children. She calls to the woman asking for her children's monthly check-up cards. P2 enters and stands at the left side of P1, and answers R1's questions.

R1 looks through the children cards on her desk to find the one that belongs to P2's children, and asks:

R1: ¿Dónde está tu cita de **tu tarjeta** (?)

R2: ¿Hoy día es (?)

P1: [Listen silently, realizes that she was being kept back; to control her discomfort she plays with her child].

P2: *Nuqaq siñurita* (?) [Surprised]

R2: Ah [looks toward P2].

R1: Where is your appointment on your card (?)

R2: What day is today (?)

P1: [Listens silently, realizes that she was being kept back; to control her discomfort she plays with her child]

P2: My card, Miss (?)

R2: Yes [looks toward P2].

R2 asks for P2's pre-natal care card, ignoring P1 with her baby. P1 cannot do anything, as she sees that the representative address and invite P2 to enter the room. She remains silent, without a chance to say anything or to request that she be seen first, before the representatives call in the next patient. It would be better to control her discomfort, submit to the representatives' will and comply with their subtle demand, that is, to wait, if she wants to leave the health facility as soon as possible, in order to reach home. In other words, instead of leaving the room, P1 endures being ignored and stoically remains seated. That way she at least makes her presence known, and by the same token, submits herself not only to the representatives' desire, but to the institutional guidelines that children must be checked up on, on a monthly basis.

The shift to focus on P2 by R2 is an attempt to postpone the appointment to which P1 would ordinarily be entitled, to penalize her for bringing her child outside of the date of her appointment. It is a subtle and insidious way of making P1 pay for her delay and disobedience. P2, without realizing it, has become the instrument of that castigation. She does not hesitate to come in to respond to the representatives' inquiries because by doing so she may achieve her own aim of being examined quickly and may return home to take care of her chores.

P2 is addressed as "tú" (second person pronoun) as implied by the phrases "tu cita" or "tu tarjeta." In this context "tú" highlights the representatives' authority to

address patients as they wish; it ignores the norm that among patients and institutional representatives “usted” is the form used address each other. “Usted” is used in the daily back and forth among strangers or in an institutional frame where formal forms of address and titles are enforced.

Within the space of the health facility patients have to cope with the representative’s demands, institutional and conjunctural, according to their own circumstances, time, and courage, or give up their attempts to get things done. In the institutionalized space, representatives are endowed with authority. It is their domain, a place in which they rule according to established norms to comply with their job and the institutional health policies. It is against this backdrop that these interactions happen, colored by the participants’ personal preferences and inclinations in which, among other things, subordination, the right to exert authority, or the right to claim equal footing contend. Representatives are prone to show their authority and to point out who is in command as for example in the event under investigation, by delaying assisting P1 in order to assist P2. Representatives control the flow of interactions, and who should be assisted first. In this relationship P1 is powerless to evade or subvert the situation; she seems to adhere to the institutional guidelines and representatives’ demands to secure her child’s health care, thus, she waits to make sure that her child will be examined.

P2 is not sure if R1 is asking for her card—since there is another patient being assisted—and responds: *Nuqaq siñurita* (Are you asking about my card?). The term of address is *siñurita*; a word borrowed from Spanish to convey deference that recognizes the representative’s status. She submitted her children’s cards early that morning and she was not sure if the question was about her own card. Her question is answered by R2’s comment “ah” (yes). R2 collaborates with her colleague by filling out forms and, most importantly, by backing the delay by R1 to reprimand P1.

When P2 is sure that the requested form is her pre-natal care card she self-confidently asks:

P2: *Imapaq siñurita* (?) [Her male child stands next to her observing R2, and the female looks around trying to find something with which to play]

R1: *Qanpaqya controlniyki* [looks toward the calendar to schedule a new appointment for P2’s children]

P2: *Ña kuntrularachikamuNIÑA nuqaQA*

R2: *Ñachu* (?)

P2: *Aha*

P2: What for, Miss.(?) [Her male child stands close to her observing R2, and the female looks around trying to find something with which to play]
R1: For you, for your pre-natal follow up [looks toward the calendar to schedule a new appointment for P2's children]
P2: I have already had my check-up in the other room by someone else.
R2: It has been done already (?)
P2: Yes.

P2, instead of handing over her card, questions by her tone of voice, the representative's motives to see the card. When patients are asked to hand in their card they usually do so without further comments. In this event P2 asks because she has already been checked on by another representative. As usual, the question is followed by a *siñurita*, showing respect and above all emphasizing respect regardless of whether the representative has or does not have a college degree. They are addressed as "señoritas" by the villagers not only within the health facility, but also within the minivan and elsewhere.

If the interaction had occurred in another situation, the representative would have demanded "tu seguro!" (your insurance!). In the present situation, however, the interaction with P2 has been set up to ignore P1, whose time slot was being stolen. Accordingly, the representatives maintain the flow of talk, that is, they let P2, with her self-confident question, be part of the interaction on the same floor, if only for a moment. R1 responds stressing the first phrase *qanpaqya* that implies that no one else would benefit from a pregnancy check.

P2 responds quickly that she has already been checked up on, signaled by the suffix *-ña* after first-person *-ni*. She added a first person pronoun *nuqa*, plus the suffix *-qa* to affirm that she has already been examined and does not need any further examination. In Quechua if a suffix indexes the person, the pronoun is not necessary unless the speaker wants to highlight something. R2 follows the conversation by uttering *ñachu* just to confirm things, which is answered by "yes."

In this interaction the children are mute witnesses to the way their mothers and the representatives interact. The male child, who is the more intrigued, looks quietly at R2. It is not possible to know at this point how the child feels about the whole interaction. When I visited his family he was out-spoken and even winked at me when we shared some food.

The collaborative work to build the conversation among the representatives and P2 may turn into an unsettling exchange:

R1: “¡Ya! El 22 de setiembre mamá (.) le voy a dar su papilla y su control a la Taniku (.) y a los dos (.) a los dos (.) a los dos diré” [writes down the appointment on the children’s card]

P2: *Ya*

P1: [She continues sitting with her baby in her lap looking at P2]

R2: “Hace poquito le había controlado” [looks toward her colleague writing and rests her face on her left hand]

R1: ***Ama borrankichu*** *kaykunataqa mamá ah* (.) rutina y papilla [repeating to herself what she is writing down]

P2: *Mana siñurita burraNICHU nuqaqa* [she looks at R1 while grabbing her blanket]

R1: *Huqkaq lunista* (.) ***kinsantiykichis/ hamunkichis***

P2: /Martista

R1: “Lunes lunes (.) lunes (.) **no es martes**”

R1: Okay! Mama September 22 I will give Taniku her pap and do her follow-up (.) to both of them (.) to both of them (.) I mean to both [to Taniku and Paniku] [writes down the appointment on the children’s card]

P2: Okay

P1: [She continues silently sitting with her baby in her lap, looking at P2]

R2: She was checked up a few minutes ago [by our colleague] [looks toward her colleague writing and rests her face on her left hand]

R1: **You must not erase** these dates mama eh (.) [repeating to herself what she is writing down] routine [check] and pap

P2: No I am not the one who erases [that] [she looks at R1 while grapping her blanket]

R1: Next Monday (.) the three of you /will come

P2: /On Tuesday

R1: Monday Monday (.) Monday (.) **it is not Tuesday**

The representatives have succeeded in ignoring the earlier patient, P1, by using P2 as a means. P2 is a little surprised and without further thought takes up the open floor offered (Goffman 1972) to take her children in to be checked. She does not pay attention to her co-villager who is still sitting there with her baby. She seems to obtain what she wants faster than she expected. R1 informs her that the follow up is scheduled for September 22, and that the pap will be given to P2’s children that day. She writes down the appointment on the children’s cards.

The information about the change of appointment is interspersed with the word “mama”. “Mama” is used as filler, and as a form of address. It is an unusual form of address understood as a sign of respect outside of the health facility among villagers, but within the facility it is used in few cases, and only when a speaker wants to mislead interactionally. In this event R1 seeks to make P1 feel that those who comply with

representatives' demands, that is, patients who behave properly according to representatives' expectations, are addressed with "respect." And concurrently, it is used to avoid any non-conformity in P2 for having changed the children's date regular check-up date when it was expected to be performed that same day.

When P2 agrees with the scheduled appointment and instructions, she seems in a hurry. If the children's cards will be handed to her after the new appointment date is set up, she will finish her visit to the health facility and will be free to continue with her household or field labors. It appears that she will leave soon since even R2 verifies that her pregnancy has been checked up on in the other examining room. While R1 writes on the children's card, she warns that what is written there cannot be erased by P2 which is signaled through the word *ama*, and stressing of the stem-phrase **borrankichu**. The phrase is a combination of the Spanish verb "borrar" (the "r" is dropped in finite form) followed by the Quechua suffixes *-nki* (person) and *-chu* (used after a negation). The phrase implies that at some point the date or data written down by the representatives would somehow be erased by the patient. It is followed by "mama" that intends to weaken the accusation; however, the expression "ah" connotes command and threat. The warning is contested by P2 who asserts that she is not guilty of erasing, signaled by *mana*, the suffix *-ni* (first person) and *-chu* at the end of the second phrase and highlighting by *nuqaqa* that she is definitely not the one to be accused.

R1 is not paying attention to P2 anymore and does not respond to P2's allegation. She seems more preoccupied with indicating that P2 has to come back the following Monday with her children. P2 tries to change the situation by overlapping (/) R1's utterance to suggest Tuesday instead of Monday for the follow up. The suggestion is dismissed by R1 who repeats Monday three times as the day of the appointment. Tuesday is stressed to negate it as a possibility. P2 patient does not feel intimidated, still has self-confidence, and, bending down to look for her card and the paper-work in her bundle, says:

P2: *Mana siñurita Qusqupaqmi papilta quwashan chaypi* [finding her card with the paper-work in her bundle, hands it in to the representative; and bending down again rearranges her bundle] *Qusquman haykuNAyypaq*

R1: [Receiving P2's card and the paper work and looking for the appointment] *Kay hayk'aqpaqcha qurasunki haber*

P2: *Qusquman haykuNAyypaqMI*

R2: “Eso ya es pues la referencia que le está dando”

P2: No, Miss. she has given me [an appointment] paper to be in Cuzco that day [finding her card and the paper work in her bundle, hands it in to the representative; and bending down, rearranges her bundle]

R1: [Receiving P2’s card and the paper work and looking for the appointment date] Let me look for when [she] has given you the appointment

P2: It is to go to Cuzco, for me.

R2: That is the reference that she has given her

P2’s response is backed by her card and the forms contained on it, such as the yellow reference form to go to the health facility in Cuzco. Her self-confidence is based on what the card and the reference show as the appointment date. She cannot go on Monday to the health facility since she already has an appointment to be seen on Tuesday in Cuzco. It is not within her power to change the appointment date; she has to fulfill the representative’s colleague’s order. The imperative to go to Cuzco is signaled by the suffix *-na* in the phrase *haykunaypaq* which P2 highlights in her utterance. R1 after receiving P2’s pregnancy-care card, says that she is not sure about P2’s assertion, that is, that she does not trust P2.

Since it may matter to her what R1 says, P2 resourcefully iterates almost the same utterance in her next utterance, “*Qusquman haykunaypaqmi.*” In this utterance P2 adds the suffix *-mi* in *haykunaypaq* that shows the imperativeness as well as the definitiveness of going to the health center in Cuzco. The suffix *-na* is interwoven with *-mi* to strengthen the exigency that P2 be in Cuzco to comply with the scheduled date given to her. While R1 reviews the appointment date and the pregnancy status, R2 informs her that the paper-work completed by her absent colleague indicates that the patient P2 is to go to Cuzco that day.

R2 talks with R1 as if P2 were not there, which is signaled by her use of “le está dando” where “le” refers to a third person. Thus P2 is not ratified as an interlocutor on the same floor. What is more, R1 ignores her colleague’s explanation, and tries to change the appointment date set up by her absent colleague. She asks P2 when she will be able to go to Cuzco. Patient P2 suggests Tuesday.

P2: *Martistacha intunsis riyman* [facing R1]

R1: “No pe (.) ya tienes que ir ya”

R2: “El 23 (?)”

R1: “NO (.) NO (.) NO (.) ESTA SEMANA YA TIENE QUE IR AMIGA (.) PARA QUE TRAIGA EL LUNES EL RESULTADO”

P1: [Keeps sitting and playing with her child while observing P2 and the other representatives]

P2: [Looks at the representative with surprise]

P2: So I should go on Tuesday [Facing R1]

R1: No (.) you should go before that day

R2: The 23rd (?)

R1: NO (.) NO (.) NO (.) SHE SHOULD GO THIS WEEK MY FRIEND (.) SO SHE WILL BRING THE RESULTS ON MONDAY

P1: [Keeps sitting and playing with her child while observing P2 and the other representatives]

P2: [Looks at the representative with surprise]

P2 suggestion of Tuesday day is dismissed by R1 representative who indicates that the patient has to go before that day. She becomes exasperated when her colleague R2 does not align with her; she raises her voice and explains that it is important that P2 travel to Cuzco before the 23th and bring the ultrasound scan⁶ results before Monday. Monday is the day that R1 has scheduled an appointment for P2, therefore she or her colleagues would see the ultrasound. R2's question about the 23rd is evaluated by her colleague as a kind of support for P2 and as not foreseeing the importance of getting the result to evaluate the progress of P2's pregnancy. She is rebuked by her colleague who seems feel free to do so.

This exchange shows that rank-based hierarchical relations may arise among representatives while they assist a patient, as is shown in a nutshell above. When R2 does not immediately align with R1's demands to patient P2, the latter is supposed to have the right to yell and rebuke the former's suggested date, given the different job positions according to their professional titles. Someone who has a college degree is ranked above someone who only has a technical education, as the case for nurse's aides.⁷ It is also, assumed that health representatives should support each other, keeping an esprit de corps as militaries do, that is, any suggestion beyond the colleagues' alignment could interpreted as a challenge, disagreement or lack of understanding depending on relative rank of the participants. In this case it seems that R1 blames her colleague for not understanding the situation at hand.

⁶ Pregnant women usually are referred to the Cuzco health center to undergo at least one ultrasound scan to check the fetus's position or any problems in the pregnancy.

⁷ Within the Peruvians' perceived ranking of professional degrees and higher education, physicians usually are ranked at the top followed by engineers, then obstetricians and so on.

In R1's utterance P2 is referred to in the third person as if she were not there at all, while P1 is still there with her child and hears the conversation. P2 looks surprised by the ongoing conversational shift. R1, after informing her colleague about the pregnancy results, turns her attention to P2 to explain to her that the following Monday is September 22nd, a day on which P2 ought to bring her ultrasound results. R2 picks up the card and paper-work of patient P2 and goes to ask her other colleague about the appointment date and who is in the next room, while R1 keeps asking P2 countless times when she will be able to travel to Cuzco

R1: "Dime Matiku cuándo puedes ir al Cuzco (?)"

R1: Tell me Matiku when will you be able to go to Cuzco (?)

P2 faces R1 and does not respond. She has lost her earlier self-confidence, and her hope of leaving soon is gone. She seems intimidated by the way the representative has undermined her own colleague's understanding about the necessity of having the pregnancy ultrasound results before Tuesday the 23rd. Maybe she does not speak because she is not only scared, but also does not fully understand Spanish when she is questioned in this language⁸. When P2 has not yet suggested another day to go to Cuzco, R2 returns and hands the card with the paper-work to R1 who insists on obtaining an answer from P2. P2 faces both representatives, leans over the desk and does not say anything while P1 keeps looking at her.

R1 hands the children's cards to P2 who takes and holds them in her right hand without saying a word. R1 keeps talking with her colleague, explaining that P2 has to bring the ultrasound results by the 22nd to have a pre-natal exam on time and finally opens the patient card with the paper work and confirms that the birth date will be soon. The pre-natal care card and the paper-work (reference) become the source to support and strengthen R1's assertions, and by the same token, reinforce R1's keeping of the floor. R1 shows the card to her colleague to assert that P2 has already completed 35 weeks of pregnancy, and that the following Monday will be her 36th week, thus, according to R1 representative, P2 will give birth during that coming week. P2 and P1 are ignored by both

⁸ I visited P2 many times in her home; she always spoke Quechua to me and never Spanish. When she listened to a recording in Quechua about the time of the haciendas she asked me to bring her more stories in Quechua.

representatives. R2 is being informed about the pregnancy status of P2 and, facing her, asks

R2: “No /puedes ir mañana (?)”

R1: “/No vamos a tener ni el resultado al final”

R2: “¿Mañana puedes ir (?)”

P1: *Qusaya trabahunpi kashan*

R2: You [informal] /cannot go there tomorrow (?)

R1: /We will not have the medical results after all

R2: Can you go tomorrow (?)

P1: My husband is at his work [facing the representatives]

R2 addresses P2 as “tú” implicit in the word “puedes”, instead of “puede” whose tacit address form is “usted.” “Tú” is an address form used, as I said early, within friendship and sibling-ship relations, among acquaintances, and when speakers want to mark a super-ordinate status. The implicit “tú” signals a lack of respect and shades the utterance as a directive, as R2 insists on asking whether P2 can go to Cuzco as soon as possible (tomorrow). The next overlapping utterance by R1 (/) halts R2’s utterance.

R1 does not relinquish the floor and asserts that the results will not be on time, even when the results are the property of P2, but she is ignored. The result becomes a thing detached from P2, as signaled by “el resultado.” “El” marks a third point of reference, an abstract entity despite the claim that supposedly the ultrasound is for the pregnant woman’s well-being. R2 facing P2, rephrases her earlier question to ask again if she can travel to Cuzco in order to have an ultrasound test. Her iterative questions seem to be an attempt not only to oblige P2 to answer and take responsibility, but also to repair her early mistake of not aligning with, and supporting her colleague over the date that she was proposing as the best.

To the demanding question P2 says indirectly, ‘no’, by resorting to her husband’s available time; her husband may not have free time to accompany her given his work schedule. She keeps speaking Quechua despite being spoken to in Spanish. R2’s iterated question is backed by R1 who aligns her utterance with her colleague’s and ignores P2’s subtle ‘no’.

R1: “¿El miércoles (.) el jueves (.) o el sábado?” [holding and looking at P2’s card]

P2: *Sawarunpiqa mana atindimuwanmanchu* [flapping her children’s cards a little nervously and looking toward her right]

R1: *Atendenkuya (.) Maypi mana atendenkumanchu (?)*

R1: Wednesday (.) Thursday (.) or Saturday? [holding and looking at P2's card]
P2: On Saturday the health representatives cannot see me [flapping her children's cards a little nervously and looking toward her right]
R1: They give medical attention (.) Why can't they give medical attention (?)

P1 continues to sit and entertain her baby. At the same time, she observes and listens to the conversation among the representatives and P2. R1 wants an answer. Thus after P2 has implicitly responded 'no', she continues to ask, by naming the days of the week, including Saturday. P2, despite her uneasiness to answer the pressing question, builds on R1's last utterance to argue that on the only day on which she can go, Saturday, the Cuzco health center does not provide medical assistance. Her response is immediately contested by R1 who claims that P2 is definitely wrong. P2 becomes mute and leans over the desk.

She no longer shares the floor with the representatives, as she may have assumed at the beginning when she was called by R1 to come in. Moreover, she now faces the difficult task of keeping her early appointment set up by the representative in charge of checking on the progress of pregnancies. Her advantageous access to R1 and R2 in relation to P1 has become a situation in which she is being required to move up her appointment to travel to Cuzco to comply with the health facility's demands. She cannot withdraw. R2 aligns her utterance to her colleague's utterance to emphasize that the city health center does provide medical attention on Saturdays.

R2: *Atendenkuya sabadonpiqa*
R1: *Atendenkuchu* (?) [Holding and looking impatiently at P2's patient card] *Atin:/ atin:/ ATINKIMANCHU SABADOTA* (?)
P2: *Sawarutacha siñurita haykusaq* (-) [flapping her children's cards a little nervously and looking to her right]

R2: Health representatives see [patients] on Saturdays
R1: Do they give medical attention? [Holding and looking at P2's patient card] *Can:/ can:/ CAN YOU GO ON SATURDAY* (?)
P2: I will go on Saturday, Miss. [flapping her children's cards a little nervously and looking to her right]

R2 self-confident assertion, that Cuzco health centers provide medical care on Saturdays, is put in question by R1's utterance. R1 seems to be frustrated and annoyed at not obtaining a quick and positive answer to her demand to the point of asking "*atindinkuchu*" a wording that contradicts not only her earlier utterances, but above all her demand that P2 travel to Cuzco. Realizing her *lapsus-lingue* she tries to quickly repair

her utterance, but in her frustration cannot articulate her phrase signal by her two broken (/:/) attempts to utter something. In the end she asks in a louder voice if P2 can travel on Saturday.

The louder voice seems to impel P2 to respond in a lower voice, acceding to the representatives' requests, that is, travel to Cuzco on Saturday. The representatives have achieved the goal of getting P2 to agree to a compromise and to be in Cuzco before Monday 22nd, and it appears that they have overcome P2's reluctance to change her appointment date. What is more, they have apparently disciplined P1; they teach her to obey appointment dates by leaving her aside and ignoring her, as well as using her time slot to assist another patient. P1 remains sitting, observing, listening, and playing with her child without a chance to make the staff members respect her time slot and herself as a person. Instead she is reduced to insignificance. In turn, P2 may have been unaware of this, but it seems natural⁹ for her to interrupt her co-villager, and to take over her allotted time slot without any concern. Her initial aim of having her children examined as fast as possible is frustrated while her appointment date for Cuzco to test the progress of her pregnancy by ultrasound is changed by the representatives' demands. Hence, she has been forced to agree to travel to Cuzco as soon as possible, and has to compromise by going on a day that the representatives proposed.

At the end, none of the patients who are being seen are being respected. The patients do not have a right to privacy. The space is so small that there is no room to breathe; representatives and patients are close to each other, and the only thing that separates them is the desk. The desk is crammed with medical charts, children cards, patients' attention forms, and prescription drug sheets. In this situation, in the representatives' domain, patients subordinate themselves to the representatives' requirements that everybody complies with institutional policies. At the same time, representatives subordinate themselves to the institutional demands to comply with their job duties.

In this institutional framework interactions are colored by the ways in which participants handle the situation in which a visitor's subordination may be deepened

⁹ I witness that patients come in to some examining rooms when a patient is still being seen there. This happens when in an examining room two representatives help each other to speed patient's assistance, so that representatives can finish seeing patients before 2:00 p.m.

depending on the circumstance of the encounter and the participants' attitude. For instance, patients not only have to comply with the institutional guidelines, but may be pressed to participate in birth control programs, as I show below.

For your own sake: enforcement and contestation

The idea that women should bear the primary burden of any birth control plan is tacitly assumed since birth control methods have been designed and produced to be implanted within a woman's body (e.g., the IUD and the vaginal ring) or used externally (e.g., the pill, injection of Depo-Provera, and the contraceptive patch) to curtail ovulation. There are only two methods that are directed at men: condoms and vasectomy. Neither of the latter two has been successful within the population of Peruvian men, including villagers.

The assumption that women should be the main target of birth control methods is a longstanding concern for the representatives of health facilities and NGOs. For instance, health representatives allot time to give advice on birth planning when women show up for their monthly prenatal care or for their children's vaccinations or medical checks. In addition, some women seek medical advice for contraceptive methods while others do not want to be given any recommendation nor to talk about it.

The event I examined occurred in the largest examining room usually reserved for prenatal care. As I described in the first chapter, from the door one can see the representative's desk, two chairs, and a metal shelf where medical records, pregnancy cards, and notebooks are distributed. On the desk to the right, are the prescription drug forms and the pregnancy cards, to the left and in the middle are patient's medical records. While representative (R3) records patient care in the register of assisted patients, a patient (P3) comes in with her baby in an *unkhuña*, a woven cloth and sits facing R3.

R3 asks the patient about her medical record number to make sure that the file she has opened matches the patient. She stamps the date in a medical form and asks:

R3: *Niway* este /:/ *imawan cuidakunki qan* (.) ah (?)

P3: *Mana siñurita kuyrakuymanchu* [facing R3]

R3: Por qué (?) Otro *wawa kanqa* [reviewing a sheet in the medical record]

P3: *Umayman siñurita atakawan*

R3: Tell me this:/:/ what contraceptive method would you use (.) ah (?)

P3: Miss. I won't use any method [facing R3]

R3: Why (?) You will have another baby [reviewing a sheet in the medical record]

P3: It gives me terrible headaches

R3's question about the contraceptive method that P3 would use is answered by a straight "no." She inquires calmly in a low voice¹⁰ about the reason and suggests that there will be another baby if she does not take any birth control measures. P3 explains without any hesitation that a birth control plan has affected her health. She suffered from headaches and does not want to undergo any other episode of pain for using methods to prevent further pregnancies.

Without paying attention to what the patient is saying, R3 insists on the necessity of using a contraceptive method.

R3: Pero si es que /:/ *unquq kanka* [stamping the big notebook]

P3: *Mana siñurita kuyrakuymanchu*

R3: *Kunan ves ashkha wawayuq kashanki* (.) *hayk'a wawa kashan* (?) [stamping on the medical record sheet]

P3: Tres

R3: Ves (.) tres es demasiada (.) *qan watayki* /:/ *hayk'a watayki* (?)

R3: But if you /:/ will be pregnant

P3: Miss. I won't use any method

R3: Now you see you have a lot of children (.) how many children are there (?)

P3: Three

R3: You see (.) three is too many (.) your age /:/ how old are you (?)

Despite R3's difficulties in expressing herself fluently in Quechua¹¹—signaled by her constant use of Spanish phrases and broken (/:/) utterances—she achieves her aim of warning P3 that she will be pregnant if she does not use any birth control plan. The patient, in a low and shy voice, asserts that she will not take any birth control. She

¹⁰ It caught my attention that the representative spoke in a low voice and tried hard to continuously speak Quechua. Some representatives claim that fluency in Quechua is required to communicate with patients more effectively. Usually representatives talk a little bit louder. It seems that a quiet voice has been chosen to prevent bystanders [like me] from hearing the topic of the conversation (birth control methods), since there have been many reports about women's sterilization sponsored by the state without the woman's consent.

¹¹ Although the representative does not speak Quechua fluently, she tries to speak in that language possibly to avoid any witnesses, since it is assumed that I barely understand Quechua. After all, the representative has to comply with her job duties, since they are part of the institutional policies. The issue is not whether it is good or bad to talk about the methods, nor whether advice to use any particular method is good or bad. There are different issues, such as whether women have the freedom to choose—if there is really any freedom at all—, how the advice and method are delivered, and whether women receive complete information regarding side effects or not. Other questions include: Do men get involved? Or as I explore, how is hierarchy articulated in these interactions? When I visited women in their homes, they asked about the methods available only in the city. Sometimes I was asked about specific information about the shot, IUDs, and other methods. I was not able to answer all of their questions.

addresses R3 as *siñurita* as usual, signaling respect, and polite distance, which is hinted at by the Spanish diminutive “ita.” The representative, without paying attention to P3’s responses, contends that her interlocutor has many children even though she may not yet be sure about the number of children that the patient has.

Within her utterance in Quechua she uses the Spanish word “ves,” a word that conveys that P3 has to be aware that she has too many children, and that P3 should therefore find a method for not having any additional children. R3 assures her assessment by asking about the number of children that the patient has. After getting the number, she strengthens her stance by asserting that three children are too many. The interrogation continues, and she asks P3’s age which she declares to be twenty five. The age is taken as a context to lecture P3. R3 address P3 by her first name (Timaku) and says that she is too young to have three children already hence she must “choose” a birth control plan to take care of herself.

R3: *Ima /:/ ima metodowan cuidakunki kunan kuti (?)* [organizing the medical record sheets]

P3: *Inikshunawanchu hina chhaynawaran chay kuti* [moving her head a little bit toward her right]

R3: What /:/ what method will you use this time? [organizing the medical record sheets]

P3: I think the shot made me sick that time [moving her head a little bit toward her right]

R3 insists on asking again about the birth control method that P3 will use this time. P3 contends that it may have been the Depo-Provera signaled by *hina* that made her sick and also informed by *chhaynawaran*, a method that caused her to suffer from headaches. According to the Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA)¹² the most common side effect of Depo-Provera is irregular bleeding during the 6 or 12 months of use. However, the most common side effect of the shot is headaches leading to constant migraine, among Quechua-speaking women¹³ although this is regarded as less common by the PPFA within the North American population. Villagers in our daily conversation used to talk about headaches as side effects of the birth control shots. They

¹² <http://www.plannedparenthood.org/about-us/who-we-are-4648.htm> (accessed November 30, 2009)

¹³ To my knowledge, there is no serious research on Depo-Provera’s side effects in Peru by the Peruvian Ministry of Health or any other private organizations; however they still encourage or impel women to use it.

describe telling stories of painful headaches and migraine when they were under the Depo-Provera plan.¹⁴

P3's concerns about the side effects of Depo-Provera and her recurring painful headaches seem to be ignored by R3 who continues with her duty at hand without batting an eye. R3 callous attitude might be a sign of her stance toward P3's pain, that is, indifference and failure to identify P3 as a suffering human. Maybe she is simply complying with her job duty, or maybe she does not fully understand Quechua. She insists on asking about the method that P3 would use.

R3: *Y kunan ima/./imawan* (.) *condoneswan* (?) [stamping on the patient's attention and drug prescription form]

P3: *Mana siñurita* (-)

R3: Humm [finishing the stamping]

P3: *Mana siñurita kuyrakuymanchu imawanpas* [facing the representative]

R3: ¿Por qué (?) *Y imata ruwanki* si es que *wawa kanqa* (?) [facing the patient and writing on the attention and drug prescription form]

P3: [tries to smile; a long silence follows]

R3: And now what/./ with what (.) with condoms? [stamping on the patient's attention and drug prescription form]

P3: No, Miss. (-)

R3: Umm [finishing the stamping]

P3: Miss. I cannot use any contraceptive methods [facing the representative]

R3: Why? And what will you do if there is a baby (?) [facing the patient and writing on the attention and drug prescription form]

P3: [tries to smile; a long silence follows]

Although R3 has difficulties expressing herself in Quechua, as suggested by her hesitation (/./) and the pause (.) in the flow of her utterance, she indicates the condom as a possible alternative method. Her indication is straightforwardly refused by P3, turning the possibility of choosing the condom into an impossible "choice". P3 may refuse to use the condom not only because she does not want to do so, but she cannot decide by herself on any method, much less the condom, since it is a device for men. The representative's assumption seems that women can easily bring a condom home and prevail over her partner's will to use it.

¹⁴ For example, Kamiku was under the shot plan, but she discontinued it due to constant migraine headaches. *Umaymi sinchita ruphawiran. Kurpuytaq nina hinaraq yawrariq mana imanakuyta atiranichu. Luka hinaraq phawaykachayta munarani, nanaymanta yaqa wañuranipas.* (I have constant headaches, my body used to burn like fire. I was not able to do anything. I was to the point of going crazy because of the pain. I almost died because of the very painful headaches)

The refusal to use a condom is overlooked by R3's utterance. R3 utters "hummm" conveying that there is an expectation of agreement to use a birth control method; however, the expected answer turns into a definite "no." P3 asserts that she will not use any plan, even the condom, maintaining her refusal to use any contraceptive method, despite R3's insistence. She keeps her stance distant, using *siñurita* as a form of address so that she not be understood as disrespectful person.

Since P3 did not provide the expected answer, R3 utters a question in Spanish requiring reasons, leaving out P3's bad experience with Depo-Provera's side effects that are preventing her from using any other method. R3 rephrases her Spanish question in Quechua, conveying that P3 will have another baby if she does not use contraception, that is, she will not be able to do anything about it. Under the pressing question P3 tries to smile. R3 stops writing to look at P3's face and compel her to answer by uttering "ah" (tell me).

P3 seems without a chance to escape; she may feel harassed by the persistent and harassing question. Such insistence on using a contraceptive method makes P3 feel nervous, which is suggested when she begins to swing her feet. There were no more words to say nor any other way to say "no." R3, through her subtle way of addressing the necessity of using a contraceptive method, seems to succeed since P3's silence is interpreted as surrender; thus, she forcefully insists on what method P3 will choose this time.

R3: *Timaku niway* [looking at P3's face]

P3: *Mana siñurita* (.) *nishuta siñurita unquchiwan* (.) *chaychu kuyrakusaq* (?) [facing R3]

R3: *Pero condonenwan* (?) [looking at P3 and holding the patient's attention and drug prescription form]

R3: Tell me Timaku [looking at P3' face]

P3: No, Miss. (.) it makes me too sick (.) despite that, should I use that method (?) [facing R3]

R3: But how about the condom? [looking at P3 and holding the patient's attention and drug prescription form]

P3 is persuaded by R3's addressing her on a first name basis. P3 cannot keep silent anymore and maintaining the address, *siñurita*, she asserts again that contraceptive methods make her sick all the time, that is, that she should not be expected to take any plan at all—which is suggested by the word *chaychu*—since she does not want to be sick.

She refuses to be the unconditional object of things that compromise her health or well-being. Facing such unexpected refusal, R3 indicates the condom as the perfect alternative again despite the fact that it was discarded as a possibility before.

R3's main concern seems to be to make P3 agree to use a contraceptive method,¹⁵ although it does not matter if the method has side effects, or might not be possible to use at all, depending on the particular circumstances of her conjugal relationship. Her aim to get P3 to consent to using a contraceptive method seems to be fading; by this point, all she can achieve is filling out the appropriate forms. She appears have a commitment to the birth control plan that she advocates, without taking into account P3's refusal and suffering, and continues to raise the possibility of having too many children

R3: "Entonces no quieres cuidarte y quieres tener 10 ó 20 hijos" (?) *Aqnata munanki*
[facing P3]
P3: [Becomes silent]

R3: So you do not want to use any method, so you want to have 10 or 20 children (?) You want that [facing P3]
P3: [Becomes silent]

R3 interpreted P3's refusal to use any contraceptive method as a deliberate intent to have around 10 or 20 children, that is, an intentional disregard for her health by exposing herself to the risk of having too many children. She ends her Spanish phrase with a Quechua question that summons P3 to answer and change her refusal. P3 is speechless under harassment that foreshadows her fate. Within a Quechua framework if somebody foreshadows or predicts that something will happen, the person may assume that she will be disgraced by it.

P3 faces R3 without batting an eye, she swings her feet and seems to try to say something but cannot say a word; her mouth is left slightly open. She may have no words to contest such insidious "suggestions" or perhaps decides not to show her outrage because her interlocutor is within her domain—an institutional space represented by R3 who is endowed with the right to ordain things—in which the safe way to keep self-respect is to maintain respect.

¹⁵ It is part of representatives' duties to advise or offer counseling to women about contraceptive methods that are available at the health facility in order to comply with the public health policies.

P3's silence or silent refusal to use any contraceptive method cannot be accepted by R3 who demands a verbalized answer

R3: Ah (?) [facing P3] *nuqa allinmanta nishayki (.) mana nuqa /:/ porque a mi /:/ mana importawanchu (.) nuqa allinmi tiyakuni* [looking toward her right and holding a pen]
P3: [keeps silent]

R3: Ah (?) [facing P3] I am telling you in a good manner (.) I am not /:/ because to me /:/ I do not care (.) I live very well with myself [looking toward her right and holding a pen]
P3: [keeps silent]

R3's "ah (?)" plus the eye contact demands an answer. The demand pretends to be friendly by claiming that the contraception advice is being delivered in a nice fashion without harming anybody. It is to protect P3's health; otherwise R3 has no interest in talking about contraceptives. R3 claims that she is giving P3 because she is happy with herself and does not have any problems. Although her speech is broken (/:/) twice, she can convey her demand in Quechua.

Under such argument P3 looks at R3 and shakes her head nodding as a sign of agreeing with R3, but without uttering a word she swings her feet and gazes at them. She may not want to face R3 anymore and focuses on her feet to avoid the eye contact that would demand an answer. Her silence seems to be an answer to the "offer" of using a contraceptive method; a response that refuses to use any birth control method. R3 does not pay attention to her interlocutor's silent response since she is busy with her task at hand filling out the patient care form but she insists that using contraception is for the woman's own sake, as highlighted by "*Qanllapaqña nuqa explicashayki (.) hum*" (I am explaining this to you only).

