Negotiating the centre: Community and public investment projects in Huamachuco, Peru

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I, Anna Wilson, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. All photographs and maps are, unless otherwise indicated, my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this is clearly stated.

Signed: Anna Wilson Date: 04/06/21

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Abstract

The growth of large-scale mining in Peru has increased government budgets, and public investment projects have proliferated. Whilst projects are viewed as a way to decrease inequality, local government implementation is often criticised by regional and local elites due to a 'lack of capacity'. This research considers how projects are chosen and undertaken in the northern Andean district of Huamachuco. Ethnographic fieldwork focused on urban elites in Huamachuco and, including several rural villages, shows how government processes become incorporated and adapted into local social relations, shaping projects and their effects.

The thesis argues that Andean duality, a socio-spatial organising principle core to regional ethnographies, is key to understanding how communities engage government bureaucracies in the creation of projects. Andean duality and the concept of a central liminal space negotiated through 'boundary objects' (Star and Griesemer, 1989), are used to demonstrate how public investment projects are active monuments to the relationships which create them, not inert once completed but continuing as liminal centres of relationship (re)negotiation and (re)making.

Projects are shown to be articulated into ideals of moral communal behaviour through scales of interaction in time and space, becoming a focus for the negotiation of relative identities and expressions of 'progress'. Whilst national government rules and processes claim certainties and knowledge conducive to progress, global gold price fluctuations, tax receipt timings and unequal social negotiations over the division of resources create inherent uncertainty. Claims to progress through project processes transfers risk to local actors, who are blamed for incompetence if projects do not produce desired effects.

From design to implementation of projects, the thesis shows how they are sites of power and hierarchy simultaneously including and excluding local actors. Projects are assessed as mutually constructive sites through which relationships are built to provide possibilities, albeit limited, to incrementally challenge power relations.

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Quito
Ecuador
Huamachuco
Trujillo
Peru
Lima
Cusco
La Paz
Google Earth
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Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO
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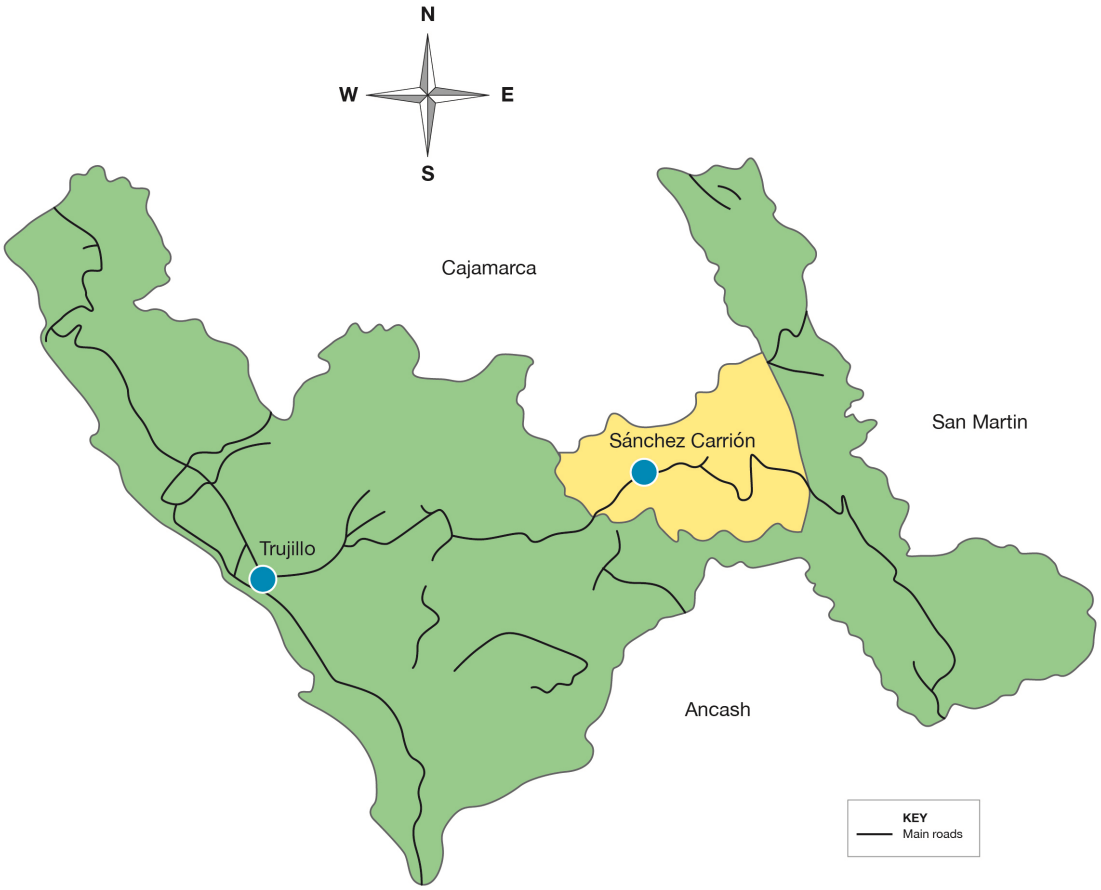
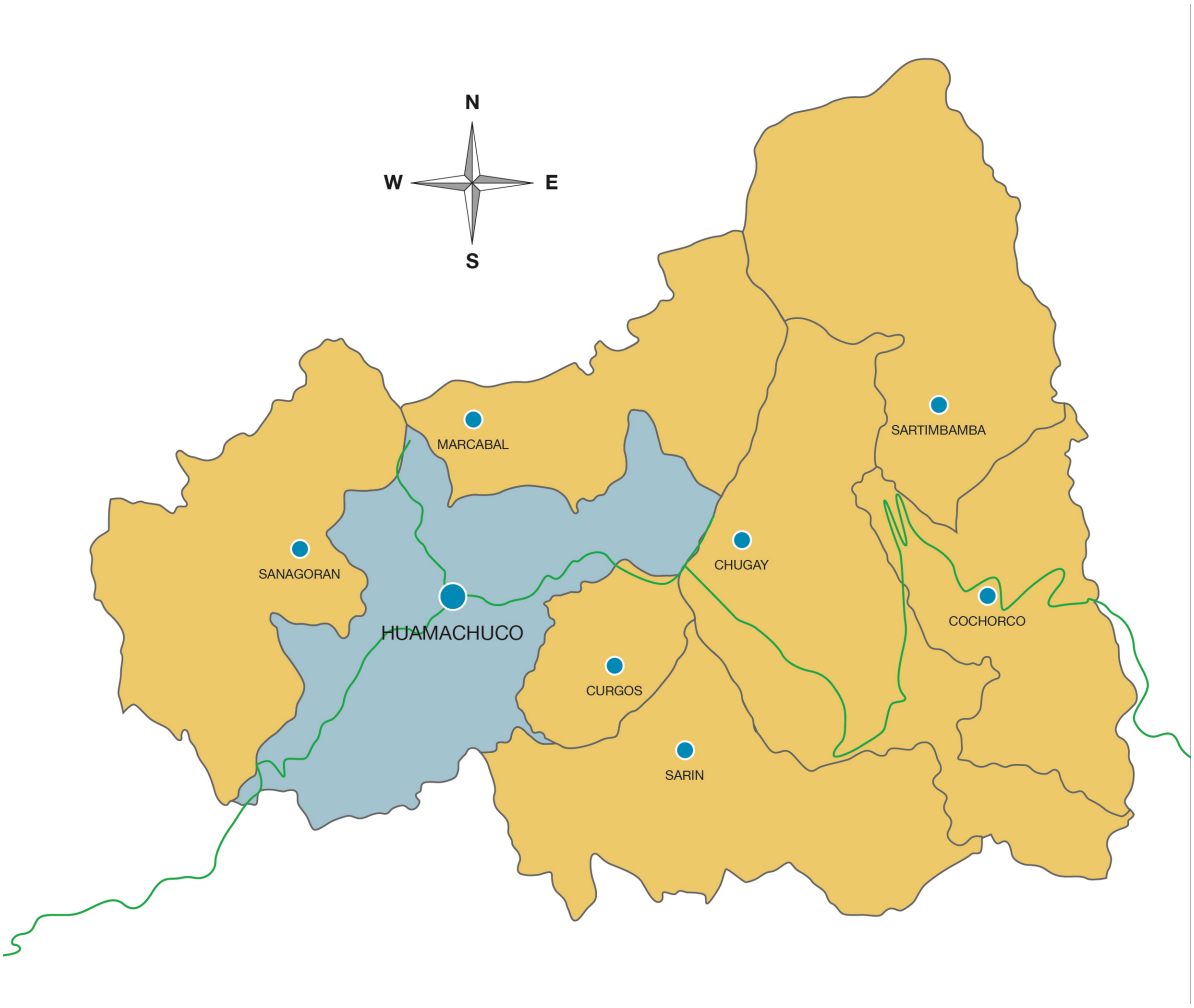
Map 1: Peru



Map 2: La Libertad Department and Sánchez Carrión Province

Data Source: Provincial Municipality Sánchez Carrión Graphics: Rosie Lockey



Map 3: Sánchez Carrión Province

Data Source: Provincial Municipality Sánchez Carrión Graphics: Rosie Lockey

Chapter 1. Introduction

Turning and twisting along the tarmac, through an old mining town, houses hugging the road, the mine's belts and shafts just visible from the window. Continuing up and over the tops the sound muffles and my ears pop, the cold air draws me closer into my jacket. The golden light touches the tips of the mountains.

Photograph 1: Journey towards Lagunas Norte mine

The regularised steps, a partial pyramid form of the Lagunas Norte mine, reformed from the dismantled mountain, sits in the half-light above the vivid blue lakes below.

Up we wind, past barbed wire topped mesh fences opposite a mixture of adobe and newly built brick houses which briefly line the road.

Photograph 2: Lagunas Norte mine

Down, along, around we continue, more newly terraced mountains of rubble made by trundling house-sized machines which appear as ants against these new earthy steps of the La Arena mine.

Photograph 3: La Arena mine

Another fence and gates with new a cluster of brick houses, canteens and hostels opposite, pots of breakfast *humitas*[1] steam in the morning air, as sellers sit on stools near the gates awaiting hungry workers.

Photograph 4: Food sellers outside La Arena mine entrance

Photograph 5: Buildings opposite La Arena mine entrance

[1] Corn parcel with either savoury or sweet filling steamed in cornhusks.

Photograph 6: La Arena mine from below

A dirt road off the tarmac leads down the hill, past adobe houses and the village by the river. The tarmac continues ahead to Huamachuco, we wind down the side of the mountains towards the narrow valley, and the interlocking mountain spurs. Silvery greens of the eucalyptus, and grassy tufts stand against the ochre ground, and intermittent adobe clay-tiled houses.

Photograph 7: From La Arena towards Huamachuco

The potholes become more regular and we slow to turn the bend, a few houses of bricks, a white painted school, nestles to the side of the road against the hill to its side, its uniformity of shape and structure, large, bold and bright painted concrete form. More brick houses now line the road and we weave down, the tarmac turns to concrete as we become part of Huamachuco, five hours after our departure from the coastal city of Trujillo, we are again surrounded by shops, churches, workshops, schools, petrol stations, traffic.

Photograph 8: Entering Huamachuco

Photograph 9: Arriving in Huamachuco

Photograph 10: Arriving in central Huamachuco

Photograph 11: Looking back at Huamachuco on the road to Puente Piedra

Fifteen minutes' drive on compacted dirt roads by taxi from Huamachuco, sits the *caserío*[2] of Puente Piedra. Standing at the edge of the hill, the road curves round and down towards the briefest rest before rising again towards the mountains beyond. On the incline, a few large, bold, square, grey and white smooth buildings stand out,

[2] Directly translated as hamlet, but I will interchangeably refer either to *caseríos* or villages.

shining in contrast to the orangey hues and multiple earthen textures of smaller houses, and expanses of undulating yellow-green fields.

Photograph 12: Puente Piedra main road, primary school and plaza to the left

In the next village, Rumichaca, a huge shining plastic banner stands high as eucalyptus trees on wooden poles planted in the earth, announcing the public investment project to create the new concrete building, across the grassy village square.

Photograph 13: Rumichaca nursery school

Photograph 14: Casumaca nursery school

Up the hill the next two villages, Casumaca and Marcochugo have similar new buildings; nursery, primary or secondary schools. Their banners display the municipality crest of Sánchez Carrión (an image of the historical figure after whom the province is named), and the phrase "*Huamachuco, haciendo el cambio*" "Huamachuco, making the change".

Photograph 15: Secondary school, Marcochugo

Photograph 16: From the secondary school looking towards Marcochugo nursery and primary schools, beyond the grass plaza

Just off the plaza in Huamachuco, Mateo, a middle aged Huamachuquino who runs a service business, chats to me in his office. He explains the importance of mining to Huamachuco:

> *'The arrival of Barrick [owners of the Lagunas Norte mine] in 2000 opened the eyes of the local population and brought new aspirations of advancement. Before, Huamachuco wasn't going anywhere, it wasn't improving. It was like a port, a centre of exchange and trade, but it wasn't advancing.' (Mateo, Huamachuquino businessman)*

As Mateo's words suggest, the growth of large-scale mining in Peru, for Huamachuco particularly since the early 2000s has brought significant economic growth and subsequent rises in tax revenues. Some of these revenues from taxing mining production, the '*canon minero*'/ 'mining canon', have been devolved to sub-national governments[3], and used to fund 'public investment

[3] See chapter six

projects' (commonly known as 'projects'), such as the new school buildings mentioned in the opening vignette.

Using an ethnographic approach, this research focuses on how national policies of public investment projects (including participatory budgeting), are translated into projects at a local level, such as these village schools. Following Mosse (2004), Mathur (2012) and Shore and Wright (1997: 14), rather than attempting to assess whether or not a project meets any given criteria of success, by focusing on how policies become translated between scales of interaction into actions and events, "*the implementation black box*" (Mosse, 2004: 643) is opened up. Through this approach, the local creation of projects is assessed as part of wider complex social relations.

I argue that Andean duality, a socio-spatial organising principle which can create dynamic and potentially productive relationships, continues to be relevant in understanding how communities engage with government bureaucracies in the creation of projects. I make the case that Andean duality and the concept of a central liminal space negotiated through 'boundary objects' (Star and Griesemer, 1989), help us to understand how public investment projects are *active* monuments, sites of negotiation at multiple scales of social interaction.

The observable predominance of projects in both rural and urban areas of Huamachuco reflects the focus given to them in negotiating social relations. I suggest that projects have become *active* monuments to the relationships which create them, not inert once deemed completed or constructed but continuing as liminal centres of relationship (re)negotiation and (re)making. It is important to identify this social function of projects, because this enables them to be consciously engaged with as sites for continuing potential social challenge and change, by actors at all scales of interaction.

Projects are *active* because they are spaces which are created by local networks of social interactions and through which these networks are continuously recreated. They are monuments, both as symbols of ideals of progress and modernity (Cherry, 2013: 10; Webb, 2019), and of connectivity between people and their striving for inclusion in modernity (Hobsbawm, 1983b: 276; Osborne, 1992; Taylor, 2002). The projects are unifying because they act as liminal central spaces and moments in time, boundary objects (Star and Griesemer, 1989) through which social interactions take place. However, this does not indicate equal power of actors (Bourdieu, 1985, 2018; Lefebvre, 1991: 34). Rather the centrality, indicates a space and time (both social and physical) of negotiation,

spaces of 'friction' (Tsing, 2005), between actors through which relative identities and hierarchies are iteratively remade and changed (Lefebvre, 2003: 79,99).

I contend that public investment projects operate at multiple scales of social interaction, articulated with international conceptions of 'development', national government mandated rules and processes for their creation and implementation, and their incorporation into the local 'moral community'. As such projects are translated by different actors at different scales of relatedness and have become naturalised in everyday and ritual social structures of relations. Projects have therefore become central sites and moments in time through which relative identities are negotiated, and relative positions of power become naturalised.

Prior to my arrival in Huamachuco, I had observed how the significant increases in international large-scale mining in Peru had wide-ranging impacts on the lives of broad populations, not just those living in direct proximity of mines. Mining has multiple transformative effects, not only in the material conversion of mountains into metals used in global commodity trading and manufacturing, but it also brings broader economic growth and wider socioeconomic changes. This includes increased government tax receipts leading to changes in government policies and public spending. The increases in public spending through public investment projects gained my interest because they are very visible in rural and urban areas, and a focus of attention in public (press/media) and private conversations. Public investment projects are one way in which most people in Peru experience the changes brought by large-scale mining which has developed since the early 2000s due to global demand growth[4].

This analysis is important because these local government administered projects are often seen as key to Peru's 'progress'. Yet common national discourses[5], suggest that local governments and populations are ineffective in choosing and undertaking suitable projects, which is often blamed by regional and local elites on a 'lack of capacity' of local officials or the 'lack of education' of local populations.

The analysis presented here contests these assertions and instead offers an examination and explanation of *how* decisions on projects are made. It shows that in the translation of central government policies through local social relations framed by Andean duality and hierarchical

[4] Particularly due to fast growth in China and to an extent India (notably in relation to gold) (World Gold Council, 2020).
[5] Reflected in discussions in some literatures, see for example (Arellano-Yanguas, 2011; Loayza et al., 2013, 2014).

relations, projects become active sites of the negotiation of social relations through different scales of interaction.

In Huamachuco, I undertook initial work to explore the changes which had taken place since the advent of large-scale mining in the area. During this I observed how public projects were often the focus of popular discussions, government actions and common in the physical landscape. I began to look further into the national government systems and processes through which projects are administered. This initial work led quickly to interviews in Huamachuco with local serving and ex-civil servants, ex-mayors, urban sector and rural *caserío* leaders, and community members.

Whilst at the initiation of fieldwork I had attempted to constrain the focus of the research to interactions directly associated with the investment income, projects and processes, I quickly found that these appeared quite different to those described in government guidelines. As Harvey et al. (2013), Pinker (2015) and Pinker and Harvey (2015) found, there was a high level of uncertainty around systems and processes. Rather than a process which could be neatly described and followed, a messy entanglement of interconnections repeatedly remade between actors interlaced with mandated processes became apparent. Local approaches to projects and the associated processes became clearer only by seeing them as part of the regular formal and informal interactions, observations, participation in daily life and the annual cycles of public ritualised actions and commemorations, of communal identity remaking.

This analysis is reflected in the structure of the argument presented throughout the thesis: First I demonstrate how elite commemorations of community history and the annual fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia (High Grace) establish communal identity, membership and rights to communal resources through labour. I then examine how these relationships are used to negotiate projects and how projects themselves become the sites of the continuing negotiation of social relations.

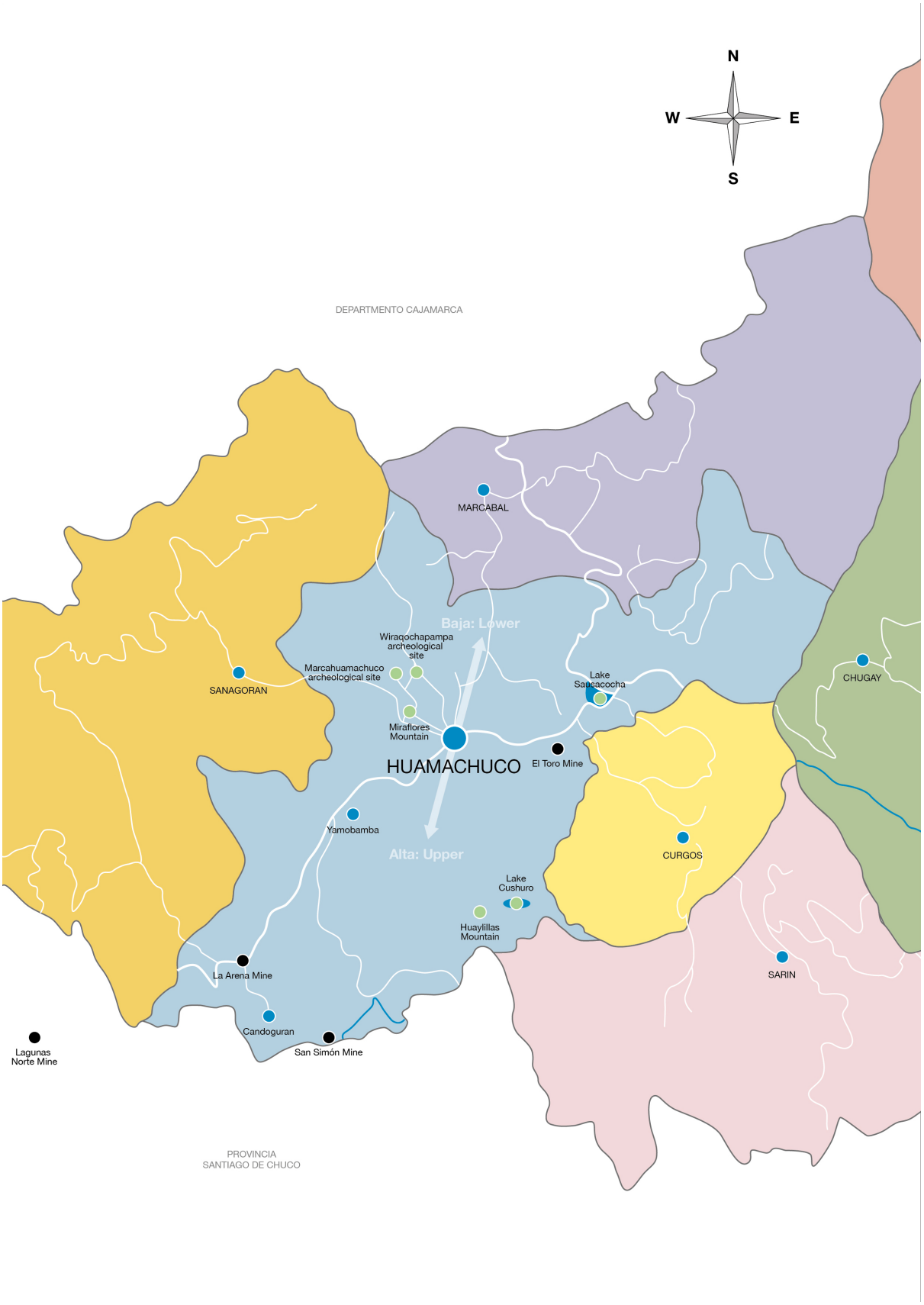
The ethnographic data presented here most often relates to the provincial elite of Huamachuco. This reflects my focus on local engagement with central government processes (most often managed by elites in the civil service or politicians), my deeper interconnections with elite interlocutors, and that I based myself in the centre of urban Huamachuco where elites often live. Whilst I also gathered data through interviews, participation and observations with rural populations, my interactions were significantly more frequent with elite interlocutors, and the data presented here reflects this (further explored below). This focus provides an insight into Andean

provincial elites and how they relate to, and are important to understanding social negotiations in the administration of local government and public investment projects in particular.

Andean duality and negotiation in the centre

Andean duality is a fundamental and persistent theme within ethnographies of the region, as an organising principle of social relations, production and exchange across the varying altitudes of the Andes (Mayer, 2002; Murra, 1979, 1984; Platt, 1986). The argument presented here reflects the importance of duality both as an organising socio-spatial principle through scales of interaction, and as a dynamic through which potentially productive relationships are negotiated by actors at meeting points, sometimes through violence (which can be ritualised). I demonstrate that these dynamics of duality are important in the negotiations over public resources in Huamachuco today.

In Huamachuco, the district is divided into '*alta*' 'upper' and '*baja*' 'lower' '*partes'* 'parts' which incorporate all the *caseríos* (villages) within these two divisions. The distinctions do not relate to generalised geographic altitude, but rather are areas which span up from the central plaza (upper), and down from the plaza (lower) (see Map 4). People from these areas are also described as upper or lower people ('*la gente alta*', '*la gente baja*'). This distinction is normally used to refer to the rural *caseríos*, but occasionally could also be used to include those areas in the city itself up or down from the plaza, since for much of its history the city consisted of the plaza and only a few blocks of buildings in either direction. Where Gelles (1995) found that only goods and water were currently defined in terms of upper and lower in Cabanaconde (Southern Peru), in Huamachuco today, it is not goods and water but communities. In Huamachuco, people and where they live are named as upper and lower, in relation to the central plaza of the city, and ritually act within these divisions during the fiesta and other civic events (see chapters three and six).



Map 4: District of Huamachuco 'upper' and 'lower' parts in relation to the city

Data Source: Provincial Municipality Sánchez Carrión Graphics: Rosie Lockey

Today this delineation of space into 'upper' and 'lower' parts is both ritually and practically important, forming two overarching groups of *caseríos* which work together during rituals and to an extent provide additional organisational structure for interactions with the local government. The use of these delineations in the allocation of public funds to rural populations was used until the early 2000s where villages worked together in further subgroups '*huarangas*'[6] of upper and lower areas to request projects. However, the local government stopped using this system when central government increased processes directing participatory budgeting for public investment projects[7]. Despite this, to a limited extent the terminology of *huarangas* continues to be used in reference to these subgroups of upper and lower parts for rituals of communal labour (including dances) of the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia, and are present in some municipality made maps.

This social construction of space expands and contracts through scales of interaction. The historical use of the system of duality (upper and lower) by pre-Incas, the Incas, *Conquistadores* and Republic (Gelles, 1995: 732; Platt, 1986; Thurner, 1995) show that control over the altitudinal system[8] and specifically public rituals and reciprocal offerings in the centre(s) (such as Huamachuco central plaza) was part of the realisation of state power (Bauer, 2004: 15–22, 111–157; Gelles, 1995: 732; Isbell, 1968; Murra, 1979; Platt, 1986; Thurner, 1995).

Bauer (2004: 152) shows how Inca Cusco was divided into *Inca Hanan* (upper) and *Inca Hurin* (lower), upstream (*Hanan*/upper) and downstream (*Hurin*/lower) from the Coricancha. The Coricancha was "…*the central sanctuary of the solar cult in Cuzco*…" and the conceptual centre of the Inca Empire (Ibid.). Bauer (2004:22) also describes how the categories of upper and lower extended to the greater area of Cusco, the population of which were not the elite of the city. They worked and paid tribute through labour to the elite controlling the city in Cusco. The physical and social organisation of the state related to the moieties of the Inca (upper, sun) and Queen (lower, moon)[9]. These divisions were repeated in each town and ethnic group of the empire (Bauer, 2004: 153; Garcilaso de la Vega, 2006 [1609]: 5).

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[6] Also written *waranka*. Thurner (1995: 302) explains *waranka* is Quechua for a thousand but used under the Incas and Spanish colonial rule as multi-community political and tributary unit. After independence *warankas* were *"…officially renamed and reconstituted as distritos under non-Indian officials called gobernadores.*"

[7] The terminology of which focuses on '*comunidades*', 'communities' a term which can be generally used in Peru to refer to community, or refer to specific legal status (including land rights) of '*Comunidad Campesina*' meaning peasant or rural community, of which I am only aware of one in the district.

[8] For more on the vertical economy see for example (Isbell, 1968; Murra, 1979)

[9] Further divided into two, to make four quarters ('*suyus*') from the Coricancha, which extended through the empire (northeast, northwest, southeast, southwest), to make *Tawantinsuyu* (four parts together), the indigenous name for the Inca Empire (Bauer, 2004: 154).

Recent ethnographies of the Andes reflect contemporary vertical divisions of communities into upper and lower moieties, which are sometimes repeated within larger areas, scaling to include smaller communities into larger divisions[10]. Ethnographies frequently demonstrate that the upper and lower areas refer to different altitudes of production and reciprocal relationships which have not only been important within very spatially localised interlocutors, but also between altitudinally different communities (Abercrombie, 1998: 386–407; Allen, 1988; Fioravanti-Molinié, 1982; Harris, 1982, 2000: 91–111; Platt, 1982, 1986; Van Vleet, 2008). Here, chapters two and three explore how different kinds of (often ritualised and communal) labour by different parts of the district of Huamachuco constitute the reciprocal exchange and rights to communal resources, such as public investment projects.

This expansion and contraction of the duality of social relations across scales of interaction is demonstrated in regional ethnographies to encompass all social relations, such that duality is applied from the state to households (further explored in chapter three). For example, Van Vleet (2008: 146-150) and Bolin (1998: 124-131) demonstrate the importance of the union of both conceptual parts of a whole, upper and lower, in their explanations of wedding ceremonies. In weddings the union of male (sun, upper) and female (moon, lower) creates a centre as a point of meeting, fertility and ability to engage in social exchange and redistribution. In this classification of space, it is only through the union of upper and lower, at every scale (from marriage to the state) can (re) productive social relationships take place.

The examples of weddings also show that in this union, it is the meeting point of upper and lower moieties which is critical to the potential for the (re) creation of energy and fertility. These meeting points or intermediate zones are identified as essential locations of ritual confrontation where it is necessary to release life sources such as blood and sweat into the ground in order to create energy, fruitful production and social relations (Bolin, 1998:81-83, 99-100, Gose 1994:194-203, Allen 1998:210). As Van Vleet (2008:150) notes "*In Andean cosmology and ritual practice, the competition of opposing forces generates energy that is circulated through the universe.*"

In Huamachuco today, I show how the meeting points or boundaries of the communities of upper and lower parts are ritually negotiated in urban Huamachuco, particularly in the central plaza, the Plaza de Armas during the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia where ritual labour and conflict through dance take place (chapter three). In this ritualised conflict and negotiation of the fiesta,

[10] For example, a village, itself divided into upper and lower, would be part of the district upper or lower.

standing for larger or longer-term social relations, there is a shift of scales, which is reflected in Andean literatures that show how small acts at small scales, such as dancing at the fiesta, can stand for broader social interactions, and express the comprehension of a larger act and scale.

Allen (1997) shows this scalar nature of social relatedness and its material realisation through miniature representations, particularly used in ritualised acts (for example a miniature house, made from the pebbles of a mountain during pilgrimage). Allen suggests that miniatures used in ritual pilgrimages not only enable the understanding of the whole (as argued by Lévi-Strauss 1966: 23 cited in Allen 1997:81), but

> "…comprehends the world in terms of mutually enveloping homologous structures that act upon each other… The scale of one's purview can expand or contract endlessly. Every microcosm is a macrocosm, and vice versa… Thus, small and large imply each other concretely; a powerful miniature informs the cosmos of its own form." (Allen, 1997: 81)

The linkages between ritual acts of negotiation relate to larger and quotidian social interactions because of this scalar expansion and contraction of the negotiation of social relations. I argue that reciprocal relationships between and within upper and lower moieties and the centre of Huamachuco are (re)negotiated and (re)established through both ritualised (inter)actions of commemorations and fiestas in Huamachuco (chapters two and three). These negotiations are directly reflected in and related to the division of local government resources between *caseríos* and urban sectors during the participatory budget process (chapter six).

As noted above, the meeting points or boundaries of social relations (e.g. between upper and lower), are considered intermediate zones (Harris, 2000: 99–104). However, these spaces can also be centres: Harris (Ibid.: 100) shows how in Bolivia the community of Qhaana is considered as '*puro centro*' 'pure centre', indicating that it is entirely in the intermediate zone of "*ecological transition*" between upper and lower zones.

Arnold (1997) and Cereceda (1986), respectively working with Aymara communities in Qaqachaqa, Bolivia and in Isluga in present day northern Chile, demonstrate how the quotidian act of weaving in the Andes also reveals the importance of intermediate zones in weaving which are known as 'hearts' or centres. Arnold (1997) shows how female weavers in Qaqachaqa (Oruro, Bolivia) both reflect and recreate their reality in terms of agriculture and their own personal fertility

in the creation of cloth. Arnold describes how patterns in the cloth use the structure of upper and lower, with the central point of the cloth as the heart. The heart is surrounded by flat wide sections of cloth which signify both *pampa* land (treeless grass plains) which periodically might be cultivated (it has potential of fertility), and the fertility of the women weaving (Ibid.:106, 115).

Cereceda (1986 152-156) explains that two equal halves of woven cloth have mirrored pairs of woven bands, united by the centre and symmetrically expanding from it:

> "The heart is both the meeting place and the separating line of the two sides. It plays the ambivalent role of separator, creating two halves, and simultaneously it is the nexus, the common "territory." The centre is thus defined as a point of articulation within the woven space – an axis, always sharp, that divides the bag lengthwise in the direction of the warp threads." (Cereceda, 1986: 152)

Directly relating to these Andean conceptions, I conceive of these meeting points at all scales of interaction as 'centres'. I refer to this space as a simultaneously liminal and central space because it is both constructed by and constitutive of actors (e.g. upper and lower). These centres are necessary sites of negotiation for the actors themselves to be created, and through which (potentially) productive relationships can be constantly (re)created. These liminal spaces are centres of social relations in the mutual and iterative (re)creation of self and other at all scales of interaction, from individuals to international scales (Canessa, 2012b; Hall, 1996; Ricoeur, 1990).

Whilst I use the word 'centre' theoretically to refer to this space of negotiation, at times I also use it to refer to the commonly considered centre of Huamachuco, or central government. Harris (2000: 99–109) demonstrates that communities or towns can be considered as in the centre or intermediate zone of Andean classifications of space; here the quotidian use of the term overlaps with the theoretical construct of centre as the site of negotiation of social relations, as will become clear through chapters two, three and four.

Blurred boundaries and the moral community

The ethnographic method of research enabled these reflections on Andean duality, to which I may not have identified the connections with projects had I only engaged with projects or participatory budgets, rather than broader social relations which I present in chapters two and three. This method is therefore inseparable from the assessment, in which the analysis of central government

mandated processes (as well as wider global economic trends driving fluctuations in gold price) are seen in relation to local relative relationships and identities realised through different scales of interaction (personal – national) and interpretation (morals - rules and processes) through space and time. In this way, the local interactions around projects are shown to be interwoven into the management of uncertainty of social interactions, and the way in which identities are formed always in relation to others (spatially and temporally), iteratively, at multiple scales of ongoing interactions.

Observing the ways in which interactions took place in relation to the work done by civil servants and politicians, challenged an idea of separation between personal and public roles. Unsurprisingly, people did not divide their behaviours or actions in total separation between work in government and outside of their jobs, there was not a clear line where the actions of jobs began and ended. Indeed, public roles were far wider than an idea of paid work, instead every person, regardless of paid employment, had a role to play in public service where personal connections and public roles were intertwined.

Following Gupta (1995), I suggest this "*blurred boundary*" of public and private is negotiated through everyday interactions and not only by civil servants and politicians, but of different parts of the community (city and rural). Working for the benefit of the community is seen as important, a civic duty. It is done through paid jobs, communal activities, as well as familiar and other connections within the broader community of the district. As Gupta (1995: 393–394) argues:

> "There is no reason to assume that there is, or should be, a unitary entity that stands apart from, and in opposition to, "the state", one that is mutually exclusive and jointly exhaustive of social space."

There is an alignment between the conception of blurred boundaries, Andean duality, and the notion of centre discussed above. This is because, as highlighted above, self is always formed in relation to other, and always in a process of iterative renegotiation and recreation. Thus, the conceptual centre, when scaled up, can be seen to consist of these blurred boundaries of public and private, where actors negotiate.

The conception here of blurred boundaries is of a centre which is liminal and cocreated, mutually constitutive of actors. This follows both the literatures which assess that the state is no one thing,

made up of social processes including the everyday (Abrams, 1988; Ferguson and Gupta, 2002; Gupta, 1995; Mitchell, 1991), and also aligns it to the articulation of relative identity formation between selves and others, all at different scales of interaction through space-time.

As suggested in relation to duality, in addition to everyday interactions, these blurred boundaries and interconnections are also negotiated through public activities of (re)creations of common histories, and the annual cycles of communal rituals or commemorations. Communal identities are (re)created through every day and ritual actions in the use of space and related to conceptions of time in Huamachuco, which simultaneously reinforced and recreated both relative identities (including hierarchies) and obligations to undertake particular types of personal and communal actions considered as moral. Thus, I suggest that through these multiple interactions a 'moral community' is expressed and reproduced.

I use the term 'moral community' in order to identify a generalised moral assessment of actions by individuals, both of their own and other's actions. Acts which are thought to promote the long term 'progress' of Huamachuco are valued, celebrated and encouraged. The establishment of this communal aspiration for moral action is re-established particularly through public and ritualised labour, as discussed in chapters two and three. However, quotidian acts can also be assessed in relation to communal benefit, as small acts such as helping a fellow Huamachuquino is frequently seen in this context because it is viewed as sharing personal gain for broader communal benefits.

In chapters two and three I show how actors seek to establish themselves as aligned with the long-term progress of the community through (often public and ritualised) labour. Quotidian acts are viewed as the building of identities through actions which establish the moral intentions of actors and intertwine them with the long-term progress of the community. The assessment of acts as moral or not, is a form of negotiation between actors. Questioning the morality of actions in Huamachuco focuses on negotiating the 'blurred boundary' between public and private, often in relation to public policy, government and specifically public investment projects where accusations of corruption are common (see chapters four and five).

The geographic boundaries of what constitutes members of the (moral) community of Huamachuco expands and contracts depending on the actions and actors in question. In principle anyone could be seen to be a moral member of the community, if they are known to have long-standing connections to the district, and are thought to be acting in the long-term interests of the

community by the actors who are observing or talking about them. However, having and maintaining connections with established networks of 'known' families (see chapter four) and locations in the district (such as villages), provides greater likelihood of being considered as acting in the long-term interests of the community. There are some actions which can, or (due to hierarchies of distinction) are only undertaken by certain groups. As highlighted in chapters two and three, certain types of labour (for example writing books) are undertaken by elites, others such as dancing in the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia are undertaken by rural *caseríos*.

'Moral community' is not a term used locally, rather it stems from theoretical discussions of 'moral economy' inspired by E.P Thompson's (1971) analysis of the history and politics of class. This paradigm of 'moral economy' focuses on the norms and obligations which were called upon when what were considered as basic needs were threatened during the English eighteenth century "bread riots". Scott (1976) argued that peasants in Southeast Asia participated in a moral economy which prioritised the subsistence of all members of the community. I use the term moral community, following Hann (2010, 2018) and Etzioni (1988) in their recognition of a "…moral dimension in the sense of a collective and systematic basis in long-term shared values" (Hann, 2018: 231). Although the terminology differs, I draw on the literatures on moral economies, and in particular agree with Parry and Bloch (1989) in their assessment that communal morals seek to ensure the long-term benefit of a community.

Using the term 'community' in place of 'economy' seeks to emphasise the starting point as identity (and the moral basis of social relations) formed in relation to others, in community, through time and space, in intertwined spheres of socioeconomic interactions (see for example (Anderson, 1983; Halbwachs, 1992; Hobsbawm, 1983b; Massey, 2005: 139–140). In relation to social anthropology's exploration of the social dynamics, dimensions and values of interactions and exchanges, Gudeman (2001: 92) notes

> "In an effort to counter the culturally compelling arguments of economists, anthropologists have seized perhaps too eagerly on the concept of reciprocity. They might have looked more profitably to the precedent notion of community, for the gift is a foray across group boundaries. It connects social world or islets of incommensurability within a plural universe."

The discussion of the morality of a community is not a value judgement. Politics and economies always have a moral structure, whether we consider them more or less moral (Carrier, 2018: 24; Sayer, 2004: 2–5). Belonging to the moral community (the formation of identities) is not a given, it is constructed through multiple actions over time, embodied in ways of being (Canessa, 2012b: 27, 120–121; Weismantel, 2001: 192), expressing a relationship and obligation between actors (Carrier, 2018; Sahlins, 1974: 186). Reflecting that self and other are mutually (re)created (Hall, 1996; Ricoeur, 1990), these repeated actions form a communal history, collectively remembered, through which accepted ways of doing things (including norms of prohibition) develop and relationships with moral bonds are established (Butler, 2011; Moore, 2013: 117–119).

Aligned with Hann's (2018: 232) analysis (concerning Hungary) that work is "…*often the prime object of moral sentiments*" and is seen as linked to material wealth, I suggest that work is an important part of the establishment of moral community values in Huamachuco. Work which is considered as moral for the community is wide ranging and includes; the commemoration of local history (for example through books, or physical communal actions), works of art (such as poetry, literature, painting) or actions during fiestas (such as organising activities, buying items, growing the tree for the flagpole, growing or buying food, or the physical labour of dancing and playing music). These acts are commonly undertaken or celebrated in public spaces, for communal participation. Many are undertaken in an annual cycle of events, including art and books, which are published and publicly discussed to coincide with civic and religious communal events such as the day of José Sánchez Carrión (chapter two) or the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia (chapter three). I suggest that different acts of labour are undertaken by different parts of the community, some of which can only be undertaken by particular groups in particular spaces, most notably the plaza. This is clear in the main fiesta of Huamachuco of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia, where specific acts such as dancing are only considered valid when undertaken by rural communities, divided into upper and lower parts, meeting in the plaza as the centre of Huamachuco.

I suggest that these communally undertaken acts in rituals perform a kind of contract whereby membership of the community is ritually asserted through particular types of communal labour of belonging, and in return, there is an assertion of rights to communal benefits. However, following Alexander's (2001) analysis of written contracts, and also the conception of social change as iterative and embodied in ways of being (Canessa, 2012b; Corrigan and Sayer, 1985; Hall, 1996; Moore, 2013), this assertion is only the framework on which negotiations continue: It is an attempt

to manage or limit the inherent uncertainty in social relatedness both now and in the future (de L'Estoile, 2014; Gintis et al., 2008).

Ongoing interactions negotiate and gradually change moral ideals and relative identities, changes which can accumulate to moments of rupture (Corrigan and Sayer, 1985; cf. Lash, 1992). These everyday constant negotiations reflect the relative positions of power, such that power becomes core to the production of social identities which are embodied and naturalised into ways of being (Alonso, 1992; Comaroff, 1983; Hall, 1981: 233; Thurner, 1995; Turner, 1980).

Thus after Foucault's (1990: 93) conception that power is continuously created through relative positions of interactions, I suggest that low level conflict in liminal central spaces is part of the process in which social relations and values are realised, revealing that relative power comes through this negotiation. Ritually this is particularly clear in the dances of the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia which take place in the plaza, the central space of the community where upper and lower meet (see chapter three). This space is mutually constructed through the actions of all parties (for example whipping of the ground, divisions of dancers between upper and lower communities), and their mutual negotiation of this liminal space.

Communal moral values have material effects, including the realisation of government actions (Hann, 2010, 2018; Thompson, 1971), because they are both created by interactions and influence how interactions take place. As this thesis progresses, I will argue that national government policies relating to public investment projects appeared both adapted into and interlaced with the local values or norms of moral community. Whilst national government rules and processes were followed in the pursuit of the promised moral ideal of communal 'progress', projects themselves became a focus of the negotiation of the moral community, and the relative relationships of which it was composed.

Public investment projects and the negotiation of the centre through 'boundary objects'

Building on Andean duality as discussed above, where social negotiations take place through central, liminal spaces at different scales, from the personal to the global (Allen, 1997; Bolin, 1998; Harris, 2000; Platt, 1986; Van Vleet, 2008), this thesis argues that public investment projects themselves become centres, locations of articulation between different scales of interrelations (for example international-national-personal). Thus, the space between actors is the centre and objects

such as projects become a focus of the negotiation in this central space. Projects become spatial markers or active monuments to negotiations by actors and the relationships which they (re)make.

This structuring of space-time focuses on a centre as mutually co-created space, a liminal site which is transitional between actors, and yet in part also constitutes them as relative identities are negotiated. This conception aligns with the way in which self is always created in co-relation to other, and both constantly change through iterative actions of each other (Canessa, 2012b; Hall, 1996; Ricoeur, 1990). Here, the centre, and the corresponding objects, is this co-creation, a negotiated space in which the uncertain acts of interlocutors over time are mutually constitutive, but this does not assume equal ability to influence the outcome such that hierarchies can be reinforced.

I suggest it is useful to conceive of projects as '*boundary objects*' in order to understand their importance in negotiating social relations, in the centre. First termed by Star and Griesemer (1989) in relation to the categorisation of natural museum objects by different groups of people (scientists and amateurs), the concept has been used particularly in the analysis of science and technology. The term refers to

> "…a shared space, where exactly that sense of here and there are confounded. These common objects form the boundaries between groups through flexibility and shared structure—they are the stuff of action… An object is something people… act toward and with. Its materiality derives from action, not from a sense of prefabricated stuff or "thing"-ness. So, a theory may be a powerful object." (Star, 2010: 602–603)

> "Boundary objects are thus both plastic enough to adapt to local needs and constraints of the several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites... Such objects have different meanings in different social worlds but their structure is common enough to more than one world to make them recognizable, a means of translation. The creation and management of boundary objects is a key process in developing and maintaining coherence across intersecting communities." (Star and Bowker, 1999: 297)

These objects can become naturalised through repeated practice, such that their history and meanings can become forgotten. "*In a sense they become a form of collective forgetting, or naturalization, of the contingent, messy work they replace.*" (Ibid.). Whilst these objects can appear naturalised, it is useful to recognise them as boundary objects, and the work that they do, because by focusing on them we can reveal the ways in which these translations take place, and their possible effects (Griesemer, 2015: 214; Star, 2010: 602).

Aligned with discussions of Andean duality above where centres between actors are realised through space-time, here boundary objects are both physical things (projects) and sit in the central space which marks the meeting points, the boundaries which are mutually negotiated in the co-creation of actors. In this sense there is a clear overlap between the terms centre and boundary object, but centre reflects the space and the boundary objects are the 'things' and actions which constitute their meaning, through which that space is negotiated.

If anything can be a boundary object, as the term is a "*meta-category for objects*" that do the work of translation between "*interconnecting social worlds*" (Griesemer, 2015: 207), then there can also be interconnecting "*layerings*" (Parkin, 2017) of boundary objects through different scales, a "*boundary infrastructure*" (Star and Bowker, 1999: 312–317).

I suggest that projects are part of such a boundary infrastructure, where moral ideals of progress are translated between actors and through multiple scales of interaction. Ideals, or moral values, are translated between actors at international-national-local scales, producing multiple boundary objects through which these translations take place. In this thesis, I suggest that morals, or ideals of progress and development, are translated through different actors such that internationally conceived translations of development are incorporated into national government policies to pursue projects, while their meanings are translated and interlaced with local meanings of ideals of progress of the moral community. I suggest the concept of boundary objects can be useful to highlight how these translations from ideals or morals to projects take place between different scales of interaction.

Multiple boundary objects at different scales make these translations, such that the moral community, with complex interlocking moral ideals in relation to space and time, can also be conceived as such. Within this context, the plaza is also a boundary object (see chapters two, three, four), as conceptual and physical central liminal space through which actors of the moral

community of the district of Huamachuco negotiate relative identities and assert their claims to communal benefits (resources); the material meanings of moral translations.

In the assertion of membership of the moral community through different types of labour, different parts of the community make claims to communal benefits or resources. I suggest projects themselves have become a focus of these claims and a means through which relative identities and relative access to communal resources are negotiated. In this, it is important to note that projects are not just the physical 'thing' they aim to produce (for example a physical construction), but are all the actions which are undertaken to bring them into being and their continuing use. Projects are therefore conceived of as the local interpretation and enaction of the rules and processes set out by central government, as well as the 'things' such as school buildings which are made in their physical construction and use.

The attempt to manage uncertainty at different scales of interaction becomes clear through the analysis of projects at a local level. Uncertainty is inherent in the social (inter)actions, as relative identities are (re)formed through actions in the liminal central space. The repeated interactions can make boundary objects appear to manage uncertainty and can become increasingly naturalised, but the uncertain nature of social interaction continues, created by iterative change and differences in interpretations by different actors. The interlocking scales of boundary objects, from ideals of 'progress' to projects also enable an appearance of the management of uncertainty. Whilst both morals and rules of government attempt to reduce uncertainty of interactions, they are the means through which relative identities are made, and relative positions of power (re)made and changed (Ferguson, 1994; Gledhill, 2004: 174). As such, even if morals/ social norms and rules and processes claim stability ('as if fact'), including through their repeated use over time and in space, this is an illusion of scale from generalised ideals to specific locals (Harvey and Knox, 2015: 204; Lefebvre, 2014: 87–88). They remain inherently unstable and uncertain, sustained through the repeated interactions of actors: boundary objects through which change is negotiated.

This means that although there is the appearance of decentralisation, local relative identities of community-making are intertwined with state rules and processes. At one scale, processes of central government appear naturalised ('as if fact') as they become intertwined with local habitual networks of social relations and ideals of the moral community, such that the central state is embedded into the everyday (Barry, 2002: 270–280; Lefebvre, 2014: 86–88). Power appears devolved but in practice local choice is significantly constrained, and conflicts and disagreements are shifted to the

local level, away from challenge with central government (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002; Rose and Miller, 2010: 271–273).

Projects become central spaces and moments in time which enable increased social connections. However, the design, materials, contracting and construction of the projects, seen as modern, simultaneously includes and excludes rural populations from ideals and experiences of progress. Rural populations considered here, seek out projects not only because of their practical use and promise of progress, but also because these projects are viewed as spaces through which the bonds of the moral community are drawn closer. They are not only seen as including rural populations in modernity, but also in their construction, maintenance and use, increasing the requirements for social connections between villages, government and construction businesses, thereby building closer relations with elites. Meanwhile elites benefit from projects to physically expand the space (into rural areas with government funds) through which profits and increased social networks of power are developed.