This phrase implies that the advice is a privilege given to P3 only, and that there would not be such explanation for other women. R3 attempts to align P3 with her by asserting that she would not explain anything under normal circumstances, and that it is thus a special favor for one person. P3 does not accept this, nor does she express any sign of thankfulness for "having been chosen" as the special person, thus, she keeps silent without uttering a word. Such silence makes R3, who is expecting a verbal concession, impatient. R3's attempt to make P3 accept condoms as an alternative to DEPO-PROVERA seem to force R3 to turn to P3's husband:

R3: Aunque sea /:/ *apamunayki* esposoykita y *nuqa* explicasaq (.) *condonwan cuidakuychis*

P3: *Ya siñurita*

R3: At least /:/ you have to bring your husband along and I will explain [to him] to use a condom

P3: Okay, Miss

R3, faced with P3's long silence, orders P3 to bring her husband with her so that she can advise them both on the matter of the condom use, which she has decided will be the birth control plan for P3 and her husband. It seems that R3's decision to impose herself on adult sexual life suggest that they cannot reach that decision by themselves. This decision is beyond the representative's institutional duties.

P3 who is forced to agree to bring in her husband, agrees to do so without further comments and becomes silent again, holding her baby in her lap. She may be tired of R3's harassing demand that the only form of being liberated from such conversations is by agreeing to bring her husband with her. Such agreement may mean, first, that she will certainly bring her husband to make him to endure the representative's advice about a contraceptive plan or make him aware of the responsibility of using a condom. Second, she may not bring her husband, or her husband may not want to visit the health facility at all.

R3 appears satisfied with the outcome. She takes the answer as a positive attitude, and tries to build an empathetic relationship—despite the constant fissures in her Quechua (/:/)—and, while writing in the patient care form, says:

R3: Ya (.) *mana /:/ mana aqnata /:/ mana /:/ mana imata /:/* y después *ashkha wawa kanqa y imaynalla kanqa (.) imaynata qan uywakunki (.) mana wawata aqna animalhinachu kanan (.) solo waka (.) oveja chunka (.) tawa (.) pisqa comunlla (.) qan humano kanki igual nuqa hina no cierto (.) hina pasan maltratakun cuerpoyki (.) cuidakunayki (.) entonces rimay esposoykiwan y hamuy (.) apamunki nuqa explicasaq*

R3: Okay (.) *no:// like that not:// no:// nothing no:// and after [that] there will be a lot of babies and what would it be (.) how you will take care of (.) babies cannot come into being like animals (.) only cows (.) sheep [have] 10 (.) 5 (.) 4 offspring without any care (.) you are human like me right (?) your body is mistreated (.) it happens like that (.) you have to take care of [your body] (.) so talk with your husband (.) come with him I will explain it to him*

The representative—despite her best intentions and her assumption that she is complying with her job functions—cannot avoid her stereotypical image of Quechua-speaking women. For the representative, women who deliver more than three children are like animals, “*animal hina*”—paying no attention to the care their children will receive.

Those who have more than three children resemble cows or sheep: solo *waka* oveja, *tawa*, *pisqa*, *chunka comunlla*. A woman who has more than three children is simply not human, unable to control her body through contraception. Not having children also means the desire to take care of one's body if one has a sense of self-esteem. The representative veils her assessment by adding that P3 has to take care of her body well by using a contraceptive plan since she is being offered this opportunity. The woman does not say anything; instead she hands in her health insurance form. The only phrase she says after a few minutes is "*ya siñurita*." But after uttering this phrase she becomes silent again, holding her baby in her lap while the representative keeps writing on the patient care form (attention form).

The labeling of those women who refuse to use a contraceptive method as animals, in contrast to humans, who know how to care for their body or control their pregnancies, is a commonly accepted claim within the health facility. "Animal" is a label to undermine those women with a Quechua background (that is, the villagers), as well as to put into question their ability to reason in order to decide on behalf of their health, well-being or any other aspect that concerns them. Moreover women are regarded as solely responsible for having children as if the conception were carried out by women alone.

The image of female Quechua-speaking villagers as animals as opposed to humans, such as government representatives, seems to color interactions within the health facility and is something that may even permeate the national discourse (a subject that I explore in chapter 6). The villagers, however, contest such a depiction without much success in most cases given that they cannot counter the representatives' authoritative decisions over them or, if they do so, they may have to face undesired consequences such as P1, whose care was delayed when her time slot was allocated to attend to someone else.

If representatives exercise their medical authority in a fashion that is quite authoritarian (Heritage 2005: 98-89), it may be assumed that patients find themselves to be at the representatives' mercy despite their attempt to evade questions or answer by silence. I would suggest that Quechua-speaking patients take advantage of the representatives' authority in order to achieve their own goals--such as getting an

arbitrator, forcing someone to recognize their responsibilities, or registering a newborn. Registering a newborn may be an event in which participants have different expectations, as I examine below.

Registering a newborn

In this event the participants appear to be the same age (around thirty): a Spanish-speaking representative and Quechua-speaking patients. The patients are a woman and a man who have come to the health facility to obtain a certificate for their newborn. The former does not *speak* Spanish, but although she is illiterate she can understand some Spanish, especially commands and requirements. The latter can speak Spanish, but he is not literate in this language nor in Quechua. They have arrived to register their newborn, but the woman also wants to obtain a “certificate”¹⁶ for the newborn, a paper that identifies the man’s paternity. In contrast, the representative concentrates on her duty of registering the newborn.

The event takes place in the same examining rooms in which the preceding event has happened (“For your own sake...”). The representative (R4) places herself at her desk and sits in a chair, and opens a medical record to find a name in order to call the patient—a woman who was there the day before, to report her partner’s unwillingness to acknowledge their newborn. Once she says loudly “¡Waman Puma!” a woman (P4) carrying her child in her arms enters first, followed by her husband (P5). They are talking in Quechua. The woman sits in the chair and the man stands on the right side of the representative and positions himself as someone that does not want to be involved in the conversation, leaving the representative—who speaks a little louder—and his wife in a face-to-face position.

Telling things through signs: Words and gestures

P5: *Wawaychus manachus, imaynaya kakun?*

Woman: *Piqpataq kanman, chay killaqa qanllawanpuni kani.*

R4: [pulls out and displays a birth form to register the baby and gazes toward the woman]
“¿Cuál será el nombre del bebe?”

¹⁶ This is a form that is delivered by a health facility to certify the newborn’s date of birth. This form becomes a document to facilitate the process of registering the baby in the municipality.

P4: [moving her head towards the man, and pointing at the man with her face, jaw and eyes.]

P5: [he does not respond, keeps silent.]

P5: I wonder whether it is my child or not.

P4: Whose could the baby be, I was certainly only with you that month.

R4: [pulls out and displays a birth form to register the baby and gazes toward the woman] What will be the child's name?

P4: [moving her head towards the man, and pointing at the man with her face, jaw and eyes.]

P5: [he does not respond, keeps silent.]

The husband (P5) and his wife (P4) are debating the paternity of the child; the husband's doubts about his fatherhood hints that the latter may have engaged sexually with another man without his knowledge, so that the newborn might not be his child. The latter asserts without any hesitation that the former's paternity is not in question because she found out about her pregnancy while she was living with him. R4 does not pay attention to the couple's conversation; she is concerned with her task at hand—to fill out the birth form—rather than paying attention to what is going on with the newborn's parents. Her duty does not depend on understanding P5's denial of his paternity, nor on understanding Quechua. She asks for a name to name the newborn and to write it down on the form.

P4's gestures index P5 as the one in charge of naming the newborn. P5 should speak and name the child. Although P5 can express himself in Spanish, he is reluctant to say anything or to offer a name; nothing comes out of his mouth. He seems unwilling to recognize the newborn. The silence seems a way to convey his refusal to acknowledge the baby as his.

Among Quechua-speaking villagers—in an institutional setting—it is expected that a man will be responsible for giving a name for a newborn, whether or not he has agreed with his partner beforehand on a specific name.¹⁷ At the same time, if a man declares a name for a newborn to a public representative, he tacitly acknowledges his paternity. The acknowledgement will be sealed by his signing all the required paperwork to make the paternity official and legal. P4 and P5 are engaged in a game of chicken. If P5 says a name or anything at all, he will be regarded as the person in charge of naming,

¹⁷ Quechua speaking parents usually converse among themselves to give a name to their newborn. Sometimes, when they are not sure about a name, they ask the health representative to suggest a name.

as well recognizing his responsibilities and obligations as a father of the newborn. P4 has to remain silent: if she decides to provide a name she will lose the opportunity to oblige P5 to recognize the newborn.

The representative expects an answer in order to fulfill her institutional duties of registering the newborn on a birth form. This form requires a name, which makes the representative involved in the couple's discussion without any real connection to them, that is, participants are involved in the interaction with their own aims. After R4 demands a name for the newborn a silence fills the examining room. During the silence, the representative waits to hear a name. P4 keeps gazing at P5, expecting him to give a name while P5 remains silent, denying any paternity by not providing a name for the newborn. R4 and P4 expect to hear a name although their aims are different. The former needs to fill in the birth form—a government form that must be reported to the headquarters of the Ministry of Health—with a name which has not yet been uttered, the latter wants the man to name the baby, and by the same token attach responsibility to him.

The Spanish utterance signals that participants must handle the situation in Spanish. Spanish is the required national language, infused with a sense of power and knowledge that reinforces the representatives' authority; those who cannot cope with the requirement of "speak Spanish" may be dismissed. In the present case P4 wisely communicates with gestures. She cannot change codes; Spanish is not a choice for her. Rather, the use of Quechua or Spanish informs a social dominance. In public institutions such as health facilities, Spanish is the language of interaction. Patients should follow the required code in order to cope with the situation, and there is not much room for patients to change the code to Quechua if they wish (for an alternative view on code-switching see Harvey's 1991 and Gal's 1987 studies on the Andes and Europe respectively). Therefore, if the super-ordinate language is Spanish by virtue of being the official national language, Quechua automatically becomes rated as a lower language that may be drawn upon by its speakers (see Irvine and Gal 2000: 37). Hence, those who speak Spanish, such as representatives, may be indexed or positioned in or claim a super-ordinate position while those speaking Quechua may be indexed as being inferior because of the language they speak.

In this event Spanish becomes the language of interaction and Quechua vanishes, creating the fallacy of separate bounded realms: Spanish and Quechua, where the latter should be kept back regardless of the fact that one of the participants cannot speak the former language. Despite the constraint of the language, P4 perseveres and challenges the fallacy with her embodied action (head moving, jaw position and gaze) to involve the representative in the process of making the man responsible for naming the newborn.

Embodied action usually goes hand in hand with speech in any social situation, as Goffman (1979) points out, and gestures are part of the changes in participant's alignment or footing (through stance, posture, and prosody). In this interaction, however, P4 prioritizes gestures (Haviland 2000, 2004) and silence by turning her head toward P5, moving her face slightly forward and signaling with her jaw and looking ahead to P5, conveying that he is the person to be asked and in charge of naming the newborn. That is, the woman's embodied action does not go hand in hand with speech. She is *talking* through gestures and coping with the situation since she cannot speak Spanish. Faced with the question of providing a name she communicates through motioning her jaw and through her gaze to draw attention to P5, maximizing gestures and silence uttering a word.

On her own the woman could not make the man give a name, according to her account of the previous day,¹⁸ when she was asked to bring in her baby's father in order to register the baby. Her aim to obtain help to make the man acknowledge the newborn as his, is intertwined with her subordination to the representative's authority. She subordinates herself in order to obtain her ultimate goal—to force the man to recognize his paternity—by challenging the man in front of the representative, whose authority he cannot ignore.

To achieve her goal the woman may be embedded in multiple layers of asymmetrical relationships such as P5's unwillingness to acknowledge his paternity, R4's help, and the birth form. The birth form is not only a means to eventually force the man to recognize the newborn, but it is also a material thing, an object that compels the representative to require the specifics needed to be filled out. It instigates the

¹⁸ The day before she informed the representatives of P5's unwillingness to come to register the newborn; the representatives asked her to bring P5 in, in order to do the registration.

representative to take action (Keane 2006) which aligns with the woman's goal. Thus, it may be accurate to say that all participants are subordinated to the authority of the birth form,

The interaction is encompassed by intertwined signs (speech, bodily positioning, gestures, and silence) and material things such as the birth form. That is, the representative's speech and silence (awaiting the utterance of a name), the man's silence (denying his paternity) and the woman's gesture (expecting the man's utterance) are all part of a common code to deal with something to be performed verbally, that is, the name of the newborn. This performance appears to be in the hands of the man.

Acknowledging responsibility or surrendering authority

Therefore, attention shifts to the man. The woman's gestures lead the representative to focus on the man, who is asked,

R4: [Looking towards the man] "¿Cómo se llamará el bebe?"

P5: [Keeps silent for a few minutes, looking down]

R4: [Keeps looking towards the man, and gazing at him]

P5: [With a far-away look] "Que se llame Faustino."

R4: "Faustino!" [Writing down the newborn's name on the birth form] "Entonces, el bebe se llamará Faustino, Waman por parte de su padre y Puma por parte de su madre."

P4: [keeps silent]

R4: [Looking towards the man] What will the baby's name be?

P5: [Keeps silent for a few minutes, looking down]

R4: [Keeps looking towards the man, and gazing at him.]

P5: [With a far-away look] Let his name be Faustino.

R4: Faustino! [Writing down the newborn's name on the birth form] So the baby will be called Faustino, Waman as patronym on behalf of his father, and his matronym Puma, on behalf his mother.

P4: [Keeps silent]

The woman, by keeping silent, has succeeded in persuading the representative to compel the man to utter a name, something that she might not have achieved by herself. Since she only speaks Quechua, she is dependent upon the representative's action. The representative within the institutional frame and as the government agent not only has the authority but also the entitlement to compel the man to follow her demand, as is signaled by the Spanish utterance and gesture. She keeps a distance from the paternity quarrel and from the couple's concerns, and arranges the birth form to fill in as part of her everyday duty. The representative acts very professionally as someone who does not have any

responsibility for naming the child by asking in an impersonal form—signaled by the Spanish word “se”— about the newborn’s name, at the same time gazing at P5 (Goodwin 2000) who keeps looking down to avoid the representative’s gaze and delaying his answer.

By gazing at the man, the representative demands an answer, that is, a name to fill in on the form. Such staring may be interpreted by P5 as a kind of criticism that he cannot stand; he may not want to be criticized.¹⁹ The man breaks his silence under this demand and utters a name using the same impersonal form as the representative, “se llame” to convey that he is not truly responsible. This stance is reinforced by his far-away-look where despite providing a name, he nonetheless manages to undermine his responsibility as father in relation to the newborn. His use of “se” without making reference to the newborn as his baby and his gesture implies that he names the newborn but is not responsible for his well-being. Nonetheless he may feel defeated since despite his silent refusal to give a name he has given a name against his will.

The man’s stance is confronted by the representative’s exclamation “Faustino” as she finally writes down the name on the birth form and says “el bebe se llamará Faustino.” The representative keeps writing and speaking out loud what she writes on the form “Waman por parte de su padre.” She informs both P5 and P4 what she is writing to make sure that there is not any doubt about the name or the newborn’s parents, and much less on the man’s paternity. The man does not contest the representative’s utterance that asserts that the newly named “Faustino” will be under the last name of Waman. The fact that the man’s name is being written down in the form denotes that the father is the man who must fulfill his duties as such. The man is overwhelmed and defeated by the representative’s procedures and authority. Since the representative in turn is subordinated to the requirement that the birth form’s headings be filled in, the form instigates the representative to demand a name, and concurrently she sides unwarily with the woman’s

¹⁹ I witnessed that villagers may interpret any staring as criticism when a neighbor perhaps unwittingly looked at the front yard of a family with whom I was chatting. The family began to complain about their neighbor asking why she was looking at them. That day they were trying to dry their buried child’s clothes in their front yard.

aim of obtaining a name. The demand for a name has helped the woman to make the man implicitly acknowledge his paternity.²⁰

Moreover, the representative's authority to demand a name is not challenged by the man, and the woman may not care about depending on this authority as long as the man acknowledges the newborn. The unchallenged authority allows the representative to keep controlling the flow of interaction. She does not relinquish the floor even when the form is being filled out. The effect is that the representative's authority is enhanced even more when Spanish becomes the main code of interaction.

The form appears to compel people to provide its required information; it is not only an instigator, but contributes to the woman's aim. Up to a point, all participants are subordinated to the form while the couple is subordinated to the representative authority—which the woman uses wisely. Within the couple's relationships the woman is subordinated to the man's unwillingness to name the newborn although he cannot refuse to provide a name faced with the representative's demand. The man could not verbalize any argument against naming the newborn despite being able to speak Spanish. To speak Spanish is not enough to challenge the representative's authority.

The process of obtaining a name is achieved by utterances intertwined with other semiotic processes such as gestures, gaze, silences, and written forms. What is more, in a cross-cultural interaction gestures take primacy; participants frame their conversation within highly charged non-verbal signs. That is, the woman's gestures, the man's silence, and R4's momentous silence and gaze are semiotic forms that participants use to cobble together the interaction beyond the use of Quechua or Spanish. These semiotic forms are constitutive parts and crucial components in the process of obtaining a name.

To have a name is not enough to fill out the form, nor for the newborn to be acknowledged as the son of the couple and a subject of the state. There are other documents that the form requires:

The birth form: Imploring action

²⁰ In Quechua-speaking villages when there are not difficulties among couples, both parents converse about the name that they will give their newborn. The person in charge of communicating the name will be the father. By the act of choosing a name parents bring the newborn into the world as a human and as their heir. There is no special ceremony to name a newborn although many years ago there was a ritual by which a midwife or grandparents used to give a name to a newborn before the parents baptized the child within the Roman Catholic religion. The person who named a newborn used to become the godparent of the child

R4: [Looking toward P4] “¿Tu documento nacional de identidad?”
P4: [Looks at her bundle, and pulls it out from a set of papers wrapped in a plastic bag, and hands it to R4]
R4: [Fills in the form with the baby’s mother data. Looking toward P5] “¿Tu documento nacional de identidad?”
P5: [He pulls it out of his pants pocket and hands it to R4]
R4: [Fills in the birth form with the child’s father data. After that she sets out a birth certificate and asks P5] “¿Quieres que te lo llene o prefieres llenarlo tú?”
P5: [In a soft voice] “Llénemelo nomás.”
R4: “Bien!” [Requests the ID card again and proceeds to fill in the birth certificate in the section call “the deponent.” After that she shows the form to P5] “Listo, firma!”
R4: [Takes P5’s index finger and makes a print on the birth certificate] “Presiona tu índice sobre éste tampón y luego presiona otra vez sobre este cuadrado.”

R4: [Looking toward P4] Your national ID card?
P4: [Looks at her bundle, and pulls it out from a set of papers wrapped in a plastic bag, and hands it to R4]
R4: [Fills in the form with the baby’s mother data. Looking toward P5] Your national ID card?
P5: [He pulls it out of his pants pocket and hands it to R4]
R4: [Fills in the form with the child’s father data. After that she sets out a birth certificate and asks P5] Do you want me to fill it in, or do you prefer to do it?
P5: [In a soft voice] Just fill it in for me.
R4: Okay! [Requests the ID card again and proceeds to fill in the birth certificate in the section call “the deponent.” After that she shows the form to P5] Done; sign!
R4: [Takes P5’s index finger makes a print on the birth certificate] Press your index finger on this ink pad and press it in the square.

After R4 has filled out the birth form with the newborn’s name and his parents’ last names she proceeds to require the parents’ national identification cards (ID). ID cards are crucial to complete the government forms, and without them the newborn cannot be registered. The ID cards shows a number, birth date, full names and place of birth. At the same time, they constitute a proof and an index of being a Peruvian citizen. R4 wants to see the IDs to verify the ID numbers and the names since P4 and P5 cannot spell their names. The names must be copied as they are written on the ID cards, including the ID numbers. Although the representative has to sign the form she does not show her own ID, and hence she remains nameless to the other participants²¹. The act of showing the ID places P4 and P5 in a subordinate position in relation to the representative who does not show any identification. Within public institutions visitors show ID but representatives are not expected to do so.

²¹ Patients usually do not know representatives’ names. Representatives do not exhibit their names in any visible way.

The representative is in command and in charge of every action by virtue of acting on behalf of the government, and by keeping Spanish as the means of communication, but above all by her medical authority. She keeps the floor and commands her interlocutors through the paper work and through the deictic cues embedded in the Spanish inflections to register the newborn. These deictic cues place the woman and the man together in a lower position in relation to the representative. For instance, within the Spanish framework (in cross-cultural relations), “tú” indexes Quechua-speaking people in a lower standing in relation to the speaker. The use of “tú” instead of “usted” (similar to the tu/vous relation in French) is a deictic cue that indexes a person as part of the conversation but in a lower position with respect to another or others (Levinson 1983). For example, the phrase “tu documento” should have been “su documento” to show a degree of respect, or at least distance. The inflections of “firmar” (to sign) as “firma,” and “tener” (to have) as “tienes,” also index the man and the woman in a subordinated relationship to the representative.

Both P4 and P5 find themselves fulfilling the representative’s directives-- illustrated by the imperative form of “firma”—signaling the representative’s entitled authority. The higher status of the representative is strengthened when the man, confronted with the task of filling in the information on the birth form, asks R4 to fill it in on his behalf, “llénemelo nomás.” P5 legitimates R4’s actions by the inflection of the verb “llenar” (to fill in) as “llénemelo,” a phrase in which the form “usted” is embedded, at the same time as it indexes the addressee as separate from the speaker and maintains distance despite his ability to speak Spanish.

The man is not able to cope with the demand of filling in the form which reinforces his placement in a lower status in relation to the representative. He speaks Spanish but cannot write; his illiteracy aligns him with the woman. The man and the woman are under the representative’s authority, who commands them even by addressing both interlocutors with the pronoun “tú”. Their subordination becomes even more deeply engrained by the fact of their illiteracy. The man, after he was been instructed in how to imprint his index finger onto the birth form, signs and presses his index finger on the inkpad and prints it on the form without uttering a word.

After the representative writes the newborn's given name she requests the woman to uncover the newborn's foot to print its sole on the birth form. The woman brings the baby near to the desk from her lap and lifts his bare foot. The representative grabs the bare foot and presses the sole on the inkpad and after that onto the birth certificate. The newborn's foot is cold, so R4 scolds the woman, saying, "¡su pie está frío! ¡Tienes que abrigarlo!" (His foot is cold! You must keep it warm!)

Besides being subordinated to R4 and P5's will, the woman has to comply with a specific model of motherhood. A good mother always keeps her offspring warm, else she might be regarded as a failure, lacking the capacity to perform motherhood, one who does not know how to take care of her baby. The woman is not only placed in a lower position, and sometimes, exposed to the will of other participants within the health facility, but she also faces the evaluation of others regarding their expectations about motherhood.

The woman, however, has gotten a name for her newborn and has made her partner acknowledge his paternity. Otherwise she would have been obligated to give a name. She has been successful, but she knows that the birth form needs to be presented at the municipality to register a legal birth certificate which can make the father legally responsible. The woman would not be able to obtain the certificate if the father does not sign again a set of paperwork at the municipality, which is part of the procedure for the infant to be acknowledged as Peruvian citizen in legal terms. The situation is complex because the woman has to move within many institutional frames to make the man recognize her child as his and at the same time to secure a legal birth certificate to apply for an ID when the child turns 18.

The process of filling out the birth form includes several semiotic features (verbal and non verbal). For example, speech among participants is intertwined with the requirements of what must be written on the birth form. The representative has to subordinate her actions and that of the other participants to fill in the form with the required specific information. Therefore, all participants are subordinated to the form, but the representative as the government agent also subordinates the other participants (P4 and P5) by using an imperative speech form to fulfill her duty. Moreover, the form not only subordinates participants, but it also becomes a record of the existence of the

newborn who is being incorporated into the control of public health policies. None of the participants can escape from the tyranny of the government forms.

In the above events, interactions are infused with the authority of the representatives who demand things. Patients sometimes manage to evade what they are being asked for and sometimes concede it, but some of them manage to use such authority to their own ends. However, both representatives and patients are compelled by the agency of the written forms, to which they subordinate their actions, allotting a significant portion of the appointment time to the forms.

The materiality of signs: Forms

The clinical setting also brings into view the materiality of signs. That is, the whole encounter is characterized by several semiotic forms such as verbal, non-verbal, and written forms, which are interwoven in each stage of the interaction. The verbal and nonverbal signs are materially embodied in the persons of the participants while the forms are not only constitutive components of the interaction (see Goodwin 2000), but are also part of and contribute to enhancing the representatives' authority in relation to the patients.

Moreover, the government forms force participants—beyond their own aims and personal concerns—to comply with the required information to be filled in. Participants facilitate the information by showing ID cards, signing, finger printing and writing down names. The forms require organized bureaucratic procedures that must be followed by representatives and patients. They are endowed with a kind of power that constrains participants' actions up to a certain point. At the same time, participants themselves, despite the forms' requirements, attempt to achieve their own aims regardless of whether they find themselves subordinated among themselves or in relation to the forms.

Although each participant has a sense of what these forms are and what their value is, only the government representative knows for sure how to fill them in. Even though the patients may access them by seeing the form and witness how it is filled in, they cannot fill them in by themselves because of their illiteracy. Even if they were literate they may not be able to read and interpret what the forms are asking for and how

to fill them. The language of the forms codifies requirements to fill in blanks that even representatives can only sort out after being trained in several workshops.

Participants' actions are intertwined with the forms that frame their utterances and they become interlocutors by virtue of these forms. The signs contained in and represented by the forms are opaque because their encoded language cannot be easily interpreted (for a different approach on things as opaque objects see Keane 2006: 201). As signs that represent the government, with all their implicated entailments, the forms may not be fully acknowledged by participants who may not necessarily be willing to make meaningful the encoded language or the forms themselves beyond the instance of the interaction. Thus, the forms as material things may become inscrutable or unreadable far away from the daily experience of the participants, particularly from patients' daily lives. They are things that exist in a different realm and that can remain opaque to participants' endeavors, particularly for Quechua-speaking people.

Moreover, the diagram within the forms and the codified language can only be understood by specialists, that is, those who formulated the forms. They are only "readable" through the eyes of experts (Goodwin 2000: 1508); representatives therefore need to be trained. The forms as government papers take a dominant position within participants' interaction. Once the government representatives become familiar with the forms and know how to read the signs contained in them they try to comply with the task of filling them in, and controlling the flow of utterances according to the forms' requirements.

Although patients cannot decode what the forms require or say, they try to cope with the forms' demands, since they cannot refuse to offer the required information. For instance, in the event of naming a newborn, all participants (representatives, patients, newborn, and forms) are enmeshed in relations of power through the process of bringing a newborn into "existence," and at the same time, making the newborn into a subject of the state.

The government forms, particularly the birth form, are central to the production of a category (a name) in order to bring the newborn into existence as citizen. Naming the newborn is crucial to constituting him as a legal person, and for a woman who struggles to make a man acknowledge the child as his. However, as soon as the newborn is named,

this name and his parents' name become part of something metaphysical. The names become abstract things to be filled in on a form. They are abstracted from the very persons that they name or the individuals to whom they are linked that identify them as unique persons. The abstraction of names from the person happens through their printed names, copied from the ID card, signatures, which participants sign on the forms, finger prints and sole prints. The form removes from the newborn and from his parents that which belong to them, that is, their names. The names are fixed on the form and forwarded to the Ministry of Health to become part of the Ministry as electronic record files (Hull 2003) or archives to which representatives or government policy makers can resort countless times.

The government forms constitute material forms and signs linked to other signs such as particular forms of speech, gestures, and silence that create or reproduce hierarchical relations among participants within specific encounters. Thus, social hierarchies are articulated by material forms and not only by linguistic and verbal practices as Irvine (1989) shows in her example of the griot's praise-song in the hierarchical Wolof society.²² One might need to consider linguistic signs and other signs such as gestures, and material forms (e.g., government forms) as a constitutive part of how medical authority and subordination are displayed in face-to-face interactions.

Although the different kinds of materiality described above (represented by linguistic signs, other semiotic forms, and papers) are intertwined to materialize hierarchical relations, paradoxically they might have distinct consequences for hierarchical relations. Linguistic signs, such as, formulaic phrases may circulate among other participants within the clinic and within other institutions such as municipalities, NGOs and elementary schools. Gestures may last only until participants' objectives have been achieved during the interaction. Paper forms, on the other hand, endure, as they can be taken out from the encounter and can last as long as the state considers them a source of valuable information. Paper forms condense multiple meanings. They are icons and symbols that reflect the government's policies of accounting for every newborn within the Peruvian state through the Ministry of Health. This information will be reported to the

²² In Wolof society a specific speech form becomes a good to be exchanged for another good (e.g., money), in order to qualify for or to enhance the high rank of the addressee (patron).

city health center and to national headquarters to produce statistical data to illustrate the well-being of the newborn population²³.

The government forms constitute icons of the existence of a citizen, and a record for the government. The forms symbolizing a new subject also index the newborn as a member of the Peruvian state, as “a member of a nation,” that is, as a “citizen.” Paper forms have their own political-economic life beyond people’s aims and life time. For instance, paper forms subordinate people by making them interact according to the papers’ internal organization, but also by being part of the public health policies. These papers, beyond the participants’ interaction, seem not only to instigate participants’ actions, but they exercise a subtle tyranny that all have to follow. The process of obtaining papers such as the birth form that prove the existence of the newborn as a Peruvian citizen illustrates asymmetrical relations amongst participants.

For instance, the birth form—generated within the systems of the public health as a means to keep a record on neonatal population—is presented as paperwork to be done on behalf of the newborn to grant him official recognition as a citizen. Although the form obliges all participants to follow its demands, it situates representatives in a powerful position since they are authorized to fill out the form to initiate the procedures to obtaining a legal certificate from the municipality²⁴ which is essential to prove a person’s citizenship.

In addition, the legal document will be necessary to obtain the national identification card (ID). The ID is an official document and the only one that proves the legal existence of a person above eighteen years of age as a member of the Peruvian nation. The absence of this document will jeopardize the citizen’s “freedom.” The ID proves that people are citizens with certain rights, privileges and duties under the law. The situation described above illustrates the “privilege” of having a right to a name, but it

²³ In order to be ranked as a good government, the international community requires information about the percentage of births attended to by the health system. In Peru, it is common practice to supply staples to pregnant women and to breastfeeding women until the newborn is 6 months old. Newborns after 6 months are given 3 kilos per month of concentrate flour that has the basic minerals and vitamins that a child needs to eat every day in order to avoid malnutrition. Levels of nutrition are also measured by international institutions (e.g., the World Health Organization) to show the country’s development level.

²⁴ This legal document will be necessary in the near future to obtain access to an elementary school, and to “enjoy” any other benefit offered by the state. This is the case even if the newborn might not be able to pursue their education beyond elementary education because of economic or socio-political hardship.

does not mean that those who do not belong to the mainstream of Spanish culture, such as Quechua-speaking people, will be considered equal nor be the victims of prejudice because of the ideology of “mestizaje”--understood as assimilation--conflates their citizenship with the ideal juridical citizenship granted to all newborns within Peruvian territory, regardless of sex, race, ethnicity and language (a point I discuss in chapter 6).

As it has been shown, although patients and representatives struggle to achieve their own endeavors, the former becomes an object of health policies and recipient of commands by the latter. In their interactions, a subtle and insidious form of authority is produced, placing representatives in a super-ordinate position from which they address their visitors in a highly authoritarian form. While patients evade or subvert their placement into a lower standing, they sometimes end up perpetuating their debasement. This kind of hierarchical relationship is not peculiar to the health facility setting, but even reaches into villagers’ daily life when representatives step into the households to “provide” health advice, as I examine in the next chapter (5).

Chapter 5

Encroaching on the Household and its Members

Husi: *Kukachayki kashanchu?*

M: *Ari*

Husi: *Saqiwankicha*

Husi: Do you have *kuka* leaves

M: Yes

Husi: Could you give some *kuka*

In the preceding section (chapter 4) I explored events that illustrate the way hierarchical relations are articulated among government representatives and patients through speech, bodily positioning, gesture, and bureaucratic forms. Participants in the interaction struggle to attain their own aims and obligations, at the same time evading, subverting, or perpetuating the hierarchical relations. What is more, discourses or utterances that have cropped up within a local interaction in one institution, such as the health facility may circulate and reinforce or justify hierarchical relations in other domains. Hierarchical relations may also be re-created and transposed to the very heart of Quechua-speaking villagers' households, as I explore below.

I examine, first, face-to-face interactions among relatives within household spaces. Relatives would interact on the basis of age hierarchy—in which the oldest is ranked at the top—and address each other accordingly. Second, I analyze the interactions between household members and institutional representatives where the outcome of the interaction could not be “some approximation to equality” (Dresch 2000: 117) but rather a hierarchical relation or an example of discrimination. The occupants of particular houses and representatives argue in a fashion that articulates relations of domination or subordination that are reinforced by public health policies and by discourse of hygiene. I inspect, for instance, a particular example of tension and conflict between the occupants of a household and representatives from the health facility over a birth that occurred at

home instead of at the clinic. In addition, I illustrate how discourses over hygiene practices override host-guest relationships.

And third, I explore the interactions between first-degree consanguineal kin: mothers and daughters, in a household space. In my example, mother and daughter converse in a way in which an age-based hierarchy (see Carsten 1995) is subverted through ideas of hygiene over food preparation, to the point of destroying the social value of age-based respect.

Households: Brief review window

Within the scholarly literature the household has been thought of broadly as a structure that organizes social relations. For instance, Morgan 2003 [1881]) suggested that the household was a basic unit of social organization while Bourdieu (1990) considered it as structured structure that structures bodily practices. Carsten & Hugh-Jones (1995: 46), following Bourdieu, analyze the household as a way in which buildings are connected to people and ideas—bringing together “architecture, kinship and cultural categories.” Mueggler (2001) conceptualizes the household as lived spatial structure that creates differential social relations and hierarchy. And Fox (2006: 5) suggests that households are animate entities that are important expressions of the kinship unit. They are a forum for social relationships, and reflect power and dynamics of growth.

In Latin America, on the one hand, the house has been approached as an organized set of material practices “and the lexicon for them comes from the vocabulary for the physical dwelling: the house as shelter is a metaphor for the house as economy” (Gudeman and Rivera 1990: 2). On the other hand, the house demonstrates the relationship between social practice and cultural meaning (Gose 1990). Further, in the Andes, the space that surrounds the household has been understood as an extension of the personal space of its members. That is, unspoken “rules concerning the approach of visitors—whether they remain at the gate or enter the yard, patio, porch or house—reflect [strangeness or] social distance from household members” (Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995: 3). Thus, the household might be understood as a sovereign space within which social and moral values are condensed.

The kitchen: The center of a household

The kitchen and the patio are places where household members spend their time if they are at home. In the kitchen members of the household not only take their meals but converse about their daily activities and duties and attend to their kin, co-villagers and, sometimes non-villagers such as peddlers. Villagers attend to government representatives on the patio, and only exceptionally in the bedroom (if there is a newborn). The distribution of material things within the kitchen and the patio lead household members to handle their business with their family and visitors in a certain way.

The kitchen is a small room with a clay stove near the entrance, a *musk'a* (stone mortar) and a corral to keep guinea pigs. Each morning a household female member—usually the wife, who has the duty to cook—sits on a small wood bench facing the mouth of the clay. She places pots over each eye of the clay stove and feeds the stove with lighted firewood. While feeding the clay stove's mouth with firewood, she also begins to prepare all the ingredients to make the morning soup. The pots will call to be fed with some ingredients when the lid begins to move from the boiling water inside.

The woman feels compelled to feed not only the pot, but also the clay stove's mouth to keep the fire alive. Things such as the bench, the clay stove with its mouth that invites the woman to feed it with firewood, and the noisy call the pots make to fill them with tasty ingredients “have become given components of [the woman's] objective contexts” (Keane 2006: 200), as well as things that provoke action on the part of the woman to do things. As Keane (2005: 194) suggests material things instigate “(by virtue of its form, that is, iconic suggestion)...certain kinds of action,” but they do not determine them. The bench in the kitchen may invite the woman to sit on it, then, the action of sitting and the bench's closeness to the clay stove may further encourage carrying out other pragmatic actions, i.e., actions may be constituted by the interplay of the human agency and the surrounding material things that are components of the objective contexts of human beings.

Moreover, the things that have become components of the woman's objective contexts (e.g., the bench, the pots, and the clay stove) have led women to adopt particular

ways of accommodating and handling their bodies. In other words, these objects shape women and, thus, human beings “through comfort, demarcations of space, channeling movement and posture,” (Keane 2006: 200) and sometimes gesture. For instance, the woman remains in a seated position with her back inclined, leaning a little bit forward, while her hands remain in constant motion preparing ingredients and feeding the mouth of the clay stove. Her eyes focused on what she is doing.