Nevertheless, because mutually constitutive actions take place in liminal central spaces, there is the possibility for social change. Repeated actions can be used to challenge unequal power relations, such that projects are sites through which '*tactics*' (de Certeau, 1984: xiv–xv) are used to change the spaces. Through the making of projects and their use, the relationships can be drawn closer, and relative identities gradually changed through action. In this, projects are conceived as the interactions which create them, their physical creation and the ongoing interactions which they enable once physically manifest.

Thus, projects have an intertwined symbolic function through which relative identities (including power) are realised. Their practical function (for example schools) is intertwined with ideals of 'progress' and associated symbols of hierarchies of modernity, and they are central spaces for the (re)creation of social relations (Kaur, 2013: 131; Lefebvre, 1991: 34; Murawski, 2019: 42; Webb, 2019: 701).

Introduction to Huamachuco

Huamachuco sits at an elevation of 3,160 meters above sea level in the northern Andes of Peru, to the East of Trujillo, the third largest city of Peru. With a population of approximately 30,000, Huamachuco is the capital of its district which has a total population of approximately 52,450 (INEI, 2012; MPSC, 2001). It is also the capital of the province of Sánchez Carrión (see Maps 2 and 3); this means that the government of Sánchez Carrión is also the district government of Huamachuco. Sitting at a geographic crossroad in the Northern Andes, linking coast and jungle, Huamachuco has long played a key role as a trade post; during Inca rule it was a storage site and possibly an administration centre on the roads that joined Cusco to Quito (Jenkins, 2001: 667). Linguistically, the district is Spanish speaking[11], Quechua is no longer used locally. Historically the now extinct pre-Incan Culle language was spoken (Lau, 2010).

Photograph 17: Huamachuco, from Miraflores mountain

The proximity of Huamachuco to the coast provides both strong historical and contemporary links, particularly with Trujillo and to a lesser extent Lima. Local elites, historically including pre-reform landowners (*hacendados*), and political leaders have been strongly interconnected with

[11] With numerous local phrases which may include Quechua or Culle origins. For a recent record of which see (Reyna Marín, 2000).

Trujillo, families often maintaining bases in both locations. In relatively recent years, long and shorter-term migration (and return) from rural and urban areas has often taken place (commonly connected to wage labour, trade routes and education), such that wider familiar networks frequently include multiple members in coastal cities, particularly Trujillo and Lima. There is some international migration amongst some city-based families (I was aware of migration to the USA, Spain, Italy, Chile, Colombia), and (although more limited) international seasonal holidaying (USA, Europe)[12].

A new tarmac road connecting the coastal city of Trujillo and Huamachuco was finished in 2013, an outcome of the recent advent of large-scale international mining. The new road enables people to travel quickly between them (4-5 hours instead of 12-24 hrs) and more safely. Travel to Trujillo for day trips is now possible by using overnight services, permitting market stall holders and shop keepers to access cheaper wholesale prices/ wider product ranges, errands to be run in Trujillo (to government offices, businesses) more easily, and families based between locations to maintain more frequent contact.

The increased local government funds and broader economic changes due to mining (both formal and informal) have enabled a growing speed of change. Sections of the city's roads and pavements have been newly or re- concreted, two streets pedestrianised and remodelled, plazas and sports areas[13] improved. More broadly, the increased economic flows from mining have continued to encourage rural-urban migration such that the city has grown both in population and infrastructure. Both publicly funded and private new constructions (houses, offices) of brick/ concrete are replacing older adobe or sometimes '*tapial*' (rammed earth) buildings (see chapter two and seven). Many new businesses have opened with multiple hostels, restaurants, shops and services including some national chains of pharmacies, appliance stores and banks.

The scale of the economic growth brought by the introduction of modern large-scale open pit methods (driven by rising demand/ prices), and neoliberal reforms to mining, tax and other codes pursued by successive Peruvian governments as a "*new growth model… based on natural resource extraction*" (Bebbington, 2008: 274–275), can be seen in the production statistics. Between 1901 and 1989, yearly production of gold in Peru averaged 4,208kg per year, with no year rising above 10,000kg. 1990 saw a rise to over 20,000kg, by 2000 it had risen above 120,000kg and by 2005 to

[12] One woman from Huamachuco is cycling to Ushuaia (Argentina) from Peru, running a Facebook page and gaining sponsorship for the adventure. See https://www.facebook.com/nakimunecaviajera/
[13] Including a new swimming pool, which was not in use during fieldwork due to lack of heating.

over 200,000kg (MINEM, 2007). La Libertad (of which Sánchez Carrión is part) is the second largest producing Department of gold in Peru, just behind Cajamarca, and Peru is the largest Latin American producer of gold (BCP, 2014: 8; MINEM, 2014).

As the capital of the province of Sánchez Carrión, Huamachuco, has been no exception to this mining boom. There are three 'formal' (legal) mines in relative proximity to Huamachuco, the large-scale Lagunas Norte gold mine owned by Barrick, the medium sized gold/copper La Arena mine owned by Tahoe Resources and the privately owned medium sized San Simon gold mine. The closest of these mines, La Arena, is about a forty-minute drive from the city, with the furthest, Lagunas Norte, an hour and a half away. By 2014, the two larger gold mines close to Huamachuco, Lagunas Norte and La Arena, produced 13 and 4 per cent respectively of Peru's national gold production (MINEM, 2014).

Although the mines are part of daily life for the people who live closest to them and those that have gained jobs there, for most people in Huamachuco the legal mines and their activities are not obviously part of daily life. However, there is a keen awareness that mining has brought increased economic movement and significant increases in local government funding through which 'projects' are enabled.

In addition to formal mines, there is an area of 'informal' (illegal) mining, El Toro, which overlooks the city and has long been an extractive site. The area has numerous small-scale mines, which are run by landowners and often worked on by local rural populations[14]. Wages are higher than other local wage labour possibilities, however there is significant concern amongst workers over the health effects (including the use of mercury). More generally there are substantial local concerns over the health and environmental impact of the informal mines including water, air and food contamination with heavy metals (for example Narvaes Polo, 2015). Recent research by the National University in Trujillo shows that the land in the area adjacent to the mines is negatively affected with serious health effects for the population (Casanove Herrera et al., 2012). Whilst this research does not directly engage with the issue of informal mining, it is of importance to the recent economic growth due to the higher global gold prices (see Table 2 page 264) and is part of local networks of social relations.

[14] There is a formal mining concession in the area (relatively small scale), which is gradually moving the informal mines from the area.

These tangible changes to lives in Huamachuco due to mining are often debated (in public and private), as both positive and negative effects are perceived. In these local political debates, actors attempt to negotiate the meaning of 'progress' for Huamachuco. Because the position of the mayor is key to the creation of projects and broader public spending, the mayor is a figure through which the ideals of communal progress are contested, a boundary object of the moral community.

Political leadership and Public Investment Projects

As Huamachuco is the capital of Sánchez Carrión, the government of both the province and the district are run as one, with the mayor and council (with eleven councillors) elected to represent both the province and district for four-year terms[15]. In addition to the mayor and council, there is also the largely ceremonial position of the governor. This position is appointed by the political party of the president of Peru, and in the case of Huamachuco, is often a key member of the provincial presidential campaign team.

It was evident from fieldwork observations of an electoral campaign in Huamachuco (2014), and interviews regarding that and previous elections, that manifestos focus on key public investment projects which are promised to enable 'progress'. Promises included specific larger infrastructure projects such as a new potable water system, a new market and hospital in the city, as well as a commitment to undertake smaller projects throughout the district. This focus on projects during the election campaign was reflected in and intertwined with annual cycles of communal rituals and ongoing quotidian interactions. The mayor repeatedly spoke of promised projects during regular public meetings as well as communal commemorative events and fiestas, and during an annual participatory budget meeting linked projects to the annual fiesta (see chapters two, three and six). More broadly, private and public discussions (including with press) regarding the allocation of local public funds, and the implementation of projects visible in the city and rural areas, were predominant and linked to how local ideals of communal 'progress' might be pursued.

The mayor and council of Sánchez Carrión are paid positions in the leadership of the local government. These are sought after roles, for which campaigning can be costly, requiring campaign teams to organise visits to rural *caseríos* (hamlets/villages) and rallies (at which food and items of clothing are often given out)[16]. Interviewees from both city and rural areas, commonly suggested

[15] Other districts also have mayors, councils, budgets and municipal staff (more limited in size/ number).
[16] This is common in Peru, see for example (Muñoz, 2018).

that government jobs could be gained by working on the campaign teams of winning candidates. As many posts in the local government were not permanent, this enabled significant movements in personnel after an election, often assumed to be as reward for helping campaigns or as a result of other personal or business connections. This process could contribute to accusations of corruption of politicians, civil servants and business owners connected to projects (see chapter five).

Mayors and councillors are normally from Huamachuco, with two exceptions since 2000, with the election of Héctor Uladismiro Rodríguez Barboza (mayor 2003-2006) who is a medical doctor and had been working in the area for some time, and Luis Alberto Rebaza Chávez (mayor 2011-2014) who is from Sarín in the province of Sánchez Carrión and had long settled in Huamachuco.

Civil servant interlocutors explained that the mining canon was insufficient to fund all the large projects promised by the mayor during the 2014 election. Instead these would be undertaken through alternative funding streams, such as central government schemes to take advance tax payments from local mines (for the market) or applying for funds directly from central government (for the hospital and potable water system). Nevertheless, regardless of the funding stream (of which there was some broad awareness), all projects were considered as part of the discussions of how the district should allocate communal resources in order to progress (see chapter four regarding the refurbishment of the central plaza).

The local emphasis on these projects reflects the increases to local government funds brought by taxes (the 'mining canon') on the production of extracted minerals at large scale mines since the mid 2000s. Local governments manage a devolved proportion of the mining canon in combination with several other income streams (particularly FONCOMUN which reflects a transfer of national VAT receipts), creating large increases in budgets[17]. These budgets fluctuate with mining production and connected economic trends. In Sánchez Carrión this has seen the mining canon fluctuate from 3,986 US$ in 2003, to 9,978,354 US$ in 2013, and 4,558,550 US$ in 2018 (see Table 1, page 264, (MEF, 2020)).

Central government directs that these funding streams, in varying proportions[18], are allocated to public investment projects. These projects are widely considered to be limited to infrastructure,

[17] See chapter six
[18] Such that the mining canon must entirely be spent on public investment projects, yet local government can decide how much of the FONCOMUN is spent on overheads or projects.

however, up to ten percent of mining canon funds can be allocated to 'productive' projects under the 'Procompite' programme (often small scale agricultural projects) (Crabtree, 2014; PRODUCE, 2018: 9)[19]. The combined management of funding streams eligible for investment projects, and the comparable levels of income between the canon and FONCUMUN (which has more flexibility in spending) theoretically allows for limited movement over the allocation of these funds beyond infrastructure (MEF, 2011, 2019a; Vincent, 2010a: 70). Save Procompite projects, the sole example in Huamachuco was of a combined project (based on a project in another province) to improve nutrition, health and learning attainment, through improved education in a village identified as having particularly low levels of health and nutrition.

National government also mandates that participatory budgeting is used to allocate a proportion of funds to projects requested through community meetings. The proportion of funds decided through the participatory budget is decided upon by the mayor, such that in theory the mayor could allocate the participatory budget a small amount, leaving the rest to be allocated to projects identified by him and his team. Although difficult to independently track, during fieldwork, civil servants in Huamachuco told me that all of the mining canon was allocated to projects identified through participatory budgeting (see chapter six).

Extensive literatures exist on participatory governance[20]. In Peru, research on local engagement with participatory governance is varied, for example: McNulty (2012, 2013, 2015) shows how participation in meetings, particularly of women, can be limited. Crabtree (2014) examines the decentralisation of budgets to local government through the mining canon, using historical, statistical, and case study based interviews finding that there has been an increase in range of state activities, increased staffing at a local level, inefficient project creation and an urban bias as well as a lack of effective public oversight and widespread perceptions of corruption and clientelism. Vincent (2014) challenges the idea that local government spending on plaza regeneration lacks focus on priorities. Instead she suggests that plaza development can enable the maintenance of bonds between wage-earning migrants and their originating communities, sustaining economic links for rural areas. This research places participatory governance within broader social relations, focusing on how policies are translated into local actions and events (Mathur, 2012; Mosse, 2004).

[19] In Huamachuco, during my fieldwork, relatively small Procompite investments were made. In 2015, the mayor of Sánchez Carrión allocated 1.5 million Soles to Procompite projects, representing three percent of the available investment income. Also see chapter six.

[20] See for example (Albert, 2016; Bland and Chirinos, 2014; Cameron, 2009; Coelho, 2014; Franciskovic, 2013; Goldfrank, 2012; Goldfrank et al., 2017; Grompone Grille and Glave Remy, 2009; Hartz-Karp, 2012; Hordijk, 2005; León Gutiérrez et al., 2016; McNulty, 2012, 2013, 2015; Monge Salgado, 2006; Piper, 2014; Poole, 2012; Selee and Peruzzotti, 2009; Van Cott, 2008; Vincent, 2010b; Wampler, 2012; Wampler and Hartz-Karp, 2012)

City and rural distinctions of Huamachuco

The district of Huamachuco is divided administratively, defining city and rural areas. In the city, there are numbered urban sectors, each with an elected mayor who acts as a representative in meetings with the local government and can request projects from public funds on behalf of the sector. Of the city inhabitants and sector mayors I spoke to, the sector meetings generally did not attract high levels of participation, but tended to be more active when there were specific issues needing fixing (such as road repairs, or the refurbishment of the plaza). In rural areas, administration is through *caseríos*, which are variable in size and can contain sectors with distinct names, they may be geographically distant and have diverse terrains (such as high altitudes or steep valleys). *Caseríos* have two political representatives, the '*agente municipal*', 'municipal agent' and the '*teniente gobernador*', 'deputy governor'. The municipal agent performs the same function as the mayor of city sectors, representing the *caserío* in meetings with the municipality and organises local meetings of the community as well as fiestas. The formal role of the deputy governor is as the representative of the governor of Huamachuco (a largely ceremonial role representative of the national executive), however in practical terms, the deputy governor acts as another leader during village discussions and meetings, and also participates in organising fiestas.

Throughout this thesis I will attempt to further explain the ways in which the distinctions between parts of the district are emically constructed, particularly the city and rural populations. These distinctions are important, both reflecting 'common sense views' and theoretical frameworks (Redfield, 1947). I will suggest that these distinctions have an effect on the way municipal resources for investment projects are allocated, and are reflected in the participatory budget meeting and its prioritised projects.

Although the city is administered through the urban sectors, interlocutors also made distinctions between urban inhabitants. The area directly surrounding the central plaza is considered the 'historical centre'. The plaza itself has Inca origins and several colonial era houses surrounding it, linked to families who were once (or still are) landowners. Many urban interlocutors who could trace their familiar links to this historical centre considered themselves as a community of 'Huamachuquinos'. These families were '*gente conocida*' 'known people', who could trace family lines and interconnections between each other including shared experiences of growing up together (see chapter five). Many are educated to undergraduate level or higher, are civil servants, teachers, lawyers, journalists, medical practitioners or businesses owners.

Some immigrants to Huamachuco are professionals from other parts of Peru. Whilst not attaining the 'Huamachuquino' title, these immigrants are often included in the social, political and economic networks such that they effectively become honorary 'Huamachuquinos'. These emic distinctions will be further explored in the thesis (particularly chapters two, three, seven), however I wish to note here that I will often refer to this grouping as 'elite', although this is not a term by which this grouping self-reference (Shore, 2002: 2–3). I use this term due to their networks of interconnections and mutual forms expressing distinction (Bourdieu, 1984; Shore, 2002: 2–5). Despite an 'elite' grouping, many of those who claim 'Huamachuquino' identity through familiar or other lines do not necessarily gain from projects or the increased economic interactions brought by mining and can struggle financially. Others have long been wealthy businesspeople or have relatively recently benefited from increased economic activity brought by mining and increased public funds through projects. As for any grouping, an 'elite' is in no way a homogenous nor ultimately definable grouping (Nugent, 2002: 61–65), but serves to speak about the city based networks of actors who distinguish themselves in multiple ways (see chapters two and three) from rural or many rural-city immigrants.

Fieldwork, methodological and ethical considerations

Research in Huamachuco took place between June 2014 and August 2016, although my journey to this period is longer, from 2011, including initial fieldwork in Cusco and Apurímac during 2012-2013. These broader experiences of Peru (including research and attempts to learn Quechua), between living in coastal Trujillo, Andean Huaraz, Cusco and extended visits to Las Bambas in Apurímac, provide me with comparative understandings of different areas of Peru and the complex effects of extractives (specifically copper and gold).

Whilst my arrival at my previous research site in Apurímac was the stuff of the classic ethnographer's exciting arrival (including a night time storm, a broken down 4x4, a theft, bribes and nowhere to sleep the night), thankfully my arrival in Huamachuco was wondrously serendipitous and smooth. The kind guidance and welcome of several Huamachuquinos enabled me to base myself in the city and be introduced to a wide network of interlocutors.

During much of my time in Huamachuco I rented a room in the house of a friend of a friend, who in turn also became a friend. Unlike some researchers, I never joined a household in the sense of communal eating and labour, circumstances precluded it. Many of my more regular interlocutors who became friends were women in their fifties. Some were separated from their

husbands and had singlehandedly raised children whilst maintaining jobs and businesses. The more personal contacts I made in part reflect my gender and age. They were also the people who had more time to spend with me as their children, husbands and parents were no longer living locally. They looked to each other to provide friendship, support and company, and it was into this friendship group that I was, to an extent and to my great privilege, included. I spent many days following the various errands of my closest interlocutors, observing their interactions, and they took every opportunity whilst passing contacts or places to introduce me to people they thought would be of interest or helpful.

As I was undertaking fieldwork, and interested in the lives of these women both out of friendship and ethnographic interest, there was a different dynamic to these friendships (Gay y Blasco and Hernández, 2012). I was never only a friend, I was also a researcher, and my life was less in view than the lives of my friends, not least because my life was both in Huamachuco, and thus part of their everyday, and in the UK which was distant. We chatted about our families, about cooking and food, health concerns, about how to make ends meet, jobs, and politics (global, national and local). We shared these interests, and our discussions about how things worked in Huamachuco flowed from these conversations. Whilst chatting, there were often experiences shared, or observations made which were of interest to my research. Most often this would be pointed out to me, that I should take note and be interested in the subject of discussion as it was thought to be important to my work. Sometimes I would raise specific questions, and this would start off a discussion as different thoughts or experiences were shared. Whilst personal and public lives are intertwined (as discussed below), the information I draw on in the thesis about friends' lives focuses on issues which they knew were of interest to the research and were keen to share, all data is anonymised.

Their lives had a significant impact on mine and enabled me to see not only Huamachuco and projects, but also broader issues, from different perspectives. There was a desire to help me understand, in order to help me but also it was seen as a contribution to the written knowledge about Huamachuco, and a hope that there may be some improvements made to how things worked. This concerned me, and we discussed how the work would not make recommendations but rather attempt to understand how things came about. Despite this, their contribution to a thesis was still seen by them as worthwhile, perhaps through a sense of contribution to Huamachuco, as part of the dynamics of moral community which are further discussed in chapters two and three.

As my friends had an impact on me, I am aware that I also had an impact on them. This was not only because I was participating in daily life, but also through our discussions about how life had changed since mining and how things worked in relation to local government and projects. Occasionally things I said were reflected on, and later commented on: I noted that public administration in the UK did not always work to produce a government's declared policy outcomes. Later a friend and civil servant, said that she had reflected on this and taken solace, perhaps the challenges to 'improve things' in Peru were not so unique.

In particular, one contact who became a dear friend, María, was important both to this research and to me during and since fieldwork. María is deeply proud of Huamachuco, its history, beautiful landscapes, traditions, and the importance of doing what one can for the community. Like many Huamachuquinas (and Huamachuquinos) she is keen to do what she can towards the 'progress' of Huamachuco, such that contributing to the knowledge gathered in my research was her motivation, as a contribution to what I have termed the 'moral community'. María is a well-educated middle aged civil servant who has worked in various roles for different parts of both regional and local government. Despite this, she is not in a position of power in the sense that she does not hold a political or economic position which would motivate others to feel strongly obliged to help her. Rather her connections were maintained over generations of everyday interactions such that if her (elite) contacts did not want to engage with me, as some did not, there were multiple ways in which they could politely ignore or refuse such requests. It should be noted here that almost none of my contacts made with villagers or urban migrants were through María or other elite interlocutors, rather they were made through my direct approaches to village leaders and through my repeated presence during which I spoke to people both during formal and informal interactions.

María's long standing family connections to Huamachuco (and Huamachuquino networks in Trujillo), meant that she was able to help put me in touch with many interlocutors within particular social networks. Through her networks I was able to access interviews which would otherwise have been challenging for an outsider. It also meant that sometimes she attended some interviews with me, in order to provide an introduction which otherwise could have been challenging to obtain. Aware of the possible influence which this could have on interviews, after initial meetings I most often followed up with subsequent meetings alone. As a result of María's role in helping me connect to people and events in Huamachuco, at times I discussed with her what I was doing, and in these discussions she helped me find my way through what at times appeared confusing or

incongruent information. Nevertheless, the writing of this thesis and its analysis is not her interpretation, and any faults in both the representation of the data and interpretation of it, are entirely mine.

After an initial period collecting data on perceptions of how Huamachuco had changed since the advent of large-scale mining, I began to explore how local government investment projects were undertaken. At first, having read central government guidelines on public investment projects, I focused on engaging with civil servants to attempt to understand processes and networks. On reflection, perhaps I started with government documents and interviews of civil servants due to my own background having previously been a UK civil servant in various central government departments for almost ten years prior to undertaking fieldwork. Having previously been part of the creation of government policies and processes, and the administration of government in the UK, this background framed both how I analysed central government written laws, policies and processes and their realisation at a sub national level. It provided me with an understanding of the challenges of trying to improve how things work in the administration of public policy, and the ways in which issues such as timelines of funding, rules and regulations, organisational and national politics can frame programmes of work to produce unintended consequences. At first this meant that I attempted to track processes to identify how practice linked to theoretical national policies, and later I tried to identify and understand the workarounds which local actors use to attempt to make sense of 'disjunctures' (Appadurai, 1990) between national policies and their local realisation.

My background also meant that I am keenly aware that 'government' is no one thing, and that instead there are disagreements and cultural differences between different parts of government (departments, national and subnational government). I was also keenly aware that 'government' is made up of thousands of people working in hundreds of organisations, often attempting to undertake their roles as well as they can, and often guided by a strong 'public service' ethos. I was therefore empathetic towards functionaries and aware of the likelihood that local civil servant's attempts to manage national processes were sincere (contrary to some national discourses of corruption). That said, I was not naïve to the possibility of local corruption, and observed the complex ways in which corruption was spoken of and managed in everyday lives (chapter five). I was also keen to interrogate assumptions shared by a number of regional and local elite interlocutors about a local 'lack of capacity' because it seemed to me like an easy and simplistic assumption, which complied with generalised notions of a national hierarchy of modernity whereby the further from Lima, the less 'advanced' the place, actor or institution. When I engaged

with civil servants and others in Huamachuco, these assumptions were shown rapidly to be just that; instead, key administrators were often highly skilled at managing systems and processes of government. Although many interlocutors were unaware of my background as a UK civil servant (it never came up), the insights this experience afforded was rewarded, for example by a number of interlocutors providing me with repeated interviews in which they patiently explained to me how things work in practice and how they have attempted to improve local uses of public funds through projects.

In some ways my background as a UK civil servant also highlighted my perception of differences between my prior experiences and Huamachuco's district government, in particular in terms of job security, political appointees, and the extent to which personal networks were used. These differences became points of interest and reflection for the research, and have resulted in lines of discussion throughout the thesis, from the nature of negotiation between actors in the centre, to the importance of names and to the lack of job security which can make it very difficult for civil servants and their families to challenge those with more power (chapter five).

In Huamachuco, formal and informal interviews were undertaken with current and ex civil servants, politicians and local residents. I also met with representatives of some of the local mines, NGOs and civil servants working in the department of La Libertad and undertook Skype interviews of internationally based employees of mining companies. Many interviewees were kind enough to meet me on several occasions, enabling me to develop more detailed understandings of their experiences and understandings of how projects came into being. Some key interlocutors in the local government met me repeatedly over the whole period I was in Huamachuco and were very gracious with their time, putting me in touch with other contacts with whom they thought I should speak, and were very patient to help me understand.

As many a researcher will attest, sometimes arranging interviews could be both challenging and time consuming. Timings of interviews were often delayed or forgotten entirely. Whilst this in one way lost me time, it also enabled me to observe how interactions between people can take place in Huamachuco, which was later also reflected in observations of rural interactions. Learning how to manage the negotiation of arranging meetings became one way in which I gained insight into how networks and relationships could be negotiated. The persistent requirement to phone or remind interlocutors multiple times right up to half an hour before a meeting became a source of

analytic interest. These observations and participation have been useful in the arguments I present on the co-creation of self and other through the negotiation of central spaces.

Whilst the ethnographic data presented here most often reflects my significantly more frequent interactions with the urban elite, I also undertook fieldwork in some *caseríos*. After a short initial period of only working in the city, I extended fieldwork to include several nearby *caseríos* concurrently, attempting to balance my time between locations. I chose to engage with individual *caseríos* rather than focusing on a type of project or even one specific project, because this would enable an understanding of networks of relationships through which projects are negotiated. I largely worked (although not exclusively) in an area previously known as the *caserío* Puente Piedra, but at various times it had subdivided (including recently) into Puente Piedra, Rumichaca, Casumaca and Marcochugo (Map 5). The history and nature of projects meant that I could not entirely focus on one *caserío*. As I came to know the area, the interconnections between the *caseríos* and their projects became part of the analysis.

Map 5: Caseríos of Puente Piedra, Casumaca, Marcochugo, Rumichaca

I regularly visited these *caseríos* between September 2015 and August 2016, attending as many community meetings and parent's meetings at schools as I was aware of, undertaking formal and informal interviews with community members, leaders and school teachers, and observing and participating in the fiesta of Puente Piedra and the inauguration of the secondary school in Marcochugo. I spoke to residents about perceptions of projects, how interactions take place with politicians, contractors and civil servants and how this relates to formal systems and processes such as the participatory budget. The generosity of time, food and openness of these interactions were a deep blessing to me personally and in terms of data collection. Sometimes people in the villages hoped that I might be able to improve their *caserío*'s chances of accessing government funding. When this happened, I explained that I was unconnected to the government, or the mines, and was trying to understand how things worked by listening to and observing those involved in the process. This was accepted because I attended the villages independently and repeatedly, not arriving with representatives of local government or the mines, but instead travelling in the same transport as the villagers themselves. Despite my lack of ability to change the situation of villages, there was a generosity in their assistance which I was most fortunate to receive.

I was torn about my choice of not basing myself more in the villages. However, time did not allow me to develop the same levels of networks both in the city and the rural areas. Instead, due to the contacts I had, I chose to base myself in the city, and my data reflects my increased interconnections with urban residents. The research shows how the different scales of space are negotiated constructions through which relative identities are made. Thus, the methodological decision to focus on relatedness and interconnections between the constructed scales of *caserío* and city are integral to the argument itself.

In addition to formal and informal interviews, observational and participatory data is also important to the thesis; collected through daily interactions and participation in life in Huamachuco, attending formal and informal communal meetings both directly relevant to projects and more generally part of social life. As Bloch (1998: 7-14,51) assesses, much knowledge is non-sentential, learnt through observing and physical action. This means that it can be difficult to articulate such knowledge verbally, and there can be a difference between verbalised explanations of how things work and actions (Bloch, 1998: 8–14; Jenkins, 1994; Rabinow, 2007: 116–119). Through observation and participation, information which was communicated through actions in different spaces between actors became more visible. This methodological approach enabled me to see the creation of projects in Huamachuco as part of these wider social interactions; they are

not only 'context', but a core part of how projects are realised, and projects have become part of how local relations are negotiated.

As part of my observation and participatory approach, I used photography extensively. The photos I took were used for a variety of different purposes. Photography was particularly useful during communal events such as fiestas as the camera enabled me to position myself in a privileged way: I could choose either to be in the group of spectators, or very close to performers, almost within the performance space with other photographers (of which there were several). Outside of large public events I often provided prints as an act of exchange. This at times became burdensome and expensive but I was happy to provide images to those that wanted them, and it enabled interactions to increase as a result. Occasionally I received complaints about my images by collaborators, wanting their whole bodies in frame rather than head and shoulders, so I then took two images to address different people's priorities, which highlighted the different conceptions of self as seen in images (Collier and Collier, 1986: 73).

I attempted to ensure that I only took photographs of others when they consented. During fiestas people were familiar that their participation would be photographed (by many photographers), and would actively invite their image to be taken by dancing at the camera or explicitly asking me to photograph them. I explicitly asked for permission when outside of fiestas where the individual is the focus. In general landscapes, people have been included when their individual identities are not the focus.

The images are data which work alongside the analytical and descriptive text (Pink, 2011: 160–161). Sometimes the images I took in the field were also created in order to make specific points, at other times the recording of an image was instinctive, perhaps as a result of observation and participatory learnt knowledge, but not consciously analytical. Although I used images during fieldwork in a number of different forms (as field notes for analysis (Hastrup, 1992: 11), as a way of interacting with interlocutors, and with purposeful composition to express an analytic point), in their inclusion in this thesis, they have been edited, like my fieldnotes, and specifically chosen to make points.

I use the techniques of focus, framing, editing, processing in order to communicate through images. These techniques do not somehow make the images 'arty' (cf. Sapir, 1994: 874), rather they perhaps allow for the difference between sight and perception (Ingold, 2005). The techniques of

photography aim to draw the reader into understanding the image in a particular way, similar to why I have chosen information which I write in different styles of text (Collier and Collier, 1986: 69–70; Nader, 2011: 216–217). In the same way as the rest of the data in this thesis reflects both my positionality, that of interlocutors, the interactions between us, and the interpretations by the reader, so do the images (Barthes, 2003: 114–117; Hockings, 2003: 526; Lutz and Collins, 1994: 368–369). What I decided to focus on, what I cut out or left in, was done both with the written text and the photographs, in the creation of a narrative (Carrithers, 1992: 167). It is by presenting both the images and the text together that I attempt to communicate the data and analysis.

In the written text, I have anonymised interlocutors, except those which are a matter of public record, such as in published articles or as a result of public office (such as mayors). Photographs are selected in line with this. I have also taken the precaution at times of changing the genders, or providing general job titles of interlocutors, in order to protect identities. Whilst only at very few points did anyone I spoke to request that their names or positions be excluded from my research, I have taken the approach of anonymising interlocutors as a precaution. This was particularly important when discussions became about rumours of perceived corruption, or networks of hierarchies and interdependencies. Similarly, I have also anonymised several villages, as a safeguard where I considered that recounting particular types of interactions could potentially cause difficulties.

The privilege of participating and observing life in the district of Huamachuco (including intermittent trips to Trujillo) enabled me to place projects within the wider ways in which interconnections are made between actors. Both quotidian interactions and annual cycles of communal rituals and commemorations enabled me to understand public investment projects and the ways in which public resources were used. Without this approach, it would have been challenging to see the interlocking scales of identity making, and the ways in which projects are part of this process; active sites through which negotiations take place.

Chapter summaries

Chapters two and three consider how communal bonds are established through iterative actions of identity making in time and space, promoting an ideal of community with the highest moral act to pursue progress for the whole community. Drawing on ethnographic data, focusing on significant spaces and events, the chapters show how the boundaries, content and direction of a moral community are produced.

Chapter two considers how the elite embodied commemoration of narratives of history structure an ideal of the moral community in which the pursuit of communal progress and modernity is the highest moral act (Halbwachs, 1992; Hobsbawm, 1983b; Thompson, 1971). Within this, mining is viewed as a return to what are understood as different trajectories of progress, both in relation to pre-Conquest society and the role of Huamachuco in the project of forging a modern nation-state. After a period of relative decline, the expansion of extractive industry in the region is locally seen as reconnecting Huamachuco to national narratives of progress. Through commemorative actions, largely in the city, an elite history is produced which omits other narratives, such as agricultural reforms in which more rural parts of the district were involved and where conflicts may have been apparent. Instead local pre-conquest histories are linked by local elites to international ideas of 'authentic' culture and national aims of modernisation through tourism (Graburn, 1995; Hobsbawm, 1983a, 1990: 73). Locally actors seek to draw connections with the establishment of democracy in the creation of the Republic of Peru particularly through the historical figure of Sánchez Carrión. Repeatedly commemorated through public communal acts and published literatures, his actions are considered to promote 'progress' as the highest communal act. Increased local government and private incomes through mining has correlated with the increased public celebrations of these histories, as well as changes in material constructions in the city. Mining is therefore locally seen as reconnecting Huamachuco's past and present to narratives of national modernity, and to future hopes for its continuing progress.

Chapter three builds further on the ideals of the moral community and Andean duality exploring its boundaries and the relative inclusions and exclusions highlighted in chapter two by considering the incorporation of rural areas of the district, through the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia. Ritual actions, part of Andean duality, are shown to (re)negotiate and (re)create expected moral behaviours for different parts of the community (Bigenho, 1999; Corrigan and Sayer, 1985; Goldstein, 1997; Turner, 1967; Wolf, 1955). Through these actions, claims to equal rights to communal resources are asserted, establishing fairness as an ideal of moral community; later

chapters six and seven suggest that this ideal of equal sharing intertwines with government rules and processes to form a basis for decisions over projects. The examination of the fiesta shows how different roles must be undertaken by city elites and rural populations for them to be considered to be undertaken correctly, leaving an ambiguity over roles and actions of rural-city immigrants. The distinctions between groupings ritually asserts the necessity of all parts of the community to act for the creation and benefit of the whole, creating an expectation of equal sharing of communal resources. However, later discussions show that the ritualised acts are only one basis for negotiation such that ongoing interactions demonstrate unequal power relations and outcomes, even where an appearance of equal sharing is maintained.

The importance of the plaza as the central site where these rituals take place is explored through the performance of collective rituals and commemorations and later, in chapter four, also the contestations over the qualities of the plaza and its relationship to the different sections of Huamachuco society. Andean conceptions of space through time are highlighted, underlining the importance of the centre as the ritual meeting point of the borders of all the communities. Ritualised conflicts take place at these points, indicating the importance of low-level conflict or negotiation in the formation of social relations (Allen, 1988: 210; Gose, 1994: 194–203; Harris, 2000: 103–104; Platt, 1986).

Throughout the chapter, the negotiations over relative identities of power are examined. This is seen as part of the negotiations, a layering of identity formation, through which decisions over public investment projects are made. The idea of the 'state' as a whole in which public and private are cleanly divided is therefore challenged, and political interactions are seen as part of the (re)creation and (re)negotiation of relative identities through scales of social interactions; layers of rituals, historical narratives and everyday practices (Abrams, 1988; Canessa, 2012b; Ferguson and Gupta, 2002; Gupta, 1995; Hall, 1996).

Chapter four examines the refurbishment of the plaza of Huamachuco, considering how the ideals of the moral community are intertwined with government processes, and negotiations of relative relationships of power are undertaken spatially, in relation to narrations of time (Massey, 2005: 139; Mitchell, 1991; Wolf, 1990). The embodied meaning of relative relationships of power are reflected in the materials and uses of the plaza, relative to time, such that relationships are constantly negotiated through it; a central space of community (re)making (Bourdieu, 1990; de Certeau, 1984; Lefebvre, 1991: 37–46; Low, 1996: 861–862). The chapter suggests that ideals,

morals, rules and processes act as '*boundary objects*' with which to work, creating a liminal central space for action through which relative hierarchies and the blurred boundaries of the state are remade (Barry, 2002: 270–280; Bear and Mathur, 2015: 19–20; Star and Bowker, 1999). Discussions over the refurbishment, including suspicions of corruption, are shown to be attempts to negotiate local ideals of moral community through both the meanings of materials in space-time and interpretations of government rules and processes. The analysis seeks to demonstrate how rules, processes and ideals of the moral community are intertwined such that the rules and processes of the state contribute to hierarchies of power and shifts in blame from the central state to local interactions (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002: 989; Rose and Miller, 1992: 201). Thus hierarchies of power and relative identities are remade through the blurred central spaces and the simultaneous expansion and contraction of layers of negotiations at different scales of space and time: from the state to the plaza to the personal, from pre-Incas to imagined futures, translations of meanings of self-other in space-time. Power is embedded in the materiality of the plaza and its refurbishment (Wolf, 1990: 593).

Chapter five considers why and how rumours of corruption in relation to projects are common in Huamachuco (as they are in Peru generally) (Muñoz, 2018: 75). It is suggested that rumours are used to understand what is going on, due to uncertainty over how those with more power use or access public funds (Ruud, 2000). Actions are undertaken by those with power over the application of rules and processes of projects, but are restrained through rumours to comply with both local ideals of moral community and government rules and processes, in the pursuit of communal progress. Thus rumours are used as an attempt to negotiate the uncertainty over actions and how the '*blurred boundaries*' (Gupta, 1995) of personal and communal benefits are negotiated (Bocarejo, 2018; Muir and Gupta, 2018; Parry, 2000: 53).

Those in local government regulate the use of public funds and have more power over how communal benefits (including funds) are realised and distributed. The moral obligations of help and assistance (equal sharing) developed through everyday yet long-term networks of community relations become intertwined with hierarchical interdependence of public office (Bocarejo, 2018: S49; Ruud, 2000: 277–289). Bonds of relatedness, networks of interdependencies, are emphasised by highlighting familiar connections of names and mutual histories, such that to be a 'good' Huamachuquino one can be called both to help others get a job or contract, but also to ensure public funds are administered 'fairly'. Rural communities are rumoured by city elites to have their votes 'bought' through bribes, however skilled networks of relatedness through ritual actions and

mayors authorising projects in villages suggest that as with local government jobs, projects and their associated processes are intertwined into local networks of moral community making (Ruud, 2000: 287–289). The uncertainty expressed through rumours of corruption are attempts to negotiate a blurred centre of public and private, of the state (Gupta, 2005: 17). The '*anxious concern*' is an important way in which the state is remade, through the consideration of how the public and private benefits should be distributed, through which relative positions of power are continuously challenged and remade (Lazar, 2005: 218; Muir and Gupta, 2018: S10; Parry, 2000: 50).

Chapter six focuses on the negotiation of power through scales of interactions (from international to local), suggesting that generalised ideals of progress must be translated through these scales, creating spaces of 'friction' (Tsing, 2005) and 'disjunctures' (Appadurai, 1990). The chapter considers how the rules and processes mandated by central government for public investment projects are used to decide which projects are undertaken. Whilst the rules and processes are seen to allow a performance of certainty leading to 'good governance' ('as if fact'), they are shown instead to be inherently uncertain due to global gold price fluctuations, timings of tax receipts and (unequal) social negotiations over the divisions of resources (Barry, 2002: 270–280; Bornstein and Sharma, 2016; Ferguson, 2006: 77–81). As the rules appear 'as if fact', the blame for apparent unsuccessful governance or projects is shifted to a local level where ideas of lack of 'modernity', education or technical competence are viewed as reasons for any 'failure' to progress (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002: 989; Harvey et al., 2013; Rose and Miller, 1992: 201). The transfer of uncertainty enables an imagined state and international narratives of modernity to appear as custodians of a certainty of knowledge which if correctly followed will produce modernity, reproducing power relations (Anderson, 1983; Gledhill, 2004: 174; Hansen, 2000: 257; Harvey and Knox, 2015: 200–202; Nuijten, 1998).

The uncertainty has the effect of not only promoting rumours of corruption as discussed in chapter five, but also in reinforcing networks of relationships of obligation of the moral community through which the rules and processes of projects become intertwined with networks of relatedness and identity making. *Caserío* leaders work to form alliances and work through and around rules and processes to incrementally renegotiate the local application of processes and to increase access to projects, renegotiating relative identities and power (Barry, 2002: 280; Bornstein and Sharma, 2016: 79). However, as rules and processes perform certainty 'as if facts', the rules constrain the ability of rural communities to access projects other than infrastructure. This means that the desire for equal access to projects becomes the focus of actions, providing the appearance

of connectivity to modernity as defined by central state rules, largely through infrastructure, rather than *caserío* defined ideas of improvements or progress.

The examination of rules and processes and the local interactions to agree projects suggests that uncertainty of actions continues throughout. Even once a project is apparently agreed, it is not sure to take place, and if it does, what form it will take. As a result, the participatory budget which central government guidelines mandate to prioritise projects for the following year, is a ritualised meeting (Albert, 2016). The participatory budget is a performance of procedure and communal ideals of collaboration through which projects formally must pass, and through which obligations of communal reciprocity between rural communities and the local government are enacted. Whilst relative positions of power and applications of rules are challenged through the formations of alliances and collaborations to gain projects, the rules and processes confine and define the space of negotiation and challenge, such that relative positions of power appear to be remade.

Chapter seven considers how the design, contracting, construction, inauguration and continuing use of projects mediate the simultaneous inclusion and exclusion of local actors. Through this, it considers how relative identities are manifest and (re)negotiated through projects, (re)making hierarchies of power (Kaur, 2013: 131; Wolf, 1990: 593). The projects appear as active monuments to the relationships that make them, both symbols of ideals of progress and modernity and of the connectivity between people and their inclusion in modernity (Cherry, 2013: 10; Hobsbawm, 1983a: 276; Kaur, 2013: 132–3). They are central spaces through which the 'blurred boundaries' of inclusion and exclusion, public and private are negotiated using intertwined scales and 'layerings' of 'boundary objects' of naturalised rules and processes, ideals integrated into local networks of habitual networks of interactions and the materiality of project creation (Gupta, 1995; Lefebvre, 2003: 79,99; Mitchell, 1991; Mukerji, 2014; Star, 2010)..

It is suggested that the method and choice of design both includes and excludes *caseríos* through the use of materials connected with ideas of modernity (concrete as modern and adobe as non-modern) (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1994; De La Cadena, 2000: 2–12; Harvey, 2010; Orlove, 1998; Weismantel, 2001: 188–190). The analysis explains how the design choice leads to the application of specific government processes of contracting which require particular types of companies to undertake the work, excluding *caseríos* from contracts (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 128; Carr, 2010: 189). Despite this, during construction negotiations continue such that the practical knowledge of members of the communities is required both through their labour and their

oversight of projects to ensure they are undertaken to their satisfaction (Alexander, 2001; Harvey et al., 2013: 299–300; Harvey and Knox, 2015: 200–202). The maintenance of these spaces requires networks of social relations to be engaged such that *caseríos* can continue to assert and maintain their connectivity to contractors and the municipality (Lefebvre, 1991: 34; Massey, 2005: 9–11). The chapter concludes by reflecting on the inauguration of a secondary school, and suggests it is a ritual of communal relationship making through the materials and space of the school. The ritual recognises the creation of an active monument, actions continuously renegotiating and remaking relative identities through it as a central space, an emblem of progress and connectivity.

Chapter 2. History, moral community and 'progress' in Huamachuco

When I found myself chatting to Mateo, whose words framed the introduction, he had asked me what I was doing in Huamachuco, and on hearing my response made his two-hour reply, explaining the importance of mining to Huamachuco. He started with the pre-Incan Huamachucos and ended at the present day. This telling of history was an explanation of why mining was considered a mechanism by which Huamachuco could rightfully return to both local and national importance. The focus on Huamachuco as a modern centre of forward-thinking politics, economy and creative culture was emphasised at each point made by Mateo, subsequently by others, and observed by myself being celebrated during events in the city.

This chapter focuses on an elite construction of history and moral community. It will consider how the moral community, outlined in the introduction, is formed by actors through different types of labour, promoting the ideal of communal 'progress'. Starting with a discussion of the historical development of European ideals of 'progress' and its spread through colonialism (including to Peru), the chapter then focuses on how local elites seek to establish local connections to broader ideas of 'progress' and 'modernity' through labour. These actions, which seek to connect local histories to broader conceptions of modernity, are required to establish membership in the community. As discussed later (chapters four, six and seven) these ideals of communal 'progress' upon which the moral community is founded, frame the negotiations that take place over projects. The purpose of this chapter is not therefore to demonstrate how international actors or the national government use cultural heritage to assert power locally, but rather to show how local elites interpret their own positionality in relation to their understandings of broader narratives of modernity in order to negotiate local social relations.

The chapter follows the construction of history often set out by elite Huamachuquinos like Mateo; focusing on past events and people considered to have promoted the progress of Huamachuco or Peru. I identify three main eras (pre-conquest, post-conquest and Republic, twentieth century to the present) which are focussed on in the elite narrative of Huamachuco's history, leading to the present-day where mining is seen as returning Huamachuco to modernity and its rightful place within the creation of a modern Peru. Histories highlighted in Huamachuco, seek to connect it and its people to their perceptions of national histories of progress through pre-conquest heritage, including democracy and writing, as markers of education and progress. Through present day

actions, modernity as a tradition is celebrated and asserted in the present; a moral ideal of communal progress.

Following Mines (2002) and Basu (2007), the chapter shows how local actors seek to interpret their readings of broader ideals of progress which are translated locally through using signs, forms, ideologies or icons adopted from different scales of interaction (national or international), and different periods of time. This means that particular types of progress are commemorated which seek to connect Huamachuco to local perceptions of national and international conceptions of progress, locally reinterpreted and woven through local memoryscapes (Basu, 2007).

Distinctions between other parts of the community are reformed through these interactions, as commemorative acts are organised and undertaken largely by the city elite. Whilst public commemoration of these histories appears inclusive of any who wish to attend, the celebration of history seen in connection to progress tends to exclude those outside of the city elite, aligning with broader national (and international) hierarchies of modernity. Other narrations of local histories from urban migrants or rural members of the district are not reflected here, highlighting one way in which the elites distinguish themselves from other parts of the moral community. The establishment of membership to the broader moral community of the district is explored further in chapter three and six.

Since the advent of large-scale mining there has been an increase in elite focus on the commemoration of past progress. These actions are a response to increased migrants' presence (rural-city), increased economic activity and government funding especially seen through public investment projects. By connecting the present changes to the past, the elite reassert their presence and role in negotiating the moral community, and the translations of ideals of progress.

Modernity, memory and moral community

Ideals of 'progress' underpin a range of what are understood to be 'good actions' whereby individual and/or collective actions are viewed as contributions to the collective benefit of the district. In important respects, these ideas about and actions in favour of the collective good resonate with 'moral economy' literatures, from which I use the term moral community, as discussed in the introduction. In Huamachuco the construction of communal memory expresses a repeated moral desire to 'progress', to become more 'modern'. This is an interpretation of time (past from the present) and space (between selves and others) in the formation of relative identities.

The idea of 'modernity', comes not from an etic truth, but from a history of culture (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1993: xi–xii; Sahlins, 1996). Whilst it originated in a Western description of the period of time after the Middle Ages (Renaissance), during the Enlightenment it acquired a qualitative sense that it was "*completely other, even better than what has gone before*" (Koselleck, 1985: 238). In this it lost its application to a period of time and became a dynamic qualitative evaluation of progress (Koselleck, 1985; Osborne, 1992).

This concept of modernity spread through colonialism and *"…thereafter, the differential between itself and other 'times' was reduced to a difference within a single temporal scale of 'progress', 'modernization' and 'development'*." (Osborne, 1992: 78). Through this qualitative construction of time came a moral ordering of time and space where the collective aim is a strong economy such that acts to progress the community were moral (Taylor, 2002: 100–107).

The interpretation of the past in forming identities in the present is also constructed through imaginations of a future self (Hall, 1996: 4; Radzik, 2014: 38), such that the present can be a place of perpetual dissatisfaction and pessimism (Hirschman, 1975; Sahlins, 1996: 415). Thus, the continuing pursuit of progress is always comparable in time and space to a constantly changing 'modern', beyond reach. The point of construction is the present, a continuously liminal site of change where the self and other meet, the point between the past and future. In this way 'modernity' has become a relative and comparative term, used to distinguish hierarchies of selves and others through time and space.

The focus on European Enlightenment in the analysis of ideas of modernity has been criticised, resulting in debates over narratives of multiple modernities, and whether these narratives reduce points of analysis and comparison (Englund and Leach, 2000; Goody, 2010; Nederveen Pieterse, 2011). The spread of ideas of Enlightenment modernity is also a discourse where capital is dominant, which turns "*the violence of mercantilist trade, war, genocide, conquest, and colonialism into a story of universal progress, development, modernization, and freedom.*" (Chatterjee, 1990: 129). The effects of capitalism and colonialism, makes Enlightenment philosophies influential in construction of modernities and 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1983: 5–7; Chatterjee, 1993; Gellner, 1983: 48–49; Mignolo, 2010; Quijano, 2007).

In the case of Huamachuco, I suggest that the local structuring of history uses values of Enlightenment to view modernity as a moral communal endeavour to progress. This is particularly clear in the focus on the period of the establishment of the Republic and its early history. However, as will become clear throughout this thesis, particularly chapter three, they are interwoven with other traditions, particularly Andean conceptions of duality and negotiation through communal rituals in liminal space.