The woman would feel interrupted if a kin stopped by unexpectedly in the morning appearing at the entrance of the kitchen to borrow a tool or to confirm an *ayni*¹ for helping to farm in his field. The woman, whose actions are intertwined with the surrounding objects, may deal with the sudden disruption of her sense of “interiority” (Keane 2006: 200) by quickly facing her kin then returning to her task at hand. She would signal cordiality verbally through the insertion of suffixes suitable for the situation at hand, thus, keeping in line with social values of consideration when there is a visitor. After greeting her kin with “winus diyas X” or receiving a similar greeting from the visitor, she might respond herself or suggest he talk with her husband, depending on the circumstances of the kin’s request.

The visit takes longer when relatives cross the threshold of the household (Derrida 2000: 75) if their aims are more than simply borrowing a tool or confirming an *ayni*. It would be characterized by considerateness, generosity, warmth and conviviality; visits among kin should follow the laws of hospitality which includes conventions and expected forms of behavior (Pitt-Rivers 1968:16). To be considerate, hospitable or respectful is constituent of the social or moral values (Herzfeld 1987) shared by relatives as members of the household and the village on a larger scale.² These harness the binding and mutual social obligations amongst them. Hospitality “creates a moral space in which outsiders can be treated as provisional members of the house, as aspects of...” its sacred interiority (Shryock 2004: 36).

¹ An *ayni* is a person (usually a relative) who has been asked in advance to work one day on somebody else’s farm or in their house. In exchange the *ayni* will have one man or woman for a day of work on his/her own farm or in his home.

² From another point of view one may say that relatives assume that they will never fully know their relatives, despite consanguineous bonds, given his or her opacity.

Such inclusion amongst relatives is carried out through the offering and sharing of *kuka* leaves and/or food, like American Indian hosts used to offer food. They still now give food³ to their visitors, regardless if they are co-villagers or strangers (Morgan 1881:45-48) as Bedouin hosts from Jordan offer cups of black coffee to entertain and amuse their guests (Shryock 2004:36-37) in order to secure the household's sacred interiority from exposure to "social critique" (36); because hospitality, as Shryock points out "creates a momentary overlap of the inner and outer dimensions of a" household (36). Offering cups of coffee or *kuka* leaves to welcome and please a guest may vary slightly in the Andes. While Bedouins in Jordan offer cups of coffee to strangers, Peruvian countryside Quechua-speaking villagers offer *kuka* leaves only to relatives. They would hardly ever offer *kuka* leaves to a guest who is a stranger. Among villagers, strangers may be feared not only because they are "birds" who will 'sing' or tell others about the quality of the hospitality they received, but they might deeply disrupt the interiority of the house, as well as the dweller's personal interiority.

Hence, partaking in hospitality might become risky to the extent that both the guests and the hosts (Shryock 2004:37) could overstep their limits. The violations that occur might overshadow the household, as occurs in the Andean village where hospitality turns into a way to articulate hierarchical relations that reproduce patterns of domination (for another point of view see Herzfeld 1987), particularly in a context in which representatives of public institutions (visitors) visit households to regiment the inhabitants' moral conduct, the physical structure, and living space of households. First I examine interactions among visitors who are relatives to exemplify hospitality amongst them. Second I discuss the interactions between representatives and household members. Third, I also examine how representatives' discourses imprint on mother-daughter relationships.

³ According to Morgan (2003 [1881]) "[i]f a man entered an Indian house in any of their villages, whether a villager... or a stranger, it was the duty of the women therein to set food before him. An omission to do this would have been a discourtesy amounting to an affront. If hungry, he ate; if not hungry, courtesy required that he should taste the food and thank the giver" (45).

Visits amongst relatives:

In a village like Uqhupata, visits to households among kin are a part of daily life. Visits occur back and forth whether they are to cook, to make adobe bricks, to build a house, or to buy goods. Depending on the circumstances, some visits might be quick, like when a relative visits looking to borrow a tool. However, if he or she is going to work for the family for a day or trade a good the visit will last longer. The conversations held by relatives would be carried out in a host-guest fashion, by offering and sharing *kuka* leaves.

The risks of trading a llama

Any visit where the visitor intends to buy a good like a llama or a sheep would take place after breakfast.⁴ Usually the relative stands by the kitchen door entrance and greets all members according to age-based rules while those who are present but minors will greet the visitor. After the greetings, the relative may be invited into the kitchen by an adult member of the household, like the husband or the wife. Sometimes, the relative and the hosts may leave the kitchen to converse on the patio. For example, one morning around 9:00 a.m. Hana, an elderly person, was visited by a relative. Hana was greeted by her sister-in-law Pani⁵—*winus diyas mantay*—and Hana's daughter (D) greeted the visitor with *winus diyas mantay* Pani. Once the greeting protocol was fulfilled, the hosts, Hana and her daughter, sat on the patio.

Pani opened her bundle of *kuka* leaves and offered a handful of them to her sister Hana and her niece. Even though she was the one visiting, Pani offered the *kuka* leaves to her hosts to appease them, because she was planning to ask to buy her hosts' llama meat. They conversed about the upcoming assembly, where the main issue on the agenda was the monthly dues required to maintain the right to sell in the market in Cuzco. After chewing *kuka* for awhile, Pani asked Hana if she was willing to sell her llama meat.

Pani: *hayk'api kiluta qukuwankichisman* [arranging some *kuka* leaves and facing her niece]

D: *hayk'acha kakun* (.) *aychaqa* [facing her aunt and lifting some *kuka* leaves]

Hana: [hears the request and arranges the *kuka* leaves on her lap]

Pani: how much would you charge me for a kilo of [llama meat]?

⁴ A breakfast consists of herbal tea and soup.

⁵ Pani is married to Hana's husband's brother.

D: I do not know how much llama meat costs [facing her aunt and lifting some *kuka* leaves]

Hana: [hears the reply and arranges the *kuka* leaves on her lap]

Both Hana and her daughter could not decide on a price for the llama meat. Pani continued to insist.

Pani: [turning to her left to face Hana] *mana niwankichu* (.) *mayqinpas* (.) *Philishanupas hayk'apitaq kiluta quykuwanki* (.) *paykunacha yachanman niwallanpunitaq*

Pani: [turning to her left to face Hana] you haven't told me. No one has told me. Even Philishanu told me, when I asked how much one kilo of llama meat would be, that you [Hana and her husband] would know the price.

According to Pani her sister-in-law has not yet named a price. Neither has Hana's son-in-law: Philishanu, who is married to Hana's daughter. He was asked how much the llama would cost directly. Instead Philishanu had named Hana and her husband—*paykunacha* (they)—as the responsible party for the price—*yachanman* (would know for sure). *Yachanman* implies that Philishanu's parents in-law are the ones with whom Pani should negotiate the possibility of buying the llama, including the price. Philishanu as a son-in-law does not have the right to say anything about a good that belongs to his in-laws' household, even though it is his wife that sometimes pastured the llama. Under Pani's version of the circumstances D quickly responded:

D: *Hayk'as kilu llama aychaqa* (?)/

Pani: /*hayk'aya kakun*

D: *Sinkun kashan* (.) *ninkuma riki*

Pani: *Hayk'aya kakunpas* [choosing some *kuka* leaves from her open bundle] *manan nuqapas yachanichu*

D: How much might llama meat cost?/

Pani: /How much may it be

D: It is said that it costs five soles

Hana: [keep chewing *kuka* leaves]

Pani: How much would it cost [choosing some *kuka* leaves from her open bundle] I do not know how much it costs neither.

D changed the nature of the conversation by stating a question that was directed to no one in particular. This was a way of escaping the request to name a price. This way of asking about the price of the llama meat got Pani's attention. Pani asserted—before D had finished her utterance—that she doesn't know the price either, so she cannot name a

price. D was not bothered by the interruption and relayed the comments other people had made about the price. Pani responds to this, asserting that she does not know the price and effectively dismisses the price just named. D quickly backed up her account by relating her father's assertion on the matter:

D: *Papallaymi nin llama aychaqa minusmi nispa nin*
Pani: *Uhum*

D: Only my father says (.) that llama meat cost less [than other meats]. That is what he says.
Pani: *uhum*

D informed everyone that her parents will not charge what the sellers in the market charge for other red meats, like beef or lamb. Knowing that the price would be less helped Pani to agree with D's information by uttering *uhum*. This indication of agreement is taken up by D to propose

D: *Hinallaqa papaywan parlanakuspaykichisñaya nankichis/* [choosing some *kuka* leaves]
Pani: */Ya ñaha/* [chewing *kuka* leaves looking around]
D: */Kumunlla qullasunkiña mamay* [chewing *kuka* leaves and facing her mother]
Hana: *Ari* [facing her daughter]

D: So you will talk to my father to arrange/ [a price] [choosing some *kuka* leaves]
Pani: */Earlier/* [chewing *kuka* leaves]
D: */My mother shall give you [the llama] without arranging the price* [chewing *kuka* leaves and facing her mother]
Hana: Yes [facing her daughter]

D wisely resolved the issue of having to name a price by delegating the responsibility to a conversation that still had to occur between her aunt Pani and her father. Pani agreed, but tried to interject with something about an earlier conversation. D however did not relinquish the floor. She was noting that no matter the price—*kumunlla*—her mother is willing to give her the llama meat in advance—*qullasunkiña*. Hana and her daughter want to please the guest by giving her the llama meat even before reaching an agreement on the price. At the same time Hana felt liberated from the obligation to set a price without consulting her husband first. Hana was supportive of her daughter's solution to the problem. Pani did not get another opportunity to ask about the final price because her niece continued saying,

D: *Hinaspa papaywan mamay nanakuspaña hamunqa mamay* [facing her aunt]

Hana: *Aha* [choosing some *kuka* leaves]

Pani: *Na /:/ ima /:/ tarita nuqa kikiy apakusaq* [facing her niece]

D: Thus my mother will come after she has conversed with my father [facing her aunt]

Hana: Yes [choosing some *kuka* leaves]

Pani: *Eh/:/ what/:/ I'll bring home the llama meat from here in the afternoon* [facing her niece]

D assured Pani that her mother Hana will pay Pani a visit to tell her of the price for the llama meat after she converses with her father. Pani seemed to be in a difficult position. She did not want to take the llama meat without knowing the price. She manages to say that she will come to take the llama meat herself later, in the afternoon, when D's father may be there. Thus, Pani might still have the chance to decide against purchasing the llama meat if the price is not what she expects it to be. The three participants agreed and they continued chewing *kuka* leaves and kept conversing about going to collect some medicinal herbs to sell this coming Saturday in the market in Cuzco.

As you can appreciate, in a Quechua-speaking village, a bundle of *kuka* leaves is a crucial component of visiting or receiving a visitor. *Kuka* is a central sign of hospitality, like offering coffee is crucial among Balgawis (Shryock 2004). *Kuka* leaves let relatives and the occasional visitors, such as peddlers, avoid feeling ashamed if they do not bring anything else to their host. For villagers in Uqhupata, you cannot visit a relative much less an outsider—a stranger—without bringing something. They point out that *imata parlawaq hina q'ara uyantin rispari*⁶ (shamelessly going wherever without bringing anything, what can you say?). Thus, one should be able to offer *kuka* leaves, at least among relatives or villagers, in order to participate in the communion of hospitality, as well as to show hospitality, a social value that is respected and considered a part of their moral conduct (compare Herzfeld 1987).

In the event described above the relative (Pani) should be the one offering *kuka* leaves (although she is the one who is visiting her kin's household), because she wants to purchase something from her kin. The hosts, a mother and her daughter who was recently

⁶ Mariku told me this when we were preparing roasted guinea pigs and conversing about visits to “big” people in Cuzco.

married on the other hand should demonstrate their willingness to give what the relative is looking for. Although the daughter is younger than her aunt, she has been delegated the task of handling the visitor's desire to buy the llama meat. She has been placed on the same footing with the visitor, overriding the usual hierarchy based on age that exists between them. The guest is subordinated to the hosts' way of handling the proposed trade because the guest must recognize the hosts' authority in their own household (Pitt-Rivers 1968: 27). And both the guest and the hosts have to be mutually accountable (Shryock 2004: 59).

Host and guest both demonstrate they are considerate and exhibit goodwill towards the potential trade by sharing *kuka* leaves. The former did not have to assimilate her relative into the household's frame of values (Herzfeld 1987: 78). Although not a stranger, the guest still needs to be treated like a guest because she has stepped into the terrain of another household. The relative in her role as a guest cannot claim authority over the host's wishes (Pitt-Rivers 1968: 26), particularly when they come seeking something that belongs to the household. Trading llama meat is a delicate matter than cannot be approached hurriedly. None of the participants involved in the trade wants to lose face (Goffman 1967: 8-9) or jeopardize the host-guest relationships. The difficult issue is how to settle on a price for the good without jeopardizing the "morally binding relationship" (Herzfeld 1987; Shryock 2004:57) among relatives or risk damaging the social obligations that secure long-lasting benefits for the social and economic survival of the extended kin network that includes the households that give existence to the village as such.

On the other hand, the hosts would not want to be characterized as greedy by naming a price that may be considered expensive or above what is considered the "right price" or a morally fair price. The visitor also does not want to be depicted as cheap by having her relatives offer her a price that is lower than the "real price." In addition, she might not want to be characterized as miserly person if she names a "wrong" price for the llama meat. Both parties—the hosts and the guest—despite being relatives—are careful about negotiating the price that should be charged for the llama meat. This is in order to avoid any "gossiping" among kin and the village in general that may portray either party

as greedy or stingy. They want to avoid creating any disreputable stories (Shryock 2004) or negative images of themselves that might compromise their self-respect (Goffman 1967: 11-10), moral conduct, or accountability (Shryock 2004).

Resorting to the market price and the authority of the male figures in the household seems fair. Both the host and guest agree on the way the price will be settled and everybody acknowledges this as the right thing to do. Agreeing that the price would be less than that charged for other kinds of meat allows participants to save face and moral integrity. But still the difficult task of naming a price has not been resolved. The hosts decide to postpone that eventuality by inviting the guest to take the good now, leaving the actual price for a later conversation. Such a generous offer may have been made to emphasize the hosts' goodwill (2008: 406).

The visitor on the other hand, who considers herself a just person, cannot agree to take the llama meat without knowing the price. The price could be much higher or much lower than the *morally* correct price. It would not be right to take the good in advance. In order to keep her sense of dignity and moral rightness, the visitor says the good will be picked up later, after the household members have made up their minds. Both parties involved in the exchange want to maintain their moral status to prevent any "gossip" about the trade. They do not want to relinquish their obligation to reciprocal ties as relatives. They show further willingness to enhance already existing ties by committing to tasks beyond what is expected of them, or beyond their obligations as kin. This is denoted by the additional arrangement made between the host's daughter and the visitor to later go and gather herbal medicines to sell in the market together.

The conversation has been settled in a way that participants can save face by showing mutual respect to each other, without offending anyone and maintaining their sense of morality and dignity. When partaking in a transaction like a trade, the party that wants to make the purchase usually brings *kuka* leaves. When the visitor is coming to offer their labor to the household on a workday, it is the host who should offer *kuka* leaves, *aqha* (corn beer) and food. Sharing *kuka* leaves before the work begins is a ritual that relatives cannot skip, as is demonstrated in the example of relatives gathered to work in a household below.

Engaging with and amusing relatives

When a relative arrives for a day of work to help make adobe bricks or to help construct the walls or a roof of a house as an *ayni*, he will be treated like a guest by household members. Household members will gather on the patio to receive their relatives—or the *ayni*—sometime after breakfast, or around 9:00 a.m. The adult members who are the head of the household would host, usually the husband and wife. Both hosts attend to the *ayni* in a host-guest fashion. After greeting one another according to the rules of age, the hosts hand out *kuka* leaves and *aqha* (corn beer) and converse about the expected work. In one of the households, for instance, the husband and wife, Hari and Sita, were sitting on the patio with their children playing around them. They were hosting guests who were seated on adobe bricks. The guests would be spending time working for the couple, preparing the mud with *ichhu* (straw) that is used to make adobe bricks.

Hari spreads the bundle of *kuka* leaves over the floor so everybody can take what they want, while Sita brings a gallon of *aqha* and a yellow cup and sets it next to Hari. Hari serves a cup of *aqha* to his *ayni*: his cousin (Co), his father-in-law (Fil) and his mother-in-law. Each person drinks a cup. They are engaged in a conversation.

Fil: [chewing *kuka* leaves]

Co: [drinking *aqha*]

Hari: *Kay uhuman* [pointing with a finger of his right hand] *chay uhuman* cuatro metroscha *kashan*

Co: *Anchhaynapichu kanqa* (?) [facing Ho]

Hari: *Aha* [chewing *kuka* leaves]

Hari: To this inside part here, [pointing with a finger of his right hand] might be four meters inside there

Co: It would be like that size? [facing Ho]

Hari: Yes [arranging some *kuka* leaves]

Hari conversed with his relatives about the size of the room he wanted to build. He points to a space within the household that is also around four meters square as an example, while his cousin asks if that is the size of room Hari will build. The conversation concerning the size of a room may connote the need to make adobe bricks as fast as they can. They might require an additional day of work to complete the number of adobe bricks needed to build a room of four meters. After chewing *kuka* for some time, the host invites his guests to begin the work.

Hari: *Awir haku qallarisun* (-) [stands up and puts a final bunch of *kuka* leaves in his mouth]

Hari: Let us begin [the work] [he stands up and puts a final bunch of *kuka* leaves in his mouth]

Co: [stands up and pulls off his jacket]

Fil: [stands up and walks toward the place where the mud and the straw are]

Sita and her mother start slicing *ulluku* (a tuber similar in appearance to a finger potato) while Hari and his cousin and father-in-law tread on the mud adding some *ichhu*. It is almost 10:00 a.m. when Hari's younger brother (Wa) unexpectedly showed up. After greeting everybody Wa says:

Wa: *Pasiyaq haykumushani* (.) *pampata rishani bola hayt'aq* [smiling and walking toward the place where the gallon of *aqha* is]

Co: *Aynikuya yaw karahu* [joking]

Fil: *Llank'ay karahu su qillay mirda* [joking and adding straw and treading on the mud]

Ho: *Suwallan karahu bolata hayt'an kay vidapiqa khunanqa* [shoveling some mud toward his right] *ruwana ganaqtin mana bola hayt'akunmanchu*

Wa: I am coming to enjoy a walk (.) I am going to the soccer field to play soccer [smiling and walking toward the place where the gallon of *aqha* is]

Co: You could be an *ayni* for God's sake [joking]

Fil: My lazy shit [of a son] work! [joking and adding straw and treading on the mud]

Ho: Only a thief plays soccer in this current life/at a time like this [shoveling some mud toward his right] if there is too much work, soccer cannot be played.

Wa is not only younger than his brother, the host; but he is also younger than the other guests. Thus, Co and Fil seem to feel free to suggest that he do some work for his brother. Co suggests there may be some advantage for Wa in going to *ayni* a day of work instead of playing soccer, i.e., Wa would then be owed male labor in return. Fil encourages Wa to work and evokes a kind of son-father relationship signaled by the use of *qillay* (my lazy son). Ho, as the oldest brother, seems to have the right to address Wa authoritatively, as someone who can point out that a man who likes to work should not play soccer.

Somebody who opts to play soccer at a time like this may not be able to feed himself later and would have to resort to becoming a thief. When there is an overwhelming amount of work to be done there should be no time for entertainment such as playing soccer.

Ho makes his little moral speech by referring to a third subject: *suwa* and *ruwana* and signaling the third person with the suffix -n in the words *hayta-n*, *ganaqti-n*, and *hayt'aku-n-manchu*. A third-person subject is used to teach moral behavior in this case, to

teach the expected code of conduct among relatives in a household and the village. The host has the liberty to talk to Wa in an authoritative way because he is the oldest brother. Ho has the power to claim that work is something that leads to moral correctness because he is within the space of the household and he is being above Wa in terms of age. But his speech has to be delivered in the third person to avoid the risk of offending his brother and losing a potential *ayni*.

Wa listen to what all three males have to say to him while drinking a cup of *aqha*. He replies with *llank'arayrisayki* (I will help you to do your work for a while) although he had not planned to work that day. Once he has finished his drink he asks his brother for some *kuka* leaves.

Wa: [Smiling] *kukachaykiri* (?)

Wa: [Smiling] and your *kuka* leaves?

After putting a handful of *kuka* leaves in his mouth, Wa joins his host and other guests as they tread through the mud. In this example, the act of sharing *kuka* leaves smoothes over the relationship between hosts and guests and it is a means of sharing the same moral background or code of conduct (Shryock 2004: 48). The relatives present are expected to respect each other in terms of the unspoken conventions of hospitality being performed as a host or a guest. Accordingly, sharing *kuka* leaves is a safe way to interact for host and guest, but above all sharing *kuka* entails the implicit recognition of mutual obligations. These obligations do not cease until the host reciprocates with a day of work on the field or in the household of the *ayni*. Their mutual obligations continue as far as they treat each other as they want to be treated in their role as a host or as a guest, that is, by reciprocating the hospitality in the sovereign territory of the household (Pitt-Rivers 1968: 27; Shryock 2004: 52). Each time they act as a host or a guest they demonstrate the care they have for and the mutual respect to secure their relations in the present and in the future.

There is also a hierarchy based on age evident on this encounter. The young kinsman is treated as a guest, but not fully as a guest. He is approached as someone who still needs to learn the basic importance of *ayni* and the significance of work as sign of moral behavior. Thus, the guest is jokingly lectured by the other guests—although they are not the head of household in this instance—and he is also lectured by the host, in

terms of what is the moral thing to do when a guest finds his host (above all his brother) burdened with work. Wa engages himself in such lecturing, contributing to the perpetuation of an age-based hierarchy. Above all, Wa has to show respect for his elders by listening to their counseling. Otherwise Wa could be regarded as a young fellow who has not yet learned the basis of respect. This may hinder his reputation as young man. He would be seen as a youngster who behaves inappropriately and it is not yet ready to claim adulthood.

In addition Sita, the female host, has her female guest work alongside her. Although there may be no need to treat her mother as a guest, Sita treats her mother as a guest in order to secure respect. Sita's mother behaves like a guest in turn. The women do not participate much in the conversation between the men; they listen and comment amongst themselves about the task they are in the midst of performing, which is slicing *ulluku*. Both women have to hurry to complete their tasks because the food must be ready at noon. Otherwise they will not be able to offer a proper meal on time to the guests who may be hungry. Plus, the male host may get in trouble for not complying with the rule of feeding his guests as it is expected a host should do when guests are working for him. Abundant quantities of food should also be offered at the appropriate time, This is in addition to ensuring the availability of *kuka* leaves and *aqha*. There is a proper time to invite the guests to eat when they feel hungry, and by the same token this gives them time to rest.

In both household-centered events described above, where llama was being traded and relatives were helping Ho by spending a workday making adobe bricks, “the forms of interaction [are] under” the hosts’ control (Dresch 2000: 124), and by the same token, the hosts have control over the space being used and the topic at hand (Shryock 2008). Although the guests are relatives of the hosts and thus a part of the same kinship system, they are treated as guests. They are welcomed with a set of conventions that combines the “rule of self-respect and the rule of considerateness” (Goffman 1967:10) in which the conduct of hosts and guests attempts to maintain the position of the former and the position of the guests. That is, both parties work to save face—a positive social value is accorded to each other (5). Hospitality is maintained through a pattern of verbal and non-

verbal acts such as sharing *kuka* leaves, in which the guests are subordinated to the hosts because the hosts have the right to manage the situation within the space of their own household.

Thus, hospitality denotes hierarchy. Such hierarchy can reinforce or subvert age-based hierarchical relations. A relative, regardless her position as a guest, must first greet a host if she is younger than the host. If she is older than the host, she must be greeted. In some cases the host-relationship can subvert the age-based hierarchy as occurs in the example of where the parties are trading llama meat. The younger daughter is designated the interlocutor in handling the trade. The guest, despite being older and a consanguineous relative of the younger host, has to submit herself to the wishes of her young host based on two factors: she is at a relative's house and she is younger than her sister-in-law, the young host's mother.

While a younger guest will be obligated to greet the host and other older guests, his subordination (being both a guest and younger) may change if the subordination becomes a joking relationship, as occurs in the workday example above. The host and the two other guests present address the younger guest jokingly and invite him to work. In this joking context no offense is taken by the language used. This is language that might be considered detestable outside of a teasing relationship (see Pitt-Rivers 1968: 25). When this joking form of conversation ended, those present engaged in hospitality.

Attempts to secure mutual respect among hosts and guests is displayed in both events above with the use of the third person pronoun and deferring any straightforward answer to keep their long-lasting relations and social obligations intact, despite the age-based hierarchy that colors kin relationships in the village's households. If guests do not reciprocate the expected levels of respect they can be disregarded the next time they have a need to do business, such as working, trading goods, and traveling. A host would walk the guest toward the door of his house and ignore him the next time he comes to call like the Greek Glendiots do when they walk their unwanted guest out of their village (Herzfeld 1987).

Strangers' visits to households

Host-guest relationships among relatives and villager residents are carried out with consideration and respect in order to make the interiority of the household more secure. This kind of conviviality is different when government or municipality representatives make visits to households. When a non-relative such as a municipality representative, for instance, steps into a household unexpectedly, announcing their presence with the word “visita,” a household member (usually a woman) runs toward the patio to attend to the visitor. She greets the visitor with the Spanish phrase “winus diyas siñurita.”⁷ After the greeting she may revert to the use of her mother language—Quechua—for further interaction with the visitor.

The host limits the visitor's presence to the patio. They would not contemplate the possibility of inviting the guest into the kitchen, even though she may have left the clay stove and the pots unattended to attend to the guest. The smell of smoke and the sound of something boiling would signal that the clay stove and the pots request attention. If the husband is around he deals with the visitor and tries to speak in Spanish. In these kinds of visits, household members put a lot of energy into pleasing the visitor and making them feel comfortable within the territorial rights of the host (Herzfeld 1987).

The host may attend to her guest in an exaggerated fashion, offering food even when the visitor seems to ignore her to inspect the household. The visitor may comment with injunctive phrases such as “ya doña *chay* bañotawan *limphiwta pichachiwanki ah!*” (okay doña, you will make somebody else to sweep this bathroom, it has to be done!). In this example, the host's hospitality articulates relations of hierarchy, but their hospitality does not invert the patterns of domination. Herzfeld suggests that hospitality become “a means of articulating and inverting patterns of domination at one and the same time” (77). Certainly relations of domination are articulated in this example, but domination is not inverted, even though within the Quechua-speaking village “the stance the host takes toward the guest [would] reproduce collective attitudes to the social group that the guest represents” (77).

⁷ In the village, hosts greet strangers in Spanish to show respect.

Despite the guest's injunctive utterances, the host's stance demonstrates her own sense of moral conduct toward the representative. By the same token, she may still be submitting herself to the visitor's injunctions with her silence, showing tacit acceptance instead of expelling the guest for ignoring the hospitality that the host was showing them like the Greek village dwellers did, according to Herzfeld, with the Texans who failed to reciprocate respect. These guests fail to recognize that "hospitality is not only a privilege, but one that confers a reciprocal obligation to offer *respect*" (80-81). The host may be obligated to attend to the intrusive guest because the visit forms a part of the guest job' duties.

If the host expels the official guest because she failed to show reciprocal respect there might be unforeseen consequences. The household member would be placed in a precarious position in relation to the guest because they may exercise a kind of revenge within the scope of their own influence and function as a government representative. For instance, if a guest is only attended to quickly, she may harm the host with her influence in institutions like the health facility. Thus, following the old saying "*aynillan imapas*" (anything you do good or bad returns to you from unknown people) a villager will show hospitality and respect to all visitors (Shryock 2008: 406). If one restricts the above phrase "*aynillan imapas*" to respect it could be translated as "treat others as you would like to be treated."

To lower the possibility of any unfavorable outcomes from not showing the appropriate hospitality toward a guest, the host will maintain a hospitable attitude towards a visitor up to a point depending on the nature of the encounter. Sometimes visitors are so harassing and aggressive (Goffman 1967: 25) towards their hosts that the values the household holds may be compromised. The household may be punctuated to the point of disrupting the household's interiority and even the interiority and integrity of the inhabitants.

There are situations in which interactions occur between hosts and guests that disturb the household when the latter demand that the former comply with institutional guidelines. For instance, representatives may arrive at a household with or without an invitation in order to comply with their own duties. Such visits may turn into bitter

arguments seeking to assign responsibility for something amiss or awry. It may also result in a calm interaction regarding the regimentation of the household. In visits to households, hierarchical relations are articulated between host and guest, but relations of domination are not necessarily inverted. The guest does not subordinate himself to the hospitality offered by the host. Rather is the host who may become subjugated, although he opposes such subjugation as seems to be the case with the event examined below.

A background episode: reporting and asking for the health facility representative's visit

In the following example, a woman has given birth at home, in one of the households of the village. The puerperal—bed-ridden--woman's husband⁸ visited the village health facility to report the birth. A physician, the head of the health facility, attended to the husband at the clinic. In his examining room, the physician (acting as a representative of the government) asked about where the household was located. He also asked for the name of the woman and the time of birth while the husband spoke to him of his duty to inform authorities about the birth. The husband, demonstrating his compliance with health facility guidelines, informed the professional that his wife's last appointment for her monthly prenatal control occurred on the same day as the birth, although the scheduled delivery date was the 15th of next month. The physician commented that the delivery had happened ahead of time. The husband agreed with him. The husband (H) looked at his watch over concern how long the interaction was taking to which the representative (R1) responded by saying:

R1: “Ve nomás Huliku (.) a cuidarla a tu esposa (.) apenas venga la señorita yo le voy a decir que te haga la visita domiciliaria que corresponde (.) **ya**”

H1: “Ya doctor”

R1: Go Huliku (.) to take care of your wife (.) as soon as [our] ‘Miss’ arrives I will tell her to visit your home accordingly (.) **okay?**

H1: Okay doctor

The representative addressed his interlocutor with the second person pronouns ‘tú’ and ‘te.’ “Tú” reflects the low standing of the addressee and that he does not need to

⁸ The husband has learned Spanish in Arequipa, and he speaks it fluently.

be respected. In contrast, R1 is addressed with the title of “doctor”, a word that acknowledges professional status, and authority to command not only the conversation, but also the personnel under his authority. “Doctor” understood as a physician not only denotes the prestige of having achieved the title, but it is also a way of addressing a person that denotes respect. Describing someone as “señorita” (Miss) marks a distance between the health facility personnel and the husband. It connotes that health care representatives are trained people, such as nurses or obstetricians. Not everyone can become a nurse or an obstetrician so they have to be considered and respected, above all as “señoritas”. A “señorita” has to be respected due to the supposed civilized and urban education she received, regardless if she truly has a college education. This means that the staff of health clinic stands above H1 and all the other villagers.

H1 is informed that the health care “señorita” will visit his house shortly and is asked to leave the health facility to attend to his wife and family. “[L]a señorita”, who is in charge of monitoring the woman’s pregnancy will visit the household soon in order to check his puerperal wife, however, the anticipated visit may lead to unforeseen consequences for all participants.

Birthing in a household

It was early in the morning when Spanish-speaking health care representatives (R2, R3) arrived to check on the puerperal Quechua-speaking woman. The woman’s husband was expecting the representatives and met them on the patio of his home. The conversation quickly turned contentious.

R2: “Que ha pasado (?) por qué ha dado a luz acá” (?)

H1: “Siñorita buenos días”

R2: “He dicho **bien claro** en Chiri”

H1: “Pero me ha dicho pues para /:/ me has asegurado para el 15 todavía”

R2: “**Como te voy asegurar**”

R2: What happened (?) Why has she delivered here [at your home] (?)

H1: Good Morning Miss.

R2: I told you very clearly [birthing is] at the clinic, in Chiri.

H1: But you told me that it would be /:/ you assured me that it would not be until the 15th [the due date]

R1. **How I could have assured you that?**

Ignoring her status as a visitor in the home, the R2 representative bombarded the household's host with questions. As health care personnel the representative tried to assert that the members of the household were at fault for the birth occurring outside of the clinic. Without acknowledging the greeting the host welcomed them with, the representative pressures H1 for an immediate response to her questions.

The guest, despite being a stranger, does not reciprocate the respect offered by the host. Failing to reciprocate the host's initial greeting reinforces the sense that the representatives have the right to step into the space of the household and the intimate life of its members, disrupting the autonomy of the house and its occupants. It is difficult for the host to manage the authoritarian conduct of the representatives on the spot, who in the confrontation seems to forget to greet the second health care representative (R3). The burst of questions seemed to have confused the host and he found himself in an awkward position since his hospitality was ignored by the strangers who failed to understand the conventions of hospitality (Pitt Rivers 1968), and shunned the welcome he gave them (Shryock 2008: 410).

Questions to the effect of "qué ha pasado" and "por qué ha dado luz acá" imply there is a problem, expressing displeasure and disapproval. The apparent "problem" for the guest is that the host's wife gave birth at the house instead of proceeding to the health care center (Cuzco).

Even though standing inside H1's home the representative is in a terrain outside of her domain, the visitor does not feel constrained. Ignoring the rights of H1 in his own home is overtly maintained by assertion that follows. The representative states, "he dicho bien claro en Chiri" (As I stated clearly in Chiri). The condescending nature of the statement reminds the host that everyone has meet the obligation that women deliver at a health center and not at home under any circumstances. Anyone with ears is expected to know that women must deliver at a health center. Those who fail to comply with such regulations may be held accountable and should expect there will be some kind of consequence for not complying with the norm. The consequence is that household members are no longer entitled to control the household's space: the self-government and

the establishment of boundaries (Shryock 2008) to which a host is entitled are bracketed in these kinds of interactions.

Even in H1's home, the guest appears vested with the powers of her official position as a health facility representative. She has the power to bracket the host's entitlements in his own house and also to exert pressure over the host and the members of the household. She is trying to enforce the requirement that the puerperal woman should have delivered her baby at "Chiri." The host and his wife were required to go to the health center, far from the comfort of their house, to comply with those demands. In other words, the host has to give up his rights to handle the situation himself within his household terrain in order to be commanded instead. Concurrently the host's wife must give up her rights to decide whether or not to allow her body to be intruded on, that is, to surrender her sovereign interiority—the last "terrain" over which women's autonomy is sustained and lived.

Tacitly the host still attempts to exercise control over his house. He addresses the visitor by using "usted" implicated in the use of the phrase "me ha," which evokes respect, distance, and a lack of closeness. He breaks his utterance after "para" (/:/) and hesitates for a few seconds, since the guest failed to reciprocate the respect offered earlier, H1 maintained his composure and changed the way he addressed the guest to an implicit or tacit "tu" by repeating the earlier phrase "me has"⁹ and adding the letter "s", in order to be on the same footing and to fully contest the guest's authoritarian attitude toward him. He contested this by blaming her. His statement implies that the guest assured them the baby would be born on the 15th of November, and not the day it was actually born (October 29th). The guest denies making that kind of assurance by stressing her voice as she asserts self-confidently "**como te voy a asegurar**" (how am I going to guarantee that?). This phrase puts in doubt the truth of the host's contention; it conveys that the speaker would never have assured something like that. The use of the second person pronoun "te" instead of using "usted" signals the lack of reciprocal respect.

⁹ To keep "usted" as the form of address the phrase should have been "me ha".

“Usted” is a form of address used among distant interactants, non-acquaintances, or strangers¹⁰ to show not only distance, but respect.

Another layer that colors this interaction is the job function of the guest. Her job, and by extension the job of the colleague who accompanies her is to refer pregnant women, particularly those living in rural areas, to a health center where they can deliver their babies. If she fails to do so, her efficiency and job position may be in jeopardy, and she is in danger of being fired.¹¹ Hence, vested with official powers, the guest disregards the welcome that H1 showed her initially as well as his hospitality. She also tries to place responsibility on the host; no matter that complying with her duty compromises the sovereignty of the household.

The rights the husband and the wife have in the face of the public health system seem to be tarnished. This is a system that compels woman to renounce the right to make decisions about the treatment of her own body. For example, a woman may be reluctant to allow strangers to handle the birthing. The R2 guest and her colleague R3 stepped into the bedroom to check the puerperal woman, who was laying down and recovering in her bed. The former positioned herself near the headboard and the latter stood at the bottom part of the bed while the host stood in the middle, between both guests. Those present continued to debate how the birth occurred earlier than anticipated.

R2: “Se puede /:/ se puede adelantar su parto (.) cómo vas a confiar en el parto”

H1: “Siñurita disculpe (.) pero me has dicho para hoy día (.) para que baje al último control o no (?) Para hoy día era”

R2: It can /:/ labor can occur ahead of time (.) how you can be sure about a birth date?

H1: I am sorry Ms. you told me to go down to the clinic today for her last pregnancy control, or not? It was for today.

Once R2 and her colleague find themselves in the presence of the puerperal woman, R2 seems to lose composure and self-confidence, as signaled by the hesitation

¹⁰ Although in the south of Columbia “usted” is used among acquaintances, close friends and even between husband-wife relationships as I witnessed during my stay with Colombian people.

¹¹ Health care professionals with temporary contracts usually work in rural areas. They may be dismissed from their job if there is more than one pregnant woman that has a delivery at her home. Since there is no contractual obligation with the government in labor relations, health care professionals do not have any work rights with which they can defend themselves. Consequently, on many occasions those who need to work force pregnant women to go to the health facility in order to keep their job. They find themselves, sometimes, in a life-or-death situation. Of course, here they may exert pressure on Quechua-speaking women who dwell in rural areas more than on women who dwell in the city.

after “se puede,” a point in which the phrase lost continuity. Such vacillation or uncertainty may have been motivated by the room (an unusual space for such an encounter) or the smallness of the structure where the ceiling can almost be touched by simply raising one’s hand. The length and width tell us that the space is meant to be a bedroom for a single person. The presence of the woman laying there helpless and unable to lift herself to receive the visitors also affected the composure of R2. The material surroundings are strange and unknown to the visitors. It takes them a few minutes to adjust to the new space and resume the kind of pressure they were exercising despite being in the host’s territorial domain.

The visitors were only be granted permission to step in this space—one of the most intimate parts of the household—because of the extraordinary circumstances in which the host and his wife found themselves: having just experienced a birth at home. It is by virtue of this fact that R2 and R3 are allowed to trespass this space and see the weak woman laying in bed. This is regardless of how the guests have physically examined and conversed with the woman laying there multiple times in the health care center—their territorial domain. The guest’s denial of her own responsibility in miscalculating the due date is phrased in an abstract form: *Se puede adelantar.*” The phrase resorts to a third subject “*el parto,*” in order to make her presence there seem justified and to disfranchise the host. This is a form of phrasing the issue that seeks to emasculate the host and delegitimize any further argument on his part. The last utterance that R2 makes after the pause (.)—that the host is wrong in taking any suggested due date as an absolute certainty—aims to place the blame on the host for allowing his wife to deliver the baby in his house. The representative is thus denying the host and his wife the right to choose the household as a place for birthing.

The host tries to reestablish mutual respect and to recover some control over the household space by uttering “*siñurita disculpe.*” This utterance implies the following to the addressee ““*siñurita with all my respect you may notice that’ the last pregnancy check up was scheduled for today.*” This is intended to remind the guest that she was the one to schedule the final appointment to examine his wife in order to schedule the due date. With this claim the host seeks to rule out any blame on his part or on his wife’s part. He

wants to place blame on the guest by reminding her of the date. However, the attempt to make the guest recognize her miscalculation over the possible date of birth is unsuccessful.

The interaction turns into a dispute. The host-guest relationships clash and the visitor refuses to “be treated as provisionally a member” of the household (Shryock 2004: 36). The visitor rejects any incorporation within the household frame and insists on maintaining her abusive attitude in order to place blame on the host. She is also implicitly placing blame on the puerperal woman, as well as undermining the autonomy and sovereignty of the household. The host however is not willing to allow the guest to take dominion over him and his wife, and above all over the house. Thus, he focuses on the accusation of fault or responsibility,

H1: “Pero (.) para esto quien tiene la culpa señorita (?)”

R2: “COMO QUE QUIEN TIENE LA CULPA (.) USTEDES PUES TIENEN QUE SABER EN QUE MOMENTO (.) YO SEGURAMENTE VOY A VIVIR CON USTEDES Y CUANDO LE ESTÁ DOLIENDO LES TENGO QUE LLEVAR”

H1: But (.) whose fault is that, Miss?

R2: WHAT DO YOU MEAN (.) WHOSE FAULT IS IT (.) YOU SHOULD KNOW IN WHAT MOMENT [THE DELIVERY WILL BE] SURELY I WILL LIVE HERE WITH YOU (all) AND WHEN SHE FEELS PAIN I HAVE TO BRING YOU ALL

By asking who is at fault for the birth occurring at home, the host shows that he agrees to the terms of handling the issue: the birth should not have occurred in the household, and by the same token the guest is granted the right to claim that any delivery must be at the health center. This is a contention that tacitly blames the puerperal woman. The woman is ignored and not addressed at all; she is unable to participate in the discussion given her condition and the way the interaction transpired, although she is entitled to decide whether or not to deliver at home or any other place that she may consider safe and comfortable, i.e., it is her dominion over her body/self. It seems the host’s attempts to act hospitably are shattered, despite being in his own territorial domain. He is prevented from handling matters within his own house to the extent that the guest feels entitled to retort “FAULT IS THAT” loudly and with sarcasm.

The guest yells in reply in order to assert that the host’s question “FAULT IS THAT” is out of line. The guest assumes that it is the host and his wife (“USTEDES” in this case is the plural form of “tú”) who know when the woman is going into labor and about to give

birth so they should be accountable for infringing the health system's requirement that birthing take place at a health center. There is no point in questioning "whose responsibility would it be" since it is "clear" that the household members are accountable. Her wild and adversary-like attitude almost destroyed the welcoming and respectful stance taken by the host. She trespassed beyond the host's invitation, refusing to reciprocate the respect offered (Pitt-Rivers 1968, Herzfeld 1987, Shryock 2004). The guest's insolent attitude goes beyond her duty to check on the well-being of the puerperal woman and the newborn.

The lack of reciprocal respect between the parties and the transgression that has occurred is demonstrated by the harsh and sarcastic response of the representative. This can be rephrased as "ha, ha; are you telling me that I should live and sleep with you damn fools to know when the woman goes into labor in order to comply with my duty? Are you kidding me, fools?" This response conveys the blame the representative places on the host and the puerperal woman for the occurrence of the birth at home. By the same token it emphasizes that the guest cannot be held responsible for things that happen in the host's household; a paradox since the guest behaves as if she has power over this domain and not as a visitor who is out of her territory. The guest's claim that birthing must occur at a health center enables her to maintain her authoritarian attitude and disrupt the autonomy of the house and its inhabitants. She seems like a "wild dog" within the host's household space, tearing up everything in her way.

Despite the harsh and insolent contention manifested in the exchange, the host tries to recover the floor and some of his dignity. To overcome his humiliation and his subordination within his own space, he inserts a question into the interaction.

H1: "Siñurita disculpe (.) ustedes son profesionales o no son profesionales (?)"

R2: "POR ESO PUES!"

H1: "Usted controla las carretillas o no siñurita (?)"

R2: "CLARO (.) ENTONCES (?)"

H1: Excuse Ms. (.) are you professionals or not (?)

R2: OF COURSE!!

H1: You're in charge of [controlling the pregnant woman's progress through] the pregnancy card, aren't you Ms. (?)

R2: OF COURSE (.) SO WHAT(?)

“Siñurita disculpe” is meant to infuse respect. It may be intended to provide an opportunity for the guest to mitigate the offense, (Goffman 1967: 20) which ultimately fails. The next utterance the host makes challenges the guest’s expertise with a disjunctive grammatical form “o no?” in the sentence about their status as professionals. The utterance after the pause (.) implies that “you (using the “usted” of respect and distance) may want to realize that as experts you (including your colleague—because of her silent support—) should be competent enough to establish the date of birth,” that is, that they possess an expertise that is publically recognized with the position they hold in the public health system. If they do not have that expertise, they are not qualified to hold that position. The host’s question challenges the professional status of the visitors. R2 retorts with an irritated, rough and sharp “POR ESO PUES” implying that the guest is acting as an expert and that therefore she has to be heard and her rules on matters of pregnancy and where birthing should happen must be observed.

The exasperated and sharp “POR ESO PUES” is met with the statement “you keep the pregnancy cards” that illustrates the guest’s functions, such as her responsibility to check on the pregnant women, fill in the pregnancy card and calculate the date of delivery. The host’s utterance is followed by a disjunctive “o no?” which is intended to confirm that it is the representative’s duty to check and schedule the due date. The disjunctive form ends with “siñurita” to convey the host’s respect; accordingly, such respect should be reciprocated by the guests. The guest’s response, however, is full of anger, as indicated by the louder tone of voice “CLARO, ENTONCES?” By uttering “CLARO” the guest accepts that, of course, it is her function as expert to monitor the women’s pregnancy and any issues related to it. “ENTONCES?” with a question mark tacitly entails the word “qué” which could be rendered as “entonces qué?” which conveys that speaker is challenging the host. The challenge might imply: “will you make an issue of it? Will you challenge me?” Such confrontation intends to silence the host, but R2’s intention fails.

The host, building on what the representative is saying, interprets the word “entonces,”¹² as if the word “entonces” gave him the floor and an invitation to continue speaking. After confirmation that the person on charge of calculating the due date for pregnant women is R2 he asserts that,

H1: “Entonces quién va a controlar (.) yo voy a controlar a mi señora (?) YO NO SOY PROFESIONAL”

H1: Then who will look after (.) I should look after my wife’s pregnancy (?) I AM NOT A PROFESSIONAL

Resorting to a rhetorical question, i.e., asking if it is he, the host, who should take the responsibility of calculating the due date for his wife. He is implying that he is not the one responsible for checking or calculating his wife’s delivery date. His question is followed by “YO NO SOY PROFESIONAL” to claim that he is not an expert, he would not know how to calculate when his wife would deliver. The first person pronoun “YO” is used as emphasis to deny any expert knowledge—normally the word “soy” would be enough to index that the person who utters the whole phrase is not an expert in matters of women’s pregnancy. The host as a non-expert should not be expected to know about prenatal checks or pregnancy cards, at the same time, this underlines that the guest is the expert who, as a cognoscente ought to know the duties the job entails and schedule the birth date timely and properly.

The host negates any knowledge of gestation in a raised tone. This assures his “ignorance” on the matter and makes the visitor responsible for the unexpected birth in the household. He also does this to assert that he is in the same footing as his guest. She continues with her authoritarian tone despite the host’s attempts to smooth things over. Furthermore, the host may be entitled to raise his voice because he is in the sovereignty of his own household. His rights are being abused by the visitor. Otherwise, he would be

¹² The intention of the speaker and the interpretation made by the interlocutor of the utterance “claro, entonces” do not match. It shows that people’s intentions or interpretations may not converge with what the speaker intended. Interactions among people can be thin and there is always a risk when interacting that there will be a misunderstanding which becomes cumbersome and opaque in cross cultural relationships. I would suggest that in any interaction, the understanding that each person has remains opaque, i.e., that we never fully know how each party understood the exchange. It is only possible to know to a certain degree what an individual’s approach or understanding about the surrounding world is. This opacity was pointed out by Sumbanese people to Webb Keane (a comment made by Keane in an anthropology class, 2007),

submitting himself, his household and its inhabitants to hierarchical relations in which the visitors believe they have the right to exercise a form of domination.

Medical cards seem to be “irrefutable” as a way to monitor the details of a pregnancy. The host appeals to them to hold the guest accountable—as a representative of the public health system—for the unexpected timing of the birth. The host wisely acknowledges the scientific and expert knowledge that the guest allegedly possesses on matters of women’s reproductive health. He does this in order to hold her accountable and by the same token deny any responsibility on his part.

She feels anxious because making sure that women give birth at the health center is one of her job duties. Under the eyes of her employer, the Ministerio de Salud (Ministry of Health), the visitor is responsible for checking pregnant women and calculating their due dates, but she also has a duty to make sure that all pregnant women deliver at the nearest health center. Hence, she resorts to the health insurance guidelines and requirements for those who are pregnant to reinforce her claim.

R2: “USTEDES CON EL SEGURO TENIAN LA OBLIGACION DE AVISAR e ir a Chiri (.) POR LO **MENOS NO IR** (.) POR LO MENOS DECIRLE AL PROMOTOR (.) Y EL ME LLAMA **A MÍ** (.) Y YO SUBO con la ambulancia”

R2: THOSE OF YOU WITH HEALTH INSURANCE HAD THE OBLIGATION TO REPORT AND GO TO Chiri (.) WELL **NOT TO GO** (.) BUT AT LEAST TO INFORM TO THE VILLAGE HEALTH CARE PROMOTOR (.) HE WOULD CALL **ME** (.) AND I THEN COME with the ambulance

The patient’s health insurance¹³ is used to legitimate an authoritarian and insolent attitude toward the host. The guest yells at him and claims it is mandatory to notify health care representatives about an impending birth and to visit the health facility. There is an appointed health care promoter in the village to whom the host should have provided the notification. The promoter could have informed the representative about the woman in labor. This is highlighted by stress the representative places on the words “A MI” in the utterance after the third pause. Accordingly, the guest “could have taken the necessary provision” to bring the pregnant woman to the nearest health care center, and the birth could have happened in expert hands. Rather than respect in this instance, the use of

¹³. This public health insurance is sponsored by the state. Currently, executive order # 29344 of 2009 is a new extension of ‘Seguro integral de Salud’ (Integral health insurance plan) which falls under the responsibility of the Ministerio de Salud. It provides health care to those who are identified as poor (for a description of health care systems in Peru see Rousseau 2007).

“USTEDES” signals the distance the representative wants to maintain from any fault or responsibility. It signals the host’s alleged failure to meet his obligation and obey the representatives. The host should have informed the village promoter that his wife was having labor pains. This authoritarian and insolent assertion curtails the goodwill the household members showed the guests. This is magnified when the second guest, R3 (who kept silent before) backs the claims that R2 is making by asserting,

- R3: “A LA UNA DE LA MAÑANA (.) DOS DE LA MAÑANA/NA”
 R2: “/YO SUBO”
 R3: “/Si tú estabas en tu casa/”
 R2: “/A MI ME LLAMAN (.) yo subo”
 R3: “Fíjate (.) ENTONCES (?)”
- R3: ONE IN THE MORNING, TWO IN THE MORNING/
 R2: /I COME
 R3: /You were at home/
 R2: [They] call me (.) I come
 R3: Do you see now (.) SO (?)

The R3 guest uses a dominant and raised tone hampering the host’s right to exercise his own social values. Stating that they would come “UNA DE LA MAÑANA (.) DOS DE LA MAÑANA” implies that the hour does not matter; even after midnight the couple should have informed the representatives of an impending birth because as government representatives they have the professional expertise necessary. They also have the right to come to the woman’s house to bring her to a health center in Cuzco. Their readiness to arrive no matter what time a woman goes into labor is highlighted when R2 self-confidently asserts “YO SUBO;”¹⁴ a phrase stressed when uttered by R2 to signal she is completely confident in her abilities to fulfill her responsibility no matter the hour.

The phrase “YO SUBO” overlaps (/) with the phrase that follows “si tú estabas en tu casa” which R3 utters in a low voice. The phrase conveys that the husband was home, he knew that the birth was imminent since he was there. Any justification for failing to notify government representatives cannot be accepted as true. Moreover, the pronoun “tú” addresses the host as a subordinate interlocutor. Emphasizing the host’s failure to

¹⁴ I have not seen any examples in which the representatives came during the night to offer medical assistance. I have witnessed pregnant woman being transported in the ambulance during daytime.

inform in addition to his subordinate condition, this phrase is followed by another statement “A MI ME LLAMAN” which is infused with a dominant and louder tone as the R2 guest speaks. She claims that representatives must be informed before the birth takes place. The tone is lowered after the first pause and the “yo subo” is uttered unconvincingly and lacks the earlier self-confident and loud tone.

This phrase is followed by “fíjate (.) ENTONCES” which implies that the host without doubt has failed to act in accordance with the health insurance requirements since the government representative is always ready to arrive whenever it is necessary. The utterance “ENTONCES” is used again in the prevailing louder and dominant tone. This may imply that the difficulties the host claims to have faced were untrue because a government representative is always available and ready to assist women in labor as a part of their job. Therefore, the host has no excuse that can justify his “failure” to inform them that his wife was in labor. Thus, it is absolutely the host’s fault and government representatives cannot be blamed.

Both R2 and R3 guests failed to reciprocate the host’s welcoming attitude. They hampered the hospitality the hosts wanted to show them. Instead the representatives monopolize the floor and both support each other’s claims and both adopt an authoritarian and an insolent attitude toward the host and his wife. A kind of complicity is exhibited through the utterances and the tone of voice used by the guests to the point that some utterances actually overlap (/). There are no fissures in the flow of utterances. Consequently the host cannot interrupt and is left with no opportunity to take up the floor. He has to listen passively and becomes a subject of dominance, stripped of any rights he has as the host because of the guests’ lack of respect for him and the members of his household.

What is more, the overlapping (/), collaborative utterances and effrontery converge in blaming the host and his wife. The utterances hold the host and his wife guilty for the birth that occurred in the house ahead of time. The blame is strengthened by reference to the health insurance requirements, an abstract entity which seems out of reach for the host. He cannot use the health insurance requirements to back up his own argument.

The beneficiaries of public health insurance include children, teenagers, adults, and pregnant women. It follows a model established during the Fujimori regime,¹⁵ up to a point. The ‘mandatory’ guidelines of the insurance are painted as obligatory by government representatives. They are aligned with old practices that oblige pregnant women to deliver at a public health facility, particularly those who are vulnerable and among those with the lowest sources of income.¹⁶ Even the Ministry of Health through its decentralized branches is determined to increase the percentage of births that occur in a health center to reduce maternal mortality. If government representatives of a countryside health facility fail to make sure that every pregnant woman delivers at a health center, they run the risk of being fired.

It is this frame that the R2 and R3 guests are taking advantage of. They exercise dominance over the host’s sovereign terrain by demanding, in a clearly insolent and authoritarian way, that the host fulfill his alleged obligation as an insured person. What is more the guests assume that they are entitled to handle the situation as they wish, intruding upon and disrupting the household beyond what they were invited to do. They tore the host’s welcoming and respectful attitude apart. Instead of becoming “a means of

¹⁵ Fujimori’s dictatorship strategically took as its primary duty to strengthen women’s reproductive health within the Peruvian health system as part of its commitment to comply with the Program of Action of the International Conference of Population and Development (ICPD) held in Cairo in 1994. For that purpose Fujimori changed its early program ‘programa nacional de atención a la salud reproductiva de la familia 1992–1995’ (Reproductive Health of the Family) and launched a new program ‘Programa de Salud Reproductiva y Planificación Familiar 1996–2000 (Reproductive Health and Family Planning Program) which sought primarily to sterilize people who were identified as poor or rural dwellers through tubal ligation and vasectomy. This program was funded by many organizations such as USAID and UNFPA (Rousseau 2007: 17). See also Gianella 2004, Huayhua (ms, 2004) and Miranda & Yamin (2004: 69).

¹⁶ This obligation is justified in the name of women’s health. The health system maintains that these measures are necessary to reduce the rates of maternal and neonatal mortality and to conform to the goals of the Peruvian public health system and the goals of the WHO. The reduction of maternal and neonatal mortality is one of the key objectives of the various health facilities I visited during my stay in Peru. Government representatives expressed their anxieties about the statistical report that places Peru as the country with the second highest rate of maternal mortality in South America. According to Rousseau (2007) almost “one in 89 expectant mothers die because of their pregnancy, compared with 1 in 130 for Latin America and the Caribbean, and 1 in 3,700 expectant mothers in North America” (11). Representatives feel that it is a shame that Peru is one of the leading countries in which maternal mortality levels have not decreased, hence, they dedicate their time to strategies to overcome the Peruvian health system’s weakness regarding maternal mortality. This mortality jeopardizes the efficiency and capacity to deliver medical care for pregnant women. There are still traces of the Fujimori era’s practices in which the representatives were required to comply with quotas to increase the number of women delivering at a health facility and by the same token increasing the number of women adopting contraceptive methods including tubal ligation.

expressing and reversing a pattern of domination at one and the same time” as Herzfeld suggests (1987:77), hospitality has become a means of articulating hierarchical relations, but the patterns of domination are not reversed between the guests (government representatives) and the host (a villager). The patterns seem to be reproduced through speech, tone, and the use of pronouns. The floor is taken by the guests to the point of humiliation. They undermine the host’s respectability, social values and sovereign space.

The conventions of hospitality at the level of the household (Pitt Rivers 1968: 16) and at the village are misunderstood. Thus the expected behavior on the part of the guest, a behavior of respect, is almost absent in this interaction. The social value accorded to each (Goffman 1967) is asymmetrical. The household’s space is almost under the visitors’ control, destroying territorial boundaries between the guest and the host (Shryock 2008). This subordinates the host to the new civilizing endeavor of the guests. The host becomes a foreigner within his own territory. Therefore, reciprocal respect (Herzfeld 1987) fades away and is no longer possible to achieve. Hospitality that transcends policies and politics seems to be an unattainable ideal, “located in a remote place or elsewhere” as Balga Bedouins may believe (Shyrock 2008: 406).

In the interaction described above respect is not achieved, rather it is undermined by the guests’ claim that the host is responsible for not bringing his wife to the health center. This is a responsibility different from, and ultimately opposed to the host’s duty to offer comfort and entertain a guest to secure his household’s interiority and its inhabitants’ interiority. Vested with official powers the guests place responsibility on the host. They do not care about respect nor that they have stepped into the space of another when they stepped into the household. Not only are they offending and humiliating the host, they are making him and his household subordinate to their desires. Visitors like the representatives that lack respect for the household cannot be driven out from the host’s territory as people from Glendi (a town in Greece) do with those who failed to acknowledge “a reciprocal obligation to offer respect” (Herzfeld 1978: 81) as part of the hospitality received. The host seems to be chained to the guest’s official and “civilizing” health care mandates, thus, the host has to endure the authoritarian and impudent guests.

I would suggest that the host, as part of a Quechua-speaking village, is unable to undo the guests' authoritarian attitude not only because the guests are unable to understand the conventions of hospitality and want to place responsibility on the host, but the hierarchical relations in which both are enmeshed may be structural. The relations of domination that crop up in this example may be reflected in interactions and overt discourses on a larger scale among those who are labeled as highland people and those who are labeled as coastal people (a phenomenon I examine in chapter 6)

If hierarchical relations are underpinned by historical relations of domination amongst Peruvians, it is plausible that a truly host-guest relationship between government representatives and the villagers may not be possible. Their interactions would be colored by prevailing asymmetrical social values—accorded to participants—that seem common sense in Peru more widely (guests may regard hosts as unworthy people who do not deserve any consideration). These attitudes are reinforced by health insurance policies, pieces of paper that subject all beneficiaries to the health policies of the government. In the long run, health insurance may become a means to justify and reinforce processes of subjection to authoritarian and disrespectful representatives, agents of state policies and institutions as seems to happen in the example I describe from the village below.

The public health insurance “commands”

The way the host challenged the government representatives was precluded by the guests. They visitors used the health insurance requirements to call into question the host's capacity to understand the rules,

R2: “Y EL SEGURO/ Y EL SEGURO PARA QUE ES (?)”

R3: “/Y el seguro /:/ y el seguro /:/ PARA QUE TE DOY EL SEGURO ENTONCES”

H1: “Y AHORITA /:/ UNA VEZ /:/ UNA VEZ INCLUSO HAN DADO ALIMENTO”

R2: AND THE INSURANCE/ WHAT THE INSURANCE IS FOR (?)

R3: /And the insurance /:/ and the insurance /:/ SO WHAT HAVE I GIVEN YOU THE INSURANCE FOR

H1: AND NOW /:/ ONE TIME/:/ JUST ONE TIME THEY HAVE GIVEN THE PACKAGE OF FOOD

The question asked by the guest R2 about the purpose of the health insurance delivered in a loud and sarcastic tone, “EL SEGURO PARA QUE ES?” makes reference to the insurance as a third entity signaled by “EL SEGURO” and ‘ES’. In this way the

insurance acquires a demanding force. This is strengthened by the next overlapping utterance made by R3 that insists on the same question. She adds, after the second break, that the insurance could be granted or denied. The host is addressed as “tú” (signaled by “TE”) without any respect. The utterance “PARA QUE TE DOY” implies that if the health insurance beneficiary cannot fulfill the insurance requirements, he may be removed. This is a threat. The vehement questions the visitors asked, as well as their demands for a quick response, presuppose that anyone with public health insurance is bound to its requirements, so that a birth has to be at a health center.

The response from the host, however, is to refuse to acknowledge any binding request (to give birth at a clinic). The host changes the line of discussion, turning to the issue of the food supplies women are supposed to receive if they are pregnant. The response is made in the same loud tone as the previous utterances, but with some hesitation (/:/). The host’s welcoming attitude has changed to one of trying to compel respect from the guests by force. The host used the same tactics as the guests to recover the floor and the space of the household. The attempt to change the course of the interaction and shift the line of argument to food distribution is ignored by the representatives,

R2: “PERO EL SEGURO PARA QUE ES (?) DIME PARA QUÉ ES (?)”
 H1: “NO CIERTO (.) AHORITA EN CHIRI INCLUSO ME HA DICHO DESDE CUATRO MESES DE GESTANTE SE DA EL ALIMENTO”
 R2: “YA (.) NO (.) ESCUCHAME/dime PARA QUE ES EL SEGURO (?)”
 R3: “/entonces que te den pues en /allí”
 R2: “/dime (.) PARA QUE ES EL SEGURO (?)”
 H1: “/EL SEGURO (?)”

R2: BUT THE INSURANCE WHAT IS FOR (?) TELL ME WHAT IS IT FOR (?)
 H1: RIGHT (.) RECENTLY THEY TOLD ME THAT AT FOUR MONTHS OF PREGNANCY THEY BEGIN TO GIVE [THE PACKAGE] OF FOOD TO PREGNANT WOMEN
 R2: Okay (.) NO (.) LISTEN TO ME /tell me WHAT IS THE INSURANCE FOR (?)
 R3 /so they should give you [the package of] food / there
 R2: /tell me (.) WHAT THE INSURANCE IS FOR?
 H1: /THE INSURANCE?

The question concerning the health insurance guidelines is repeated again. This restates that the insurance requires commitment from beneficiaries in the same terms as the previous utterances. After the first question, R2 addresses the host directly using a

tacit second-person form embedded in “DIME [tú].” This demands an immediate response. The host however shows how he wants to shift the argument again to the allocation of food for pregnant women, implying that he has no obligation to the insurance because he only received food once. The representatives retort this change of alignment with a confused yes and no answer. After the second pause, the R2 guest demands to be heard by uttering “ESCUCHAME” with the tacit “tú.” This is a rude way to insist with the same question about the insurance guidelines again. This is done in order to elicit a response from the host and blame him for what occurred. Her utterance overlaps (/) with the utterance made by R3. R3’s response aligns momentarily with the topic of food allocation. Ironically she asserts that the host should have received the food there, in Chiri.

However this switch to the issue of food fades again with the next overlapping utterance made by the R2 representative. She repeats the question about the insurance guidelines again. The unpleasant argument about the insurance guidelines continues. The host seems to surrender to the pressure and abandons his effort to shift the topic of conversation. He rephrases the question as “¿EL SEGURO?” before R2 has a chance to finish her utterance. The representative keeps talking, ignoring the host’s question. They insist in restating the question about the insurance,

R2: “/Para que es el seguro (?)”

H1: “POR ESO PUES SIÑURITA ME COMPRENDE O NO ME COMPRENDE siñurita (.) SI NO ME COMPRENDE YO LO BAJO HASTA DONDE SEA”

R2: /What is the insurance for (?)

H1: WELL MS. DO YOU COMPREHEND ME OR NOT MS. (.) IF YOU DO NOT COMPREHEND ME I’LL GO WHEREVER

Rephrasing the question, the R2 guest uses the third person to cast the insurance as an entity that requires the hosts recognize the allegedly binding nature of its commands. The host finds himself in a difficult situation; his attempts to align the discussion to food distribution and recover full control of the situation and preclude humiliation seem to fail. He is in a precarious position and runs the risk of being subjected and constructed as a guilty subject within his own home. This pushes him to respond to the guests’ aggression in a louder tone, yet addressing the speaker as “SIÑURITA” twice in the passage above highlights his respect for his interlocutor. This

also conveys that a “*siñurita*” should understand (not only as an expert, but as an educated person) the circumstances in which the birth occurred. At this point in the argument, he resigns himself to the futility of making the guests understand him. If the representatives refuse to understand the host’s explanation he will complain at the health center in Cuzco.

The host threatens to complain, and his demand to be comprehended is insolently undermined by an offensive and insulting response,

R2: “El hecho **es que tú** /:/ ESCUCHAME (.) EL HECHO ES QUE TU NO ENTIENDES EN TU CABEZA”

R2: The point **is that you** /:/ LISTEN TO ME (.) THE POINT IS THAT YOU DO NOT UNDERSTAND IN YOUR HEAD

The response alleges with the stressed phrase “*es que tú*” that the addressee does not pay attention to what is being said. It also suggests that he is less than capable of understanding the health insurance demands, at least the demand to bring a woman in labor to a health center to be attended to by experts and comply with the insurance guidelines. The phrase “EL HECHO ES QUE TU NO ENTIENDES EN TU CABEZA” indexes the host as a subject with an obtuse head, i.e., a thoughtless person without remedy, a person who lacks the capacity to make a judgment. Therefore, he, and by extension his wife and maybe his co-villagers, lack the capacity to understand the insurance demands. The lack of intelligence attributed to the host seems common sense under the Spanish label of “*bruto*” (stupid, grossly unintelligent) that seeks to stigmatize the host and is widely used to stigmatize villagers’ children.

The social values the guests and the hosts accord each other are asymmetrical. The former believe it is fine to humiliate and subordinate the latter because of the assumption that villagers are brainless. In contrast, as hosts, the latter take a stance of respect and consideration towards the former in order to secure the interiority of the household and its inhabitants’ interiority. When respect is not reciprocated, the host seems to change his stance toward the guests. He attempts to smooth the situation over—in Goffman’s terms he attempts to change the footing (1972)—but he is unsuccessful to the point that he threatens the former in order to impede the way they continue to frame him as a guilty, subordinated subject.

Moreover, as an abstract entity, the insurance acquires an aura of obligation that obliges its holders to comply with its guidelines. Representing the state's health policies, it reinforces the subjugation of its holders. It is also a means for the perpetuation of patterns of domination even within the space of the household. The assumption is that people who lack intelligence must be "guided" if not obligated to comply with the insurance "benefits." At the same time, the insurance becomes a symbol that facilitates government representatives to render its holders as incapable of comprehending the "advantage" of being "beneficiaries" of the state's "commitment" with the poorest.

The aura imparted to the insurance and its commanding guidelines, in conjunction with the insulting and dominant attitude adopted by the visitors, may have destroyed the territorial autonomy of the house, but the visitors could not succeed in making the host feel responsible for the home birth. The host may have successfully refused any responsibility or accountability, although his welcoming and respectful attitude was still dismissed by the visitors. The host could not fully manage the situation in terms of his moral values. His household's sovereignty was compromised by the visitors. Their attitudes trespassed over the boundaries of hospitality in use in the village.

Since the visitors could not make the host accountable for the birth occurring at home, the violation of the household autonomy may be ultimately pointless, despite the harassing and authoritarian attitude they took the occupants. The guests then turned their attention to the host's wife, the puerperal woman laying on the bed.

You must know yourself or your organic self

The puerperal woman (PW) had been a mute witness to the ongoing discussion between her husband, the host and the guests right there at her bed side. She became visible to the guests as a subject of inquisition despite her fragile and exhausted state. She had been in labor in the early morning.

R2: "El sábado yo he estado ahí (.) si sentías que algo te dolía (.) has debido de venir el sábado"

PW: *Mana siñurita sabarutaqa/ nanawanchu*

R3: "Ayer también estaba el doctor"

R2: "Ayer también estaba el doct/or"

H1: "En la noche dice qu/e"

R2: "Pero ella:/ **ella se da cuenta pues/** ella se da cuenta"

R3: “/Ella sabe”

R2: Last Saturday I was there (.) if you felt that something was causing pain (.) you should have come on Saturday.

PW: On Saturday Miss I did not feel /any pain

R3: /Yesterday, the physician was also there

H1: She said that during the night

R2: /But she:/ **she is well aware of the pain** / she realizes it

R3: /She knows it

R2 spoke less loudly, affirming that the day before the birth—Saturday—she was at work at the health facility. If the puerperal woman was feeling any pain, the pregnant woman should have come to see her. The utterance before the first pause emphasizes the veracity of the guest’s statement. The use of the Spanish first-person pronoun “yo” combined with “he” categorically confirms what is being said; as the verb marks the person, the pronoun is purely emphatic here. After the first pause, the utterance that follows addresses the speaker with the second pronoun “tú” embedded in “sentías” and signaled by “te.” This phrase in a conditional form—“si”—is followed by an utterance in an obligative form. “Has debido” implies that the puerperal woman was obligated to go to the health facility. In other words, it was the woman’s duty to take the necessary steps to be examined by government representatives if she was having contractions.

With R2 placing the blame on her, the puerperal woman responds quietly that she felt no contractions or pain that Saturday. Her reply is infused with a sense of respect through the use of the word “*siñurita*,” implying that the speaker recognizes the highly educated status of the guest beyond her professional expertise. The utterance is halted (/) by the R3 visitor. She makes the point that even the physician was at the health facility the day (Sunday) in which the labor pains should have been felt since the birth happened afterwards. This assertion is backed by visitor R2 who repeats the same phrase “*ayer también estaba el doctor*,” The repetition of the utterances shows a concerted effort to uphold a stance of dominance between the visitors and implies that the puerperal woman is guilty for delivering the baby at home since the expert was right there to assist her, at the village health facility. Accordingly, the woman should have delivered at the health facility. There is no reason to justify a birth out of the facility.

The puerperal woman does not contest the guests' interruption of her response. The woman does not attempt to take the floor and utters no further information on whether or not she felt labor pains. It seems that she has no energy or desire to contest the visitors' claims given that the delivery happened just a few hours before. As a part of the host party, she may also need to maintain a welcoming attitude to distance herself from the lack of respect the guests have shown. Furthermore, it might not be worth it to argue since she knows, from going back and forth to the health facility for her checkups, that the representatives will never give up their claim that the couple themselves are responsible.

However her husband is not willing to surrender or accept blame in his own household. Before the R2 guest gets a chance to finish her last word, he manages to make the point that the birth had happened at night. The host's utterance conveys that the speaker was not at home that night which is signaled by "dice que,"¹⁷ i.e., he was not present when the birth took place during the night. Consequently, the host and his wife cannot be blamed for not notifying the visitors or the health facility about the approaching birth.

The host's utterance (qu/e) is interrupted by another utterance from R2. After a little bit of hesitation (/:/) R2 asserts that the puerperal woman is fully aware of the impending birth. This is highlighted by the phrase "**ella se da cuenta pues.**" This stressed phrase is repeated by the same speaker again to emphasize that the woman is conscious of what is going on with her body. Labor pains are obvious and cannot be ignored. It also denotes that the woman has become invisible to the others present once more again; she is not addressed at all. She is referred to with the third Spanish pronoun "ella" which excludes the woman as a participant.

Before R2 has even finished her utterance, R3 asserts in the third person that "[e]lla sabe". That is, the woman knows when she is in labor because of pains she may have felt long before the birth took place. Accordingly, she should have gone to the health facility to deliver the baby since even the physician was there. Both visitors stick to the position that a woman is aware of when a birth will occur by overlapping (/)

¹⁷ Although "dice que" can be understood as denotation of something.

utterances and making similar statements. They hold the floor and collaborate to place blame on the puerperal woman. Although the visitors' louder tone and sarcasm is gone, their authoritarian and disrespectful attitude continues to prevail. They keep claiming that,

R2: "No es que es de un mes o dos meses"

R3: "Es que nosotras no /sabemos"

R2: " /Nosotras no sabemos"

H1: "Aa/a"

R3: " /Usted no sabe (.) yo tampoco sé"

H1: "Si claro"

R3: "Todavía no tenemos/ hijo"

H1: " /Aa (.) si le dolería a la señora yo /:/ no creo /que hubiera salido pues"

R2: It is not that [the pain] happens one month or two months before

R3: We (excluding H1) do not /know the pain

R2: /We do not know it

H1: Aa/a

R3: /You (formal use) do not know it (.) neither do I

H1: Of course

R3: We do not have any children yet

Qs2: /If [my wife] had pain I:/ I do not think so I would have traveled

After the R3's utterance "ella sabe," the R2 speaker in an explanatory tone states that labor pain does not arise months before actually going into labor. R3 asserts that even they know nothing what labor pain feels like. This is backed up by the overlapping utterances that R2 makes "nosotras no sabemos," both speakers support each other by making similar assertions. The visitors claim that they do not know labor pain; the plural pronoun "nosotras" excludes the host and the puerperal woman. That is, according to the visitors, labor pain is something that needs to be experienced and is not something you could know from professional training. It is a pain that only those who have children know and are able to identify as a sign to calculate when they will give birth. Accordingly, the puerperal woman, who had given birth to three children before, has to know better than the expert visitors when the birth would occur by the labor pains she felt.