The construction of a collective history reflects how memory is always in relation to others; personal memories are within a framework of collective memory which enable them to be recollected (Halbwachs, 1992: 38,53; Pine, 2007: 105–108; Portelli, 1991). However, memory is a repeated interpretation and reconstruction of the past from the position of the present (Carsten, 2007: 17; Connerton, 1989: 2–5; Cruikshank, 1998: 2,92; Halbwachs, 1992: 47). This does not mean that the past can be entirely rewritten without continuity, but rather that *"…it can only be selectively exploited"*(Schwartz, 1979: 396), representing continuity and change (Coser, 1992: 34). These histories and their commemoration are not an accident (even if gradually changing), but rather are reinterpretations in the present of the past, and through this construction of identities, are sites of negotiation of power (Hall, 1981: 237).

The physical and public commemoration of communal histories is part of their continuous recreation and negotiation of identity; belonging is made through repeated public communal action in spaces (Taylor, 2002: 107–113). This is a bodily recollection and performance through habitual practice; there is a 'bodily social memory' (Connerton, 1989: 2–5, 34-35,71). Connerton (1989: 78–95) explains this is in the everyday informal 'incorporating practices'; bodily 'techniques' or 'properties' (such as a smile or handshake), as well as through more formal ritualised events. These incorporate members to the group and distinguish them from others through practice. Although those outside the group may recognise a behaviour, they may not incorporate it into their own being (Bourdieu, 1984; Connerton, 1989: 90).

These bodily social memories of community, are constructed through public acts including art, literature, sport, education and festivals which each constitute ways of being and common imagined histories and traditions (Hobsbawm, 1983a, 1990: 73–93). Through these acts, different sub communities are distinguished, but they can also be united within a broader belonging. This often links to founding values around which people unite, particularly through a founding act as

well as daily rituals such as flag raising. The bodily participation of members of the community enables inclusion and a sense of cohesion (Ibid.). However, these communal acts are not stable, and are sites of change and negotiation such that power is constantly contested through social identities in a process of potential social change (Alonso, 1992; Corrigan and Sayer, 1985; Hall, 1981: 233; Mallon, 1994: 70–72).

The embodied telling of history in place: Values of community

Pre conquest

Huamachuquinos are particularly proud of their unique pre-Inca past, emphasising their past use of the distinct language of Culle[21] rather than a purely Quechua heritage, and that Inca conquest only took place eighty years before the arrival of the *Conquistadores*. Promoting and protecting this unique history, particularly since the mid 2000s (coinciding with the advent of large-scale mining), they have sought national and international recognition and funding for the archaeological sites.

I suggest that the desire in Huamachuco to recreate and participate in constructions and enactments of a pre-conquest past that is considered unique, relates to an international dynamic of valuing 'authenticity' (Graburn, 1995: 168–169) where local actors in Huamachuco hope for national and international recognition and the possibility of improving the local and national economy through tourism. These events bind the community to a unique history, identity and origin (Hobsbawm, 1983a, 1990: 73). As such these visions of the past from the present are tinged with hopes for the future: these acts are moral in their aims for the community to progress and be modern.

The pre-conquest history of Huamachuco as told locally covers both Pre-Inca and Inca periods. The Pre-Inca Huamachucos civilisation built Marcahuamachuco on mountain tops overlooking the present-day city. Both Marcahuamachuco and the later Wiracochapampa are the two main archaeological sites in Huamachuco and are impressive in their scale[22]. The local government under Mayor Carlos Loyola gained funding for archaeological investigations of Marcahuamachuco, and improvements to visitor infrastructure (MPSC, 2010). At the same time the Ministry of Culture agreed to establish an office in Huamachuco to oversee local archaeological sites in 2009. In 2019,

[21]See (Isbell, 2010; Lau, 2010)

[22]See (Lange Topic, 1986; Lange Topic and Topic, 1987; Lau, 2005; Rowe, 1954; Thatcher, 1972; Topic, 1998)

the central government's Ministry of Culture put forward a case for Marcahuamachuco to be considered a UNESCO world heritage site[23].

Photograph 18: Marcahuamachuco

Photograph 19: Marcahuamachuco

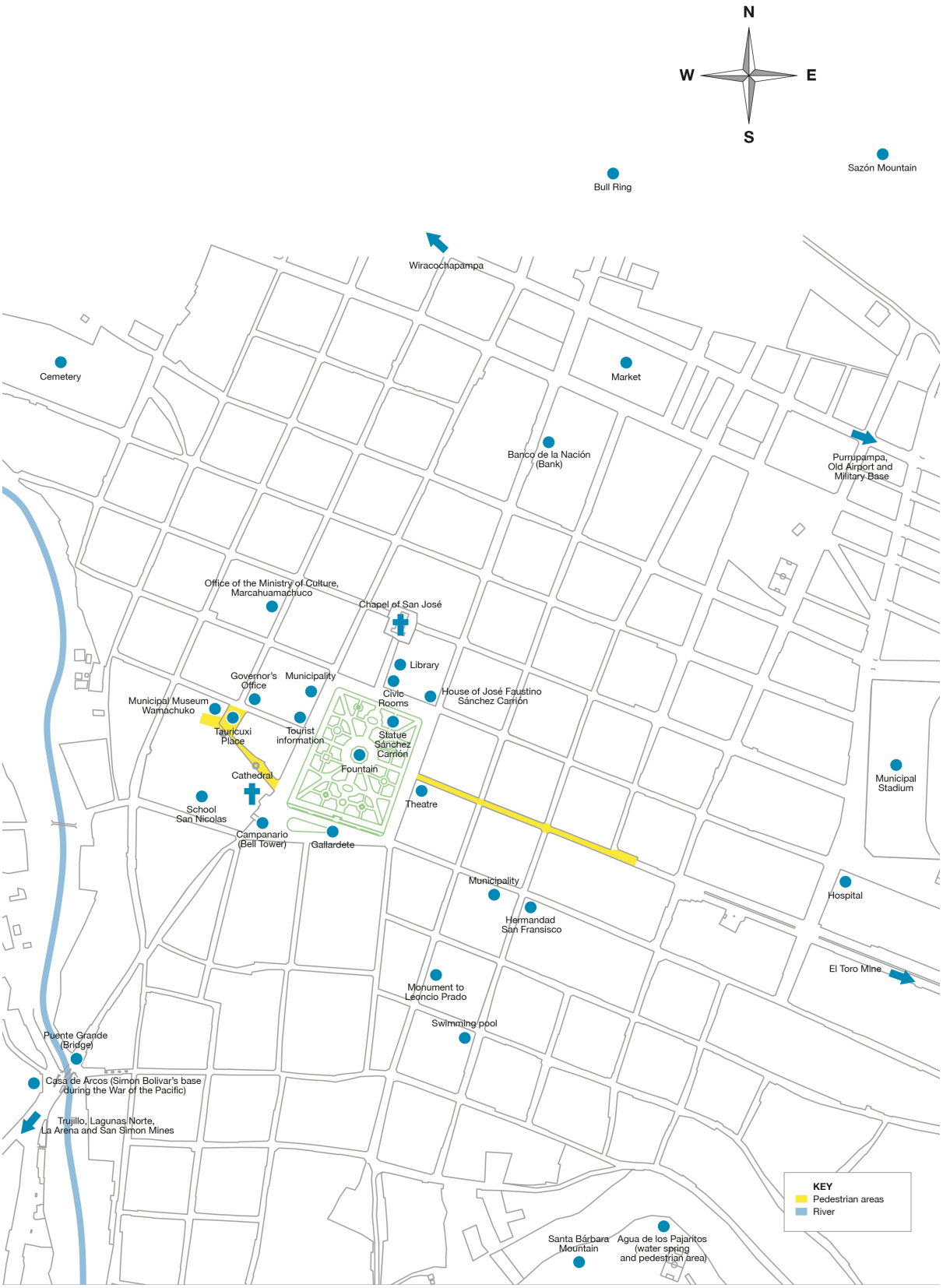
[23]See https://whc.unesco.org/fr/listesindicatives/6409/

Photograph 20: Wiracochapampa

Whilst the archaeological sites are a short drive from the city, pre-Conquest history is brought into the modern city through features of the built environment, civic rituals and the telling of legends. I was told by many elite Huamachuquinos that the central plaza is believed to be built over one half of the previous Inca plaza. It is assessed by Topic and Topic Lange (1993: 24–26) that the Chapel of San José, built post Conquest, sits on the Inca *ushnu* (ritual complex including platform), and that the Inca plaza extended further north (Topic, 1994: 114). Stones said to be from the Inca period are used as centrepieces in the planted borders of the plaza and topiary is cut in the form of items (pots) found at archaeological sites (Photograph 21 and Photograph 22).

Photograph 21: Stone said to be from archaeological sites feature in the plaza

Photograph 22: Topiary of pots found at archaeological sites



Map 6: Huamachuco centre

<u>Note</u>: Two municipal offices are marked: The oldest is on the plaza and the main office, housing the mayor's office, is a few blocks away. There are other municipal offices, largely within a few blocks of the plaza.

Data Source: Provincial Municipality Sánchez Carrión Graphics: Rosie Lockey

There is a small local history museum, just behind the plaza, which displays archaeological findings including mummified remains. The pedestrian area and small ornamental square outside the museum were renovated by Mayor Carlos Loyola between 2007-2010, enabled by increased public funds from mining tax receipts. There is a statue of pre-Incan leader Tauricuxi in the square/place (whose face is modelled on the ex-mayor's[24]), and small fountains with concrete-cast stylised pre-conquest heads. The other area pedestrianised by the same mayor also has paving stones from local quarries, and there are iron benches and streetlights in a 1900s European style. Carlos Loyola told me he wanted to use local materials to connect to the local land and its history, whilst having elegant seats and streetlamps like you see in European parks.

Photograph 23: Tauricuxi statue

[24] To my eye, it was not obviously so, but the ex-mayor explained in conversation that this was done as no-one knew what Tauricuxi looked like. I am unaware of other such statues, but mayors commonly placed themselves in relation to Huamachuquino history and acts of 'progress'. I suggest this is in order to relate themselves to a moral history and build present relationships, as becomes clear in following chapters.

Photograph 24: Tauricuxi place

Photograph 25: Pedestrian area with new glass-fronted bank on left

This is just one example of the incorporation of different parts of history, through materials (concrete, local stones) and design (both pre-colonial and perceived European) into the centre of Huamachuco since the advent of increased funds from large-scale mining. Through these places,

Huamachuquinos create a physical construction of the local conception of Huamachuco as a centre of culture. The local population continuously interact in these spaces, integrating them into their lives and reaffirming the connections between histories and modernity. This is further explored in relation to projects in chapter four regarding the refurbishment of the plaza and chapter seven in the use of design and materials of projects. Spatial and temporal scales of modernity are connected to the present, connecting local interpretations of international and national ideas of modernity to physical construction and use of space (Basu, 2007; Mines, 2002).

In addition to the built environment, pre-Conquest past is also incorporated into a few civic ceremonies using costume and the enactment of an origin legend. The use of these imagined pre-Inca costumes is a relatively new phenomena, starting in the early 2000s (around the advent of large-scale mining). They are mainly used during the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia (only by a few members of the city population who are allocated specific roles; Miss Huamachuco and her assistants), and during an enactment of a pre-Inca legend during the '*Gran Chaccu*'.

Photograph 26: Miss Huamachuco and assistants next to the mayor, 2015 Fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia

Miss Huamachuco and her assistants, selected annually prior to the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia, wear what are imagined to be pre-Inca costumes during the fiesta and other civic duties throughout the year. Whilst the selection of a Miss Huamachuco started in the 1970s, much like a

beauty pageant, the use of this costume is recent. The role of Miss Huamachuco is to be visible during key cultural events, but particularly to head the processions of the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia with her two helpers, in the centre of the city. It is seen as a prestigious role (when I was there it was held by members of the elite), and one which the families of the winner of the contest are congratulated. The elite young women, like the patron saint, Virgin of the Alta Gracia, are representative of the purity and unity of the community. They represent the ultimate moral position, silent in their ceremonial roles, walking ahead surrounded by those involved in politics and business. They are viewed as without personal agenda, save for the potential prosperous reproduction of the united community.

As a position of communal moral symbolism, Miss Huamachuco is also part of the modernising project which seeks to connect Huamachuco with international acts seen as modern (Canessa, 2012b: 273–279). Where in the 1970s it was a beauty pageant without imagined historical dress, today it combines with ideas of cultural authenticity, perceived as providing meaning, internationally desired as part of heritage and modern tourism (Graburn, 1995, 2001a, 2001b).

The ceremony of the '*Gran Chaccu*[25]' (Great Corral), started in 2004. There is a costumed performance recounting an origin legend where a symbolic payment is made to the earth by, largely, young performers who are dressed in what are imagined to be pre-Inca costumes.

[25] *Chaccus* are also undertaken elsewhere in Peru as part of both vicuña projects and reimagined pasts linked to tourism. See for example (Cepeda-Caceres, 2019).

Photograph 27: The Gran Chaccu

This takes place in the first week of August, as part of the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia and the regional festival of the vicuña which takes place at the foot of the Huaylillas mountain by the Cushuro lake, about a twenty minute drive from the city centre. The mountain and lake are considered as sacred in local legends. The mountain is called '*apu*' (Quechua for mountain god) by elites, and from interviews and local texts it appears the use of '*apu*' is limited to poetry and cultural events connecting the present with pre-Inca past. Interviews suggest that this term is relatively recently reintegrated[26] into local elite discourse of local culture (in the last twenty years), and unused by my rural interlocutors[27]. It is used in some other parts of Andean Peru (for example Cajamarca, Cusco, Apurímac) and reflected in literatures (for example De La Cadena, 2010; Gose, 1986)[28]. Quechua is also spoken by one enactor of costumed ceremonies, when libations of cocoa leaves and alcohol are performed. Both the Quechua and the libations are not used outside of these performances and are only undertaken by one performer who has learnt lines and actions of libations. The use of Quechua, the offerings and changes in terms for the mountain suggest an attempt by elites to connect with an idea of an 'authentic' past, using language and actions to relate

[26] See (Sarimento de Gamboa, 2000: 143,152-153,160; Williams and Nash, 2006)
[27] However, an imp like malevolent '*muqui*' is thought to be encountered around and in mines. This term is more broadly used by those whose lives are connected with mining, and local accounts were in relation to the population living around the artisanal mines in El Toro. Accounts of '*muqui*' are reflected in literature in other parts of the Peruvian Andes, see for example (Salazar-Soler, 2010).
[28] Also see Nash (1979) in Bolivia.

back to imagined actions of pre-Conquest to present a unique present identity, as an act of integration into modern ideals of heritage (Graburn, 1995, 2001a, 2001b).

Thus, a tradition of communal modernity is built through combining and remaking histories through present day actions. This reflects the potential power and local agency in using a (neo)colonial economy of desire[29] for authenticity of 'other', and how local identities and economic choices are constructed in relation to international tourism and conceptions of authenticity (Canessa, 2012a). These actions seek to connect international and national icons of modernity, of authentic and unique heritage to Huamachuco, contributing to modernity today in which heritage and tourism is part of Peruvian national economic growth.

National discourses of modernity through tourism are also interconnected with 'productive' investment projects of the local government[30]. The *Gran Chaccu*/ vicuña festival is linked to the local government funded project to reinstate vicuñas to the district, working with the community of Cushuro. The choice of a vicuña project reconnects Huamachuco to a source of national history and pride in the use of camelids[31], vicuña providing the most expensive fleece and the location connecting narratives of pre-Incan past.

The vicuñas must be corralled off the high-altitude slopes once a year for shearing and medical checks. This requires many people to draw very long ropes out around the animals and gradually bring them in. The process takes hours, and people from all over the district join to help, accompanied by a small market of artisanal goods, music and food.

[29] See (Cabezas, 2009 cited in Canessa 2012a:110)
[30] See chapter six.
[31] There are very few camelids in the district, I saw non except this project.

Photograph 28: Walking out using long ropes to corral vicuña

Photograph 29: Walking back, herding vicuña

Photograph 30: Vicuña in the corral

Photograph 31: Two of the vicuña are used in the ceremony of the Gran Chaccu

Photograph 32: Families picnic after the Gran Chaccu and herding vicuña

Photograph 33: Shearing vicuña

Photograph 34: Folding vicuña fleece

In a practical sense the event enables the vicuñas to be corralled with the labour of the population, largely rural communities, taken to the mountain from the city by local government funded transport and entertained by an enactment of the pre-Conquest legend by local actors. Vicuñas are sheared and treated by vets employed by the municipality whilst the community of Cushuro tend to the vicuñas throughout the year and manage the folding of the sheared fleeces. The exchange reinforces communal interdependence through ceremony, labour (corralling and acting), food and a party. It is enjoyable for all participants, and the project is not only a useful income for Cushuro but also a source of pride that the reintroduction of vicuñas (financially and symbolically precious animals of the Andes), is supported by the municipality and the participation of the general population.

The *Gran Chaccu* shows how a local government project of reintroducing vicuña to the area interweaves spatial (international-national-local) and temporal scales of identity formation. The project is a space where communal ideals of modernity or progress are seen in relation to international and national conceptions of unique heritage and tourism, as well as ritualised labour of community making, and the promised economic growth of vicuña fleece sales. Later chapters explore how this also takes place in connection to other public investment projects such as new school buildings.

The pre-Inca past is increasingly used by the local elites to reassert the unique identity and importance of Huamachuco, not only locally but in national history and culture. The actors are from the city, the design and use of the costumes result from recent elite ideas. The locations

(plaza and sacred mountain) and timings of the events (central fiesta) draw these identities into key meanings of what it is to be from Huamachuco. Through a contemporary ritualised reading of their specific history they demonstrate they are uniquely able to contribute to national pride and the importance of Peru to international conceptions of what is 'unique' and 'authentic'. Graburn (1995: 168–169) argues that

> "Modern tourists expect the world 'out there' to confirm their beliefs about the way it should be. If it is different from their expectations, they may be worried that it is not 'authentic'. … in the lives of more 'natural' peoples from the countryside, or equally that authenticity is a quality of the past and of history that had somehow been lost in modern life."

In the repetition of these local histories in civic events (and later through writings), there is a focus on unique historical culture as part of a 'modern' identity. These events are constructed both in order to relate back to unique history and identity which binds the community in an origin (Hobsbawm, 1983a, 1990: 73), but also as participants in modernity. Attempts to gain national and international recognition for archaeological sites, fiestas and dances (UNESCO, recognition of national patrimony) indicates the importance placed on this unique culture being seen and acknowledged, thus contributing to the national pride, trade (tourism) in culture, and ideas of 'progress'.

By connecting scales of space and time, local actions to commemorate and remake histories today are framed within national ideas of heritage and modernity (Basu, 2007; Mines, 2002). As such these visions of the past from the present are tinged with hopes for the future: these acts are seen as moral in their aims for the community to progress and be modern. As the example of the *Gran Chaccu* suggests, local government projects are intertwined into this process, part of negotiations of moral community making and ideals of communal progress.

Post Conquest and the making of the Republic

Post Conquest Foundations

The founding of the post-conquest city of Huamachuco in 1553 by Augustin monks is celebrated in the central annual fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia (High Grace). I discuss in chapter three how rituals of communal labour are enacted reaffirming socio-economic structures and relationships between different parts of the district. This relates the use of central space of the

district, the plaza, to the histories relating through scales of space and time in the remaking of moral community.

Other fiestas take place over the year both in Huamachuco city and other parts of the district, most often in relation to particular saints' days. In Huamachuco, whereas the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia is a fiesta of the whole district, the fiesta of Saint Francisco (Francis) of Assisi, also known as Taita Pancho[32], is undertaken by the city itself, with the central day on 4th October. Sadly space does not permit a full discussion of this fiesta which lasts a month, but I note below the importance of the fiesta in the linking of history post conquest and the role of the elite in relation to the creation of moral community.

The Catholic festival focuses on the Saint, celebrated for his promotion of poverty, charity and care for nature (Heimann, 2017). In Huamachuco the celebration also focuses on the memorialisation of the story of a Spanish Captain who was a devotee of Saint Francisco and lived on the plaza in the colonial period. During an interview, Ciro Meléndez Galarreta, a senior member of the brotherhood of Saint Francisco in Huamachuco, explained to me that the Captain was accompanied by a slave from Africa who was also a valued companion. During a typhus epidemic the slave became ill and died. Because there were so many dead, and a severe hailstorm hit, the bodies were left unburied at the cemetery. In the middle of the night, the Captain heard a knock at the door and they found the servant alive. It was believed to be due to the intervention of Saint Francisco, and the Captain promised that he would always perform the fiesta each year to give thanks for saving his slave and companion.

Whilst Ciro and others in Huamachuco believed that the fiesta had been celebrated since that time, the recent growth of the fiesta started in 1923 when a group of Huamachuquinos formed the brotherhood (including Ciro's grandfather, its first president) and increasingly organised the fiesta. During the main day of the fiesta, all day processions take place with the icon of Saint Francisco around the plaza, and two smaller icons with alters in five areas of the city. Originally these were undertaken by the same families, but now change to incorporate more devotees who offer to share food and drink (sandwiches, sweets, drinks and a fermented maize drink) to devotees visiting alters. Devotees, called '*negros*' 'blacks' or more commonly '*negritos*' 'little blacks' (indicating endearment), dress in dark brown capes, white shawl, with a cap with a white ribbon, paint themselves black, carry a red carnation in their mouths and are barefoot. The black paint is said to be to remember

[32] *Taita* meaning father in Quechua and *Pancho* a Spanish shortening of the name Francisco

the slave that was saved, and the carnation the hope of life, brotherhood in San Francisco and symbolise the lack of voice of the slave.

Photograph 35: 'Negritos' of the fiesta of Saint Francisco. Member of the brotherhood (front right) distinguished by the plaque and golden ribbon (they also carry a short ceremonial whip)

Photograph 36: Fiesta of Saint Francisco

Where previously participation was by city elite families, there are now many '*negritos*' such that the plaza is full, and the parade lasts a long time. It is not only the elite and members of the brotherhood (currently numbering around 6000) which participate but also other city inhabitants. However, within the organisation of the brotherhood, there is a closer-knit group of elite families who provide support to one another throughout the year and organise activities for the fiesta. Other events of the fiesta include the collection of donations and giving away of baskets of goods to anyone who requests one, and at Christmas an event to provide hot chocolate and panettone to anyone, particularly the poor.

Ciro explained that for approximately thirty years there have been additional celebrations for the month of the fiesta (which previously had been more informal and intermittent). During the month of the fiesta, members of the brotherhood attend different families' houses around the city, in which the icons of San Francisco are kept (five different locations each week). Participants, especially the young, dress up in costumes often to change themselves in some way, with Halloween type masks, borrowed uniforms from work such as lab coats or hard hats, one man cross dresses as famous Peruvian TV personalities. At each house celebrants line up to pray at the icon, they receive food (such as a pasty, sandwich, sweets) and drink, and dance three dances, two marineras and one huayno, to local brass band music.

Photograph 37: Devotee venerates an icon of Saint Francisco

Photograph 38: A family hosting a celebration is given a framed poster from the brotherhood as thanks. These are often hung proudly in front rooms of houses.

I attended multiple parts of the fiesta in both 2014 and 2015. Whilst there are many participants on the main day of the fiesta, during the weekend celebrations throughout the month, celebrations appear to focus around families who are particularly engaged with the brotherhood. These are largely elite families who want to host an altar, provide food and music, and whose children dress up parade from house to house and dance. This part of the fiesta is more difficult to anticipate as each night different family homes are visited, such that knowing people in the brotherhood, and following the procession between houses, is necessary. Because of this, whilst anyone can attend, attendees are largely from the families of 'known' Huamachuquinos. These celebrations are also less likely to attract a broader audience because of these interconnections and the invitation into people's houses which can only entertain a smaller number of people.

Through the brotherhood and the celebration of the fiesta today, city elites use communal rituals to connect local and international ideas of morality expressed through historical figures and distinguish themselves from others in the city and district. By connecting a local story of the Spanish Captain and the slave to the internationally recognised Saint Francisco, local stories and histories are interconnected with the international. The Spanish Captain, in his residence on the plaza, connected to elite families, indicate a benevolent master of a black slave, and a morality indicated by his devotion to Saint Francisco. The gifts to the poor during the fiesta reflect the Saint's focus on charity and promoting a communal morality of sharing. The dress and the parade

promote an idea of equality, the importance of sharing and the possibility that hierarchies can be upturned. This is reflected in the dressing as black slaves, which questions hierarchies and as the costumes are the same, makes it difficult to identify individuals, as does the dressing up at weekly parades. However, it is also indicative of continuing difference, this is a fiesta for the city, not the rural areas, who often historically worked on the haciendas of the city's elite. Because immigrants now also participate in the main day of the fiesta, the relatively recent development to include weekly parades to people's houses also indicates the importance of this fiesta as a space to indicate the difference of the city elite from immigrants.

Thus, the different scales of histories and ideals of communal progress through sharing are promoted through the ritual in the central space of the city. At the same time, the actions distinguish the elite as a smaller part of the community which also reforms itself through communal actions of the brotherhood.