The visitors' statement that they do not know when labor pains start left the host speechless. He seemed taken aback by a discourse that readily admitted a lack of knowledge (in experiential terms) concerning women in labor, given that the visitors are

there as experts who supposedly know all matters concerning women's pregnancy and birth. A statement that "recognizes" the lack of experience they personally have of labor pain might be intended to avoid any responsibility on the part of the visitors. The host is caught off guard for a moment, but he soon realizes that the visitors intended to place responsibility on his wife. He tries to articulate a quick response, but before he even manages to utter a word he is cut off (/) quickly by the utterance made by R3. She strategically addresses the host as "usted." "Usted" in this context might reflect distance and respect, although it can also at the same time signal distance in the sense that it is the woman alone who is culpable for failing to notify about her labor pain. With the expression 'no sabe,' the visitor includes the host as someone who also cannot know what labor pains feel like. It is the puerperal woman's responsibility to know when she is in labor and to know when she needs to go to the health center.

"Usted" plus "no sabe" followed by "yo tampoco sé" includes R3 and by extension the R2 visitor as well as the host in a group that know nothing about labor pain and do not know what impending birth feels like. That is an experience felt solely by women who have had children. As a man the host will never experience labor pain given his sex and the guests do not have children themselves yet. The effect is that the host is tricked into uttering a positive response, saying yes and thus accepting that he and his guests lack the experience of labor pain. This acceptance is used wisely by guest R3 whose utterance re-asserts that in order to know labor pain or calculate a due date the guests have to undergo the experience of having children, despite being experts. It is clear that the visitors and the host cannot be responsible for the birth that took place in the house. The one to be blamed is the woman since she knows for sure what labor pain feels like and should have informed the representatives or the health facility about it.

The host appears to agree with the guests for a few seconds. However, he soon realizes that the appeal to their common lack of experience with labor pain is a strategy to place responsibility on his wife. To put such responsibility on the woman would mean ultimately accepting the guests' claim. It would also mean giving up the territorial sovereignty of the household. Admitting culpability also calls into question the moral conduct of its members. This is not acceptable to the host. In his household nobody

should be made guilty for the actions the rightful members of the household decided to take within it. Actions or events taking place within the household are intertwined with the social and moral values of its members. Thus the household is moral and an outsider should not dare to challenge that. In this way the birthing event within the household is morally right. Accordingly, a woman delivering in her house is not doing wrong. It is rightful to deliver within the space of the household as has been done for generations, regardless of what the visitors or health insurance commands.

To defend his household space and the moral conduct of the occupants the host interrupts R3's utterance by pointing out that they are not responsible for the unexpected birth although he struggles in making this assertion at the beginning. The host may want to create distance between him and his wife or between his wife and the women visitors present by referring to his wife in the third person with "le" and "la señora." This form of address excludes the woman as a participant, but it may intend to signal the need to respect the woman and her newborn, i.e., the respect that visitors should show towards household members, and by the same token to the autonomy of household. First, the utterance intends to highlight that there is no doubt in what "la señora" says. She did not experience any labor pain. Her lack of pain should be taken into account since la "señora" is a grown up that has reached adulthood, she is an adult and not a child playing with her words. There should be no doubt that she is telling the truth. Second, the host would not have gone anywhere if "la señora" was obviously in labor, which is signaled by "pues," an expression that demonstrates with resolve that the host would not have gone anywhere with his wife in labor.

In the end it seems that nothing was settled by this argument that took place in the household. The visitors' aim to make the host responsible mostly failed. Despite their "claims...demands... [that] usurps the host's right to ordain according to his free will, even...[when] custom lays down what he should wish to ordain" (Pitt-Rivers 1968: 26-27) the host has not surrendered to the visitors' claim. However, the host could also not prevent some disruption of the interiority and space for the household and its members given that his welcoming and respectful attitude was not reciprocated. His moral conduct is called into question by claims that the birth should have happened at a health center.

If all visitors display such a dominant and rude attitude toward Quechua-speaking hosts who live in countryside villages, even though the host above used Spanish to communicate with the visitors, it is feasible to posit that such an attitude would be stronger still when visitors deal with women who only speak Quechua. Consider the following case.

An uninvited intrusive visitor

Many of the visitors to the village are there to make claims, to get the villagers to perform certain duties or to behave in a certain way. Visitors therefore are entering the space of households to claim that some duty must be carried out. Such an approach may not coincide with the welcoming attitude of the host, infringing on the household and breaking the “law of hospitality” (26). The fact that visitors enter beyond the gate or the patio and intrude into the kitchen could be interpreted as undermining the “social distance” (Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995: 3) that household members want to display. However, such intrusion is a way of ignoring normative social distance, and by the same token, re-creating a social distance among visitors and household dwellers based on “civilizing” ideas such as “hygiene habits” that claim the right to regiment households by imposing urban models of life, as I will outline below.

Enforcing hygiene practices?

Sasiku and I were sharing *kuka* leaves in her kitchen around 9:30 a.m. in the morning. We were chewing *kuka* leaves and chatting about being orphaned when a representative from the municipality appeared at the home. She called:

R4: “Doña! Doña Sasiku!”

R4: Doña! Doña Sasiku!

Wrapping up her bag of *kuka* leaves, Sasiku rushed to the patio to attend to the unexpected visitor. The representative of the municipality was waiting inside the patio. Sasiku greeted her with *binus diyas siñurita* and took her shawl, accommodating it over a big rock like any other village host should have done and said:

Sa: *Chaychapi tiyakuy siñurita*

Sa: Please, Ms. sit down over there

Addressing the visitor as *siñurita* is not a comment on the visitor's status as unmarried, as the word may invite someone to assume. In this context it directed towards someone who will behave as a *siñurita*, a well educated person. With this form of address the visitor is expected to be kind and thoughtful and someone who knows how to treat those who have "less education." She should show a respectful attitude as a *siñurita* from the city.

Siñurita—from Spanish "señorita"—as a form of address is linked to the Quechua suffixes *-cha* combined with *-ku* which underscores the kindness, humility and respect that the host shows toward her unexpected visitor. The host wants to show deference and goodwill.

The representative (R4) sat down on the seat indicated and smiled a little bit.

Asking for the host's husband, she pulled out a form that needed to be filled in and said:

R4: "Mamita **visita ah** (.) **visita domiciliara**" *ña yachankichisña riki?*

R4: Little mama visit (.) house visit; you are familiar with this already, right?

The guest warns the host that the visit is to assess whether her household is organized and whether it meets the municipal guidelines for "house hygiene." It is not a visit to socialize or develop a friendship which is clearly stated by the use of 'mamita' and *yachankichisña*. The Spanish word *mamita* alludes to the assumed lower position of the host who has to fulfill the guest's demands. The Quechua phrase *yacha-nkichis-ña* alludes to a plural person marked by *-nkichis* (you all). The word *ña* and the second suffix *-ña* denote that everybody in the village certainly knows about the "**visita domiciliara**." This stressed phrase implies that the visitor is there to comply with this duty and nothing else. If everyone knows "visita domiciliaria," then the host must know the procedures of the visit meant to assess the state of the household's hygiene and its organization. "Visita domiciliaria" is a program that was established—after the inauguration of the sewage system in April 2009—to supervise the required changes in the "dirty" households of the village by bringing in "hygienic" practices.

The host signals her acceptance and that she understands the purpose of the special visit by uttering *aha* (yes). At the same time she keeps looking for a large stick in a pile of eucalyptus firewood. She also tells her child not to cross the road while the promoter fills in the general data (e.g., geographical location and date). The host goes back to the kitchen with her child and the visitor follows her. After entering the kitchen

she stands near the threshold of the door and comments on the *quwi* (guinea pig) that Sasiku is in the process of tying to a stick to roast. After the visitor said “qué rico” (delicious!) she says:

R4: “Y (.) y /:/ este como se llama/:/ de **una vez**” *seguimientuta ruwayrusayki mama*.
Sa: Ya *siñurita*

R4: And (.) and /:/ how can I say that/:/ I will proceed right away with the supervision
mama
Sa: Okay Ms.

As a proper *siñurita* and representative of a public institution, the visitor stresses her intention of doing the supervision right there which is signaled by “de una vez”. Her utterance starts in Spanish and she seems to struggle to utter a phrase in Quechua. This is done after the second break /:/ in a combination of Spanish and Quechua. This utterance after the second break (/:/) might be an effort to establish a common language of interaction: Quechua, but it cannot be understood as a way of getting “closer” (Fadlalla 2007: 24) or obtaining acceptance as a temporary member of the household.

The intention to supervise is softened with the word “mama” instead of the earlier use of “mamita.” “Mama” in this case implies a degree of kindness, but not respect. It is better than being addressed as “mamita”. “Mama” has cropped up in order to soften the invasive nature of the supervision that infringes on the host’s intimate life and the household’s interiority in the name of “hygiene habits.” Second, it is a filler meant to soften the demand and, third, it lessens the inquisitorial nature of the visit.

The guest’s concern to soften, slow down and minimize the terms of the supervision is a reflection of the guest’s social standing as a *siñurita*, but it is also a tactic use to minimize the intrusive presence. The demand for “seguimiento” (supervision) is conceded with *siñurita*, a cue to remind the guest where she stands vis-à-vis the woman host. Although the visitor’s job is to disrupting the autonomy of the household, she also apparently expects to be offered some of the roasted *quwi*. Her desire in this regard becomes obvious in something she says to the host’s child.

R4: *Mihusunchis ya* (?)
R4: We will eat it [the guinea pig] okay (?)

The child replies with *ya* (yes) while Sasiku remains silent and continues to roast the *quwi* by holding it close to the burning stove. Sasiku looks for a bench where she could invite her guest to sit and says:

Sa: *Achachaw siñurita mayCHapi tiyarUNki*

R4: *AqnaCHAllapi mama (.) mas sayaspaLLapis aqna (.) mas bien tiyarUKUy qan (.) ahi está bankaCHapi (.) maski ankiCHapi*

Sa: I am ashamed of where you would sit

R4: It is okay mama (.) even standing like that is okay (.) better if you could sit (.) there on the little bench (.) over there is fine

The host is worried about finding a place for the *siñurita* to sit. The Quechua word *achachaw* signals preoccupation and shame for not having a place for the guest to be comfortable. The suffix -cha conveys the heartfelt nature of her concern despite the unexpected nature of the visit which is expressed by -ru. The suffix -ru also conveys that the unexpected visit caught the speaker preparing *quwi*. It appears that the guest will not be served any. R4 response mirrors the considerateness or courteousness shown by the host. R4's utterance is filled with suffixes such as -cha, -lla and -ku everywhere in which Quechua syntax allows. The suffixes Cha and -lla are usually used when sharing the floor, but in this interaction they are being used to deceive the host, -ku attempts to soften the command that the host should sit, and "mama" is a word used as a filler to minimize the disruption the guest has caused in the house. The guest claims that she does not mind sitting on a tiny bench since there is no other place to sit. The suggestion compels the host to hurry in finding a suitable place where the guest can sit. Looking around the kitchen she finds a plain small board.

Sa: *AnkiCHapi siñurita tiyarUKUy*

R4: "Aca (.) aca (.) aca (.) en tu puertita aunque sea"

Sa: *Ya siñurita*

Sa: Ms. please sit down here

R4: Here (.) here (.) here (.) it does not matter if it is in your little door

Sa: Okay Ms.

The host consistently addresses the guest as *siñurita* to maintain distance and respect. The host has a welcoming attitude as shown by her use of -cha and -ku. The guest acknowledges this considerateness and decides herself where to sit in the end, following the politeness cues in her Spanish utterances by using the equivalent of -cha a

diminutive form “ita.” For example instead of saying “puerta” she says “puertita” but without much success. The phrase within the Quechua frame could be interpreted as the door is small, maybe too small, insinuating that it cannot be definitively called a “puerta,” an interpretation that is reinforced by the phrase “aunque sea.” This last phrase conveys that the guest dislikes sitting at the threshold of the door, although she may have to do so since there is no other suitable place to sit.

R4: “No **tienes un trapito** (?)”

Sa: *AnkiCHApi* (.) *ankiy k’ullu patachapi tiyarunki* (.) *hatariy chikucha*

R4: “No (.) muy bajo es eso (.) aca (.) acasito pónmelo mamá (.) ya”

R4: Do you have a little cloth (?)

Sa: Over here (.) over this branch you would sit (.) go away child

R4: No (.) it is too low to the ground (.) here (.) put it her mama (.) okay

The guest’s request for a “trapito” using the diminutive form of “ito” aims to maintain the polite nature of the conversation, although her request prompts the host to put a piece of wood over on the firewood pile near the clay stove as a place to sit. The host invites her guest to sit on the wood. The phrase *tiyarunki* implies that the host is arranging a place to sit that is as comfortable as possible since the visit was not expected. The constant and consistent use of -cha also signals the host’s aim to communicate her humbleness and that there is truly nowhere else to sit in their humble place. The guest does not approve of the firewood pile as a place to sit. She cannot hold her tongue and comments that the place is too low “muy bajo eso,” it is an inappropriate place to sit because it is almost at the level of the floor. The guest’s utterance “pónmelo” instructs the host to place the piece of wood on the door step, a command that causes a serious break in the respectful nature of the conversation up to a point. This is despite the guest’s effort to soften the request using the diminutive of “ito” in the word “acasito” and “mama.” The host complies with what is being requested without any hesitation.

R4: Ahí (.) ecole (.) muy bien (.) *anchiyCHApi* (.) waw (.) un asiento grande todavía

Sa: *Chumpay patapi tiyarikuy siñurita*

R4: Noo /:/ cuidado mama (.) ya (.) gracias (.) muy amable (.) es a:/amable la do:/ la compañera

R4: There (.) perfect (.) perfect (.) over there (.) waw (.) it has become a big seat

Sa: Sit down on my garment Miss. please

R4: Noo /:/ be careful mama (.) yes (.) thank you (.) so kind (.) [she] is a /:/ kind the do:/ the friend

The guest approves of the seating arrangement with the phrase “muy bien.” This is a phrase that is usually used to recognize the achievements of children or students, despite the use of the suffix -cha in the next word. The seat they improvised is big enough to accommodate the guest who finally seems less disappointed to be sitting by the door. The host takes off her sweater to lay on the seat and to make her guest more comfortable, but her guest seems embarrassed when the host pulls off her garment and says *tiyarikuy* (sit yourself down please). Noblesse oblige, the guest has to recognize the host’s respect and politeness—given that the host is even offering the garment she is wearing in order to indulge the visitor by uttering “gracias” and “muy amable.” However, she almost slips into the way she usually addresses villagers when she utters “la do...” She almost used “doña” or “doñita” to address the host, which she tries to fix by resorting to “compañera,” a neutral word used among villagers and NGO representatives. “Doña” is a form that places women below those labeled as “señora” or “señorita.” It is a category that places women in an inferior position in relation to those addressed as “señora” or “señorita.”

The host, however, consistently maintains a welcoming attitude in order to avoid any further violation of her household and her intimate life. She systematically tries to please the guest whose use of suffixes such as -cha and -ku or thankful phrases or fillers do not deceive her. The guest appears unable to maintain the respectful attitude and addresses the host most of the time in a commanding or demanding way. The way the guest micro-manages the host and where she wants to sit seems like a longstanding custom.

The guest finally sits on the door step because there is no other elevated place above the floor. She places the form on her lap and asks questions of the host. Since the questions are in Spanish she tries to translate them into Quechua. The host answers quickly with yes or no words and she offers the guest a plate of cooked *muraya*. The guest eats some and puts the rest in a plastic bag and stores it in her backpack. The guest went on to inspect the hygiene of the washbasin, the faucet and the bathroom. She returns and fills in the form, admonishing the host for the improper use of the bathroom by pointing out that no soil should be inside the flat toilet: “No deben de echar tierra al baño” *mana allpa kanachu!* The host responds without much concern: *mana, mana* (no,

no) while turning the *quwi* over. The R4 representative writes the host's last name and asks her to put her finger print on the form. She ends by checking Yes or No on the headings of the form and calculates a score while the host, after complying with the visitor's requirements, focuses on the roasting *quwi* which is not done yet.

The host does not invite the guest to stay until the *quwi* is done. Not inviting the guest to stay would have been unimaginable for villagers in other contexts and years before, but given the disruptive nature of the visit the host seems entitled to evade any further inspection that trespasses upon the autonomy of the household. Not offering someone visiting food such as roasted *quwi* would have been unthinkable for villagers many years ago, like it was an affront for early American natives not to offer visitors any food. They offered the best of their staples to their visitors (for further insights see Morgan 2003[1881]: 42-62). The guest leaves the household with a warning that the kitchen utensils have to be kept clean. After the guest is gone, Sasiku sits near the clay stove and pulls out her *kuka* leaves and we continue to chat sharing and chewing *kuka* leaves.¹⁸

The terms of the relationship between the host and the guest were established from the very beginning. The official visitor had announced her presence as part of her duties under the "visita domiciliaria" program established by the municipality. The host cannot evade an official representative, thus she is forced to surrender the autonomy of her household and allow the inspection. No contemplation is given to the disruption that the inspection causes for the household's interiority and its members' interiority. The inspection of the kitchen, the bathroom and the washbasin to evaluate if the host keeps everything organized and clean has undermined the sovereignty of the household. The guest has trespassed on the household, despite the host's efforts to bring comfort to the guest. There seems to be no reputation to take care of, in contrast to Jordanians' struggle to care of their reputation (Shryock 2004).

Although the host is being policed on how to handle her household, she maintains her welcoming attitude. She still manages to assert some control over her territorial space, as someone with the right to make decisions things when she does not invite the

¹⁸ Before going into deep matters she comments that *chhaynatacha riki qullqita ganakun* (I guess it is the way she earns money, working like that).

visitor to share the roasted *quwi*. This shows host treats the uninvited visitor like the official visitor she claims to be. The official visitor is just complying with her duties and should leave the household as soon as she is done with the inspection. Thus, there is no obligation to share the food the host is preparing. The decision not to invite the representative to share the food being prepared undermines the moral values important to the household, i.e., in general sense it is not morally right to let a visitor leave without offering them the food that is being prepared. In comparison to the example discussed earlier in the chapter, where there was a bitter argument between representatives and the male host, this interaction is calm. There is no yelling or use of a loud voice such as occurred between the participants in the last example. In both events, however, hierarchical relations are perpetuated whether the host contests the domination openly—as in the birth event—or silently and inconspicuously—as in the “*visita domiciliaria*.”

If visitors impose Spanish as the language of interaction the hosts do not hesitate in taking their stance in that language. But if the host does not speak Spanish she uses Quechua as in the example of the “*visita domiciliaria*.” Thus, in order to meet the demands of her job, the representative tries to speak in Quechua, but she speaks more in Spanish using diminutives in several words to hide her intrusiveness rather than to show genuine respect or to share the floor with the host. This form of domination is more subtle and more difficult to recognize since it is embedded in language that seems less domineering. This forms of domination needs to be unpacked. The calm conversation is not a sign that the hierarchical relations between the host and the guest are inverted, even though the guest switches to Quechua for interaction. Rather the process of domination is insidious and subtle.

Contrary to visits amongst relatives where sharing *kuka* leaves is indispensable and an effort is made to entertain and amuse relatives who visit the household to converse about all kinds of business (for example, trading or working), visitors who are strangers (such as the representatives of public institutions) are received without *kuka* leaves. Sharing *kuka* leaves is a feature of being a member of the community. It was also used as a way to make a stranger from other villages an honorary member of the household; a process that includes food as well. This social practice, nowadays, is limited to

villagers,¹⁹ and is not always offered to outsiders who are from other similar villages. *Kuka* leaves would never be offered to strangers who are identified as powerful or city dwellers,²⁰ instead food would be offered.

Villagers refrain from offering *kuka* leaves to city strangers since villagers are told countless times at health facilities and at the university that chewing *kuka* is a disgusting thing that only backward and filthy people do.²¹ Thus *kuka* cannot be shared with those who regard chewing *kuka* as unclean and unsanitary. This ideological idea that *kuka* leaves represent filth is intertwined with the politics of “hygiene practices” that the “visita domicialiara” program seeks to impose on households and their dwellers. Villagers are told to keep utensils clean and where to keep them for example. Such discourse about sanitary conditions makes hygiene a powerful discourse that undermines the age-based hierarchical relations that exist among the members of villager households, such as the relationships between mothers and daughters (Carsten 1995).

The attitudes of the younger generation towards their parents are sometimes affected by these discourses. The sanitation visit is part of a larger accompanying discourse, which includes attributing uncleanness to villagers, as I showed in the previous chapters about the health clinic and transportation by minivan.

There is a risk that the younger and older generation will lose any sense of respect for each other, to the point that it affects not only the social values of the household but above all the moral conduct of its members. The reversal of age-based hierarchy may disrupt the interiority of the household and the actions of its members.

Bringing hygiene to the household

In general, the hierarchy in the relationship between mothers and daughters is manifested in the way responsibilities are delegated in taking care of children and domestic animals and performing household chores, such as, food preparation and cooking, among other activities. These household chores—mainly shared by mothers and daughters—are the daughters’ duty. Daughters must comply “with the constant stream of

¹⁹ For an account of *kuka* leaves and Quechua-speaking community life see Allen (2000)

²⁰ Such identification can be done on the basis of linguistic forms (see chapter 2).

²¹ On many occasions I witnessed villagers throw away their ball of chewed *kuka* and rinse out their mouths as they approached a health center, or a town or a city.

orders issued by their mothers” (Carsten 1995: 112). The quotidian and incessant flow of orders becomes a burden for many daughters. They attempt to reduce what is expected of them by resorting to school assignments, illness, cold weather, tiredness, and—if they are married—contesting their mothers’ authority. The discourse of hygiene is the most powerful way to undermine the rank and position of mothers.

It is almost 10:30 a.m. and Hiraku pressures her mother (Haniku) to put more wood in the clay stove. The food is taken too long to cook. The women need to bring food to the fields being fallowed so they can be sowed with potatoes during the next season. Hiraku’s husband and brother in law are working in her father’s fields. Around 11:00 a.m. the pot that contains one of the main dishes (made of squash and potatoes) is placed on the ground. Haniku hands her younger daughter a knife that she has asked for. Hiraku (Hi) looks at the knife and says:

Hi: *MaqchiY! QhilliMÁ kashaN riki?*
Hi: Wash it! Don’t you notice that is dirty?

What is stressed is the idea that the mother is not able to see the “dirt” on the knife, and is commanded to wash it to make sure it is clean according to her daughter’s standards. The command is marked with the suffix -y and the dirtiness is intensified with the suffix -má linked to the suffix -n that overstates the knife’s state of dirtiness by referring to it directly. The scolding for having a “dirty” knife may appear justified in the sense it is a way to assure the cleanliness of the food. However, after cutting cheese into the food pot, Hiraku hands the plate of herbs to her mother and says

Hi: *MaqchiYA! Hina qhillitachu churasUN?*
Hi: Rinse it off! Are we putting the herbs in there as they are? “dirty”?

The daughter tells her mother to rinse the minced herbs again. This is hinted at with the use of the suffix -ya reminding the mother of her duty to rinse the herbs before adding them to the food pot. The command is veiled with a question—in future tense—asking whether or not it is okay to sprinkle the herbs into the food without rinsing them; a question that implies the shared responsibility of the participants with the suffix -sun.

Haniku, in view of her daughter’s insistence over cleanliness, smiled and took the plate of herbs to rinse and then gave it back. Hariku took the rinsed herbs and added them to the pot. She warned her mother and said:

Hi: *Mana hinaqa runaCHA qhawawasunMAN.*

Hi: Otherwise people will criticize us.

Haniku listen silently to her daughter's warning about potential criticism. She also looks for spoons to bring to the field.

The daughter wants to assure her mother that her concern with the cleanliness of the knife and the herbs is not a commentary on her mother's level of hygiene or an attempt to undermine her authority. She makes the point that she is worried about what other people may think, undermining both women. This is strengthened by the use of the suffix -cha (those whose powers we do not know), intertwined with -ma and -n. The suffixes -m and -n intensifies those associations to convey there is no doubt that the mother and the daughter would be the object of a lot of criticism if they were not careful about cleanliness.

The daughter is using the potential criticism of another as a subtle way to undermine the mother's position as a person to whom she has to show respect, by complying with the rules that an obedient daughter has to follow her mother's delegation of the chores within the household. What is more, demands of hygiene that crop up in daily interactions are being used to undermine her mother's authority. These concerns about hygiene are re-framed in terms of food preparation. Hiraku, although she is the daughter, claims to know more about what it is to be clean, and concurrently has a level of authority in food hygiene. She re-creates the language of the kind of hygienic practices to be followed in regards to the tools (e.g., knife and spoons), materials (e.g., raw ingredients) and fluids (e.g., water) used to prepare the food to be served in the field. The food and the women's work in preparing it will be evaluated by the relatives and other workers in the field.

The daughter's strategic observations over the hygienic state of the tools, materials and fluids used to prepare food disguises her aim to position herself as the one who orders, thanks to her new alleged knowledge of whether tools or ingredients are clean or not. Her aim disrupts and transforms the age-based hierarchy of the household as her next utterance shows. Stirring the food in the pot, Hiraku hastily asks for spoons,

Hi: *Ñachu kucharakuna? Maymi kucharakuna?*

Hi: Are the spoons ready? Where are the spoons?

Hiraku takes advantage of her mother—who is gathering spoons—by requesting that the spoons have to be ready and within her eyesight. The word *ñachu* implores speediness, and *maymi* requires the spoon to be right there for the daughter. She keeps giving orders in order to assure her new position as the one who has the authority to order because she knows what hygienic preparation of food is supposed to be. Her attempt may be intended to override the age-based relationship to which she has to comply as a daughter that still lives in her parents' house.

The mother appears unaffected by her daughter's demands and quietly hands her one spoon: *kayqa* (here is, take it). The daughter insists in bringing up the hygienic quality of the cooking utensils again to legitimate her right to order by saying:

Hi: *Maqchiya!*

Hi: Wash it!

Haniku puts all the spoons in the same bucket where she had used to rinse the aromatic herbs before. Before knowing what her mother's next step would be, Hariku cannot help herself in her new commanding position and says:

Hi: *Kuchina. Kunankamachu mana riparakunki? Payañama kashanki riki! Mana yuyaychakunkichu? Hay'aq kamataq wawa hinari kanki?*

Hi: You are being dirty. You haven't yet realized until know [what it is to be clean]. You are already old! Don't you realize by yourself? For how long will you continue to be like a child?

The daughter accuses her mother of behaving like a child, despite her old age—*[p]ayañama*—, who has not yet learned—*mana yuyaychakunkichu*—the basics way that utensils have to be washed; how to gauge if the water is clean and how to keep all the components necessary to make and serve food clean. She uses the word *kuchina* instead of the word *qhilli* (dirty). *Qhilli* applies not only to household and personal hygiene, but also to people's moral standing. In contrast, *kuchina* borrowed from Spanish lexicon “cochina” is an adjective widely used by the representatives of public institutions to qualify the customs of households, children, and villagers, among other things, as filthy or lacking the necessary habits to have good hygiene. It reinforces the idea that the countryside is less hygienic than urban areas; an idea that has been brought to the household in new ways. It is used to refer to the way that food is prepared and served,

whether these practices are hygienic or not. A mother should maintain this kind of hygiene in relation to the all elements (utensils, materials, and fluids) in order to prepare food and share it properly.

Framing food preparation and how it is shared outside of the household as *kuchina* allows the daughter to bluntly scold the mother because of her lack of unawareness or conscientiousness in dealing with the “essentials” regarding food preparation. The link between being old (*paya*) and understanding (*yuya*) refers to the long trajectory of experience and wisdom that a senior person should have and utilize. A senior person who fails to acquire this background through long lived experience, allegedly would be behaving like a child who is not able to recognize the importance of “proper” sanitary practice regarding food preparation. Hygiene is used as a mechanism to transform the age-based hierarchy between mothers and daughters. In this instance, Hiraku has transformed her own status as a daughter and is not necessarily below her mother.

Haniku looks at her daughter smiling. She, as a senior person, observes her daughter’s behavior and says:

Ha: *Kay manka mihuna apanapaq allinmi kanqa riki?*

Ha: This pot will be fine to bring the food [to the field] in, right?

Her daughter nods and Haniku takes the bucket and runs to the faucet on the patio to fetch water, and comes back to the kitchen and rinses the spoons. Her oldest daughter has arrived with another main dish (spaghetti with tomato sauce and plain rice) and plates. Hiraku organizes the *sama* (composed of boiled maize, broad beans and dry potatoes) and the main dish cooked by her mother in separate blankets. Her oldest sister (K) observes her mother who is getting dressed up in a new skirt and sweater, and says:

K: *Hina lukachachu rinki?*

K: Are you going like that, without getting ready?

Before she is even done, her oldest sister presses her mother to finish her personal care (to comb and wash her hair and face respectively) in order to avoid any criticism by her father or their *ayni* in the field. That is, women who bring food to the field and serve it should not neglect their personal appearance. They will be evaluated while feeding people. The evaluation of their personal care will be an evaluation of their husbands’

capacity to take care of their wives, since men are responsible for women's well-being according to villagers' ideas of husbands' responsibilities and duties as men.

After combing and washing herself Haniku does not say anything. She puts on her new hat, smiling. It is already noon. The three women lift their loads (Haniku carries the first dish and the spoons, the oldest sister carries the second dish plus plates, and Hiraku carries the *sama* plus her baby) and they ask me to bring the hot sauce. We head to the field which is four kilometers away from the village. About half way there we cross a stream. Hiraku's older sister addresses her mom and says:

K: *UyaCHAYkita chay unuchapi thupaRUKUy.*

K: Please, clean your lovely face in that water.

The mother looked at the reflection of her face in the water and bends with all her load to wash her face one more time. There is a small black spot in her right cheek. K is not absolute commanding her mother. The use of the suffixes -cha, -ru and -ku weakens K's assertion, at the same time, informing the mother that she still needs some extra washing. The suffixes -chu, -ru and -ku express not only affection and politeness, but suggest she to get rid of the black spot quickly. The black spot may generate comments from the people they will be feeding soon.

In the mean time, the oldest daughter adds:

K: *Sipascha hina tiramushanki*

K: You will get there quickly, as if you were a young woman

The suggestion the mother wash her face is followed by a statement that highlights that she is not old at all. She can still handle herself very well, and so she does not need any help or companion to reach the field alone. Her two daughters head toward the field and speed up their pace. Haniku is left behind and I wait for her. She crosses the stream with her heavy load and we reach her daughters.

In the field the three women unload their load and arrange the pots, plates and the *sama* to be served. The men take their break to have lunch.²² Haniku's husband asks their *ayni* to rest and to have lunch. Since Haniku is the wife of the field's owner she is entitled to serve the food. She, however, does not serve it; her daughters do it. Haniku's husband,

²² I am the only one greeting everybody, breaking the rule of not interrupting men while they are working. But if I would have not greeted people, I may have been seen as disrespectful.

her sons-in-law and the *ayni* each sit next to each other making a semi-circle, meanwhile, Haniku entertains Hiraku's baby.

Before arriving to the field I asked Hiraku how people criticize them if something is wrong with the food. She said:

Hi: *Millayta runaqa qhawakun. Turallantaqya qhawakuyta yachan.* A isti le falta kisu, le falta istu; *nispaya qhawakuyta yachan.*

Hi: People criticize horribly. It is my mother's brother who likes to criticize. He is used to criticizing by saying this is lacking cheese, and it is also missing this.

Hiraku explains that people criticize on the basis of what ingredients are missing in the dish. Relatives appear to be the ones criticizing without restraint—her mother's kin and her own kin may evaluate their skills as cooks by testing them publically, identifying and highlighting the ingredients missing in a dish served. This kind of assessment will bring shame for the mother and daughter whose duty it is to prepare food.

Nonetheless, Hiraku has positioned herself as the one who commands, and by the same token she usurps her mother's position, and arranges it so that the mother is the one who is now to be commanded. Hiraku uses the issue of hygiene and food preparation, as well as the way that people and even her own relatives evaluate what they prepare. The cooking skills of mother and daughter would be criticized and their condition as *allin warmi* (roughly good woman) would be challenged before public eyes. After all, it is their responsibility to know how to cook and offer tasteful food that delights men's palates. Hiraku's awareness about her other kins' assessments of food is also linked to personal appearance. If food can be object of criticism, the personal appearance of the cook may also be evaluated; therefore, it is important to be dressed nicely.

The daughter's new position—a super-ordinate position in relation to her mother—is achieved through her assessments of food hygiene, personal appearance and knowledge on kin's assessment of the flavor of food. Her knowledge of hygiene and the information about relatives' ideas on food make it possible to override the age-based hierarchy between her mother and her. Concurrently, she creates a new hierarchy which may be lasting in the context of household chores, but may also be reversed in other household situations.

Moreover, the daughter's new position as the one who commands is unimportant to her mother. Haniku knows that there is no advantage in taking responsibility for delegating household chores—particularly food preparation because it is exposed to constant evaluation by household members and third parties outside the household. She may feel relieved of her responsibility of taking care of the minute details of making food, a chore that she may feel is a burden after cooking for more than 20 years.

The daughter's success at subverting the age-based hierarchy to her own advantage is petty of Haniku since both of them would be evaluated as either skillful or not skillful by men. Both mother and daughter depend on men's validation as skillful—women are at the mercy of men with regard to reputation. Men can put women on the same level, overriding any age-based hierarchy. Mothers' and daughters' reputations as good women depends on men's assessment that they are skillful women, i.e., the age-based hierarchy among mothers and daughters, regardless of who is in a super-ordinate position, is erased when they are lumped into a single category: skillful or non-skillful. Women are framed under these categories by men who remain an unmarked group; men accrue power through their arbitrary evaluation of the flavor of the food and decide whether women are skillful or not.

In other words, the internal opposition of mothers and daughters is “projected outward onto” (Irvine and Gal 2000: 38) a super-category of women in opposition to men. In Irvine and Gal's framework, this is an instance of *fractal* recursivity, which “involves the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level”—rendering differences and age-hierarchies among mothers and daughters invisible. In other words, there is a process of *erasure* of the relationship between mothers and daughters. What is more, the category of women is again partitioned into a subcategory of skillful women and non-skillful women while men remain unmarked as a category.

In this event the age-based hierarchy indeed has been successfully reversed. The daughter achieved a rank that also located her mother in a lower rank. It undermines not only the mother's position, but also affects the social value of respect due among relatives. This can unsettle what is expected in terms of moral conduct among

household's members. Therefore, the household's interiority and its members interiority has been disrupted from inside at the hands of its members.

It would be safe to argue that the "sanitization" endeavor to regiment households according to an urban model, and the filth attributed to villagers in the health facility and the transportation by minivan have reached household members to the point that some of them, particularly the younger generation, embrace such outside regimentation of the household and appropriate the ideas of hygiene circulating in this context. This transforms their low ranked position based on age. At the same time, these young people may unwarily be destroying household members' mutual respect and the autonomy of the household, as visitors and strangers do or have done by stigmatizing *kuka* leaves for example. If the social value and moral conduct of the household space are not maintained by their members, it is possible that sooner or later villagers may lose all sovereignty as their households are encroached upon by the "civilizing" power of urban life.