The importance of equality, charity, emancipation and education are also promoted through the story of a widowed landowner Florencia de Mora (d.1596), said to be descended from Inca as well as Spanish rulers. With her husband, she built the Chapel of San José on the centre stone of the Inca plaza, which today stands at the bottom of the plaza. But she is also revered for having given considerable land holdings and wealth to those inhabiting the land, and ensuring they had sufficient resources to pay taxes, a revolutionary act at the time. Cruz Ledesma (2004: 11) finishes telling her story by reflecting on the importance of her example to the present day;

> "…from the great daughter of Waylillas, her great work of social benefit, played her part of spiritual mother of the dispossessed of her race… her name would persist across the centuries and continue always living in the hearts of the Huamachuquinos, as a great example to all the women to follow her ideal of social justice and her ideas which are like a light guiding life's path."

In this case, the moral ideals of progress connect Spanish and indigenous elite families together, with de Mora's progressive actions promoting morals of equality and communal sharing as progress. The stories of de Mora's life are repeated in schools, in local publications (see below), in her inclusion in the rows of paintings of important locals adorning civic meeting rooms, and in the naming of a secondary school after her. The values which are celebrated in her life promote the protection of the community, the duty to use resources for the community, fairness, spirituality

(in building the chapel) and the provision of an important building through which community identity can be united and expressed.

Photograph 39: Paintings of de Mora to the left, opposite Sánchez Carrión to the right in the civic rooms (during the Fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia)

Photograph 40: San José Chapel with twin towers at the lower end of the plaza

Within locally told histories, this story of moral action to free local populations from servitude is followed by the fight for independence from Spain, hundreds of years later. Despite this, many buildings from this era of the 'historic centre' of Huamachuco (around the plaza), including the elite houses and monuments such as the bell tower, have become part of the local identity. The buildings are made using a rammed earth technique (*tapial*[33]), pitched clay-tiled roofs. Houses have been gradually altered with additions such as concrete staircases and retain older features such as wooden balconies, floors and rafters, internal cobbled or garden courtyards, high ceilings, and large rooms. They are resilient to earthquakes and are known for maintaining a pleasant temperature despite the cold nights of the Andes.

Photograph 41: View across internal courtyard from the second storey of a house on the plaza

Photograph 42: Houses around the plaza with multiple internal courtyards

[33] Distinct from adobe

The buildings are often depicted in local works of art, particularly the bell tower, the image of which is made into ornaments, sitting on many a Huamachuquino mantelpiece, alongside ornamental figures of festival dancers. Some of the houses surrounding the plaza, largely of elite families, although modernised internally remain mostly in their traditional form with two storeys of rooms surrounding internal courtyards and gardens. Their form of construction and the modern-day memories of the lives lived within them are the source of much reminiscing of elite families. However, even those recent ways of life in the 1960s-1990s have now changed beyond measure and the buildings stand as physical reminders of those relationships and the hundreds of years of histories which came before them.

Photograph 43: Ornamental bell tower in a Huamachuquino home

Photograph 44: Ornamental dancers and bell towers for sale during the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia

Photograph 45: Painting the theatre in the plaza during the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia

Through the architecture, the space is a construction of the people and memories past. These physical monuments to past relationships within the community are particularly valued as they align with the construction of a history of the establishment of the Republic of Peru. It is a time which Huamachuquinos consider key to their identity of valuing progress and modernity through democracy, as seen in national foundation stories (Hobsbawm, 1983a). Different scales of time and space are related through the central buildings around the plaza, through which the moral ideals of community and sharing from international to local, from the colonial period to today, are intertwined.

Founding the democratic Peruvian Republic

The actions of José Faustino Sánchez Carrión (b.1787 in Huamachuco) in the establishment of the Republic of Peru are celebrated in Huamachuco and are a source of pride from which key communal values are drawn[34]. The province is named in his honour.

[34] There are many more historical figures of this period who are also remembered in Huamachuco for their acts of civic value such as holding important positions of government, in their valour in war, or in their writings of political, philosophical or artistic merit (for more see (Carbajal, 2015; Cruz Ledesma, 2004; La Riva Vegazzo, 2007). Other figures are celebrated in the naming of schools, remembered in public speeches and in the writings of local historians, poets and authors.

During the fight for independence, General José de San Martín set up the "Patriotic Society of Lima" to discuss whether independent Peru should follow a constitutional monarchist or republican representative democracy model. Whilst this organisation was largely made up of those in favour of monarchy, between March and December 1822, Sánchez Carrión wrote letters[35] anonymously as "*Solitario de Sayán*" strongly criticising monarchy and arguing for a representative democracy. In September of that year, San Martín agreed to the meeting of the first Congress of Peru, of which Sánchez Carrión was a member (and Secretary). By October of 1822 Sánchez Carrión wrote the "Letter to the Indians of the Interior Provinces" arguing for the liberty of all Peruvians, which was agreed by Congress and distributed by the army. In December the draft ("Bases") of the first Constitution was published, ratified in 1823, of which Sánchez Carrión was a key author (Ledesma, 2015b: 1; McEvoy Carreras, 2015: 58–66).

The language used by Sánchez Carrión in his writing is emancipatory, seeking liberty for all Peruvians, declaring the importance of civil liberty, pride in their patrimony and criticising the slavery and despotism of monarchy. He states that monarchy is to the detriment of "civic morality" suggesting it leads to "…employees with exceptions under the law, and scandal to honourable men". He argues that for people to be happy they must be free, and in order to be free, laws and institutions must work. For the laws and institutions to work, there must be "patriotism" and a focus on "civic morality" and "civic obligations", which can only happen when people are free (Sánchez Carrión, 1822a).

In the following period when Bolivar lead republican forces, Sánchez Carrión was given in 1824 the Ministerial role of leading the political administration and logistics for government and the campaign (Minister of Government and Foreign Affairs). During this time, he travelled extensively to engage with communities, affirming ties between them and the fledgling state. He focused on the provision of good bureaucracy and improvements to basic services such as hospitals, postal services and education (McEvoy Carreras, 2015: 366–368).

In 1824, Huamachuco became a garrison for Bolivar's troops, during which time Bolivar stayed in the childhood home of Sánchez Carrión, in Huamachuco on the plaza. Whilst Huamachuco's strategic location was valued, so were the significant contributions in money and goods given by Huamachuco. This support was particularly noted because of the poverty of the area, and the lack

[35] For example see (Sánchez Carrión, 1822a, 1822b, 1822c)

of direct benefit from their donations, which went to liberate the South. In recognition of this and the work of the wider Department of Trujillo, the Department was named "*La Libertad*", Liberty (McEvoy Carreras, 2015: 368–370).

As a result of Huamachuco's role, writing to General Santander in 1825, Bolivar called Huamachuco "Classic Land of Patriots". Previously, in 1821 Huamachuco had been called "Very Illustrious and faithful city" by General San Martín for its role in continuing to fight for independence despite being surrounded by areas temporarily supporting the monarchy (Rebaza Acosta, 2010: 19–20). Meanwhile Sánchez Carrión himself was honoured by Congress in 1825 as a distinguished patriot ("*Benémerito de la patria en grado heroico y eminente*") and in 1979 recognised as Founder of the Republic (Ledesma, 2015a: 2).

The commemoration of the death of José Faustino Sánchez Carrión (1825), takes place in the plaza every year on the second of June. The event was started relatively recently, around 2006, by Huamachuquinos who thought it important to celebrate the importance of his connection with Huamachuco. The day starts with a mass in the Cathedral on the plaza, attended by all municipality staff, politicians and dignitaries. Every attendee receives a small metal lapel pin with the picture of Sánchez Carrión stamped on it.

After, all the leaders of the city, as well as national and regional visiting dignitaries (for example representatives of Congress, the mayor of Lima) sit under a long gazebo in the plaza, facing the statue of Sánchez Carrión. Opposite them, a carpet of coloured wood shavings has been laid over the road, up the plaza steps and to the statue. The coloured wood shavings depict a golden bordered red carpet, with a crest of a book, depicting the role Sánchez Carrión played in establishing the first Republic of Peru.

The national anthem and that of Huamachuco (see below) are played over loud speakers, speeches are made recalling the importance of Sánchez Carrión in the creation of the Republic and his connection to Huamachuco, and poetry in honour of Sánchez Carrión is read by school children. Wreaths are laid by representatives of all the departments of government, and some other civic organisations, followed by a long procession by school children, civil servants and students around the plaza. The whole event is watched by residents from the centre of the plaza and makes local and regional news.

Photograph 46: Flowers at the foot of Sánchez Carrión statue, carpet of coloured wood chippings

Photograph 47: Marching on Sánchez Carrión day

In the commemoration of the life and actions of Sánchez Carrión in the plaza, Huamachuquinos today connect themselves to his actions; moral actions today are those which forward mutual

equality, democracy and education as ideals of progress. The participation in this day is not only the elite, but through the inclusion of schools, colleges and the university in the parade, and their families (many immigrants) looking on. It connects everyday and political life through the organisation, attendance and speeches by the mayor and visiting political dignitaries. That Sánchez Carrión, a Huamachuquino, trail-blazed these modern, emancipatory, revolutionary values which form the foundations of the modern state, draws not only a connection but also provides an inspiration for Huamachuquinos, including political leaders, to follow this example in their actions today. Through the communal enactment of this day in the plaza, the community interweave identities today through the tangible place of connection, the plaza. The scales of space and time which connect Huamachuco to national and international histories in the pursuit of ideals of progress, are realised in the local space of the plaza where Sánchez Carrión once was.

This day was subsequently made a national day of commemoration in 2017 by then president of Peru Pablo Kuczynski, recognising the importance of Sánchez Carrión to the creation of the democratic Republic. In the last ten to fifteen years, successive local governments have sought to gain national recognition of different aspects of Huamachuco's fiestas. As a result, the Turkos dance of the Alta Gracia fiesta, and the fiesta of Saint Francisco of Assisi have been declared as 'Cultural Patrimony of the Nation'. In seeking and gaining national recognition for these fiestas, Huamachuquinos seek to connect local fiestas with national conceptions of the modern value of history and cultural heritage (Graburn, 1995). Through these declarations, Huamachuquinos seek to remake the interconnections between scales of ideals of modernity, identifying Huamachuco as a place and people of progress.

This physical embodiment of the connection of the history of Huamachuco to that of the Republic of Peru is also seen in the remembrance of the final battle of the War of the Pacific which took place in Huamachuco on 10 July 1883[36]. The stories of the battle are recounted through writings (see below), paintings, a flag from battle, and other items from the period in a key civic hall, two plazas (one with a large obelisk to the fallen, and one to the death of Leoncio Prado in Huamachuco), parade to the fallen and in the re-enactment of the battle in the pampas of Huamachuco (Purrupampa).

[36] The War of the Pacific 1879-83) was fought between Chile on the one hand and Peru and Bolivia on the other. To this day it is seen as a traumatic even in the history of Peru (and Bolivia), in which territory was lost and fatalities were high.

Photograph 48: Items from the Battle of Huamachuco (left), Monument to Leoncio Prado (right)

Photograph 49: Plaza and obelisk to the fallen on 10 July parade, prior to the re-enactment

Photograph 50: Re-enactment of the Battle of Huamachuco (in Purrupampa)

This re-enactment started in 2016, involving the soldiers based in Huamachuco as well as civilians. The re-enactors played out the story in miniature, whilst over loudspeakers, a local historian, author and poet read out an account of the battle. High ranking dignitaries were invited from the army and politics, whilst hundreds of locals from all parts of the community looked on. The atmosphere was of a carnival, sellers of snacks and drinks keeping everyone sustained as they enjoyed the account of the battle enacted before them. As I left, the tourist office was handing out flyers to promote Huamachuco as a destination with all the dates of fiestas and celebrations, although to my knowledge, I was one of three foreigners present, and I understand most attendees were from Huamachuco. In the years since, it has received coverage in the national press[37], and has grown significantly since its initiation.

Both the longer tradition telling of this history and the re-enactment physically connects Huamachuco in the actions using of physical space of the pampas, close to where the events took place, to national narratives of the making of modern Peru. This places Huamachuco at the centre of the creation of the values of democracy and Enlightenment which are perceived as the

[37] For example (RPP, 2019)

foundations of the state, commemorated nationally on Peruvian Independence Day (28th July)[38]. It creates a moral ideal of honour, valour and doing one's best for the whole community, even in difficult situations (such as military defeat). It also seeks to distinguish the city elites from rural communities both locally and nationally, challenging national generalising "racial-geographical" (De La Cadena, 2000: 45–47) conceptions of Andean communities as backwards in comparison to the 'modern' coast (Lima, Trujillo)[39].

Academic historical analysis suggests a nuanced story of the establishment of the Republic. Gootenberg (2002) and Mallon (1992: 256–257, 1994: 105–106) demonstrate how from the initial establishment of the Peruvian state it has been considered to have 'structural instabilities' (Gootenberg, 2002: 274) and to be fragmented. Nevertheless the period of state formation between 1820 and 1850 established the administration of a territorial 'nation' (Gootenberg, 2002: 272). Thurner (1995) shows how during this period the definitions of belonging to different communities were being negotiated dependent on the differing histories of labour, property ownerships and tax requirements. Thurner (1995: 312–313) reveals how peasants, often written out of Post Conquest history and nation-state making, aligned with nationalists during the War of the Pacific due to concerns over double taxation. Thus, we can see how these narratives of history in Huamachuco are partial, told from the present by the elite with a particular focus on the aspiration for modernity and progress in the future, based on a reconstructed past.

Nevertheless, these local narrations of history are interrelated to the making of projects, as these ideals of modernity which intermesh scales of relations through space and time, are used in the negotiations over projects. Chapter four shows how these scales of relations are part of negotiations, in relation to the refurbishment of the plaza, where the role of the mayor and the importance of communal negotiation and consent are debated, along with the meaning of histories through the materials in the space.

These histories of equality, sharing, the importance of education and the material connections of spaces and constructions through time in relation to international-national-local ideas of modernity are intermeshed with the making of projects. Following chapters (four to seven) show how these ideals of moral community continue to be renegotiated through the sharing of funds for projects,

[38] See Harvey (1997)

[39] This is related to discussions of race and the history of hierarchies in the pre and post Republic Peru see for example (Alonso, 1992; De La Cadena, 1998, 2000: 45–47; Thurner, 1995; Weismantel and Eisenman, 1998)

their design, construction, inauguration and use; interlinking scales of ideals of moral community, of communal progress, projects are spaces through which these negotiations continue.

The importance of learning and the production of books: High culture and modernity.

The celebration of the histories, personalities, origin myths, short stories, poetry and important locations of Huamachuco through publications is both popular and valued for promoting communal values of modernity through learning and celebrating connections to local history and its personalities of moral standing. Texts are published regularly (often during the fiesta), and numerous copies can be found in the local library and in personal collections kindly shared with me (see for example Galarreta González (1986), Cruz Ledesma (2001, 2013), Reyna Marín (2000), Gastañadui Acevedo (2006), Peña Rebaza (2014)).

Since the advent of large-scale mining in the mid-2000s, there have been several books published by local and some national authors of history, culture, literature and poetry. Whilst this may reflect greater funds available from government or directly from mines (for example the publication by Castro de Trelles (2005) is funded by Barrick), it is locally viewed as a continuation of a long tradition of valuing 'high culture' in Huamachuco. Through publications and the celebration of lives focusing on education and 'high culture', Huamachuquinos interconnect local, national and international histories which promote these ideals of Enlightenment, of modernity, interweaving scales of space and time.

A significant historical figure connected to education and writing of history in Huamachuco is Nicolás Rebaza Cueto born in Huamachuco in 1811. He was Secretary of the Prefecture La Libertad, public prosecutor, the founder of multiple newspapers, a historian, and founded the secondary school on the plaza, San Nicolás, in 1860. Published in 1898, he wrote about the role of La Libertad in the wars of independence giving focus to the actions of communities such as Huamachuco. The multiple important roles Rebaza Cueto played during his life, places him on the lists of "Illustrious Huamachuquinos", celebrated in locally published books (Carbajal, 2015) and in the annual ceremony to mark the founding of the school. Both the actions of Rebaza Cueto and the acts of commemoration are part constitutive of the moral community, negotiating ideals of communal progress.

The interconnections between Huamachuco and international literature is also a way in which histories are used to intermesh local with national and international ideals of modernity. Two internationally celebrated authors of the early to mid-1900s, César Vallejo and Ciro Alegria (the latter born in Huamachuco), were educated at Colegio San Nicolás. In their writings they were both inspired by Huamachuco and its district. Both are remembered in speeches at civic events, poetry and in the naming of secondary schools. Vallejo's words are included in the civic anthem (see below). Their local importance shows how Huamachuco was connected to modernity not only through internationally acclaimed literature, but also the progressive politics of Indigenismo[40] and the APRA[41] movement with which they were associated (Cruz Ledesma, 2004: 58–59, 86–89). Today the school plays an active part in the memories of Huamachuquinos, imbued with the histories of these personalities, within whose walls they shared childhoods and acquired knowledge with which to become adult members of society, people of learning, modernity and integrity, celebrating their connection to Huamachuco. In relation to public investment projects the importance of formal education as a marker of modernity and social interconnection is reflected in the focus on the building of educational institutions in rural villages, further discussed in chapters six and seven.

In other contemporary writing, some local authors focus on documenting dances and traditions (Cruz Ledesma, 2003) or local linguistic differences in words/ sayings as well as recounting stories from the district (Reyna Marín, 2000). In the latter work, Reyna Marín also shares costumbrista[42] poetry honouring Huamachuco. Their titles demonstrate the importance of key locations and traditions, which are often repeated in Huamachuquino work, both written and artistic (sculptures, paintings and photography).

In the poem "The Goodbye[43]", Reyna Marín (2000: 214) highlights how being physically parted from Huamachuco is painful, how he was formed in the school of San Nicolás, and is indebted to the Virgin of the Alta Gracia, as the values of Huamachuco are embodied in them. The Virgin and the school are the embodiment of the community; only in his return can he be happy. The authors'

[40] For discussions on this see (De La Cadena, 2000; Mallon, 1992).
[41] Political party 'Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana', APRA saw the movement of lower and middle classes into national politics. APRA promoted anti-imperialism, "technical" and "scientific politics" see for example (Beals, 2005; Haya de la Torre, 2005; Nugent, 1994, 2010).
[42] Reflecting the Costumbrismo movement in art and literature across Hispanic world which focuses on local customs, in response to social change.
[43] The poem highlights the importance of The Virgin of the Alta Gracia, standing for Huamachuco, and the School of San Nicolás in which Huamachuquinos are made and able to go out in the world to decry the beauty of Huamachuco. Being parted from Huamachuco is painful and is only righted by return. See Annex 1.

act of declaration for Huamachuco is viewed as a noble contribution to the community's culture, it is a moral act of belonging and remembrance in relation to space and time.

The scalar relation of time and space in the construction of the moral community of Huamachuco is seen in the civic anthem of Huamachuco[44], which connects different phases of history in the construction of present day moral communal values. The anthem was written in 2011 as the result of a national competition organised by the then Mayor Luís Rebaza Chávez (Mendoza Acosta, 2011; RPP, 2011). It is sung at civic events, such as the commemoration of Sánchez Carrión, which often take place in places which embody historical and social memories (for example, the plaza, see chapter four). Thus, through its singing in these places, it becomes part of the lived embodiment of the continuous recreation of the community and its values.

Written in four verses, it recounts Huamachuco's connection to historic monuments, events and people but also celebrates communal moral aspirations. It particularly talks of Marcahuamachuco, Sánchez Carrión, the Battle of Huamachuco and the death of Leoncio Prado. It also reflects on the emotional connection between the history and landscape, and how those who live there remember it and are intertwined with it. It repeats connections between past acts viewed as honourable and present aspirations of ways of behaving. Through a moral past, a bloodline is created to the present, which is the call for the community to create an improved present and future. In the use of this hymn at regular civil events, the community continues to assert the importance of the values of honour, working together for the benefit of the community (local and national) in order to advance; improving through education and learning, culture and history.

The publication of such works is seen as a moral act of community making in which the values of high culture through publishing literature and the recounting of the unique communal histories embodied through places, are celebrated. Able to span historical periods, authors connect past (mythologies, pre-conquest, post-conquest, twentieth century) and present actions and places, recreating a communal morality in the pursuit of modernity through ideals of unique heritage and democratic egalitarian values, communally reconstructing imaginations of place through time. These interconnections of local, national and international icons of modernity are continued through projects as the sharing and allocations of types of projects, their design, construction and materials are part of these negotiations through scales of identity formation (see chapters four to seven).

[44] See Annex 2.

Views of the present; forgotten pasts and renewed futures of modernity

The history recorded and celebrated in events and written histories does not extend beyond the mid twentieth century. This reflects a sense amongst the elite that Huamachuco has been in decline since then, particularly in terms of economy and political importance. This period of perceived decline encompasses the agricultural reforms (1969) and impacts of the Shining Path conflicts in the 1980s and 1990s, including rural-urban migration (see Map 7 below). Little is publicly commemorated of these periods but instead memories shared by elite interlocutors are of personal intra-familiar connections focusing on values of communal support, high culture (education, literature, music and art) and the continuation of traditions (fiestas, dances). The introduction of large-scale mining in the early 2000s is seen as the return of Huamachuco's modernity, relinking the values of the past to the present, reconnecting Huamachuco to the national narrative of progress and modernisation, with hopes of continued future progress.

Whilst many elite Huamachuquino interviewees acknowledge the importance of the agrarian reforms of 1969[45] in improving rural communities' independence and equality, most focus on a perceived effect of economic and political decline, reducing Huamachuco's importance and connectivity to places of power and influence nationally (particularly Trujillo, Lima) and beyond.

Despite the lack of inclusion of these histories in formal events or use of space (e.g. monuments), perceptions of this recent past were often reflected on by elite interviewees who were saddened by the perceived decline. In one interview, two interlocutors recalled how before agricultural reforms, "…*cheeses as big as wheels were produced for export to Switzerland*" but afterwards production declined, and modern farming techniques were not continued or developed. This perceived decline was repeated by an ex *hacienda* (estate) manager who when asked what happened to the large stocks of prime cattle which had been under his custodianship said "…*they ate them*…". However, the sadness at decline, was also measured in some interviews with elite interlocutors by an acknowledgement of the importance of improvements to the lives of rural populations.

Another ex-administrator and family member of a *hacienda*, Alejandro, told of how village girls working in the *hacienda* house a week at a time, '*semaneras*', were sexually abused by the *hacendado (hacienda* owner*)*[46].

[45]See for example (Guillet, 1976; Hobsbawm, 1971; Paponnet-Cantat, 1994; Seligmann, 1995, 2008)

[46] This was seen as an act to "improve the race of the nation" (Canessa, 2012b: 225; Stephenson, 1999)

> "My great uncle fathered fifty-four illegitimate children in this way, and he thought it right to do this. It was a form of populating the area so they would have more workers… Yes it was awful… Before the reforms, the Indians were humiliated. The way they would speak to the *patrón* [master], or the way they would look at you, really humbled those people. Now they will look at you strongly in the face."

Accounts of decline after agricultural reforms roll into those of the period of the Shining Path conflicts in the 1980s and 1990s[47]. Whilst elites did not speak much about this period, those I asked who were mayors at the time, shrugged their shoulders and said it really did not affect them very much. However, it belies the large migration of rural populations to the city, done for security as well as part of an ongoing trend of economic migration from rural areas to cities[48] and the difficulty delivering basic services such as banking. This period therefore made significant changes to the city's population make up, size (of 15,206 in 1981, 45,520 in 2007, 52,459 in 2013) (MPSC, 2013) and physical infrastructure (see Map 7).

Map 7: Huamachuco growth 1970-2013
Data: MPSC, 2013 Graphics: Rosie Lockey

[47] Much has been written on this period, see for example (Cecconi, 2011; Degregori, 1991; Poole, 1994; Starn, 1999)
[48] See for example(Calderón Cockburn, 2005; De Soto, 1998; Long and Roberts, 1984; Ødegaard, 2010; Paerregaard, 1997; Roberts, 1978; Vincent, 2016).

Mateo, a middle aged Huamachuquino living near the plaza and whose quote started the thesis explained:

> "The BCP bank closed in 1993 due to the threat from Shining Path, they've only just reopened!…the arrival of Barrick in 2000 opened the eyes of the local population, and it brought new aspirations. Before this point, Huamachuco wasn't going anywhere, it wasn't improving. …The mine brought a possibility of new connectedness with the world and new businesses and growth."

Thus, the economic decline and increased migration of the period is viewed as a time of difficulty where the previous history which connected Huamachuco with positive social, political and economic developments of national importance was placed on hold. This framing belies the social changes caused by the agrarian reforms and Shining Path, including the challenges to the role of elite landowners and increased migration into the city.

When the price of metals increased and Barrick (the first large scale international mine in the area) arrived in Huamachuco to establish a gold mine nearby, elites were hopeful for economic recovery but also to be part once more of a national story of progress towards modernity in which mining played a key role.