I would suggest that the events discussed above and the events I examined in chapter 3 and 4 show the pervasiveness of hierarchical relations in everyday life. The way that participants assign social value to each other can be subtly or insidiously hierarchical but also at times bluntly hierarchical. This is evident even in the face-to-face interactions within village household space where it is assumed that the host has a right to organize his life at his own will. Given that, it would be plausible to posit first that the widespread hierarchical relations evident across the different settings, even in examples within the household where visitors' injunctive attitude is an outrageous trespass, are not just residual effects of the history of domination among settlers and the aboriginal people in Spanish colonial times (for historical insights see Méndez 1996; Larson et al 1995; Larson 2004). They still linger in new contexts and meanings in people's social practices, but they are created and re-created in everyday interactions through language (spoken Quechua and Spanish), semiotic forms (e.g., silence, and gesture), and material things (e.g., government forms). In these interactions a stereotypical image is built and assigned to mark participants by resorting to language form, behavior, hygiene, and the use of the household space (like raising *quwis* in the kitchen for example). Participants with a Quechua background are depicted as lacking reasoning capacities, like they are smelly

and filthy, among other things. It is believed they need to change their cultural basis of life—and so their households are regimented according to urban models.

Second, prevailing hierarchical relations among villagers and non-villagers are challenged, despite the fact that they permeate people's attitudes and beliefs. This underpins not only daily interactions but also the discourse adopted by elite and the politicians at the level of government or the parliament. Thus, everyday face-to-face interactions may be reflected at a national scale (Gamson 1985), showing that discriminatory attitudes toward those that are identified as the "other" constitute a widespread national phenomenon in Peruvian society. These small-scale events also may project general common-sense attitudes among elites and authorities. Highland people are deemed in need of being brought towards progress, development, and an urban model of life. In chapter 6, I examine the ways that high ranking government officials and elites frame their imaginary of those who live in the highlands.

Chapter 6

Oxygen Deprivation: Llamas and Vicuñas

In the preceding chapters (4 and 5) I laid out the way that government representatives disrupt villagers' life. The representatives' authoritarian attitude infuses every interaction between villagers and representatives. Interactions in the health facility are highly authoritative, where medical authority leaves almost no room for other points of view. Despite this characteristic, visitors are wise and use representatives' authority for their own aims, and either surrender to it or refuse to submit to representatives' demands. What is more, government forms—like the prenatal care card, the children's card, the health insurance card, and the birth “certificate”—seem to strengthen hierarchical relations because of the mandatory requirement to fill in data such as full name, birth date, identification and card number, among other things. They encourage submissive behavior or intensify representatives' “right” to exert authority.

The forms are part of government policies to provide “equal” access to health care services without excluding anyone. They may appear to the reader as tangible things that show the government commitment to take care of its subjects' health.

Instead of promoting equality, such policies deepen asymmetrical relations, as well as implement threatening guidelines or strategies—particularly for those without a Spanish-language background—when they are concretized in the health facility and beyond its walls, reaching even into private households. Official visitors assume that they have the right to criticize the “dirty” and “filthy” life inside households and re-arrange households to make them look like urban houses. The kitchen should be used only for cooking and storing firewood, but not for other uses such as breeding *quwi*. There must be a bathroom, a shower, and a sink, among other things, so that household members can look clean and civilized. To be a Peruvian citizen includes not only the necessity of being

named and registered through the government forms, but also the idea of organizing household structure and personal hygiene according to urban parameters.

The sovereignty of the household is effectively punctuated by government representatives; households and its members are disrupted when they are visited by representatives of either the health facility or the municipality where discourses of hygiene and capacity to comprehend are highlighted to undermine hosts' autonomy and rights within the household. The discourse on capacity to comprehend (lack of intelligence) that crops up in the minivan setting and the health facility is transposed to the household, while the discourse of hygiene—on the organization of the household space and practices inside it (e.g., raising *quwi* in the kitchen and food preparation) is added to the discourse of personal hygiene highlighted in the minivan. These discourses trespass the households' internal organization, values and social conduct.

These discourses might be taken up by some households' members, particularly younger daughters who are eager to show that they know what it is to be clean. They also might like to challenge the age-based and generational hierarchy of their mothers because they are tired of being subordinated. The new hygiene models are means by which younger generations of Quechua-speakers are drawn into representatives' efforts to subordinate all Quechua-speakers without realizing that they have become the instruments of their elders' subordination.

In sum, at the level of daily face-to-face interactions subordination and racialization occur constantly and persistently, in which the core highlighted differences are hygiene and lack of intelligence. These differences become the attributes that index those with Quechua background who dwell in the countryside and still speak Quechua; and these images are projected outward into the public political discourses of coastal elites.

Racialization: Fractal or orthogonal?

Health facility and Municipality representatives may not notice that their commitment to make villagers to comply with their institutions' guidelines and commands—sent from Lima and Cuzco respectively—would be meaningless for

themselves or for coastal dwellers. These representatives, including those whose ancestors were from coastal or Andean provinces, might care only about the statistics of patients covered by the public health system in order to include them in government reports.

Coastal dwellers such as elites, particularly those who share the privileges of being part of the political elites, economic and social elites¹ may not care about local representatives' efforts to comply with government's policies because they include representatives within the highlanders' category. Giving this categorization, local representatives—regardless if they share the same Spanish background with coastal dwellers—are highlanders or “serranos”², thus, sharing similar “backwardness” with highlanders of Quechua background. From their perspective, highland Spanish-speakers are cast in the same category as highland Quechua-speakers. According to a theory popular in the mass media, highlanders are less intelligent because of the lack of oxygen in the Andes (for an insightful analysis on environmental determinism see Stepan 1991), an argument repeated by the members of the García government, ex-ministers, congresspersons, political leaders, business people, and television hosts, as I show below.

Lacking oxygen: A sanctioned defectiveness

After the election of 2006,³ June 4th to be exact, the host of the popular TV show “El Francotirador” (The Sniper)⁴, a member and icon of wealthy costeños,⁵—who

¹ Peruvian elites might be linked by marriage or ancestry to some corporations or have their mind set to work together with corporations or support their goals to pursue their own interest as part of elites settlers.

² It is a label to refer to those who go to Lima from the Andes.

³ Presidential elections in Peru happened in June 04, 2006. This was a second round presidential race between García and Humala.

⁴ The TV show is broadcast on one of the most watched channels and throughout the territory of Peru. The owner an Israeli-Peruvian dual national has long standing business arraignment with the military, but broke with them during the Fujimori dictatorship. Fujimori tried to strip his citizenship, and ultimately send him into temporary exile. The owner received 20,000USD as compensation during Toledo's government. Toledo, however, ignored other Peruvians who lost their families in the internal war between the state and the guerilla Shining Path (for details see the report by the Commission de la Verdad y la Reconciliación 2003). The name of the program alludes to the ability of the show's host—Bayly—to attack anybody or anything without any consideration.

⁵ Jaime Bayly is one of the most gifted and appreciated coastal television showmen, eulogized frequently in newspaper for his ‘intelligent’ and “cultured” sense of humor. He studied in Anglophone private schools. During his career as a television personality he worked for CBS Network Latin America and Telemundo. He is a consummate writer whose life is surrounded by scandals—instigated by himself—such as his

sometimes likes to irreverently expose his social class opinions or prejudices —stated baldly that the air in the Sierra (the Andes) is so rarified that the electorate in the Sierra has less developed brains. In contrast, those living on the coast have fully developed brains thanks to the lowland’s generously oxygenated atmosphere⁶. The host used that to explain why one presidential candidate, a nationalist former military officer named Humala would likely carry the highlands, while the more “criollo” García would carry the coast in the presidential voting that day.⁷ As to the live audience, not a single individual thought the assertion noteworthy of response. They became silent instead of their usual laughter when the host jokingly finished his statement.

Silent too were the viewers at home. In the phone-in section of the show only one caller refused the notion that highland people are inherently more stupid because they lack oxygen. There was later some discussion of the idea on computer blogs and in a well-known newspaper by one of its columnists. Otherwise, the local media—whose stock-in-trade includes responses to the sometimes bizarre statements made by television personalities found this one unremarkable.

That oxygen deprivation could explain the national voting patterns is a well-entrenched truism shared and taken for granted by many coastal people—ordinary people as well as elites— about highlanders, at once a racialization of region and an instance of regional chauvinism.⁸ The assertion seems to entail a merciful pity—is not the fault of highland people that they lack brain power; it is their environment that is to blame for the

bisexuality or his last show in February 21, 2010; see details in <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WUtkyEGX5DY>. His TV show is watched and his approach to some topics is commented on by journalists or intellectuals such as Cesar Hildebrandt (an opinion leader who has directed a now defunct journal “Liberacion,” as well as many political TV programs and radio programs) and Jorge Bruce who has published a book “Nos habiamos choleado tanto: psicoanálisis y racismo” (We have been calling each other cholos too much: Psychoanalysis and racism). Bruce posits that Peruvians learn racist attitudes almost naturally in their homes, that racism is fed in unconscious attitudes and gets strengthened through media ads that sell behavioral patterns alien to Peruvians reality. See whole article at <http://www.librosperuanos.com/archivo/jorge-bruce.html> (accessed Feb.22, 2010).

⁶ Bayly’s bluntly racist concept was commented on by the psychoanalyst Jorge Bruce in Peru21 newspaper, for a complete version see <http://yatengoelpoder.blogspot.com/2006/06/el-racismo-en-campaa.html> (accessed in April 18, 2008)

⁷ See critiques to this statement in the blog <http://yatengoelpoder.blogspot.com/2006/06/el-racismo-en-campaa.html> (accessed February 26, 2010)

⁸ See Degregori’s argument in http://www.revistargumentos.org.pe/index.php?fp_verpub=true&idpub=271 (accessed February 26, 2010).

inadequate oxygenation of their body tissues⁹ which have been “damaged,” and it is hypoxia that has caused their brains to be less developed. The environment has caused lasting brain damage to its dwellers of the highlands.¹⁰ That is, highlanders are “stagnated” due to their inherent “brain disease” or mental retardation. Oxygen deprivation becomes a “scientific”, albeit circular explanation of their electoral behavior.

It is the fate of highlanders to be ignorant and brutish, but above all inferior to the “brightest” dwellers of the coast,¹¹—because of hypoxia—to be unable to discern or understand anything at all—much less the subtle political differences among presidential candidates, which requires a substantial intellectual effort on their part.¹² This oxygen deprivation “theory” has lumped in one box—as inferior beings—all highland inhabitants in opposition to coastal ones, regardless of the fact that many highland people conduct their lives in Spanish just as their coastal peers do. For highland dwellers to escape from the box of being inferior beings—particularly Spanish-speaking dwellers living in regional cities—they must transpose the environmental theory to their own context. From their standpoint, those who really *are* inferior beings are those who dwell in the countryside—who overwhelmingly speak Quechua as a maternal language—due to their “lack of progress and modernity, poor hygiene, lack of urbanity and incapability to change the stench of their lives” (e.g., chewing *kuka* leaves, living in adobe homes, sharing the same kitchen space with guinea pigs, and not bathing daily).

⁹ This statement may also imply that the body has been damaged, hence highland people’s bodies are inherently damaged. Thus, the government’s efforts to ensure the physical, social and financial conditions of highlanders through its welfare programs may be a waste, as, no matter what the government does, highlanders could not achieve any greater level of development.

¹⁰ An environment portrayed as harsh, harmful for people, and unproductive that represents only 4% of the GDN. The unproductive characteristic of the highland will be reframed by García to claim State ownership and rights to compromise highland resources by arguing that highlanders are indolent people who do not care about their own well-being, and know little about making profit and investment.

¹¹ It is worth noting that the interviewer made sure to note that he is not referring to the indigenous dwellers of the rain forest. Though he treats altitude as the root cause of highland “underdevelopment”, he contrasts highland people specifically with coastal populations. The hidden implication here is that indigenous populations in the rainforests are uncivilized for other reasons. See Vigil (2008ms.) who discusses elite discourses about rainforest people (specially the Ashaninkas) as emotionally unstable, irresponsible, intellectually inefficient, without ambitions, easily manipulated, poor, lazy, malnourished, and lacking any interest in learning other language than theirs (108-109).

¹² In this case Bayly’s candidate was García. Although Bayly does not have a political party of his own, he currently is promoting his own presidential candidacy for 2011.

Environmental determinisms of the sort advocated by Bayly—the host of the *Sniper*—and his guest were common in Latin America at the end of nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth (see Wade 1997: 10, 12). For example (Stepan 1991: 137) observes that a tropical climate was regarded an additional factor “(along with racial explanation) causing the deterioration of” the Brazilian population. Environmental explanations of differences among Latin American populations stood alongside strong eugenics programs (9-11). During this period many Latin American intellectuals re-framed environmental and eugenic ideas in order to counteract the European stereotype as people who have not yet achieved a stable and coherent racial form in which “race” mixing was regarded as degenerative, making reference to the coexistence of multiple different socio-cultural groups (137) within Latin America.

Some Latin-American countries adhered to ideas from eugenics such as the Argentinean intellectuals who proposed a biological unity to Argentine nationality (140). That is, unity, purity (represented by white settlers) and type (aesthetic) was regarded as the foundation of Argentinean nation and civilization. Other countries, such as Mexico, reframed negative hybridization as constructive miscegenation to give way to a “cosmic race” led by “mestizos”, into which the different indigenous populations were to incorporate themselves (150-151) for the sake of the nation. And in Brazil, intellectuals posited the “Whitening” thesis (for a recent critique of Whitening see Safa 2005)—in which a national homogeneity was based—believing that their white population outnumbered the black population (154-156), which was covered in their later discourse as sanitization (referring to eugenics, 157). (All this is confounded in modern-day interpretations by the fact that the Spanish cognate of the English language term “Race,” (*Raza*) can be understood as “race” and “nationality” indistinctively).

In Peru, the nineteenth century historians framed indigenous people as degenerate descendants of the Incas who could only form part of the new Peruvian nation if elites—such as the historians and politicians who proposed this—were able to educate Indians back to the level they had reached in the past. Since earlier efforts to promote European immigration and improve the Indian “race” failed (see Vigil 2008 ms.), they decided to impose a westernized cultural model on native (aboriginal) populations to incorporate

them within the national body politics (for a current discussion see Dager 2009). But even in mid-twentieth century the former Peruvian president Bustamente y Rivero felt that these efforts would be hampered because aboriginal people, particularly those speaking Quechua, had suffered irreversible damage by living above 3,000m sea level, rendering their socialization to a civilized status effectively impossible (see Manrique 2009).

Environmental determinism is so entrenched in people's minds that highlanders cannot escape the image of being depicted as stupid and discriminated against. If a highlander ventures in an area that is usually intended for "limeño" elites such as starring in movies successfully and tracking towards international spheres, the highlands comes into operation as space of backwardness and folklore, as happened on a television show "Mesa de Noche" (Night Table)¹³ where the hosts made a joke—in passing—that Magaly Solier Romero¹⁴—a highlander from Wanta (Wamanqa)—was at the Cannes Film Festival to sell "chompas" (sweaters) and "chullos" (earflap hats). For the host, what can a highlander do at the world's oldest and most prestigious film festival? The only image that come to their minds was that she was there selling folkloric things, instead of participating as an invited guest.¹⁵

¹³ It is a television show hosted by Jimena Lindo (J), Denisse Arregui (D) and Renzo Schuller (R). In one of the programs a comment was made: J: ¿Sabes quién está en Cannes también? D & R: ¿Quién? J: Normita Martínez y Magaly Solier. D: ¿Qué hacen por allá? R: Están vendiendo chompas [risas]. J: [risas] Están vendiendo chullos. See that particular program at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EEEnIoTXgP-g&NR=1> (accessed June 12, 2010). See details on discrimination against Magaly Solier and comments at <http://nilavigil.wordpress.com/2010/02/13/nada-mas-tipico-del-racismo-de-las-elites-simbolicas-que-la-negacion-del-racismo/> (accessed March 8, 2010).

¹⁴ She starred the "La Teta Asustada" (The Milk of Sorrow) that was nominated for the 2010 Oscar. *La Teta Asustada*, I believe, reinforces old stereotypes about highlanders despite its good intentions. Solier was interviewed after the comments about her selling things in Cannes. She responded that she understood it as a joke without any discriminatory intention. Her response depicts precisely what I am analyzing. The discrimination against highlanders is not acknowledged by her given that she may ascribe to the idea that those who are stupid are not her, the problem is not with her, the problem is with those living in the countryside who are the stupid ones, and not precisely her or her town's elite. This reasoning yields an internal partition to oppose rural and city dwellers and seems natural and common sense among highlanders who discriminate against each other.

¹⁵ Solier was invited as the protagonist of the movie "Altiplano". The movie was chosen to be exhibited in the Cannes film festival.

The environmental theory—that leads to a binary opposition between coastal and highland dwellers—has been expanded to incorporate a second tier¹⁶—that highland people living in the countryside both lack oxygen and the capabilities to urbanize themselves and change their unhygienic practices and backward customs and not those living in the cities. The second tier—the opposition between rural and city dwellers—opposes those who live in regional highland cities—speaking Spanish, having urban manners, and living according to their counterparts in Lima¹⁷—and those who live in the countryside—speaking Quechua, “stubbornly” living in traditional “stinky” ways. This is an internal sub-categorization of highland dwellers between those who live in the city (particularly elites¹⁸)—claiming to share the same urban lives as their peers in Lima—and those who live in the countryside who are the “inferior” ones.

The twofold disadvantage of highland dwellers in the countryside colors and compromises the potential of newborns, despite their legal recognition as “citizen”. If the parents of a neonate lack oxygen the infant may have been born with a developmental disadvantage. A double disadvantage—corporeal by environment and by culture, how can they be put on equal footing with elites? Even if they learn Spanish, urbanize their households, change their personal appearances dressing in urban style clothing, try to eat food identified¹⁹ with the city, forget their language, and avoid their kin, they still have the initial deficiency of having spent their prenatal and early years without sufficient oxygen, so they are intellectually deficient. There is no getting around it. A highlander with a degree from Stanford is still “a llama from Stanford.”

Thus the two criteria for discrimination are conflated in such way that either can take over when evidence for the other is lacking, and either can carry the implications of the other. If these prove insufficient, as when a highland person exceeds economic or professional expectations, skin color kicks in, as illustrated in the 2001 presidential race

¹⁶ This theory reflects only in new words what Peruvian elite used to and still thinks about indigenous people.

¹⁷ However, Spanish-speaking highlanders, no matter if they are the elite, would not be recognized as peers by coastal people, particularly by “limeños” whose families or themselves participate in the public arena as politicians or intellectuals, with some exceptions. The lack of recognition is well illustrated by a highland hacienda’s child who remembers that his father was called Serrano without any hesitation by their peers who were also hacienda’s children from the coast in 1960s.

¹⁸ Hacienda landowner descendants or newcomer elites.

¹⁹ For example, noodles, rice, and meat, among other kinds of staples.

between Lourdes Flores and Alejandro Toledo. Flores's father insulted Toledo as "aquénido de Harvard" when both Flores and her father were being interviewed by a television reporters in their swimming pool. Auquénido refers to llamas, vicuñas, alpacas, and guanacos that live in the highlands, suggesting, by implication, that Toledo lacked the reasoning capacities to govern. But the term also alludes to physical appearance, specifically to skin color and face (especially nose form) evaluated as Indian: a guanaco lacking whiteness with a big crooked nose. In other words, a "huaco" showing an unpleasant aesthetic whose inner being cannot change not matter what professional success they might have.

White skin is placed at the top of the apex within coastal elites' skin color²⁰ classification. Sadly, this classification is shared by many other coastal folks. Coastal elites claim to be white in relation to highlanders. Highlanders living in Lima discriminate against those who arrive from highland rural areas. They might discriminate against Afro-Peruvians who in turn may respond with the elite's stereotype images to discriminate against highlanders. Skin color becomes a key factor to assess social hierarchy. The hierarchy becomes even more complex once inhabitants of the rain forest are brought in (for an example see Vigil 2008: 26).

The idea that the highland environment affects highland populations without remedy is shared and taken for granted by other coastal elites who mark rural highlanders not only as worthless but invisible. They are seen as unworthy as interlocutors and dispossessed of their land resources or even killed²¹ for the sake of development and

²⁰ For a discussion of discrimination and racism based on phenotype, sex and age in Lima see <http://reflexionesperuanas.blogspot.com/2009/07/reflexiones-peruanas-n-260-buena.html> (accessed March 9, 2010)

²¹ See the way García's government handled the organized contestation by rain forest indigenous movement against government's decrees and García's politics of compromising rain forest resources and lands (June 05, 2009). He with the complicity of other ministries ordered the assassination not only of indigenous strikers, but even of those policemen who were held hostage. Of course, police officers are not elites, even though they may hate indigenous people and regard them as backwards, they do not realize that for the elites they are only instruments and their lives is not important for elites' political and economic interests. For an earlier call to revoke the decrees that disenfranchise indigenous rights see <http://www.caaap.org.pe/archivos/pronunciamiento_obispos_amazonia.pdf> For an account in a journal <<http://www.servindi.org/actualidad/13222#more-13222>> <<http://reflexionesperuanas.blogspot.com/2009/06/rp-255-por-que-estallo-la-barbarie-en.html>> See the Peruvian response to Bolivian president's critique about the murder in Bagua at <<http://pe.globedia.com/califica-canciller-peruano-evo-morales-enemigo-peru> (accessed March 1, 2010)

modernity.²² Although the Peruvian state is a promoter and arbiter of a market economy—especially in its most recent, neoliberal guise—it does not express neutrality with respect to national identity; rather the state is constitutionally an agent of “national integration” (1992 Constitution, article 17) and the integral development of “the nation” (article 44). In contrast to other Republics, such as Colombia, Ecuador y Bolivia, the Peruvian state is not an agent of multiculturalism as such (Antrosio 2005). The constitution does not commit to the “preservation” of cultural and linguistic differences (article 17), and the cultural and ethnic plurality of Peru are treated primarily as folkloric commodities or as archeological remains, in both cases marketed internationally to develop tourism. These attitudes run deeper than the current constitution. Rather, as the historian Cecilia Mendez argued in her influential essay “Incas sí, Indios no,” they are pervasive in public discourses about culture, especially in the history taught in the Peruvian classrooms (see Portocarrero and Oliart 1989)

Preservation and protection meant that the pre-Columbian and Inca archeological past are recognized as part of national heritage. The living descendants of these people, on the other hand, exist only as folkloric objects—e.g., stripped of their contexts—such as dances, handicrafts (e.g., clothes, cloths, purses, and shoes), cuisine, and on the names of restaurants, folkloric bands, and hotels, among other things, always for the delight and consumption of domestic and transnational tourism.

The simultaneous recognition of the past and folklorization of contemporary indigenous practices, coupled with a contempt for actual indigenous people is a kind of national schizophrenia. At one and the same time, there a pervasive ideology of building a nation through the integration and assimilation of indigenous peoples—by the “mestizaje”—within normative socio-cultural life represented by westernized or “criollo” elites; and utter disdain for those who do not fit the normative model. Sadly this an ideology that is so pervasive that many indigenous people—especially those with

²² See critiques of García’s government and his general conduct in relation to the murder of agriculturalist, students and indigenous highlanders at <http://peruanista.blogspot.com/2008/07/los-21-muertos-del-segundo-gobierno-de.html>>, <http://peruanista.blogspot.com/2008/02/maana-habrn-protestas-en-lima-contra.html>>, some of the assassinated people are Marvin Gonzales (Chimbote, 2007), Ruben Pariona Camposanto, Emilio García Mendoza (Ayacucho, 2008), Santiago Lloclla Cahuari (Arequipa 2008), and Julio Rojas Roca (Barranca, 2008)

Quechua background—believe that “mestizaje” is a way to improve their life and become part of the mainstream national culture. In contrast, the corresponding ideologies of “mestizaje” in Bolivia have not held as much purchase among indigenous people as in Peru (Stutzman 1998²³).

The rhetoric of “progress” and “modernity” has been as pervasive in the “neoliberal” economic regime of the last decades of the twentieth century as in earlier state-oriented, nationalistic models. Although there are major differences politically among the Fujimori regime (an “elected” dictatorship); the transitional government of Paniagua (2000-2001); and the Toledo and García governments, national discourses of modernity (and hence, disdain for the social sectors that did not fit the model) where remarkably constant.

Fujimori’s approach was characterized by selling off of state-owned enterprises (for which he received high personal profits in the forms of commission, etc.), protection of transnational investment by rewriting the constitution (see constitution, articles 62-63), campaigns to reduce population growth, especially “unproductive” social sectors, such as the impoverished inhabiting the slums ringing Lima and other cities; rural populations; and lowland indigenous populations. In particular, rural Quechua-speaking women were targeted for tubal ligation (which I examine later) to reduce their national presence.

Toledo²⁴ in contrast promoted a free trade agreement with the United States, allegedly to benefit all Peruvians. With the advice of his wife, Eliane Karp (an

²³ Stutzman examines how “mestizaje” was a discourse of “blanqueamiento” (whitening) in “the biogenetic and cultural behavioral senses of the term ‘blanco’” (1998:49), and intertwined with economic development, and shows how Ecuadorian elites portrayed indigenous people, in the 1970s, as having primitive cultural and social forms, bound to the earth, stagnated and backward. The elites “explained ‘Indians backwardness’ as being part of their massive genetic damage (1998: 49-50, 62-83).

²⁴ Toledo may be a descendant of highlanders’ but his silence before the congressman Flores’ racial slurs shows, up to some point, that he shares coastal racism against highlanders, a contradiction or paradox since Toledo argued that he was a descendant of highland dwellers during his presidential campaign. I would suggest that he is similar to the example of Solier I discussed earlier. They both ignore racial slurs because it is assumed that insults refer to rural dwellers and not to them as urban dwellers. Moreover, Toledo’s ideas on economy and politics are closer to right wing guidelines (shared by Flores) which is shown by the neoliberal economy he pursued during his presidential term (a model that emaciates grassroots who do not have any government financial assistance for agriculture and is worst for indigenous people who do not even have recognition of their underground land resources); for him it may have not been wise to say anything about the Flores Araoz racial slur as long as the congressman was helping Toledo to obtain legislative approval for a Free Trade Agreement with the United States. He is married to a “gringa” (foreigner); thus many Peruvians consider his “race” to have been “improved.”

anthropologist) he promoted the idea of multiculturalism. First Lady Karp sponsored a national organization to bring together indigenous people from the Andes, the rainforest and Afro-Peruvians which is known as Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo de Pueblos Andinos, Amazonicos y Afroperuano (INDEPA) attached to the Ministerio de la Mujer y Desarrollo Social (Ministry of Women and Social Development). As a part of government organization its activities respond more to the government's general political guidelines. Public political discourses shifted, though, especially among opposition parties, and it became common to hear racial slurs in political speeches and on the floor of the parliament. Openly expressed racism became common during this period, along with a nascent anti-racist movement.

Economically²⁵ the current government of García has followed Toledo's lead, with ratification of the Free Trade Agreement with the United States²⁶ and negotiation of other similar agreements.²⁷ Since there are no longer very many state-owned enterprises to be sold and public social services such as education and health are not easy to sell to private investors, García's government has developed a policy of selling "concessions" of indigenous land and resources to private corporations. His article "El Perro del Hortelano" (the dog in the manger) is tinged with an insulting attitude towards indigenous people (which I examined in detail in a later section). His writing tends to forge a path to plundering the land and resources of agriculturalist, highland communities and rainforest people in favor of transnational corporations, within the framework of the neoliberal economy and national development (out of which García and his officials are

²⁵ Fujimori used the neoliberal model as an argument to sell all state businesses to corporations through which he obtained incalculable amounts of profit (as commission). Toledo has faith in the forces of the market to overcome poverty, accordingly, he started negotiating the TLC with United States, which was followed also by García who signed it. García is committed also to sign other TLCs with Chile, the EU and China despite that the TLC with the US has not brought any positive outcomes for Peruvians. He uses the neoliberal market discourse to justify the plunder of peasants and indigenous land and land resources. For a critique of the TLC with the US see http://www.diariolaprimera.com/online/columna-del-director_11.do <http://www.diariolaprimera.com/online/noticia.php?IDnoticia=57266> (accessed March 4, 2010).

²⁶ See a detail analysis on how the Free Trade Agreement hampers rural farmers at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/7091250.stm> (accessed March 10, 2010).

²⁷ García has already signed a Free Trade Agreement with China and Chile, against the will of a group of congresspersons and the Central General de Trabajadores del Peru (a prominent union).

obtaining high profits²⁸). These policies have been justified ideologically by the intensification of racial slurs and discrimination against Quechua and other indigenous peoples in the public broadcast and print media, and in political discourse, especially in the discussion of mineral rights and environmental contamination.

What is interesting is the convergence of the neoliberal market discourse with discourses of national economic development and modernity, which may only be achieved through the laws of the free market. This convergence may further the existent racialized practices and discourses to a point that mainstream politicians as well as television broadcasters and television show hosts²⁹ are not ashamed when they deliver racist diatribes. These discourses undermine the rights of indigenous people to defend their land and resources. I would suggest that political rhetoric licenses unconcealed expressions of racism at the same time as it reflects hidden and pervasive racism in the politically connected sectors of society.

Being llama or vicuña: the proof of a long-standing effect of lacking oxygen

Environmental determinism is not just a misstep committed by a TV interviewer during his live show, it is the tip of a more pervasive problem. Consider the following interview³⁰ of a prominent politician³¹ from Lima who was a congressman at that time. According to the journalist (J), congressman Antero Flores was in his office—in the

²⁸ On who García's government is offering the Amazonian resources to as "concessions" see <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/6326741.stm>>, on how the "petroaudios" (audiotape on gas) reveal García's government gas negotiation see <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7656500.stm> http://www.larepublica.com.pe/component/option.com_contentant/task.view/id.252288/Itemid.0/ (accessed November 26, 2008) <<http://peru21.pe/noticia/396028/petroaudios-afirman-que-hay-presiones-oficialismo-archivar-caso>> (accessed March 10, 2010).

²⁹ One infamous program "La paisana Jacinta" shows a highland woman—dressed allegedly with rural clothes—as dirty, stupid, dumb, and lacking any aesthetic. Strikingly the personage was performed by a man (Huayhua 2006, ms.). Another program called "La chola Chabuca," stars a gay transvestite who speaks Spanish with a mock highland accent.

³⁰ The interview was conducted on June 1st, 2006 by the journalist Ramiro Escobar during Alejandro Toledo's government. Escobar La Cruz is an expert in international topics, a columnist in "La República" newspaper and Ideele's (The Institute for Legal Defense—an advocate organization for Human Rights) blog. He is one of few journalists who openly defies racist statements. Many of his articles can be found at <http://ideeleradio.blogspot.com/2008/09/ramiro-escobar-regmenes-democraticos.html> (accessed March 1, 2010)

³¹ He is a member of the Partido Popular Cristiano (Popular Christian Party—PPC) that represents the traditional right wing within Peruvian politics. The party was part of Unidad Nacional (National Unity) coalition during the 2001 and 2006 presidential election race.

Parliament building—to be interviewed about the Free Trade Agreement with the United States. A political organization had proposed that rather than approve the Free Trade Agreement through the normal congressional vote, the government put it up to an open referendum, in which it is was likely to be rejected. Congressman Flores (Cm) was asked³²:

J: “¿Y usted cree, congresista, que debe aprobarse el referéndum sobre el tratado de libre comercio?”

Cm: “Noooo, ¿le vas a preguntar a las llamas y vicuñas³³ sobre el tratado de libre comercio?”

J: And do you believe, congressman, that there should be a referendum on the Free Trade Agreement?

Cm: No, no. You would ask llamas and vicuñas to vote on the Free Trade Agreement?

Llamas and vicuñas after all are close to nature and not to culture (de la Cadena 2008: 27); what is more, llamas and vicuñas do not belong to the civilized milieu of coastal elite dwellers, but to the highlands, their quintessential geographical space to which they belong (see Orlove 1993: 308, 311, 321, 324-325, 327-328, 336). In the common racist imagery of congressman Flores, people living in the highlands—not just Quechua speakers—are llamas and vicuñas, animals who do not reason and are incapable of understanding the Free Trade Agreement with the United States.

The congressman’s response presupposed that the journalist shared his point of view by using “le vas a” including the addressee as sharing his imagery as a formal presupposition.³⁴ The phrase “le vas a preguntar” also implies that if someone is willing

³² An excerpt downloaded from http://www.ideeleradio.org.pe/look/portal/33_lbp_columnista.tpl?IdLanguage=13&IdPublication=7&NrSection=60&tpid=75&ALStart=27 (accessed April 18, 2008). Escobar’s (the journalist) whole report can be also found at <http://blog.neuronaltraining.net/?p=574> (accessed March 1, 2010).

³³ The phrase llamas and vicunas is not a misstep by Congressman Flores Araoz, as the slur hurled at former President Alejandro Toledo Manrique (above) shows. This kind of discrimination based on region and skin color is linked to processes of racialization on the basis of language, and culture-“inborn” attributes within regional cities. See analytical critiques and comments about the infamous phrase at <<http://blogs.elcomercio.pe/santalima/2008/11/12-lourdes-y-el-auquenido-de-h.html>>, <http://mx.groups.yahoo.com/group/AHuA/message/14525>> The current president, Alan García Pérez, asserted that only “cobrizos” (copper-colored) people are real Peruvians, a subtle manipulation to accrue political approval in his policies. For responses to his racist assertion that illustrates coastal dwellers racial ideas on who is Peruvian or the most Peruvian see <http://utero.pe/2008/12/09/los-verdaderos-peruanos-son-cobrizos/> (accessed March 2, 2010).

³⁴ According to this line of thinking those who move from the highlands to the coast are “migrants” by virtue of displacing themselves from their “natural” environment. Highlanders remain in the midst of their

to ask highlanders about such delicate matters as the Free Trade Agreement, he has to be out of his mind. The congressman was not expecting to be asked to clarify his assertion and less to be told that what he was uttering was insulting.

I: “¿Cómo? ¿A quién se refiere con llamas y vicuñas?” Eso es insultante.

I: What? Whom do you refer to as llamas and vicuñas? That is insulting.

The congressman,³⁵ unperturbed by the interviewer’s question and shock, self-confidently asserted that it may appear insulting but that he was right.

Cm: “Te parecerá insultante, pues, pero”

Cm: It may appear insulting for you, well, but

The journalist could not help himself and reiterated that the reference to people as llamas and vicuñas was hurtful and offensive.

I: “¿Cómo se puede referir como “llamas y vicuñas” a la gente? Es insultante”

I: How can you refer to people as llamas and vicunas? It is insulting.

Llamas and vicuñas may attribute an inherent ignorance to highland dwellers.

However, the congressman, even when confronted with the journalist’s disagreement with his point of view, reasserted his position.

Cm: “Bueno, es tu opinión, si no te gusta, me voy. Esa es mi opinión. Un tema técnico no les puedes preguntar. Es una barbaridad. No les puedes preguntar a toda la ciudadanía. Al que no sabe leer y escribir, no le vas a preguntar eso”

Cm: Well, it is your opinion; if you do not like it, I will leave. That is my opinion. You cannot ask them to consider a technical topic. That would be barbaric. You cannot ask those who cannot read and write about it.

The congressman maintained that using llamas and vicuñas—as a reference for people—was not offensive for him,³⁶ it was the journalist who was taking offence and his sole

own incapability to change their stupid behavior. Therefore, they could be “cholos” and maybe “mestizos” by changing their external appearances, but they cannot change their inner lack of intelligence.

³⁵ It is important to note that the congressman interviewed was elected on behalf of “Unidad Nacional” (National Unity) coalition that was part of the opposition during Toledo’s government (2001-2006). Flores’s equation of highlanders with llamas and vicuñas was a scandal because Toledo won the election by claiming a Quechua language heritage—which he never spoke even as a child—and highland descent. Because of that he was believed to be well suited to fulfill his promises to benefit highlanders, particularly in the countryside. Toledo did not express any comments about Flores Araoz’s racism. Despite Flores Araoz’s racial beliefs he became the Peruvian representative to the Organization of American States (OAS)

³⁶ See a critique to his position at http://elotrotambor.blogspot.com/2006/06/llamas-vicuas-y-tlc_16.html and <http://www.aprodeh.org.pe/notapress/notas/14jun06a.htm> (accessed March 1, 2010).

opinion. The congressman's assumed correctness,³⁷ i.e., his "license" to speak as a politician, was shown by his readiness to end the interview if the journalist was not pleased with his equation of highlanders to animals. He aligned the journalist to his line of thinking by including him in his utterances through the phrase "no les puedes" (twice) and "no les vas" in which "puedes" and "vas" as second personal pronoun referring to the journalist, distinguishing him and the congressman tacitly from those who cannot read and write conveyed by "les" (those others). The congressman was implicitly aligning the journalist with himself. His attempt was unsuccessful.³⁸

To consult all ordinary citizens, who could not understand the details of the Free Trade Agreement, would be unviable, much less to consult those who could not read and write Spanish,³⁹ that is, illiterate llamas and vicuñas. Citizens are divided between those who can read and write Spanish and those who cannot do so. The illiterate ones tacitly refers to highlanders and reflects another way of opposing coastal and highland dwellers, presupposing that the former dwellers are literate while the latter are illiterate, but above all both sides are unable to understand technical topics.

This distinction between those with literacy skills and those without them could take on new meaning among highlanders. It could be reframed to assert that Quechua-speaking women cannot understand the importance of using contraceptive methods to help control population growth. These women are framed as animals if they refuse to use any contraception, as happened in the village health clinic. Those who have more than three children are compared to animals— *mana wawata aqna animalhinachu kanan solo waka (.) oveja chunka (.) tawa (.) pisqa comunlla* (babies cannot come into being like animals (.) only cows sheep [have] four, five, ten offspring without any care).⁴⁰ And the latter refers to those who have the approved number of children (e.g., one to three). The

³⁷ A point of view shared by their political party members such as Lourdes Flores whose father exposed the racism in the party.

³⁸ It is worth noting that other Peruvians, depending in their circumstances, may accept their inclusion within the elite's group. Sometimes provincial intellectuals are trapped in this racialized discourse and produce sophisticated scholarly work to assert that they are coastal dwellers peers' or equals. Those who are llamas or vicunas are those who chew *kuka* leaves, drink alcohol, and wear tire sandals, among other things. The most outstanding example is Anibal Quijano's treatise one "*cholification*" (1980).

³⁹ Most people who cannot read and write Spanish are indigenous peoples from the highlands and the rainforest.

⁴⁰ See chapter 4 for the whole analysis.

quote attributes irrational behavior to those who refuse to use contraception in contrast to those who do, thus, showing rational behavior by having a “proper” number of children. Both the congressman (referring to highlanders) and the government representative—a highlander—(referring to rural Quechua-speaking women) label those who (allegedly) “do not understand” their imperatives as animals. But there is a subtle difference between the two. While the congressman refers to all highlanders as lacking the capacity to reason, the highlander uses the same rhetoric to include only rural people. The clinic worker does not understand that the rhetoric that she uses to describe Quechua speakers is used by coastal people to speak about her. What is interesting is that she has appropriated the coastal rhetoric in order to escape from the label that includes her. If they visit villagers’ household to fulfill their function as government agents, they do not vacillate to argued that the household host lacks the capacity to understand that which is shown by utterances such as “el hecho es que tú no entiendes en tu cabeza” (the point is that you do not understand in your head).

Even in the combi (Machali’s van), the animal-like quality is highlighted by government representatives: “!Estos indios brutos han roto la pila!” (These brutish Indians have broken the faucet). Village youth are so lacking in intelligence, they do not even know how to operate a simple faucet to the point of breaking it. It is assumed that someone intelligent would not break the faucet.

Highlanders who dwell in the city and command Spanish as a first language might not realize that not only do they reinforce coastal portrayals about themselves, but they re-create the very discourses used to discriminate against them as highlanders. Their attempts to disassociate themselves from those having a Quechua background, and indexing them as the ones lacking reasoning capabilities or intelligence, re-produce their own subordination in relation to their coastal peers.

Everyday racialized discourses that emerge in face-to-face interaction are intensified in public, especially governmental discourses. For instance, Prime Minister Carlo Ferrero (2003-2005)⁴¹ spoke of vigilante action against the Mayor of Ilave⁴² (Puno)

⁴¹ For a critique of his comments about Ilave and his similarities with Flores Araoz’s discriminatory ideas see <http://elotrotambor.blogspot.com/2006/06/llamas-vicuas-y-tlc_16.html> Flores Araoz also said that

as violent and uncivilized, and television broadcasters followed suit by calling it “salvaje” (savage) and suggesting that it was a consequence of an inherent tendency toward violence among highland indigenous people.

The fact of lacking oxygen: Failing to understand rules

The strategy of creating internal opposition among highlanders is not an isolated practice. Elite discourses explain any opposition to a neoliberal economic approach in terms of people’s lacking capacity to discern what is of value and what is for their own benefit. The “nation’s” development is prominent. In the same line as the congressman above, Pedro Pablo Kuczynski Godard,⁴³ Prime Minister under President Toledo argued that:

"Esto de cambiar las reglas, cambiar los contratos, nacionalizar, que es un poco una idea de una parte de los Andes, lugares donde la altura impide que el oxígeno llegue al cerebro, eso es fatal y funesto..."⁴⁴

That about changing the rules, changing contracts, nationalizing [natural resources]; which a bit the idea in one part of the Andes, places in which the high altitude impedes proper oxygenation of the brain; it is fatal and disastrous.

Minister Kuczynski was speaking at the international conference of the Council of the Americas⁴⁵ held in Lima as Peruvian Prime Minister. He insisted that looking to change the rules under which exploration for natural resources was carried out, changing contracts that had been already signed, or nationalizing private corporations would be disastrous for the economy. But the scariest “fact” for the Minister was that the changes proposed were coming from Andeans, from parts of the country in which the altitude impeded the proper flow of oxygen into the brain tissues. This goes beyond the usual ad hominem attack on one’s political opponents; it condemns all opponents of free market exploration and exploitation of Peru’s natural resources as inherently inferior

the state should impose the rule of law by any means [even killing] see, particularly p. 11 at <http://www.congreso.gob.pe/biblio/pdf/desco/2004/rs1277.pdf>> (accessed March 8, 2010).

⁴² Puno borders on Bolivia. The events in Ilave happened in Apr. 2004, see some details at <http://enperu.99k.org/comentarios/ilave.htm> (accessed April 4, 2007).

⁴³ He was minister of the economy from August 14th, 2005 to July 28th, 2006 during Toledo’s government.

⁴⁴ Quote was taken from <http://www.elmorsa.com/2006/07/16/inclusion-y-racismo-degregori-sobre-kuczynski/> (accessed December 17, 2008)

⁴⁵ The conference was titled as “Peru: Desarrollo e inversion con equidad social” (Peru: Development and investment with social equity). It was held in July 7th, 2006. See full agenda in <http://www.rree.gob.pe/portal/enlaces.nsf/0/71bbe749bc73574e052571a10061c296?OpenDocument> (accessed in December 17, 2009)

intellectually. (For a sound analysis of the environment and its relationship with the processes of racializing inhabitants through environment determinism in Latin America see Graham 1990 and Stepan 1991). The racialized discourses that are sustained in environmentally deterministic understandings of differences facilitate the aim of Peruvian elites to divest the rural areas and their inhabitants (rural Quechua- and Aymara-speaking people on the one hand and rain forest people such as Cacataibos, Ashaninkas, and Shipibos on the other) of their land and resources.⁴⁶

Accordingly, highlanders advocating a new role for government—providing secure rules for corporate exploration and exploitation of natural resources, are—needless to say—inferior beings expressing brainless thoughts; inferior beings who need to be developed or modernized to become fully subjects of the Peruvian state. Prime Minister Kuczynski was not referring to just those living in the *Peruvian* Andes. His phrase “una idea de una parte de los Andes” encompasses a broader picture including the other Andean countries. The phrase “los Andes” may include countries such as Bolivia and Ecuador whose governments have questioned the profits obtained by transnational corporations and the lack of commitment they show to benefit the host country. The Prime Minister’s speech was presented in July 2006, two months (May 1st) after the Bolivian president⁴⁷ had signed a decree stating that the Bolivian state recovers ownership, possession and total control of natural gas resources at the well-head.⁴⁸ Hence, the Minister was not only alluding to those living in the Peruvian highlands whose inhabitants were depicted as llamas and vicuñas by the congressman interviewed by Escobar—or as lacking oxygen by the TV showman in a popular national program some months before—, he was also implying in his speech that Morales, the current head of the Bolivian government had similar ideas. Accordingly, Morales too was incapable of realizing that it was detrimental that his government had changed the rules in negotiating

⁴⁷ Mr. Morales has descendant Aymara parents.

⁴⁸ The nationalization of Bolivia’s natural hydrocarbons at well-head was not intended to expropriate or confiscate any property from the corporations exploiting natural gas at that time such as Petrobras, Spain's Repsol YPF, UK gas and oil producer [BG Group Plc](#) and France's Total. The Bolivian government’s main goal was to re-negotiate contracts with the corporations within a six-month transition period. Corporations were invited to leave Bolivia if they did not want to re-negotiate. For a comprehensive elucidation of the details of Bolivian natural gas nationalization without expropriation see <http://www.ircamericas.org/esp/3265> (accessed December 18, 2009).

with transnational companies by nationalizing Bolivian hydrocarbons. Following this line of reasoning, those in Peru who were advocating a referendum on suitability of the Free Trade Agreement with the United States⁴⁹ are just like Bolivians, too brutish to realize the advantages to development and modernity of doing business with the United States.⁵⁰

It may be worth it to remember that the Bolivian president Evo Morales won the presidential election—the first time—by highlighting his indigenous background and his condition as such. The same argument was made by Alejandro Toledo during his campaign who claimed to be the quintessentially right representative for those who live in the Andes, since he was born in this region. When it was evident that Toledo would not change Fujimori's neoliberal economy, Morales in a public appearance assessed that the Peruvian president had betrayed indigenous political will⁵¹ by promoting the Free Trade Agreement with the United States. Thus Kuczynski's intention may have been to undermine Morales's critique of Toledo by suggesting that Morales lacked intelligence because he recovered the control of the gas and charged a high tax to corporations who wanted to tap Bolivia's resources in natural gas. The Bolivian president's economic and political approach towards corporations was diametrically opposed to the kinds of deals that Toledo and Kuczynski made, including substantial rebates. The government still cannot break any contract that is already in place with corporations given their character of "contrato-ley" (contract-law).⁵²

In addition, the first part of the phrase "idea de una parte" might be a subtle reference to those in the Andes who agree with an unconstrained free market for exploitation of natural resources — and that they could be regarded as good people and

⁴⁹ An analysis on the pros and cons of the Free Trade see <http://www.cristaldemira.com/articulos.php?id=1601> (accessed December 18,2009)

⁵⁰ It is regarded as the most important market and a symbol of a neoliberal model within politicians' framework. According to the Prime Minister, the government he represented and to the current government, Peru should be proud to sign a Free Trade with US. .

⁵¹ See details of the critique at <http://sonfamosos.blogspot.com/2007/04/evo-morales-presidente-de-bolivia.html>>, see response to the critique at http://stream.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp///free/imf/bolivia/txt/2006/0426peoples_trade_agreement.html (accessed February 27, 2010).

⁵² On how transnational corporations are benefited even at the level of the Peruvian Constitution see articles 62 and 63, see <http://www.tc.gob.pe/legconperu/constitucion.html>>, an article about corporations and the state see <http://www.larepublica.pe/archive/all/domingo/20100307/9/node/253765/todos/1558> (accessed March 9, 2010)

maybe allowed to be part of the coastal elite, as they are trying hard to overcome their stupidity by supporting the free market. Since those lacking oxygen dwell in the Andes they do not even need to be named—they are part of an indistinguishable mass. The oxygen deprivation theory is reformulated in the hands of Spanish speaking highlanders do draw a boundary between themselves and Quechua speakers. They are more intelligent and they speak Spanish just like their coastal peers; the ones lacking intelligence live in the countryside. For example, within the minivan transportation that goes from the city to rural villages and vice versa, non-entitled passengers (usually Quechua-speaking villagers) are portrayed as being incapable of thinking. Recall such phrases as “pobre campesino, comunero tenía que ser” (poor peasant, a poor limited member of the community) or “no comprenden” (they do not understand) from passengers who claim a super-ordinate position— because of their college degrees or their command of Spanish as a first language⁵³—in face-to-face interactions with villagers (see chapter 3). Sometimes passengers entitled to exclusively board the van bluntly claim that villagers are definitely brutish, aligning themselves with *costeños* who claim that all highlanders, including those who speak Spanish, lack any intelligence due to the irreversible effects of the environment on the tissues of the brain.

When they visit village households to fulfill their function as government agents, they do not hesitate to argue that the householders lack intelligence as shown by utterances such as “el hecho es que no tu no entiendes en tu cabeza” (the point is that you do not understand in your head).—In their face-to-face interactions with villagers, Spanish-speaking highlanders—claim that the villagers are incapable of understanding because they cannot rationally elaborate any thoughts⁵⁴, as I have shown in chapter 5.

Highlanders who dwell in the city and command Spanish as a first language might not realize that they not only reinforce coastal portrayals of themselves, but they re-create the very basic tenets in which discrimination against them as highlanders is built and displayed through discourses. Their attempt to disassociate themselves from the

⁵³ Of course even if they had college degrees or even PhDs they would be still regarded as highlanders lacking in intelligence because they grew up in the Andes. In the 1970s coastal intellectuals made jokes about their peers' highland origins by asserting that those coming from the Andes are still Indians. When a famous highland intellectual approached them, they whispered “el Indio Mayta is coming.”

⁵⁴ For a full argument see chapter 5.

stereotypes of highlanders and index countryside dwellers as the one to be identified as lacking intelligence re-produce their own subordination in relation to their coastal peers. I would suggest that highland urban elites established in Lima, sometimes, are those who exert discrimination against countryside highlanders more than any other coastal elite. Countryside dwellers who moved to Lima many years ago, sometimes re-create discriminatory practices against their fellow highlanders who have newly moved to the coast, despite themselves being victims of racism, thus unwittingly re-creating coastal racist behavior against their fellow highlanders and themselves. The discrimination on basis of movement from highland regions to coastal regions may be expressed as follows

- A ↑ Dwellers of coastal city (Lima)
- B ↑ Highland city people established in Lima
- C ↑ Long standing highland countryside people established in Lima
- D ↑ Highland countryside newly people established in Lima

Those dwelling in Lima discriminate against highlanders (including B, C and D groups) who have moved to Lima. However, highlanders who have established themselves in Lima discriminate against more recent émigrés from the countryside who are nonetheless established in Lima. They in turn discriminate against people from the countryside who are newly established in Lima. In other words, “A” discriminates or racializes all those who come from the highland region whereas “B” discriminates against “C” and “D”. “C” in turn discriminates against “D.” What is more, within A there will be sub-groups based on differences in socio-economic status, ancestry, and skin color criteria, for example, among those who claim European ancestry and those who cannot claim such ancestry.

It is worth noting that the theory of oxygen deprivation within the coastal context indexes all highlanders whereas in the highlands the theory is re-phrased to index countryside dwellers who most of the time speak Quechua as a first language. These fractal ways of discriminating against or racializing others perpetuate social hierarchies, exercise dominance, and allow people to claim super-ordinate positions, always relationally. They are common sense and part of daily life in Peruvian society.

If highlanders suffer from oxygen deprivation that affects their reasoning capacity what is the importance of making highlanders, particularly Quechua-speaking villagers give birth at the nearest health facility (chapter 5)? The public health guidelines

demanding all rural villagers deliver at any health facility may be an attempt to secure the life of the women and the newborns. This demand seems to have been used to curtail people's biological and social reproduction during Fujimori's term who imposed insidious policies of population control. His administration undertook a massive effort to sterilize women, particularly those identified as poor or those with indigenous background which I examine below

Having a different cultural background: Enabling forced population control

If a newborn's parents are of Quechua background and deemed as lacking the capability to understand, the aim of registering the newborn as a legal citizen becomes an illusion. It becomes an illusion especially if one remembers that national programs to monitor pregnant woman and the growth and development of children were used as instruments to reduce indigenous population during Fujimori's regime.

For instance, under the umbrella of legislative decree 346,⁵⁵ Fujimori elaborated a "Plan Nacional de Población 1991-1995"⁵⁶ (National Plan of Population—henceforth, "the Plan"). The Plan's main goal was to reduce the growth rate of the overall population to at least 2% from 2,1% and live birth rate to 3.3 children per woman (for a historical review see Cueto 2006). Fujimori's government declared the 1990s as the decade of family planning,⁵⁷ arguing that such planning would lead to the reduction of poverty and underdevelopment.⁵⁸

With this plan the Fujimori government established 8 national programs.⁵⁹ Among these programs was "Salud Reproductiva y Planificación Familiar" (Reproductive Health and Family Planning Program—RHFP) which had been central to execute the goal of reducing fecundity joined with the "Programa Nacional de

⁵⁵ Modified by law # 26530.

⁵⁶ See law # 24077, Peru.

⁵⁷ MINSA, Sub-project: Support to the National Program of Attention to the Reproductive Health in the Unidad Territorial de Salud of Cuzco, s/f.

⁵⁸ According to the plan and an appended document added later to the plan 1998-2002 (DS # 011-98-PROMUDEH) population growth must be governed by the amount of resources available and care of the environment, thus the state should commit to population policies that allow the satisfaction of the present and future generations' needs.

⁵⁹ See description at <http://www1.inei.gob.pe/biblioineipub/bancopub/Est/Lib0239/moq0106.HTM> (accessed December 21, 2008)

Planificación Familiar (National Family Planning Program--FP)⁶⁰. The RHFP (currently called the Reproductive Health) program—and after 1995, the FP program—included prenatal checkups, postnatal care, and health checkups for children monthly and was linked to the children’s growth and development program. When women visit a health facility for pre-natal checkups or postnatal care or their children’s health care, they are identified by age, number of births, and number of living children.

Therefore, making women deliver at a health facility, or monitoring the growth of children by measuring their height and weight became part of the strategies to generate data that could coerce women to using contraceptive devices, or even to undergo tubal ligation⁶¹. Surgical coercion originated from the highest levels of the state and the Ministry of Health and filtered all the way down to the local health facility. A representative of a highland health facility who remembers the target numbers for tubal ligations (euphemistically called “voluntary surgical contraception”) during Fujimori’s government said:

“I was scared to lose my job; because if you did not arrive at the required number, the [Ministry of Health] fired you (...) We traveled with the women (...) to watch them. Because the health facility itself does not do surgery, it [the surgery] is done in the main health center; you went there with your patient.”

The extent of this coercion and intimidation can be observed in the number of tubal ligations that was set by the Fujimori government⁶² as the annual goal for 1997: 150,000⁶³. In order to achieve that quantity the decentralized health facilities of the Ministry of Health were incorporated into military centers for tubal ligation. The campaign was clearly conceived in military terms. The response of the chief of the Health Center of Anta,⁶⁴ interviewed by the Peruvian magazine “Somos” (2003: 31) was eloquent about tubal ligations, he said, “[it] was a directive of the Ministry of Health, we were soldiers.” (For discussion on sterilization and its links with genocide against those

⁶⁰ A plan inaugurated after the International Conference of Population and Development –Cairo (ICPD)-1995.

⁶¹ For a critique see <http://www.servindi.org/actualidad/20486#more-20486> (accessed Mar.3, 2010).

⁶² Salgado L. Política de salud reproductiva y planificación familiar. Diario El Peruano Dec 18, 1997. See the whole document at <http://www.congreso.gob.pe/comisiones/1997/mujer/esteril.htm> (accessed December 16, 2007).

⁶³ However, they were able to reach a number of 109.689 tubal ligations.

⁶⁴ Province of Cuzco.

with indigenous background see Gianella 2004, Huayhua 2006, and Miranda & Yamin 2003: 68-69).⁶⁵

The physician's metaphor to explain his duty to subject women to tubal ligation hints at the terms in which Fujimori dictatorship worked. He and his right hand man (Montesinos) led a government in which virtually everybody regarded as dangerous to the regime was under the watch of the "Servicio Nacional de Inteligencia" (National Service of Intelligence). Thus, the physician was up to some point, obligated, as a "soldier" subjected to his supervisors' command, but also fueled by the general racist attitudes against those identified as different from the mainstream Spanish culture such as those with a Quechua background.⁶⁶

Fulfilling the market demands: realities and fallacies

The Fujimori government's commitment to family planning—particularly targeting the poor population among which were countryside Quechua-speaking dwellers—was a component of his neoliberal economic development policies.⁶⁷ Population control was regarded as one of the limiting causes hindering economic growth⁶⁸ which was supported by international organizations. The neoliberal approach conceives the state only as a complementary factor of the market. The state is understood as the institution that should assure the social and normative conditions in order that investors, producers and consumers find a more propitious and favorable environment for growth. In this approach, the public goods are scarce and the function of the state is only

⁶⁵ See also <http://grancomboclub.com/2007/12/el-financiamiento-de-los-derechos.html>
http://www.bc.edu/schools/law/lawreviews/meta-elements/journals/bctwj/29_1/twlj_29_1_web.pdf
(accessed March 4, 2010).

⁶⁶ This kind of public health service was partially dismantled by Toledo's government, but it kept the Reproductive Health Program that was charged with the duty of "counseling" women to use contraceptive methods. This program's ways of counseling re-create old forms of subjecting people which have not been touched or is not the main focus of the current García's government.

⁶⁷ Stipulated even in the 1993 Peruvian Constitution, and supported by the World Bank and the BID that had lent money from 1991 to 1999 to Fujimori's government amounts of US\$ 3,100 y US\$ 2,640 million respectively. See details at <http://cristaldemira.com/articulos.php?id=1910> (accessed December 28, 2009).

⁶⁸ To reduce this factor, international institutions such as USAID and UNFPA funded the government family planning program, particularly since 1995 in which even ONGS such as REPOSALUD played a crucial role. See details at <http://www.noticiasmglobales.org/comunicacionDetalle.asp?Id=571>

to be a subsidiary of the market. The state should reduce and rationalize the public sector with the purpose of obtaining benefits of better quality at low cost (Rodriguez 2009).⁶⁹

This model initiated by Fujimori has not only failed to solve the economic problems in Peru, but it has achieved economic growth that has benefited few people, but benefited them substantially. The neoliberal model has erased labor rights, reduced the state tax collecting capacity, and deepened inequalities. Though the coastal region—especially the capital—has experienced substantial economic growth since the fall of Fujimori, the highlands—especially the poorest rural areas have not benefitted from it. The overall economy has doubled in size, but income inequality has also increased substantially.

I posit that the current government agents' attitudes toward Quechua speaking villagers—requiring the village women to deliver at a health facility and follow the health insurance guidelines to comply with prenatal care or to register a newborn—is a lasting reflection of the Reproductive Health and Family Planning initiative that encompassed all activities within public health clinics during Fujimori's government that subjected rural dwellers as objects without rights.

Toledo's government did modify the Reproductive Health Program through the Ministry of Health and left the Health Reproductive program to continue only with their more common duties of prenatal and postnatal checkups, and registering newborns. This has freed government agents from being required to push tubal ligations; At the same time, the practices of exerting pressure, and requiring rural dwellers to follow public health demands seems to not only be a residue of Fujimori's coercive health policies, but colors their way of dealing with villagers whose background is Quechua,⁷⁰ particularly in the highlands. Government agents from the highlands may argue that they are improving the lives of rural dwellers in order to overcome the discrimination against them by coastal elites. Accordingly, they are doing God's work by "helping" those with a Quechua background to embrace urbanity and the urban life model to become modern.

⁶⁹ See the whole article at http://www.diariolaprimeraperu.com/online/columnistas/la-indispensable-reforma-del-estado_53437.html (accessed December. 28, 2009).

⁷⁰ I will not examine the case of rain forest people who also were forced to tubal ligation, which merits another whole set of research on its own right.

Therefore, the intrusion by government agents in rural households on behalf of women's health seems reasonable and acceptable, since during Fujimori's government their co-workers did far worse, as instruments to control the most intimate part of a person's life. As we saw in chapters 4 and 5, the everyday interaction between government agents and villagers is authoritarian, couched in discourses of hygiene, better education, and behaving as human (by speaking Spanish). Of course these are the very same discourses used against the highland agents by coastal elites.

Currently, family planning "counseling"⁷¹ is back and there are contraceptive methods available. These actions are still intertwined with registering newborns and monitoring children's height and weight. The push that government agents and parents undertake to register a newborn, in order for him to be recognized as a Peruvian citizen in legal terms may appear to reflect a government preoccupation for the well-being of the child, but only if one ignores the other regimentary practices that surround it. In addition, the child's legal equality as a registered newborn is a legal equality on paper only. Quechua-speaking persons invest their hope to achieve legal equality within the country as any other citizen, and they do so on paper, but to do so in fact requires them to renounce or deny their own culture and language. As a Quechua-speaker moves through multiple institutional machineries they are disciplined over and over into the racial, cultural, and linguistic hierarchy that pervades Peruvian society.

The recent history of the government's lack of effective actions to protect highlanders and especially those with indigenous background (e.g., Quechua and Ashaninka) has shown that these people are ignored or are invisible as Peruvian citizens. Therefore, Fujimori could curtail indigenous reproduction, Toledo could pursue his neoliberal agenda, and García could take the agenda to the extreme without being

⁷¹ The focus of the Toledo government was not the control of population growth. His focus was within the economic arena such that his goal was to link Peruvian state to the international market. García's political goals are to sell everything that has not yet been sold during Fujimori's term. Public health is not his main interest given that he cannot sell the service as he can with indigenous land and land resources. Thus, the government of Toledo and García seems softer with public health policies, but it is as much a function of their interest in a service area that cannot be converted into immediate economic benefits.

accountable to the citizenry in the highlands and the rain forest, but indeed even Spanish speakers who have chosen to live farming the land in the northern part of Peru.⁷²

Why hesitate? Lazy and indolent beings do not matter

García's government has not only adopted his predecessor's neoliberal model, but he and his party joined by the cluster of coastal elites and politicians seem to share the same "feelings" against those whose cultural background differs from their claimed "pure" Spanish background or western cultural background. García, to move his neoliberal model forward,—and sell mineral and timber rights on indigenous lands—wrote an article entitled "the dog in the manger" to claim not only the sacred benefits of the market, but above all to argue that llamas and vicunas or people like those living in the rain forest were lazy and unskilled so as not to be able exploit the resources that the earth⁷³ offers.

In the introduction to his article García states that there are a million hectares of forest for timber-yielding that are idle, another million hectares that communities and associations have not cultivated nor will cultivate, there are hundreds of mineral deposits that cannot be worked, and million of hectares of sea on which the current practices of mariculture are unproductive. The rivers that flow through both sides of the Andes a fortune waiting to happen, but the water flows off to the sea without producing electrical energy. In addition, there are a million workers who do not exist as such; although they work, their work is useless to them as it is no guarantee of social insurance or a pension

⁷² García's government fails to recognize highlanders as people and their rights can be seen in the way he has been handling social movements which has caused the assassination of many highlanders as were the cases in Ayacucho see <http://www.rel-uita.org/sindicatos/paro_agrario_peru-3.htm> For Ayabaca see <<http://amazilia.wordpress.com/2009/01/19/cronologia-caso-majaz/>> For his ministers comments on the cases of Putis see <<http://reflexionesperuanas.lamula.pe/2009/08/27/putis-o-los-mitos-tranquilizadores/>> For *Umasi* children assassination see <http://www.elmorsa.pe/2009/12/26/masacre-en-umasi-1983/> (accessed January 07, 2009).

⁷³ He skillfully uses the word earth in order to undermine indigenous people land and resources ownership. See Whole article at http://elcomercio.pe/edicionimpresa/Html/2007-10-28/el_sindrome_del_perro_del_hort.html (accessed October.28, 2007).

in the future, because they cannot contribute what they could contribute in order to multiply savings within the “nation.”⁷⁴

García’s argument here is that there are millions in resources being wasted because people do not exploit them or because the state has not done enough to facilitate foreign investment, and that even if people work, their work is worthless given that they cannot generate enough profit to obtain money to afford private insurance or a pension, that is without contributing to the capital markets.

According to García, there are many resources that do not generate profitable jobs because they are not-negotiable (non-trade goods), and that therefore these resources do not have the levels of investment that are needed to generate profits. All this happens because people that live in the highlands or rain forest communities and associations, and the owners of the resources are “lazy, careless, and indolent” or because they follow the law “of the dog in the manger,” that is, if I cannot do it, nobody else can do it.

For García highlanders or people from the rain forest are simply sluggish, physically slow and mentally dull. Therefore, his government gave the largest concessions in the rain forest (to begin with, 8 million hectares) to transnational investment in order to make it profitable. To give 8 million hectares of land nothing if it creates thousands or millions of jobs for the poorest who live in the poorest places.⁷⁵ He argued that there are communities that have 200 thousand hectares, but only on paper. They use 10 thousand hectares for agriculture and the rest idles without being worked while their inhabitants live in extreme poverty. If the land is unproductive for them, it would be productive with a high level of investment or knowledge brought by a new buyer or investor.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ García’s article tries to justify the pillage or looting of indigenous land and land resources by claiming that indigenous people and agriculturalists do not have enough intelligence to exploit their land wisely which is an idea that follows the theory of lacking oxygen shared by coastal elites.

⁷⁵ “Dicen también que dar propiedad de grandes lotes daría ganancia a grandes empresas, claro, pero también crearía cientos de miles de empleos formales para peruanos que viven en las zonas más pobres. Es el perro del hortelano.”

⁷⁶ “Además existen verdaderas comunidades campesinas, pero también comunidades artificiales, que tienen 200 mil hectáreas en el papel pero solo utilizan agrícolamente 10 mil hectáreas y las otras son propiedad ociosa, de ‘mano muerta’, mientras sus habitantes viven en la extrema pobreza y esperando que el Estado les lleve toda la ayuda en vez de poner en valor sus cerros y tierras, alquilándolas, transándolas porque si son improductivas para ellos, sí serían productivas con un alto nivel de inversión o de conocimientos que

Moreover, García asserts that land remains idle because their owners do not have the formal education and economic resources to exploit it properly. If the land is sold in great lots it would bring technology, from which the “comunero” would also benefit.⁷⁷ According to García, those who oppose mining companies, such as the people of Ayabaca who were allowed to vote on local mining in a referendum, are being manipulated by communist doctrine of the nineteenth century, disguised as nationalist and protectionist doctrine in the twentieth, and as environmentalism in the twenty first. According to García if “comuneros” or people who decide to cultivate their land instead of selling it to mining companies are ignorant and without money to make profit from their land, then they should sell it or to give it to the companies to make profits instead of living in poverty or being manipulated like children who refuse the benefit that mining can secure. In other words they are obstructing modernity,⁷⁸ that is, the free market⁷⁹ (for an insightful analyzes on modernity as free market see Jameson 2002: 1-13).

In order to resolve the “problem” of local idleness, work-shyness, and lack of knowledge and to spur investment in “unused” land and resources, García, who was granted legislative power granted by the Parliament⁸⁰ in support of his economic

traiga un nuevo comprador.” For a critique see http://elcomercio.pe/edicionimpresa/Html/2007-11-12/la_filosofia_garcia.html (accessed November 12, 2007).

⁷⁷ “[T]ierras ociosas porque el dueño no tiene formación ni recursos económicos, por tanto su propiedad es aparente. Esa misma tierra vendida en grandes lotes traería tecnología de la que se beneficiaría también el comunero, pero la telaraña ideológica del siglo XIX subsiste como un impedimento. El perro del hortelano.” See a sounding critique by Alberto Chirif at <http://nilavigil.wordpress.com/2010/02/23/la-propiedad-comunal-en-la-mira-el-perro-gloton-y-su-misterioso-capital/> For comments about the article see <<http://www.elfondodelvaso.com/2007/11/16/monsanto-y-su-leche-que-genera-cancer-quieren-entrar-al-peru/>> <<http://www.elfondodelvaso.com/2007/11/25/alan-garcia-y-su-receta-para-acabar-con-el-perro-del-hortelano-parte-2/>> (accessed March 1, 2010).

⁷⁸ For how economic development is explained through the trope of modernity see <http://aeperu.blogspot.com/2010/01/desarrollo-rural-en-el-peru.html> (accessed February 27, 2010).

⁷⁹ For a critique about García’s neoliberal approach see http://www.diariolaprimeraperu.com/online/columna-del-director_11.do>, <<http://aeperu.blogspot.com/2010/01/respuesta-jaime-de-althaus.html>> <http://www.diariolaprimeraperu.com/online/noticia.php?IDnoticia=57201>>, For a comment about the right in Peru and its link to García see <http://www.diariolaprimeraperu.com/online/columnistas/un-tema-prohibido_56948.html>, For a comment on the failure of the neoliberal model see <http://dissidentvoice.org/2010/01/global-capitalism-and-devastation-in-haiti/> (accessed March 1, 2010).

⁸⁰ The Congress of the Republic by the Law 29157—enacted in Dec. 19, 2007—delegated faculties in the Executive to emit legislative decrees to facilitate the TLC with US.

endeavors—issued a series of executive decrees⁸¹ to provide a mechanism for corporate use of all highland resources, rain forest lands, and rivers—in short everything that is possible to franchise for the “good of the ignorant people living on their land without even consulting them.” They do not need to be consulted since they are “como niños que no saben lo que quieren” (like children who do not know what they want) who do not know what is better from them, thus others have to make the right decisions on behalf of them. At the present time, most of Peru—coastal population centers aside--has been divided into resource lots, which have been auctioned to mining, petroleum, and natural gas corporations.

The image that García outlined to characterize rural highlanders as lazy, indolent, work-shy, idle, and lacking knowledge, is reframed to undermine highland congresswomen with Quechua-backgrounds on the parliament floor.

Being targeted as ignorant on the parliament floor

Worthless language: Worthless children

The racialization of highlanders through the environmental “theory” that they lacked oxygen and have suffered developmental damage has been widespread on the coast since the post-war era. Manrique (2009), for instance shows that president Bustamante (1945-1948) thought that indigenous people living in the Andes had suffered bodily damage that made them unable to live in a civilized way. As we have seen, these ideas continue to be widespread today. They also color face-to-face interactions among members of congress.

For example, when two representatives from the highlands, María Sumire (Cw1) and Hilaria Supa (Cw2) introduced a bill supporting the dissemination, use and

⁸¹ Among the decrees are 994, 1015, 1064, 1073, 1079, 1081, 1089, and 1090. For an analytical critique see <http://milanta.blogsome.com/2008/08/19/385/> <http://www.caaap.org.pe/archivos/Caaap_Analisis.pdf> For rain forest people’s fight against these laws see <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7573887.stm>> see the current law decree to remove indigenous people from their territory at <<http://www.diariolaprimeraperu.com/online/noticia.php?IDnoticia=57354>> For a critique about this Law see <http://www.diariolaprimeraperu.com/online/noticia.php?IDnoticia=57371>> (accessed March 1, 2010).

preservation of aboriginal languages,⁸² Martha Hildebrandt (Cw3)—a coastal representative from Lima denounced it as useless—“no sirve para nada.” When her speech was interrupted by Sumire and Supa, she retorted:

Cw3: “Miren los modales de estas niñas quechuahablantes” [turning her head toward her left side and pointing with his index finger to Sumire and Supa] no me dejan hablar.⁸³

Cw3: Look at the manners of this Quechua-speaking kids [turning her head toward her left side and pointing with his index finger to Sumire and Supa] they do not let me talk.

Sumire and Supa were contesting the argument that Quechua, the language and its speakers are worthless. Congresswoman Hildebrandt⁸⁴ attempts to recover the floor by calling attention to the supposedly bad behavior of Sumire and Supa. She doesn't address them directly; rather, she addresses the other members of congress. “Miren los modales de estas niñas quechua-hablantes”⁸⁵ not only refers to them as a “Quechua-speaking girls” but suggests that they are so ill-mannered that they do not know how to behave properly in a public setting such as the congress chamber. It is implied that congresswomen Sumire and Supa have not developed fully into adults, thus they are not fully capable of speaking rationally or elaborating any bill. No matter if they have been elected. They are “estas”⁸⁶ a bunch of undesirable things (objects) below adulthood and the social standing of Hildebrandt.

According to this view, the congresswomen's ideas are dismissed as child-like and the bill being proposed on aboriginal languages is considered worthless. At the same time, its proponents' utterances or points of view are worthless. Hence, Hildebrandt should have and been allowed to keep the floor to speak and not been interrupted by the mischievous behavior of those who behave as they are: children. The implication is that all those who speak Quechua misbehave and cannot gain total adulthood, they will

⁸² See the whole bill at [Proyecto de Ley para La Preservación, Uso y Difusión de las Lenguas Aborígenes del Perú](#) (accessed December 12-2008).

⁸³ See the full video clip <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XE0BRpreisE&feature=related> (accessed April 17, 2008). The comments happened in September 6th, 2007.

⁸⁴ Hildebrandt has been a congresswoman since the 1990s through Fujimori's political party.