Whilst it was originally hoped by Huamachuquinos that the Lagunas Norte mine, would use Huamachuco as a base for its employees, this never came to pass. However, the proximity of Huamachuco to the mines Lagunas Norte, La Arena and San Simon together with other small mines and the increased price of gold (and copper) meant that there was some increased contracting to the city and local governments had larger tax receipts (see chapter six).

As a result of tax receipts from mining, the municipality budgets grew from 13,421.54 PEN in 2003 before the large mines started production, to a height of 33,595,423.72 PEN in 2013, a 250,000 percent increase. Budgets directly relate to the international price of gold; as gold prices rise, the quantity and value of taxable production increases (see Table 1 page 264, and chapter six for more on budgets and how they are managed).

Mining is perceived as the way Huamachuco has become reconnected to the national narrative of modernity. Mining and the use of funds from it is therefore part of the moral project of the long-

term progress of the community. The decisions over how to use these funds are inseparable from the local communal moralities which are formed through embodied narratives of communal identities. The projects that result, and their impact on the people are part of this moral community, iteratively recreated. This does not negate hierarchies and conflicts but forms a basis from which negotiations between actors takes place.

This modernity is seen not just in an idealised vision, but in the real impacts of improved local economy and infrastructure. This infrastructure includes large projects such as the main road between Trujillo and Huamachuco, as well as the many smaller projects undertaken by the municipality, which this thesis considers (for processes on executing these funds see chapter six).

Municipal projects[49] contribute to a sense of modernity of Huamachuco and the district, focusing on infrastructure in the city to create better roads, pavements, plazas, pedestrian areas, sporting facilities, and in rural areas new school buildings, potable water, irrigation and unsurfaced roads (many other projects are provided by regional and national funds/ strategies). The increased funds lead to increased numbers of civil servants in the municipality, and increasing numbers of construction companies run by both local elite and from elsewhere (with local labourers, and technical staff a mix from local and elsewhere) (see chapters four, six and seven). Both increased numbers of civil servants (often local elite returning from the coast), and increased construction had multiplier effects through the economy from their demand.

However, the economic changes due to higher global gold prices were not limited to the formal economy, as informal mining also increased with direct effects for local workers and businesses. The informal (illegal) mining is particularly prevalent in the mountain overlooking Huamachuco, El Toro.

[49] Funds from mining taxation receipts ('*canon minero*'/ mining canon) must be spent on public investment projects (see chapter six).

Photograph 51: El Toro viewed from Purrupampa

Interviews with numerous well-connected elite Huamachuquinos suggest that many of these mines are owned by members of the elite, including politicians. Many men from the rural communities of the district are employed there, although those I spoke to seek only to work there for short periods, aware of how dangerous it is. The environmental and health effects of such mining are damaging (Casanove Herrera et al., 2012), and reflected in local opposition to it (Narvaes Polo, 2015). However, the direct economic effects of informal/ illegal mining are probably also important.

In a series of structured interviews with a cross-section of business owners in Huamachuco, all noticed demand change relative to the international price of gold. Some (particularly market traders) knew their clients were involved in informal/ illegal mining, but others had noticed a trend correlating with the gold price.

Whilst the population increase of Huamachuco since the 1980s is reflected in growing demands for goods and services, interviewees told me that economic changes really took hold since the advent of mining. The quantity and variety of businesses have developed, with increased presence of national chains of pharmacies, electronics retailers, soft drinks suppliers, builders merchants,

heavy machinery rentals, agricultural suppliers, and small businesses supplying goods and services such as restaurants, hotels, foodstuffs, bars, clubs, clothes, toys, architects, builders, metal and wood works, mechanics, tailors, photography printers.

As a result of both increased incomes and local availability of goods and services, interviewees told me how they source most things locally now, where before journeys to Trujillo may have been necessary. Some noted they now go out to restaurants more to eat with their families and friends, particularly at weekends. There are now more schools in the city for children to attend, such that the wealthiest in rural communities establish a house in the city in order to send children and grandchildren to schools perceived as better than those in villages. However, as has long been the case, the wealthier Huamachuquinos send their children to schools in Trujillo or Lima, indeed many elite families live and work in Trujillo or Lima, returning for fiestas.

Other members of the elite have returned to Huamachuco as the economy and demand for their skills (civil servants, lawyers, architects, engineers, business owners) has grown. The greater number of jobs and contracts has also attracted businesses and professionals from other areas. Some returning Huamachuquinos and those from other areas often maintain their families in Trujillo and commute weekly. They send children to coastal schools and become integrated and acclimatised to life in Trujillo. As noted earlier, this is a continuation of previous generations of elite families whose connections to Trujillo were strong. However, for those who do not travel frequently between Huamachuco and Trujillo (or beyond) there is a sense that those who commute, do not really understand what it is like to live in Huamachuco (as was the case in the fencing off of the plaza during refurbishment, see chapter four).

This dual residence between Trujillo and Huamachuco is not unique to the elite. I knew of numerous people from rural communities, often construction labourers, who had families in Lima and Trujillo, and spent periods of time in one location or the other. However, this pattern of movement was driven not by Huamachuco's growth but by attempts to find more opportunities for income elsewhere. As noted earlier, the movement is part of a long-standing trend of migration which is far less frequent (seasons or years), leaving families behind to tend land.

These economic and social shifts enabled by mining are also visible in the built environment[50]. Whilst the first brick and cement ('*material noble*' literally translated 'noble material') building in Huamachuco was constructed in the 1970s (Hostal Noche Buena), there has been a significant increase in these materials and design changes in recent years. As noted earlier, directly on the plaza (considered the historic centre) most of the '*tapial*' buildings retain their facades of colonial design whilst many have been altered internally with brick and cement to accommodate businesses and different cohabitation of family members. Others retain many if not most design features such as double stories of rooms overlooking internal courtyards.

Elsewhere in the city, previously predominantly adobe built, there has been a significant move towards construction with brick, concrete and prefabricated asbestos strips made to look like clay tiles. Adobe buildings are taken down and rebuilt with '*material noble*' (brick, cement, concrete). Instead of replicating previous adobe designs of two storeys with pitched clay tiled roofs (some with gutters), often with spaces to the back of the house for small gardens and kitchens, new designs echo those seen in Peru on the coast (but repeated often elsewhere). Designs are for two to three storeys, integrated kitchens and flat rooftops for washing and drying clothes, from which small tubes overhang the pavement to discharge rainwater onto the streets below.

Photograph 52: 'Material noble' (left), adobe (right)

[50] Whether this was directly caused by economic changes from mining is unclear, but its timing correlates and Huamachuquino interlocutors consider it linked.

Photograph 53: Row of buildings, 'material noble' left, adobe right

Photograph 54: Adobe buildings in the foreground, 'material noble' behind

Photograph 55: Rooftops: in some areas few adobe buildings remain

The shift to '*material noble*' was explained in terms of preference as these materials enable more stories to be built, create larger lighter rooms, last longer and are thought to be more earthquake proof. However, local builders noted that with maintenance adobe and rammed earth last a long time, and although not known locally, Blondet et al. (2011) show that adobe can be built to increase earthquake resistance (rammed earth/ *tapial* have historically resisted earthquakes in the area). Whilst in Huamachuco I lived in both rammed earth (*tapial*) and '*material noble*' buildings and noticed the older rammed earth building was significantly warmer and less prone to flooding in the rains. In the modern construction, it was cold and when it rained heavily, I woke to a flooded ceramic floor, floating belongings drifting past.

The predominance of brick and concrete buildings was both welcomed and berated. On the one hand many of the elite Huamachuquinos I spoke to wanted to preserve the old *tapial* houses, especially those around the plaza, which not only looked beautiful but also embodied ways of being, a way of life and memories of childhood, running between homes with freshly cooked treats to share with family and friends. On the other, many had used '*material noble*' for its practical and aesthetic qualities.

There is perhaps a distinction drawn between the older *tapial* houses, on or near the plaza (associated with elite 'known families'), and later (some relatively recent) adobe buildings more broadly situated across the city, which there appeared to be less desire to maintain. Flor, resident in Huamachuco for twenty years, an immigrant from a rural area of Sánchez Carrión and currently living in an adobe house with her adult children on the side of the hill overlooking the pampas of the city 'Purrupampa' where she tended her small flock of sheep whilst she spun their yarn, noted

> "I'd rather have a house [made] out of '*material noble*' …yes, they're not warm like adobe, but it would show I have money!"

The tension between aesthetics associated with memories and histories and new construction methods associated with progress and modernity was reflected in infrastructure projects undertaken by the municipality since increased budgets from mining tax receipts. As described above, between 2007-2010 under Mayor Carlos Loyola, pedestrian areas and the area surrounding

the local water spring 'Los Pajaritos'[51], were designed in local stone, with designs linking both back to pre-colonial and similar to the plaza, early twentieth century European designs.

Photograph 56: 'Los Pajaritos' spring

The following mayor, Luis Rebaza Chávez between 2011-2014, managed the largest local budgets to date and focused much spending on the construction of rural schools, examples of which will be considered in chapter seven. These schools are made from '*material noble*' rather than the

[51] Due to concerns over mains water quality many residents only drink water from this spring. It is also said that any young woman who drinks this water will stay and fall in love with a Huamachuquino.

previous constructions and designs of rural communities with adobe. During an interview, Rebaza Chávez explained he wanted rural areas to have the same school facilities as cities. In building the new schools, it appeared a requirement of modern facilities that these schools should be built out of '*material noble*' and resemble schools seen all over Peru. As I argue in chapter seven, the increasing use of these materials are markers of negotiated relationships, both local and national, and reflect increased control and increased profiting from projects by an elite and simultaneous inclusion and exclusion of rural communities through projects.

Many infrastructure projects (roads, pavements, water systems, irrigation, communal sports facilities etc) under all recent mayors use concrete, as do many around the world: its predominance is perhaps unsurprising. However, it has created a significant aesthetic change, which simultaneously physically embodies a sense of progress and modernity which connects Huamachuco to national and international ideas of 'modern', but the scale of change also creates a sense of nostalgia for a disappeared past of closer community. Chapter four explores these issues specifically with reference to changes to the plaza, and chapters six and seven in relation to new rural schools. Here I have sought to connect these changes to a broader history of moral identity, where the loss of traditional architecture was a physical indicator of concern that although modernity should be pursued, it should not forsake important values with roots in community's past.

These changes which have taken place in Huamachuco since the advent of mining, are at once welcomed and berated by Huamachuquinos. On the one hand, it placed Huamachuco back into the national narrative of progress and modernity, bringing possibilities for modernising through improving the lives of the population by improvements to public and private goods and services. On the other, the perceived pace of change, combined with continuing immigration from rural areas and new immigration from the coast, created a sense of dislocation from the past among a small elite community of 'known people'/ '*gente conocida*' who shared memories of childhood, ways of life, and interlinking ancestral lines. Despite this, most elite interlocutors viewed the increased economic growth caused by recent mining as a positive opportunity to regain Huamachuco's role as part of the political economy of modern Peru, which they consider declined since the agrarian reforms (1969). Indeed, the economic growth since mining enabled increased investment in communal commemorations of the past, enabling a strengthening of local city identity in the face of increased change and rural-urban migration.

Conclusion

The chapter has shown how local elite actors in the present seek to link local histories and present day actions to broader conceptions of modernity seen in signs, forms, ideologies or icons locally reinterpreted and repurposed from different scales of space (international-national-local) and time. I have suggested that actions (labour) to commemorate local history contribute to the creation of a moral community in which the pursuit of communal progress and modernity is the highest moral act. In this local structuring of history, mining is seen as a return to modernity, and the return of Huamachuco to its rightful place within the creation of a modern Peru.

Whilst the whole of the district is considered as the broader community of Huamachuco, here the construction of history has focused on an elite narration, which distinguishes itself from other (rural and city immigrant) narratives. As the city has changed substantially due to rural-urban migration, economic growth since mining has enabled city elites to increase commemorative actions and connect local to national and international constructions of modernity in relation to time. These commemorations are of the actions of past elites, perceived as pursing modernising values of importance to national narratives of progress. These interpretations diminish or forget interpretations of histories where other parts of the wider district community play an active role, and where conflict between (national as well as local) communities surface and moralities are called into question. This is particularly clear in the quiet conversations over the histories of agricultural reforms and the conflicts associated with the rise of Shining Path.

Today the enactment of these elite histories seeks to connect past moral ideas of progress to present day hopes for modernity. The embodied reimagining of a unique pre-conquest heritage seeks to connect local identities to international ideas of authentic culture and thus national drives to modernise through tourism. The commemoration and connection to acts establishing and defending the democratic values of the Republic of Peru seeks to re-establish the pursuit of communal progress as a moral act. These histories are recreated both in these commemorative communal acts and in the retelling of these histories through published literatures, further asserting ideals of the pursuit of education and 'high' culture.

I have suggested that large-scale mining (due to high international commodity prices for gold), is seen as a return to modernity, after the period perceived as decline, in local elite narratives it reconnects Huamachuco to national narratives of progress through a profitable extractive industry. This is seen by local elites as a rightful return of the moral pursuit of modernity as seen in the past.

The continuing pursuit of communal progress through increased economic growth, realised through physical changes to and the materials used in the built environment, along with higher levels of local government investment in public services, is seen as a communal moral endeavour. The commemoration of the past, as described throughout this chapter, specifically aims to make these moral connections between community and modernity as progress. These commemorations have significantly increased since the recent increase in mining, enabled by growth in local government funding and more broadly the improved local economy. Thus in local elite narratives, mining directly reconnects Huamachuco's past and present to national narratives of modernity through extractivism, and enables aspirations for future progress, seen as core to the continuation of the moral community.

The commemoration and structuring of 'history-in-place' is one significant way in which the moral community of Huamachuco is continuously recreated. In the following chapters I consider other ways in which a moral community is gradually reformed. In the next chapter, I suggest that the broader moral community of the district is (re)made through ritualised public acts, particularly through the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia. Through this I explore how relative positions of power are negotiated in ritualised acts of moral community making. These establish ideals of equal distribution of communal resources are directly reflected in the performance of participatory budgeting for public investment projects in Huamachuco.

The interweaving of ideals of progress from different scales of interaction (in space and time) creates a tradition (Hobsbawm, 1983a) that, while drawing from the past is nevertheless strongly focused on the pursuit of modernity. This has real effects, reflected in the choices and negotiations of projects in relation to their functions, designs, contracting procedures, construction techniques and ongoing use (as developed in chapters four to seven); projects become part of the negotiations of scales of interaction and ideals of progress, from local to international in relation to narrations of time. Projects are the vehicles through which a moral community is expressed and reaffirmed in relation to ideals of progress and modernity. The mining canon provides the means for Huamachuco to retrieve its glorious pasts, as a proud, forward looking and indeed ground-breaking community.

Chapter 3. Making Huamachuco: Moral negotiation and collaboration in the fiesta

Continuing from chapter two, which considered the elite/city construction of a moral community through the commemoration of a narrative of history, this chapter considers the construction of a broader moral community of the district of Huamachuco, including rural villages. I suggest that during the fiesta of the Alta Gracia (High Grace) ritualised labour/ actions (iteratively with quotidian events[52]) (re)negotiate and (re)create expectations of moral behaviours for the different parts of the community that assert rights to communal resources. The fiesta shows the importance of the centre of Huamachuco, the plaza, as a space of negotiation and ritualised conflict, through which the moral community is remade and rights to communal resources re-established. The fiesta is therefore entwined with local politics. I show how the mayor connects the fiesta, community and projects to demonstrate his (administration's) moral standing. Later chapters explore how this forms the basis for ideals of equal distribution of numbers of public investment projects, directly seen in the participatory budget meeting. However, this resource distribution is not a given: negotiations of identity, including over power and access to resources, are repeated engagements between selves and others such that public rituals set out ideals of communal morality, acting as a principle claim to fair access to resources in continuing negotiations.

Whereas chapter two showed an elite conceptualisation of moral community, through the fiesta we can see that other parts of the community are also active in its creation. The roles of the rural community in the fiesta are distinguished through their communal labour (carrying, dancing, sweating, ritually whipping) whilst the elite's roles are in their organisation and connection with the outside world (money, objects, figureheads). The power of the rural population is made clear through their unique ability to undertake this kind of productive communal labour, and through their physical presence in large number in the centre of the district, the plaza. This physical communal act ritually challenges elite control over the physical space of the centre and their power over the community. It is a ritual that attempts to balance the respective roles between each part of the community. In the fiesta the roles cannot be swapped, no-one should be displaced in their membership of the community as everyone is required to undertake their part for the fiesta to be considered valid. This reflects the discussions of Andean duality in the introduction, where

[52] Including a rural community (male) football tournament (see chapter six), distinct from city municipality (mixed) tournament. The former is more competitive, prolonged and serious, the latter jovial, short term, and the participants less fit. For discussions of football as 'civilising' and its potential to transform identities, see Hobsbawm (1983b: 288–291) and Archetti (1999).

ritualised conflict is necessary at meeting points, here in the centre of the district in order to establish membership and negotiate relationships between different parts of the community; upper, lower and centre.

This equality of input asserts membership of the community, as co-creators of a moral community where each part is expected to play its role for the benefit of the whole. This sets an expectation of a fair share of communal resources, often conceived as projects, which are managed by the city authorities (in the centre)[53]. The precursor for access to funds is collaboration and thus, co-creation. However, much like a written contract, this is only the beginning of the negotiation (Alexander, 2001) such that other interactions which demonstrate the uneven power in the hierarchy create unequal distribution of resources. As one village leader said to me

> "Who really knows if we will get what we need, there is theory, but who knows what will happen?"

I show in later chapters how this initial 'contract', established through public communal labour of community making, is negotiated as it proceeds from a moral expectation of community through processes of local budgeting, and project creation. The consideration of a ritual as a physical embodiment of a contract is not, as Hobsbawm (1974: 124) says, as if fantasy into fact, rather ritual is part of social processes and the transformation of relations (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1993: xxi–xxx; Corrigan and Sayer, 1985; Turner, 1967: 20).

This negotiation through the fiesta is a construction of identity in relation to time and space. In chapter two, histories were narrated from the present through public actions often in the central plaza; the fiesta is part of these conceptions of modern Peru through 'culture', 'patrimony' and tourism. Here, I also draw on historical and ethnographic data from the region to support the analysis that today the fiesta is a negotiation of relative identities of the community, of power. In this the central space of the district, the plaza plays a critical role[54].

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[53] Goldstein (1997) demonstrates that fiesta labour enables requests for access to public services from local government. See also Wolf (1955, 1957) and Greenberg (1995: 67, 79–80) for how festivals can delineate communal membership and rights to communal resources through the structure of morals in ritual.

[54] Bigenho (1999) and Rasnake (1996) consider a Yura fiesta in the Bolivian Andes as a negotiation of communal identities and hierarchies in the central plaza.

As discussed in the introduction, in Andean duality and conceptions of space, the central plaza is the point at which the borders of all the different parts of the community meet. Ethnographies of the Andes show how at borders, ritualised conflicts take place, recognising that negotiations between sub-groups are necessary in order to be productive (Allen, 1988: 210; Bolin, 1998: xiv; Gose, 1994: 194–203; Harris, 2000: 103–104; Van Vleet, 2008: 150). Thus, the centrality does not indicate equality between parts of a community.

Today the meeting of all borders of the district in the centre through the fiesta draws on these histories and conceptions of space, through which the community of district of Huamachuco is negotiated and enacted. During the fiesta, through the distinct labour of parts of the community and use of space, ideals of good or moral actions are negotiated and expectations of returns of communal resources asserted.

As noted in the introduction, throughout this thesis I conceive of centres as liminal space, drawing on Andean conceptions of the realisation of social relations through time and space. In these literatures (Allen, 1988: 210; Bolin, 1998: xiv; Gose, 1994: 194–203; Harris, 2000: 103–104; Van Vleet, 2008: 150), the boundaries of social relationships such as villages are ritually marked as sites of conflict; only through this conflict can fruitfulness of the land and relationships be achieved. This is ritual recognition of the nature of social interactions; because self (at any scale of social relation) is always in relation to other (Hall, 1996; Ricoeur, 1990)[55]. There is cocreation in this mutually created and mutually constituting space, through which relative identities are constantly remade, gradually changing (Canessa, 2012b).

Whilst this space is a '*blurred boundary*' (Gupta, 1995) which constitutes actors, I shift perspective from the margin of objects or actors, to this blurred space being the centre of negotiation which mutually constitutes actors. These are centres because (relative) identities and (relative) power is negotiated in these spaces. These centres are also liminal because they are mutually constructive of actors through constant gradual change, inherent in the negotiation of selves and others. In this, I agree with Foucault's (1990: 93) conception that power is constituted and constantly changes through relative positions of social interactions.

[55] As de Pina-Cabral and Pine (2008: 5) point out, there is an observational difference, "*in flux*" between "*...being 'a margin' of something or 'on a margin' between things."*

As noted above, ethnographies of the region reveal Andean conceptions of the scalar negotiation between selves and others. Reflecting this, in the district of Huamachuco, these spaces between selves and others (village-village, rural-city) are ritually negotiated in the intermediate zone (the city) of the vertical economy of the district (upper, lower, intermediate-city). Thus, the city is the conceptual centre of these social relations, into which all the rural villages are intertwined and seek to be further interconnected.

The importance of the liminal space in ritual, as a location between one state and another, is described by Van Gennep (1960 [1908]) as a neutral zone which indicates a transformation and, in that liminality of change, there is danger. Thus, the use of the central plaza in the fiesta is a unifying act between parts of the community, but also the ritual recognition of central liminality. It recognises the necessary negotiations between different groups through which power and hierarchies can be challenged (Dirks, 1992: 217; Gluckman, 1965: 102–104). Through this a temporary equality is created in which the '*common humanity*' of the community is realised, instituting a communal morality, '*inciting action*' to achieve it (Turner, 1995[1969]: 97–203).

The domination of this central space in the fiesta by the rural population upturns the normal use of this space by the city elites. It identifies the fragility of the elite hierarchical position (control over money, outside political influence, local government and budgets) and suggests the basis of the power of community lies in both the numbers, physical strength and productivity (from the land) which rural populations contribute and the political and economic roles of the city elite. Through the fiesta there is a physical enactment of a moral community of equality of contribution and the expectation of fair receipt of communal resources.

Through this exploration (as with chapter two), I suggest we can see something of how relative identities of power and politics are negotiated. Aligned with Gupta (1995) and Hall (2006), this analysis and that of more everyday negotiations of local bureaucracy (in later chapters), assesses how decisions are made, and resources shared. This analysis therefore does not accept the divisions of public and private in which the 'state' is somehow a whole (Gupta, 1995: 393–394), indeed the 'state' can "*mask* [us from]...*seeing political practice as it is*" (Abrams, 1988: 82), an engagement between selves and others. The (re)creation and (re)negotiation of moral communities through rituals, historical narratives, as well as everyday practices, is an 'iterative' negotiation of relative identities, and relative power. It is through these repeated actions that power is constantly negotiated (Butler, 2011; Canessa, 2012b; Gupta, 1995; Hall, 2006; Moore, 2013).

The Fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia

Commonly referred to as 'The Fiesta' in Huamachuco, the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia (meaning High Grace and referring to Jesus's mother Mary) takes place for the entire month of August, coinciding with the Assumption of the Virgin Mary celebrated by the Catholic Church of the 15th August. It celebrates the patron saint of the city and commemorates the anniversary of the Spanish founding of Huamachuco.

I was able to participate in or observe most key parts of the fiesta of The Virgin of the Alta Gracia in 2015, with additional information coming from observations in 2014 and 2016[56]. I was also able to participate in and observe the smaller fiestas of Saint Francisco in Huamachuco in 2014 and 2015 (see chapter two), and the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Puente Piedra in 2016. Both deserve analysis, but they have added to my assessment of the central fiesta as points of connection and comparison.

Previously people of the district attended many more fiestas; María told me how her mother, a member of the elite city community, used to attend the many Saints' days and fiestas. It was an important part of acknowledging connection between themselves and the Saints of the different villages. Attending villages on these days, maintained connections with different parts of the community. Whilst this practice has diminished dramatically to the extent that I heard of no-one from the city who did this, in addition to attending the two aforementioned large city-based fiestas, there remains a practice of attending fiestas in other parts of the district to which you have a personal or religious connection. For example, city residents with connection to Puente Piedra may return to the village for the fiesta, or those with a particular spiritual connection to the icon of Jesus, *Señor de los Milagros* (which is connected to a particular local miracle) in the village of Marcabalito still undertake a long pilgrimage on foot overnight to attend the fiesta. Whilst city movement to rural locations for fiestas and saints days appears to have reduced, perhaps due to changes to land ownership post the agricultural reform law of 1969 and increased migration, there continues to be a strong attendance at the city fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia by all parts of the district.