⁸⁵ How in Lima address is used see <http://reflexionesperuanas.blogspot.com/2009/08/rp-263-amigo-joven-hijito-pata.html> (accessed March 8, 2010).

⁸⁶ It reminds me my elementary school classmates' argument about addressing somebody as “ésta.” One of them (A) said “ésta” as a way to address my other classmate (B). B was insulted and replied “ésta la que te apesta” (this that stinks to you).

remain always as children despite being able to speak Spanish⁸⁷—the allowed language in Parliament—to deal with bills and any other topics related to legislation within the Parliament.

Moreover, Hildebrandt argued that she is not being treated fairly by the interruption of Sumire and Supa which is signaled by “no me dejan hablar.” She claims to be in a super-ordinate position and does not recognize Sumire and Supa as her equals because of their Quechua background. If Quechua-speaking individuals are regarded as children, they are supposed to offer deference by releasing the floor to congresswoman Hildebrandt and allowing her to speak as long as she wants.

It may be worth noticing that 120 congresspersons⁸⁸ are elected⁸⁹ from the 24 departments of Peru at the same time the president is elected. The representatives of the departments are supposedly to legislate according to their region’s interests. Traditionally, members of congress represented the elites within their jurisdictions, be they members of traditional parties of the left or of the right.⁹⁰ This pattern was broken in the 2001 congressional election when an Aymara-speaking woman—Paulina Arpasi—was elected from the Puno region. It was the first time that an indigenous person with *pullira* (multi-layered skirts) and bowler hat had a seat in the parliament. In 2006 two women with Quechua backgrounds were elected from Cuzco, Hilaria Supa and María Sumire, both of whom demanded to be sworn in to congress in Quechua.⁹¹ The election of several indigenous people has exposed deeply discriminatory attitudes against them

⁸⁷ As a Peruvian business man portrayed northern farmers “ellos son como niños no saben lo que quieren” (they are like children they do not know what they want). See the whole article at http://www.ideeleradio.org.pe/look/portal/33_lbp_columnista.tpl?IdLanguage=13&IdPublication=7&NrSection=60&tpid=75&ALStart=27 (accessed December 30, 2009).

⁸⁸ Fujimori converted the two-chamber system (60 senators and 180 deputies) of the Parliament into a single-chamber with 120 representatives. The first 120 congresspersons were elected during the 1995 presidential elections. In 1990 the parliament composed of senators and deputies was closed by Fujimori. Details about the Peruvian election system can be found at <http://www.guamanpoma.org/demciud2007/monografia/FTuesta/Separata%203.pdf> (accessed March 4, 2010).

⁸⁹ Representatives are elected for 5 years. The number for each department depends on the population number. Accordingly, Lima always has the highest number of congresspersons in relation to other departments.

⁹⁰ The presence of independent candidates—who did not belong to any old established political party—running for presidential election and congressperson elections grew exponentially by the 1990s. For example Alberto Fujimori was elected as being part of a newly inaugurated party.

⁹¹ They were criticized by Martha Hildebrandt.

on the part of other members of congress. Such discriminatory comments have forcefully emerged with the surprising presence of “Indians” within the Parliament, which has licensed some politicians to express their blatant racialized view about Quechua-speaking individuals. This appears to reflect veiled a pervasive racism within the politically and economic connected sectors of Peruvian society.⁹²

Working: A moral way of making money

On the same day, in which Hildebrandt called her two colleagues children, a journalist (J) interviewed Sumire, Supa and Hildebrandt in the hallway leaving the Parliament building.⁹³ The journalist approached Supa who commented on Hildebrandt napping in the chamber. She asked for a name:

J: “Quien duerme (?)”

Cw2: “Ehhh:/ la señora Hildebrandt (.) en el congreso para durmiendo (.) de lo que duerme gana plata”

J: Who sleeps?

Cw2: Ahhh:/Mrs. Hildebrandt (.) she just sleeps at Congress (.) that is how she makes her money

The Cw2 hesitated (/:/) to utter the name and finally pointed out that her colleague does not work. The phrase “para durmiendo” plus “de lo que duerme gana plata” alludes to the fact that Hildebrandt does not work at all and she uses the Parliament as her particular place to nap. The implication is that a person napping all the time should not have the right to earn any income; it is not a moral way to make money. If the person wants to make money she should work presenting bills to the legislature as other representatives do. The journalist played the devil’s advocate and said to Hildebrandt:

J: [Facing Cw3] “Que pena que el pueblo elija a personas (.) se ha referido obviamente a usted (.) que vienen al congreso a dormir”

Cw3: “Jaja [laughing and turning to face Cw2] no me llega” [turning her face toward J]

J: [She said] it's sad that people elect persons (.) referring to you obviously (.) who come to the Congress to sleep.

⁹² Currently, racialized discourses appear to be being used to justify and legitimate the current government seeking to dispossess indigenous people from their land and land resources.

⁹³ See the interview—that happened in September 6th, 2007—at <http://peruanista.blogspot.com/2007/09/racist-congresswoman-martha-hildebrandt.html> (accessed December 17, 2008).

Cw3: Haha [laughing and turning to face Cw2] It does not matter me [turning her face toward J]

The Hildebrandt congresswoman—informed about what her colleague had said about people’s mistake in electing persons who sleep in the congress—without hesitation dismissed what Supa said. For her, the critique is meaningless, since she regards Supa and any other individual with a Quechua background as being of lower status. The laugh may signal her lack of respect for Supa’s critique, and at the same time, to humiliate her. Hildebrandt’s attitude toward Supa is likely shared by other members of congress since nobody in the parliament took action against Hildebrandt. But the disdain for Supa and Sumire did not stop at the doors of Congress. A counter attendant in the international airport in Lima discriminated against them for their “incorrect” pronunciation of Spanish.⁹⁴ The Lima tabloid “Correo” published telephoto pictures of Supa’s hand written notes on its first page, to criticize her for not writing “correct” Spanish stating that she was almost illiterate, and therefore unqualified for the office she held.⁹⁵ This blatant discrimination against those who are identified as being from the highlands also circulates on TV shows.⁹⁶ It seems that discrimination or racist attitudes are common place in the city of Lima.⁹⁷ After Hildebrandt responded, she focused on congresswoman Sumire who was still there, expecting to answer Hildebrandt, an exchange that I examine below.

⁹⁴ Of course the personnel working there were all Peruvians. The event happened on Nov. 27, 2006, the whole account can be found at <http://grancomboclub.com/2006/11/iberia-cmo-van-ser-ustedes.html> (accessed March 3, 2010)

⁹⁵ The event happened on April.23, 2009. See whole account at <http://incakolanews.blogspot.com/2009/04/institutionalized-racism-in-peru-case.html> <http://indigenouspeoplesissues.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=615:newspaper-questions-spanish-language-proficiency-of-indigenous-congresswoman-peru&catid=53:south-america-indigenous-peoples&Itemid=75> <<http://globalvoicesonline.org/2009/05/02/peru-newspaper-questions-spanish-language-proficiency-of-indigenous-congresswoman/>> (accessed March 3, 2010).

⁹⁶ For a detailed account about discrimination on the basis of regional origin in TV shows see <http://nilavigil.wordpress.com/2010/02/13/nada-mas-tipico-del-racismo-de-las-elites-simbolicas-que-la-negacion-del-racismo/> (accessed March 3, 2010).

⁹⁷ For a discussion of multiple examples of discrimination in the city of Lima see http://www.larepublica.com.pe/component/option,com_contentant/task,view/id,226829/Itemid/ (accessed March 3, 2010).

Academic Success: Higher social status?

Congresswoman Hildebrandt reinforced her contempt and disdain by appealing to academic achievements and scholarly work.

Cw3: [Turning her face toward Cw1 and moving her right back hand] “Ella no sé qué obra intelectual tenga (.) pero yo tengo 30 o 40 libros citados y traducidos (.) no”

Cw1: [Keeping calm whispers] Así

Cw3: “Así que francamente (.) qué sabrán:/[facing J] de gente que son **bajos** (.) no [facing Cw1] de gente que no tiene la capacidad intelectual ni/”

Cw1: “/Señora”

Cw3: “/La formación universitaria”

Cw1: “Yo tengo formación universitaria”

Cw3: [Turning her face toward Cw1 and moving her right back hand] I don't know what intellectual work she might have (.) but I have 30 to 40 cited and translated books (.) right?

Cw1: [Keeping calm whispers] okay.

Cw3: So (.) frankly those [attacks] what they can know:/ [facing J] people that are in low standing (.) right [Facing Cw1] People that don't have an intellectual capacity neither/

Cw1: /Ma'am

Cw3: /College education

Cw1: I have college education

Hildebrandt claimed her super-ordinate position by describing her intellectual production, which is supposedly widely quoted by other similar (intellectuals) and translated into other foreign languages (e.g., French, and Italian). Her last word “no” is uttered to align the journalist with her point of view, which seemed to have failed although the journalist gave her the microphone the whole time. The claim is not openly contested by Sumire. She was only able to murmur “así” which may imply either that you are pulling my leg or I don't care what you say. Hildebrandt kept the floor. Her next utterance looked to undermine Sumire's intellectual capacity and her right to be a congresswoman by arguing that her colleagues (Sumire and Supa) are ignorant: “qué sabrán,” i.e., they do not understand or know anything about Hildebrandt's professional endeavors as a scholar and as a member of the congress.

The phrase “gente que son bajos” plus “que no tiene la capacidad intelectual” bluntly highlights the lower standing and lack of intelligence her colleagues possesses in relation to her and —by association—the people Hildebrandt represents. According to Hildebrandt, Sumire and Supa are in a lower standing not only in social terms but

because of their lack of capabilities to think. At this point, Sumire managed to jump (/) over Hildebrandt's utterances to say "Ma'am", but the former was not quick enough to take the floor because the latter did not relinquish the floor by overlapping (/) her utterance with Sumire's utterance to assert that people lacking the capabilities to think cannot be expected to have any college education.

Congresswoman Hildebrandt was savvy and kept the floor consistently by knowing how to talk to the microphones and with the unintended help of several journalists who directed their microphones toward her. Sumire managed to inform Hildebrandt that she has a college degree. (Sumire is a practicing attorney.) It seems that attributes such as presenting worthless bills, lacking intelligence, and lacking common sense defines individuals with a Quechua background who cannot overcome these traits regardless of their education.

"Cada uno en su sitio": Each one in its place

It is not enough to speak Spanish, have a college education, or even to be elected a congresswoman to be on equal footing with other coastal elite politicians as claimed by Hildebrandt below.

Cw3: [Turning towards J and raising her right hand and pointing with her forefinger] "Imagínesse yo he sido subdirectora general **no del Perú** (.) sino **de la UNESCO** a nivel mundial (.) y ella" [moving her right shoulder and pointing toward Cw1 with her forefinger] "me va enseñar educacion" [facing J] "nooo pues" [turning towards Cw2] "cada uno en su sitio" [turning back towards J and smiling] "cada uno/"

Cw1: "/Señora yo también he sido"

Cw3: "/En su sitio" [facing J]

Cw1: "Yo soy /:/ soy gente preparada (.) soy indígena pero abogada" [pointing to her temple with her forefinger] Si

Cw3: [Turning toward Cw1] "Abogados hay por montones"

Cw1: "Si/"

Cw3: [Turning back toward J]"/Y pésimos también" [laughing]

Cw3: [Turning towards J and raising her right hand and pointing with her forefinger] Imagine that I have been Deputy Director (.) not of Peru (.) but UNESCO at a world-wide level (.) and she [moving her right shoulder and pointing toward Cw1 with her forefinger] will teach me about education [facing J] nooo way (.) each one in her place [turning back towards J and smiling] each one/

Cw1: Madam (.) I have been also/

Cw3: /in her place...

Cw1: I am /:/ I am educated (.) I am Indigenous but I'm also an Attorney [pointing to her

temple with her forefinger] okay

Cw3: There are plenty of Attorneys

Cw1: If/

Cw3: [Turning back toward J]/ And really bad ones too [laughing]

Hildebrandt argued that having held important offices even at world level, the suggestion that Sumire could educate her was offensive. She uttered “cada uno en su sitio,” a phrase that reminds Sumire and Supa that they should keep themselves in the place to which they belong. Individuals according to their geographical location should stay in their corresponding social place, with highlanders in a subordinate one in relation to coastal elites (e.g., politicians, party leaders, and entrepreneurs). She uses the form of “ella” (she) to keep talking to the microphone and ignores Sumire as a participant.

Sumire is not ratified as a full participant in the interview. She attempts to contest her colleague’s statement by jumping into the conversation which is shown by the overlapping utterances (/). However she fell into a trap by arguing that she is also educated and had a law degree. Her attempt is shattered immediately by Hildebrandt who implies that attorneys with an indigenous background are foolish, academically meaningless, and worthless. Hildebrandt is in control of the floor. In this event participants are not interacting on the same footing (Goffman 1979). Besides, by highlighting her college education as equal to that of Hildebrandt, Sumire is unknowingly putting Supa in a lower standing since her colleague does not have a degree. Thus, within Sumire’s argument a fractal relationships is embedded within those indigenous who have an education degree—represented by her—and those who do not—represented by Supa— that is, placing Supa and all other individuals like her on a lower level in relation to Sumire.

Cw3: [Facing j] “Yo puedo hablar con mis iguales intelectuales en un congreso de lingüística en la academia de la lengua [turning toward Cw1 and pointing with her forefinger] soy la **única mujer en la academia** de la **lengua** [turning back toward J] ah (.) pero ella no **sabe nada de lingüística**”

Cw3: [Facing j] I can only speak with my intellectuals equals at a linguistic conference at the academy of the [Spanish] language [turning toward Cw1 and pointing with her forefinger] I am the only woman in that academy [turning back toward J] huh (.) but she doesn't know anything about linguistics

The Hildebrandt congresswoman resorts to her supposedly unique expertise and experience as a linguist not only to claim a super-ordinate position, but to displace and downgrade her fellow congresswomen as intellectual equals to her. She intends to gain the journalist's empathy by stressing that she is the only woman member of the academy of language—an institution that is composed mainly of men. Her utterance is accompanied by a filler “ah” that could mean ‘do you realize what I have achieved?’ She attempts to discredit congresswoman Sumire and by extension all those who are from the Andes by underscoring the ignorance of Sumire. It is implicated that Sumire could not present any bill law in Parliament on matters linked to language since she is not an expert on the topic. (She and Supa have since presented a bill on minority language rights that was passed by congress and waits for the President's signature.)

When congresswoman Sumire asserted that according to the Peruvian Constitution people have the right to speak their maternal language, her colleague Hildebrandt retorted:

Cw3: “La Constitución Política está equivocada por demagogia (...) le da la misma importancia a lenguas que hablan 500 hablantes perdidos por allí y esto es lo que está mal”⁹⁸

Cw3: The Political Constitution is demagogically mistaken (...) it gives importance to languages that are spoken by 500 speakers lost somewhere over there, which is wrong

Sumire's argument,⁹⁹ is downplayed to the point of rejecting the article that recognizes all languages spoken in Peru. Hildebrandt instead asserts that the article appeals to people's emotions to manipulate them politically; those speakers can be excluded because the language to be spoken in order to communicate must be Spanish.¹⁰⁰ Those who speak other aboriginal languages will simply disappear soon. Their languages will disappear and, at the same time, the speakers may disappear or may learn Spanish.

⁹⁸ See details at <http://www.servindi.org/actualidad/2545/2545> (accessed December 18, 2008). Is it interesting that the video about this event has been removed from Youtube.

⁹⁹ See the Constitution, chapter I, Art. 2, 19 at <http://www.tc.gob.pe/legconperu/constitucion.html> (accessed December 17, 2009).

¹⁰⁰ Hildebrandt asked the board of directors (who are the board of directors? Is this the term?) that Spanish be the language used within Parliament on July 25th, 2006 when two congresswomen decided to take the oath of their office in Quechua. The Parliament is supposed to represent all Peruvians, including those who speak other languages and they may not speak Spanish. However, within this space Spanish must be used for all legislative purposes.

Can Quechua-speaking Children be citizens?

Coastal elites do not recognize as citizens those from the highland about whom they seem to have only essentialized images, particularly about those who do not have Spanish background. Their lack of knowledge about the highlands and the different socio-cultural groups living there is illustrated bluntly by the way they refer to dwellers in this region, as well as by their policies. Even when two members of congress from the highlands are interacting face-to-face with their coastal colleague, the coastal congressperson does not hesitate in addressing them according to her ideological image of Quechua-speaking highlanders as people without the capacity to reason. The ideological “reality” held by coastal politicians is unshaken by the presence of Quechua-speaking highlanders within the parliament.

Under this kind of racialization, the citizenship advocated by elites and the Peruvian state seems to be understood as a way to exclude those who do not comply with their ideal of citizenry. That is, those who speak other languages instead of Spanish as mother tongue and live in the highland cannot be citizens. They should integrate themselves within a “national” cultural framework through “mestizaje,” implying the fallacy of a gradient “whitening” supported by a narrative of progress, development and modernity within a framework of neoliberal market (see Degregori et al 1986; Méndez 1995; for a similar Ecuadorian example see Stutzman 1981). Modernity “is tied to urbanity, whiteness, and Euro-North Americanized consumer culture” (Whitten 2001:14611). People participating in any other cultural-linguistic regimes (e.g., Quechua) are required to integrate themselves into the elite cultural order to become full citizens. The juridical notion of citizenship as a bundle of abstract rights and duties is conflated with ideas of being a member of a particular community in cultural and linguistic terms, making equality unrealizable as Conover et al (2004) suggests for the cases of United States and Britain.

For highlanders, particularly for Quechua-speaking people, to be citizens is to cease to be themselves by embracing “mestizaje” as the way to achieve a full citizenship. However, no matter how hard they try to assimilate to the “national culture,” by embracing Spanish language and the “modern” values that the elites supposedly represent, they would never be fully citizens, given that they are essentialized as sharing enduring attributes: first, they “lack intelligence” to understand the nation’s need for progress, development and modernization, to be able to make profitable business with corporations out of their lands or to comprehend the family planning program. Second, they are children in need of being patronized by those who belong to the “national culture” who are able to take decisions on behalf of them. Third, they lack hygiene, unable to regiment their bodily practices, and their households according to urban parameters.

Hence, Quechua-speaking people efforts to assimilate to the “national culture” become a fallacy about which they are not aware. Even the act of filling the birth form within the health facility to give a legal name to a newborn is an illusory step toward true citizenship, and the Peruvian Constitution granting citizenship to all resident-newborns regardless of sex, gender, language and ethnicity becomes merely rhetorical. What is more, the characterization of the highland as “unhealthy region” for the development of the brain means that they definitively will not be able to cope with the model of citizenship promoted by Peruvian elites. The citizenship promoted by elites—reinforced by their faith in the neoliberal market to develop and modernize Peru—establishes parameters that include some and exclude those who are depicted ideologically as the “others.” Citizenship becomes a means to make discrimination and racialization broadly acceptable. The imposition of “national cultural” values as the basis of citizenship¹⁰¹ operates to maintain the status quo, inequality and relations of hierarchy.

I suggest reconceiving the notion of citizenship as the way people “identify, participate, and engage in more than one” lingua-cultural system (Lok Siu 2001: 8). A cultural citizenship that allows

“the right to be different... with respect to the norms of the dominant national community, without compromising one’s right to belong, in the sense of participating in the... state’s democratic processes...from the point of view of [other] subordinated [lingua-cultures], cultural citizenship offers the possibility of legitimizing demands made in the struggle to enfranchise themselves. These demands can range from legal, political, and economic issues to matters of human dignity, well-being, and respect” (Rosaldo 1994: 57)

That is, one needs to examine citizenship in the sphere of everyday life as a set of cultural and social processes, beyond the bundle of juridical rights and entitlements. Social practices, including behaviors and discourses, make citizenship meaningful as part of lived experience, as Rosaldo (1994) and Ong (2003) suggest.

This conceptualization of citizenship can allow highlanders, particularly those who do not participate in the Spanish linguistic and cultural regime, to challenge their enduring exclusion by channeling their own understanding of belonging and cultural distinction within national politics and policies. Accordingly they may build a different alternative to constitute a truly pluricultural country, where different lingua-cultural regimes can live without seeking and homogenous nation. Furthermore, they can leave aside the ideology of “mestizaje” that trumps their aim to be equal and to undermine the web of hierarchical relations in which they find themselves in daily

¹⁰¹ For an example on the United States and how Cambodian refugees are shaped into American citizens by imposing on them American values see Ong (2003).

interactions at small scale and large scale in order to achieve what they are looking for: respect in equal terms.

Conclusion

We are Like You...

Social discrimination (racism) is a “total social fact” in southern Peru, a “total social fact” in Marcel Mauss’s sense. It permeates every aspect of everyday life and every social institution. What that means is that it cannot be understood as merely an overlay—ideological, cultural, or social—that is, as simply layered on top of everyday life. It cannot be resolved by formal means, such as laws, or by treating it as a discourse that overlays society. Though social discrimination has been an enduring theme of social science research in Latin America, especially in the Andean countries, it has always been discussed in a top-down manner. Some scholars start by defining a set of “identity” terms, and discuss the extent to which individuals fit or don’t fit the labels. Others borrow local ideologies of modernization, and regard these identity terms as gradient symptoms of “modernity”—the more “modern” the more attuned to a Euro-North Americanized style “white” or “criollo” national culture. Some deny the fact of social discrimination altogether by borrowing local ideas of “mestizaje”—“How can you say that we discriminate when we are all mestizos, all of mixed European, Indigenous, and African background?” Or a variant on that idea that asserts that “we are all cholos” so there could not possibly be discrimination. Some admit that racism permeates local ideologies, but treat it as merely that—intellectual discourses that present contradictions that must be resolved before truly unitary national identities are formed in Latin America. A variant of the latter advocates a public political discourse of “multiculturalism” while the social mechanisms that maintain discrimination remain in place.

As this research shows at a national scale, contempt towards those who live in the highlands or have Quechua background is deeply racialized and overtly expressed by

members of congress, political leaders, ministers and television broadcasters.¹ The altercation among congresswomen Hildebrandt, Sumire and Supa is a vivid example of its persistence today; Peru is nowhere near “post-racial.” Similarly racialization cannot be answered by appealing to the old “solutions” to resolve the “problem” of the “Indians” in which “mestizaje” and its variant “cholification” are ways to build a homogenous unitary nation. These are empty ideological appeals that can neither explain the social rootedness of discrimination nor provide a solution. As the altercation in congress illustrates in a nutshell, it does not matter if Quechua-speaking highlanders become “modern” by learning Spanish, moving to the cities, receiving a higher education (as in the case of Sumire), occupying a position in the congress, or even dressing according to European norms, they still are not treated as fully human, specially so when they maintain their language—as Hildebrandt points out, Quechua “no sirve para nada,” ‘Quechua is worthless’.

But this position is not only held by such extremist as Hildebrandt (who served as president of the congress during the Fujimori’s regime). Other highly placed government officials do not hesitate to claim that highlanders, including Spanish speakers, are lacking in intellectual capacity because of oxygen deprivation. The former Prime Minister Kuczynski Godard complained that highland residents must not be empowered politically because “la altura impide que el oxígeno llegue al cerebro (high altitude prevents oxygen from reaching the brain). The same idea is sustained by the novelist Jaime Bayly (currently toying with the idea of running for president) and by former minister of state Flores Araoz who says that “no puedes preguntar a llamas y vicuñas” (you cannot consult with llamas and vicuñas).

As I have shown, these images of highlanders are widely shared among coastal elites. Even in the current government of president Garcia, which claims to take actions on behalf of highlanders, the images of highlanders are merely reframed to index only those with a Quechua background, who are regarded as “flojos,” (lazy, work-shy and

¹ To see how Peruvians, particularly coastal people are fixated on skin color and phenotype see http://www.caretas.com.pe/Main.asp?T=3123&BlogsAction=PL&Code=1#Post_58 (accessed January 08, 2010)

idle). Such images underscore the disenfranchisement and negation of agency to decide about their life.

Taken together, these images depict highlanders, particularly those with a Quechua background, as subhuman. They are legible when they are targeted as a problem to be eliminated when the opportunity arises, through family planning programs,—as was the case during the Fujimori dictatorship—to “allow development of a neoliberal model for the good of people.” Or they have to be silenced through the laws of the free market, as Garcia’s government is committed to carrying out² by selling natural resources³ out from under the feet of aboriginal dwellers who have occupied the lands continuously for hundreds of years. They can be killed without remorse as was the case in Bagua. It does not matter because aboriginals are not people at all;⁴ they are a bunch of “Indians”⁵ or “cholos”⁶ who remain outside the rights of citizenship (Franco 2006:175).

The results of my research further contradict most traditional views of social discrimination in the Andes. First, although almost every study of social discrimination adopts a version of the “mestizaje” model and treats social distinctions as lying along a gradient, I show experimentally that in rural villages, and in the city of Cuzco itself, both first-language Quechua-speakers and first-language Spanish-speakers can identify each other in an absolutely qualitative way and act accordingly. As a social practice, there is no possible gradient to ethnic identification. Second, at the level of conscious self-identification, Quechua speakers vary in how they describe themselves. There is no a

² For details see <http://www.andina.com.pe/espanol/Noticia.aspx?id=Z5wsIHjQUSo> (accessed January 06, 2010).

³ For details and a critique see <http://cristaldemira.com/articulos.php?id=1949> (accessed December 18, 2009).

⁴ Consider the way Garcia’s government has handled the assassination of Quechua speaking highlanders in Ayacucho and the Rio Blanco Mining case, see <http://www.servindi.org/actualidad/19331> <http://www.minesandcommunities.org/article.php?a=330> (accessed January 06, 2010). For Ayabaca, and most recently in Bagua, see article at <http://www.derechos.org/nizkor/peru/bagua/>, and pictures—deeply unsettling—at <http://www.catapa.be/en/north-peru-killings> (accessed December 26, 2009) http://www.diariolaprimeraperu.com/online/columnistas/masacre-de-la-razon_54546.html (accessed January 13, 2010).

⁵ See the way the current court system incriminates indigenous people from the rain forest at <http://www.diariolaprimeraperu.com/online/noticia.php?IDnoticia=54052> (accessed January 06, 2009).

⁶ As pointed out by Nila Vigil in a personal conversation, 2010.

conscious framework of self-identification as “Quechuas”⁷ that would allow for an easy multiculturalism. Third, practices of social discrimination pervade everyday settings—from minivans to clinics to homes—but are accompanied by explicit discourses that sometimes reinforce and sometimes subvert the practices of social discrimination. Fourth, the practices and discourses of social discrimination scale up from the village setting to the country as a whole. While they are similar from one level of scale to another, they can take in distinct, overlapping sets of individuals fractally, producing the appearance—but not the reality—of gradience.

In short, relations of domination through racialization and other forms of discrimination are produced and reproduced in face-to-face interactions. To recapitulate, utterances such as “these brutish indians has broken the faucet,” “only cows, sheep have four, five, ten children,” or “you don’t understand in your head,” that crop up across institutional settings consistently inform the ways in which people of Quechua background are labeled and stereotyped. They are regarded as sharing an enduring essence, as lacking the quintessential feature that characterizes humans, reason.

The essentialization happens through several means: first, certain tacit linguistic cues (signs) let participants identify the speaker’s first language independently of what language the speaker is speaking at the moment of interaction, for example, the space of the buccal cavity in which Quechua vowels or Spanish vowels are produced is central. If a participant in any interaction is identified as having a Quechua background, it immediately cues other participants in the interaction to act accordingly

Second, discourses of hygiene both inform the ethno evaluation of individuals and regiment the household according to an urban image of social hygiene. This is a powerful means to identify Quechua-speaking people as filthy in order to dismiss everyday social practices in Quechua households. Third, the explicit discourses of coastal elites depict the highland as a geographically unhealthy region because alleged oxygen deprivation damages the brains of its residents.

⁷ However, it is important to note that Quechua-speaking people from villages identify themselves as “comunero” to deal with the state and the NGOs in legal terms. If the contexts oblige them to do so, they may adopt the label “peasant” that outsiders use to name them.

In any given social encounter these factors can be displayed all at once or one of them can be emphasized while the others are postponed. If the identification by tacit linguistic cues fails to locate a person socially, people will resort to hygiene or to geographical determinism. Resorting to any of these factors depends on the circumstances, the setting, and the participants involved, but they are the key to mapping inherent essences onto individuals, inherent essences that become enduring stereotypical images.

For example, “hygiene” refers, first, to personal odors; second, to the regimentation of the household; and third, to food preparation. The discourses of hygiene are framed and reframed according to the circumstances and the ways in which social interactions intersect with the established social hierarchy. The labels and the stereotypes produced are fractal across the micro-politics of daily interactions.

In other circumstances, geographical determinism can be brought to the fore. Such outrageous statements are exponentially reinforced as common sense, pervading not only the utterances of broadcasters and politicians, but pervading the common sense perceptions of ordinary people.

These processes of racialization produce and reproduce enduring hierarchical relations that are deployed from the smaller scale—the village—to the larger scale—the national level—covertly in face-to-face interaction and in overt discourses. The way of labeling and stereotyping at a small scale can be reflected *fractally* at the national scale, with some displacement of the referent. For example, the stereotype that those with a Quechua language background lack intelligence can be broadened at a large scale to encompass all highlanders, including those with a Spanish language background. The boundary moves to stand in opposition to a tacit unmarked category of coastal “criollo” elites.

In turn highlanders—particularly Spanish speakers—internalize these rhetorics to create new boundaries among themselves. Boundaries are drawn between those with a Spanish language background, who live in regional cities, and those with a Quechua language background, who mostly reside in rural areas. Within this fractal sub-categorization, not all highlanders lack intelligence. It is only the rural dwellers who lack

the capacity to understand—they are reframed as animals as when the government agent in a village health facility equated a woman's child bearing behavior to an animal's. Highland city dwellers claim a super-ordinate position vis-à-vis rural people. With this new opposition highland Spanish speakers separate themselves from the “stupid” Quechua speakers, even if coastal people do not recognize them as such.

Highland Spanish speakers express their contempt and disdain toward Quechua speaking highlanders by continually reinscribing the boundaries between them, even moving the goalposts if necessary. If a boundary fails as happened in a minivan (chapter 3), the boundary was reinscribed by utterances such as “ya no deben subir...no sé cuántas veces vamos a decir a estas mujeres que no comprenden” (they should not board the van...how many times do we have to say the same thing to these women who do not understand), “me estás tocando! Párese bien! (You are touching me! Stand straight!). Passengers identified as having a Quechua background dare not break the invisible boundary by ridding the van or by touching Spanish speakers even if the van is crammed. They are treated as lacking the capacity to understand the nature of the boundary.

Moreover, the labels used across these settings reproduce consistent stereotypes of those identified as having a Quechua background: “stupid,” “smelly,” “obstinate,” “lazy,” “idle” and “ignorant,” having unhygienic customs and dwellings, or having childish behavior. These images are *fractally*⁸ reproduced. Any of the labels can stand in for the whole stereotype, at different levels of scale, colluding to produce a unified discourse framework in which Quechua speakers and rural dwellers are treated as low as the dregs of the earth. The labels describe the same object in different forms, with the effect of projecting a racialized and stereotyped image. Creating the illusion that such an image is the same from any point of view (local or national), no matter whether rural dwellers speaking Quechua change their customs, learn Spanish, or regiment their houses according to urban parameters to become “modern.” Such stereotypes produced in daily

⁸ Fractal: Contraction of “fractional dimension.” This is a term used by mathematicians to describe certain geometrical structures whose shape appears to be the same regardless of the level of magnification used to view them. A standard example is a seacoast, which looks roughly the same whether viewed from a satellite or an airplane, on foot, or under a magnifying glass. Many natural shapes approximate fractals, and they are widely used to produce images in television and movies.
<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/fractal> (accessed June 25, 2010).

interaction and in overt discourses show the contempt and hate for those people in the interaction itself and beyond. Because stereotypes last as such within the people's mind, they permeate everyday interaction and discourses at the national level.

In everyday interactions, subordination and racialization are taken for granted. It is a habitual way of interacting that occurs without even thinking. Nevertheless, these interactions illustrate the circumstances in which the structures of subordination are revealed and either challenged or conceded. Essentialized linguistic differences are mapped onto participants, making them semiotic indices of iconic stereotypes. A direct relationship between linguistic features and individuals is believed to depict the quintessential essence of people in Peru. This relationship is in turn refracted fractally, across all levels, from the most minute local interaction to the most macro national politics. This way of conceiving linguistic forms as an iconic display of people is intertwined with other forms of discrimination such as hygiene, urban regimentation and geographical determinism. When these stereotypes fail, participants resort to folk theories of skin color.

By doing this research I moved away from the models that explain ethnicity as a gradient phenomenon wherein "Indians" move upward to "cholo" and from "cholo" to "mestizo" and so forth, until they take on the necessary social attributes of full "Peruvianness." Instead, I have followed the lead of Brubaker's Transylvanian research and focused on actual everyday social interactions. I am less interested in how discrimination is talked about than in how *discrimination is experienced in everyday life*. I build my case from the bottom-up.

In doing so, I have learned that labels need to be distinguished from concepts. Labels are used above the threshold of awareness, while categories and concepts and practices are normally below the threshold of awareness; thus labels cannot in themselves elucidate any social phenomena. Synchronic labels such as "Indian," "cholo," "mestizo" or "criollo" cannot be understood in diachronic way as if these labels were representing discrete ethnic groups that exist out there in ontological terms, in a linear or progressive way. What is real is rather their ideological effects. They refer to a made-up image, a stereotype whose effects is to racially degrade those with a Quechua background, i.e., it

does not matter whether one uses the labels “indio” or “cholo” if they are used in an interaction to insult someone. But by and large, these labels are referential; they are not crucial to social interactions. There is not process of “mestizaje” in social practices.

Labels such as “mestizaje” cannot be used to explain inter-ethnic relationships in Peru, much less in the rest of Latin America—because “mestizaje” is an ideology that rests on the idea that indigenous people must cease to be themselves in order to become full citizens. A rhetoric that is utterly un-historical, as it ignores the sedimentation of hundreds of years of discrimination against them. The discrimination would change only when the so-called “mestizo” and “criollo” sector willingly recognize that they are the ones that need to take seriously their problem of blaming indigenous people for the “lack of national” unity.

Several times I have emphasized the importance of face-to-face interactions as the reference point in understanding how discrimination in Peru is so deeply engrained in people’s life. My findings can help to further an understanding other cross-cultural relationships in the Andes. For example, it can help to elucidate, first, how in the city of Sucre (Bolivia) Spanish speakers dare to beat rural dwellers with a Quechua background despite the indigenous Aymara identity of president Morales. Second, it elucidates how in the southern Ecuador Quichuas cannot avoid their sense of inferiority that they say “nosotros somos runito nomás” (we are only little humans), despite the strong indigenous movement and their politics, or conversely to understand how the insult “indio” (Indian) does not have the power to freeze Ecuadorian indigenous people socially anymore.

To pay attention to face-to-face interaction allows one to understand how discrimination, racialization, and subordination happen through utterances, gestures, silence, and material things. Quotidian utterances once uttered have a long life. They may be rephrased and rearticulated to myriad other utterances in other contexts and situations to claim not only a super-ordinate position, but to create stereotypical images that depict those who do not share one’s cultural background as sharing enduring essences that cause their outward behavior in order to undermine, demote, racialize or undercut people’s self-confidence.

Words that emerge in daily interaction can generate other similar utterances by associations with ideas of odors, hygiene, toilet use, lack of understanding, and animalness to evaluate such disparate social facts as people's knowledge, the organization of households, the number of children that people should have, and the hygiene of their food, among other things. These ideas reach households that have unsettled age hierarchies so that children can challenge their age-subordinated positions and to position themselves at the apex of this new frame of "correctness" and power in relation to their parents and grandparents.

Utterances are not as fleeting as we sometimes think. They travel back and forth, have long lives, can be reframed and acquire new meanings according to the situations and contexts in which the participants find themselves. They might be linked to other sets of utterances to make people seem 'other', depending on the circumstances and particular situations during face-to-face interactions that inform the interlocutors' points of view, claims and images about each other. The contestation or perpetuation of social domination is played out microscopically in daily interactions be they in rural villages or on the floor of parliament.

This research can be furthered by seeking not only to understand the multiple forms of subordination, racialization or hierarchization in daily interaction, but also by paying attention to local narratives in order to understand how face-to-face interactions are fed by these narratives. Taken together, they explain how discrimination against a people saturates their lives.

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