[56] Space limits my account, many more events of interest take place than are included here.

Central days of the Fiesta

The main dates of the procession remain constant (29th July *gallardete*, 14th, 15th August main processions), whilst dates for other activities change slightly from year to year. It is worth noting that at the same time as the main fiesta, there is a second fiesta in the neighbourhood of the city above the Plaza de Armas on the road to Trujillo, Mariscal de Orbegoso. The two fiestas are linked and share some events (some of which are indicated below). It was explained to me that this occurred because when the previous Cathedral burnt down, the Virgin was saved, but in creating the new Cathedral, they decided to leave the old Virgin in the Chapel where she had been kept (L*a Capilla Cruz de la Bendición*) and have a new Virgin for the new Cathedral, hence the simultaneous but linked fiestas.

The main events (with 2015 dates) are:

29 July - Raising of the *gallardete* (pennant)
30 July - Dance competition
1 August - Gathering of the Vicuña in Cushuro and a ceremony of payment to the earth. (see chapter two)
8 August - Election of Miss Huamachuco (*Señorita Aclla Huamachuquina*) (see chapter two)
12 &13 August - Agricultural, gastronomic and artisanal show
12 August - Clothes for the Virgin of the Alta Gracia are given to the Fiesta Committee by the donors.
13 August - Virgin of the Alta Gracia and Virgin of the Transit from Mariscal de Orbegoso arrives at the Plaza de Armas and standard flags are exchanged.
14 August - "*Doce de Fiesta*": Procession of dancers to the Plaza de Armas and the return of the Virgin to Mariscal de Orbegoso. The procession of the Son of God in the Plaza de Armas. Evening fireworks and music concerts
15 August - Central day of the Fiesta (Assumption). Mass. Mayoral speech. Procession of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia around the Plaza de Armas. Gala dance
16-18 August - Bull fighting (with international professional bull fighters)
30 August - The taking down of the *gallardete*

Anticipation

From the moment I had arrived in Huamachuco, Huamachuquinos spoke to me of the change I would see in the city during the fiesta. '*You won't find a hotel room free!*' '*The plaza is FULL, FULL FULL FULL of people!*' '*People come from all over the world to the fiesta*'. I could not quite see at the time how that might be, normally the city goes about its daily routines. When the sun breaks over the tops of the surrounding mountains and hits the plaza, touching the rooftops of the shaded surrounding streets, the workers from La Arena mine in their florescent suits and heavy boots plod across the plaza. Ladies sell corn humitas on the corner by the Cathedral, the mist rises off the hills and the combi drivers, cold, pull their jumpers down to cover their hands and keep hoods over their heads, awaiting their first ride of the day. By seven the town is full of children and their parents rushing to get to school and work, a few moto taxis (tuk-tuks) and their high-pitched engines race around corners in full bright light under vivid blue skies. There are a few other foreigners who live here, a few undergraduates volunteering for the Catholic Church for a few months, a Mormon missionary, and two Spanish guys who have local Peruvian partners. The idea that the fiesta could be so big and attract people from around the world seemed unlikely. Yet the anticipation for the fiesta did indeed transform into the present.

Whilst the raising of the *gallardete* (pennant) largely attracted the local population, there were a few visitors from Lima and Trujillo. By the time of the main week, the town was full. All the hotels booked up with visitors, Huamachuquinos some of whom live in the USA, Germany, Italy, Venezuela, Lima, Trujillo all coming to the fiesta. The plaza was so full you could hardly move. There were street vendors of food, drink and toys for children, photographers with scenery and props depicting Disney films and the Amazon jungle. One event after the other required my presence, from morning until night, a barrage of sounds and sights. I was taken by the arm and showed where to be, what to see, to participate, to attempt to understand. The excitement leading up to the fiesta, anticipating the noise of people, of music, of fireworks, of dancing, the joy of sharing jubilation with each other, was followed by the strangeness of the quiet and the relative emptiness of the town immediately after, which after only a week or so subsided from post-fiesta blues into the normal, comforting routines of daily life.

The raising of the *gallardete*

On this morning, we leave at six as the sun warms the air. We rise, bumping, up the hill, the engine cursing our heavy weights, then rounding the corner and descending, our heads hitting the metal ceiling of the moto-taxi we jolt over rocks. The mountains, as if a concertina, open in their many layers to present steep canyons and a distant, brightly lit valley.

There are already groups of men chatting and waiting, sat on the floor, enjoying the view. I greet a few men that I know from Casumaca and they tell me it would be them that would lead the procession of '*el madero*' 'the tree trunk', it was their turn. It would also be one of the leaders from Puente Piedra that would give the blessing before they began to move it. They seemed to me dressed in smarter clothes, with white shirts, best jackets, walking boots and trainers. It is not long before I meet some of the women of Casumaca and Puente Piedra who sit in groups chatting.

Photograph 57: Waiting, early morning

There are more and more people arriving from all over the district. Open topped high sided trucks arrive (organised by the local government), men sat akimbo on the highest points. The doors open, men and women jump down and find a patch of grass on which to wait. No one sits or stands on the tree trunk, they step over it. It is an object of respect.

Photograph 58: Arrival

The road is entirely full now and some of the men with instruments, the *chirocos*, start lining up on the side of the road and playing. The instruments are a drum carried around the neck played with a stick in one hand and a whistle/ flute played with the other. They each have a paper number pinned to their shirts, a photographer from the local government is there and officials walk around the musicians and then stand, watch and listen. It is the first provincial competition of the *chirocos*, they all play at the same time and attempt to outdo one another with their trills and movements, stamping and twisting of their arms and torsos as somehow, they continue to play.

Photograph 59: Chirocos

The hill next to the road is now full and I can see that some city residents and what appear to be some Peruvian tourists have found themselves a vantage point up there. And then a group of photographers from Trujillo arrives, there are perhaps ten of them crowding around various visually interesting subjects. I feel sorry for the ladies, many of whom do not want to be in pictures and tilt their hats to avoid their faces being caught.

Everyone is waiting. Then, in the distance we all see a trail of dust from the road and a few four by fours and pick-up trucks are heading towards us. We had been waiting for the mayor. He arrives with his team and is welcomed by the advance party of officials. Huge sacks are dragged from the back of one of the trucks. A queue forms, actually two queues side by side. One for women and children and the other for men. A lady I recognise tells me the men and women get different allowances because the men will physically labour and the women will accompany the procession and support it. I head to the front and see what is being given out: a lunch token, large handfuls of coca leaves and cigarettes. Those prepared have brought plastic or woven bags, others use their shirts and hats as a temporary solution.

Photograph 60: Queues

A group of men gather around the thick end of the tree trunk, the mayor, the press photographers, and local officials join them. The thick end of the tree trunk sits towards the edge of the road, with its view of the valley below. One of my contacts from Puente Piedra points to me to look more closely at what is happening - the ex *agente municipal* (literally municipality agent, who acts as village mayor) of Puente Piedra is about to give the blessing of the tree trunk, with everyone lined up along the tree trunk listening, including the mayor of Huamachuco. His voice cannot be heard by all those present, although he shouts loudly, and whilst he speaks photographers move around to get different images of the moment. The interest of the photographers appears to be less on the leader saying the prayer and more on the mayor and the amount of people around the tree trunk.

Photograph 61: Prayer

The thickest part of the tree trunk is pointing out towards the valley but also in the direction of Huamachuco. (Whilst I did not fully understand at the time what was being done, watching these movements, it is clear now that the heavy, thickest end of the tree trunk must go last in the procession, it must be dragged on the ground in order to get purchase and manoeuvrability. So, the tree trunk had to be turned.) The spectators on the hill appear more animated, chatting to each other and standing to get a better view. A line of men stand on the side of the tree trunk facing the view of the valley below. Long poles, taller than anyone here, are used to begin to roll and lever the tree trunk into motion. Then men bend to push the trunk such that the base is moved half a circle and hangs over the end of the cliff.

Photograph 62: Beginning to move

A man walks on top of it, suspended over the drop by the tree trunk and links a long thick rope around the base of the trunk so it rests into its carved place. The men take the ropes along both sides of the tree trunk to form a 'U' shape with the trunk in the middle. Everyone is working in a single group with some men placing smaller wooden poles underneath the trunk or using them as levers, leaders in the middle directing the movements. Local police standing at different points, I am not sure what their job is.

Photograph 63: Attaching rope

Photograph 64: Ready with ropes

They drag the tree trunk such that the thinnest point is now about to hit the hill which overlooks the road. Another long rope has been tied towards the thinner end of the trunk and is being used to pull the front end into place. One woman in her red skirt, blue cardigan and straw hat stands out in her place on the rope line. The poles, I can now see, are of varying lengths and are used like scissors to prop up the trunk and gradually raise it higher such that it will be able to get over the top of the hill. Men are sent up the hill to support it from above and make sure it has clearance.

The crowd on the hill chat and point out to each other what will need to be done next, some join the ropes and give a hand.

Photograph 65: Turning

The tree trunk makes it over the hill and descends to the floor, pivoting all the time with the aid of the poles like scissors such that the thick trunk gets dragged round as it lowers to the floor and it is now in position, thinnest part facing forwards on the road, towards Huamachuco and the base waiting behind.

At the thinner end of the trunk, a man ties thick ropes around batons across it. There are four of the batons and they make the trunk much wider but manoeuvrable by its front. The two ropes are now intertwined at the base and encompass the trunk. A slightly thinner rope is tied to make a circle near the top of the trunk which becomes a dual lined guide. From above it appears there are now six concentric lines of people holding the rope, giving the trunk life by pulling and guiding it slowly towards its destination.

Musicians and dancers make their way to the front. Some I think are from the city dance groups, the musicians also from the villages. Women from the villages also start to line up along the side

of the road in advance and enjoy the music. The spectators take their positions up ahead on little mounds that remain of the mountain on the side of the road, eager to see what will take place. Whilst the musicians precede the offering of the tree trunk, the spectators and I will play cat and mouse with it as we decide whether to stay ahead of it or to be swallowed up into its movement. Freed from its roots by its carriers, the tree makes its way up and down the hill through the twists and turns of the road. Many spectators walk in front, although there are so many that I think they will be taking turns on the ropes either now or when we arrive in Huamachuco.

The men, cheeks round and lips stained green with cocoa leaves, stand in their places at the front of the tree trunk behind the four rows of batons which cross the trunk as it lies on the ground. Eight men on each baton, four on either side of the trunk (although later I notice five or six men on each side). They squat and support the batons on their forearms and on the count of several men who appear to coordinate the movement (and seem to be both from the city and rural areas), a communal grunt as the strain is taken. They rock a little but hold the tree trunk and, in the rocking, each other. They look ahead and are focused in the knowledge of the long journey ahead.

Photograph 66: At the front, carrying

Photograph 67: Carrying

Photograph 68: At the back, on the ropes

Photograph 69: Two ropes

Meanwhile the ropes are now even more full of people, it is almost entirely held by men from the villages but there are some women from *caseríos* in *polleras* (multi-layered skirts), cardigans and wide brimmed straw hats, young women in jeans and baseball caps and city-based teachers and civil servants helping too. They encircle the tree trunk and the teams carrying the batons at the front. Once all parts of the trunk are stable, they are given the sign to move and steps are taken, the music plays. Before the trunk goes too far, the photographers and press from the local government are whisked off on the back of a four by four so that they are not caught behind the slow procession. The mayor of Huamachuco and key aides continue at the front alongside the trunk, some of whom are involved in directing activities. At the back of the procession a few musicians remain, and the carriers of the batons rest their heavy cargo on their shoulders.

Photograph 70: On the move

And so, the tree trunk moves, in and out of curves on the mountain road, lifted up and down to get round the tightest bends. The ropes cross over the trunk and the people jump to get out of its way as it touches the mountain side leaving no room for the rope to guide it. In the tightest of passes, where the ropes can no longer do their job of pulling and guiding, the levering poles are used and the men in a line along the thickest end of the trunk crouch and push to enable the trunk to clear the corner and be led once more by the ropes. It is put down from time to time so that the logistics of movements can be calculated, and so that the teams from four villages each carrying a baton can swap positions from rope holder to the baton and back again. A short pause in momentum means effort again to lift and stand and walk. There are so many people that the procession spreads out along the road, although each section is tightly packed with people. On the bend of the road I can see the procession ahead as small patches of undulating colour in the distance.

Photograph 71: Negotiating corners

At the top of the succession of hills, a crowd has formed, they peer down at the spectacle of the tree trunk being moved by a monolith of men, as if ants carrying a branch of a tree. We are now close to the city and they have come to watch, to accompany the final part of the journey. The

trunk is carried to the top of the slope. It is a patch of road with a steep side on the left and on the right a small wooded area providing shade. They struggle to settle the trunk on the road as its appendages of batons makes it wide for the space.

The *chirocos* play and there is a mood of celebration. A rest is taken and vats of *chicha* (maize beer) are passed around, supplied by the local government. Groups sit and talk and try to find shade from the nearby trees. The men chew their coca. I stand with the group I know and feel conspicuous, although amused they tolerate me politely. I have lost track of the women and children. As the music plays children run up to the base of the tree trunk, fascinated by how large it is and the ropes resting in their carved space. Looking down the road we can see Huamachuco in the valley before us. The buildings on either side of the road are the first we have seen since the beginning of our journey. On one side of the road are adobe buildings, their dusty yellow colours matching the earth around them, on the other is a triple fronted red brick and concrete building with metal rods reaching out of the top, waiting for the third storey. To the side, there is a large industrial shed with a flattened earth forecourt where the mass of people are drinking *chicha*, *coqueando* (chewing coca with lime powder carried in a small gourd, a '*calero*') and talking to each other amidst the tones of the *chirocos*.

Photograph 72: Resting, chicha and coca

There is movement and the ropes are picked up, lines of men branching out forward. The trunk is moved such that the batons lay flat and are ready for their elevation once more. The space is tight and the four men on this side of the trunk squeeze into their place as the rope cuts over the

baton rather than being held around its sides. Reenergised by the stop, smiles and laughter reverberate and, cigarettes behind ears, they bend, heave and set off each small step making this feat. Mothers and their children lean out of top windows of the houses overlooking the road, people stand in their doorways, observers.

Photograph 73: Watching

The body of the procession makes it way, with difficulty, through a narrowing gap where the trunk must be dragged, heaved, levered, turned and set back onto a main road. It sets off again, and now attracts even more spectators as we edge closer to the city. People stand on their roof tops taking in the street full of people. The spectators take photos on their phones and some begin to walk along with the procession.

Photograph 74: Negotiating the way

We reach the main road of Huamachuco and the bridge which connects the central plaza with the road towards Trujillo is full of people waiting, taking pictures, filming. Street vendors sell ice creams, sweets and popcorn. The tree trunk has to head away from the city, up the hill in order to find a place wide enough to turn, and then, once turned again through the same difficult process of rolling and levering, it is headed to its destination, the Plaza de Armas (central plaza) of Huamachuco. It seems there are more faces now holding the ropes, perhaps wanting their moment of connection with the *gallardete*. Everyone, except those carrying the wooden batons, is jubilant, laughing. My friends from Casumaca holding one of the batons strain, cheeks puffed with coca, serious expressions and brows frowning, surely tired from a heavy weight burdened whole bodily and almost delivered to the central plaza of the city.

Photograph 75: Crowds watch

Photograph 76: Arriving in Huamachuco

As we cross the bridge, the sound of music gets louder, and a new dance group from *caseríos* greet the tree trunk's arrival and the *chirocos* that precede it. They are the *indios fieles* (loyal indians), dressed in white shirts, dark trousers and a red cummerbund with coins hanging off their tassels. Red crown headdresses of turkey feathers, a pointed stick in red and white and a cape of feathers sewn into a red ribbon which flows to the floor so that as they walk, they are wide and proud, like a peacock in full display.

Photograph 77: Indios fieles meet chirocos

Making our way down the main road we see the bell tower, turn the corner and see crowds awaiting our arrival. The dancers swirl and the music becomes louder, now we are also greeted by brass bands that play loud triumphant familiar tunes. As the ropes that precede the trunk enter the plaza, and then the trunk behind it, there are so many people we find it hard to move and keep out of the way of the momentum. In the plaza I recognise numerous elite Huamachuquinos who are keen to see the tree trunk arrive.

Photograph 78: Arriving in the plaza

And then the tree trunk is laid down. It is as if it is almost as long as the whole of the top of the plaza. Everyone claps in celebration and the brass bands now really start to play. The *chirocos* continue too, and to me there is a clashing sound of music, and the casual dancing between partners or groups of friends who have been waiting in the plaza begins. Meanwhile many of those that had been part of the procession wait, standing at the trunk and officials and police look at the slanting long hole, getting very deep to one end, which has been dug to receive the tree trunk and enable it to be erected. It is surrounded by police; I assume so that no-one falls in due to crowding. On the other side of the hole lay batons of wood, of different lengths, painted in red and white, the colours of the Peruvian flag.

Photograph 79: Ready for the gallardete in the plaza

Suddenly I see María and Teresa in the plaza, and María tells me she has been invited to someone's house and I should go with her. She takes me by the arm and I follow blindly, rewarded when we arrive at the doors of a fine house I have passed by many times. Before, the doors have always been closed, encased in wooden panelling as high as the first storey of the house. Now the door is open and as we step in, we find ourselves in an internal paved courtyard, full of many faces from the city that I recognise, many are dancing joyously or watching on whilst talking with other guests. We walk across a central elevated section of the courtyard, to the building on the other side. A modern building with large open rooms, tiled floors and white walls. It feels like a place that is not normally lived in, so few are the furnishings. There are large arrangements of white and red flowers which stand on either side of a long table upon which is lain a red and white flag, similar to that of Peru.

María greets the owner and we are encouraged to eat. There is a large amount of food, of meat, and rice and bread. There is wine and spirits. A brass band plays. They dance to *huaynos*. Some of the guests wear smart jeans and white shirts, sunglasses and smart straw hats of the kind worn by coastal *paso* horse riding elites. Most of the people here are from known families of Huamachuco - families with connections to one another, and frequently who went to school together, sharing

memories of shared childhoods, of elders now gone or frail, of a very different, smaller Huamachuco where they all felt they knew each other.

Photograph 80: The gallardete flag waits

Photograph 81: Dances after lunch

Linking with my arm, María eagerly takes me towards the door of the house. Standing outside on the pedestrian street, the family and dignitaries including the mayor of Sánchez Carrión come out and unfurl the enormous red and white flag, each holding a small section of the material, drawing it taught. Smiling and moving the fabric of the flag to make it undulate as if it were in the wind, the procession of the flag leaves the house with the band behind. We quickly meet the Plaza de Armas to find it full of people waiting for the flag's arrival. I find now that we are the procession, walking the flag around the square, with the *chicorocs* music leading us and the brass band behind. Crowds peer down from the central part of the square. Sweets are thrown onto the flag and those holding it pull the fabric in different directions making the sweets bounce and fly into the crowds.

Photograph 82: The gallardete flag procession

As we make our way up the opposite side of the plaza from where we started, ahead of us are the *indios fieles* dancing, as if waiting for our arrival, and beyond them large crowds near the cathedral awaiting the flag. The icon of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia has been taken out of the church and stands at the top of the steps, greeting the flag as it arrives with the mayor at its head. The procession presents the flag to the Virgin. A triumphant tune is played by the brass band and sweets are bounced from the undulating flag into the hands of the crowds. The bishop, flanked by the elderly leader of the brotherhood of the Virgin, gives a prayer and blessing of holy water and much joy is given in wetting everyone with it. Again, the band plays and the sweets bounce, until none are left and the flag can move on towards where the thinnest end of the flag pole lays. A final triumphant call of the band and more sweets fly, and then those who've been holding the flag roll it together from both sides until they meet so that it can be attached to the tree trunk and unravel gradually as it is raised.

Photograph 83: The rolled gallardete flag

The tree trunk I now see has been painted white and red since I last saw it. The thick ropes are being attached to it and are now being picked up by long lines of men. It is not entirely clear to me who is giving orders, or if everyone just knows what to do and when. I recognise elite Huamachuquinos taking photos in amongst the action, and I see and chat to some of the guys I know from Marcochugo, who are on one of the long ropes (although I know they are also both expert dancers of *indios fieles* and musicians). Police keep spectators back from getting too close to the *gallardete* and the ropes, although with a camera and the right confident movements one can

almost go where one wants to film or get an image. A group of men with their cameras and one with a drone stand near the *gallardete* and are immune to crowd control. Groups of elite Huamachuquinos I see are on their balconies overlooking the plaza and on roof tops from where friends and family watch the spectacle. Around the plaza there are sellers of candy floss, popcorn, ice-cream, jellies. Walking around are two girls dressed in black lycra head to toe and golden belts and platform high heeled shoes, long straight hair and painted nails. On their outfits is the name *El Dorado* (the golden one) and they hand out flyers for the bar.

It is hard for me to say exactly how the *gallardete* begins its raising process as I stand with the ropes and the associates from Marcochugo and others I see from Puente Piedra on the rope line. It is a safe distance away and the opposite way to which the *gallardete* might fall if they lose control. I see the red and white batons, called *tijeras* (scissors) crossed, one coming from each side and appear from my position as a row of seven, although there could be more, lower down out of sight. The flag begins to move in the wind, even though it is controlled by having been rolled to prevent it unravelling too early. Whilst it is relatively low, the men hold the ropes and wait for the moment when they are needed. As the *tijeras* pull it gradually upwards, so the long ropes become more taught, taking more weight and the equal pressure from each direction prevents it from swaying too badly. The *chirocos* continue to play along the lines of ropes and *chicha* is passed around those labouring. Occasionally some of young city inhabitants (mostly boys) join the rope lines and as the *gallardete* rises, the ropes become taught and men hang off the top end of the ropes. The youths that have joined the ropes pull with their friends and have a laugh. The men I know from Puente Piedra and Marcochugo, of all ages, are also having a good time, clearly having partaken in *chicha* and cocoa chewing but they are also serious in their effort, putting their weight behind pulling the rope, focused on their task.

Photograph 84: Raising the gallardete

Photograph 85: Many hands labour

As the sun goes down, the *gallardete* is upright and firecrackers and fireworks are let off leaving white and red streams of smoke in the air. There are now visible eight thick ropes which have been pulling and guiding the *gallardete* and only a set of *tijeras* remain in use as the base is filled in with rocks and earth. Everyone is now taking pictures on their phones and cameras. Young children stand with their parents to have their picture taken with the flag behind them. The Inca dance group from *caseríos*, that had been with the procession since the morning, dance at the foot of the bell tower by the cathedral as the crowds surround them.

At the base of the *gallardete*, one set of the shorter *tijeras* are used to enable a man to climb up to the lower end of the *gallardete* and attach a kind of rope system which forms a harness for him to climb. The plaza is full of women and children sitting on the curbs of flower beds as there are not enough benches to go around. Round the side of the plaza women clear up where the lunch had been provided for the participants of the procession. And as it really gets dark, the man who has climbed up the *gallardete* to release the ropes is coming down, and the party is beginning. The stage which all day has been being constructed to the side of the plaza is ready. The music of live performers fills the plaza and groups of city friends drink from crates of beer and bottles of whisky. But it is not such a late night, it has been a long day and there is the rest of the month to go in which to celebrate.

Photograph 86: Evening falls on the gallardete

Why raise the *gallardete* in the central plaza?

This detailed account of the raising of the *gallardete*[57] reveals the scale of the task, the significant labour and resources required in its undertaking. Seeing a large tree trunk carried by many people over a long distance and difficult terrain, perhaps leads us to ask many permutations of why? Why is it done this way instead of using a metal flagpole, or a trunk transported on a truck? Why is the labour by rural communities, why is the flag from the city communities? I suggest that the ritual (following Gluckman, (1940)) is undertaken in this way because social relations are constituted through different kinds of labour, objects, and use of space in relation to time (historically connected traditions).

The moral community is (re)made through these actions, simultaneously uniting and distinguishing between different parts of the community. Through the labour which is undertaken in relation to the plaza as the centre of the district, rights over communal resources (often considered as projects) are inferred (Bigenho, 1999; Goldstein, 1997; Rasnake, 1996; Wolf, 1955, 1957). However, as following chapters show, what the resources are (which projects), and whether or when they will be received is unknown, as quotidian negotiations continue.

This simultaneous unity and distinction between parts of the community is reflected in the ritual of the raising of the *gallardete*. In theory the *gallardete* only refers to the pennant/flag which is raised on top of a eucalyptus tree trunk around 40 meters high. However, as shown in the account above, in practice people refer to each part separately, *el madero* (tree trunk) and *gallardete* (pennant) until it is erected at which point it is only referred to as the *gallardete*.

The simultaneous linguistic and physical distinction between, and unity of, the parts of the *gallardete*, mirrors the community. The tree trunk is created and carried using the significant communal labour and resources of rural parts of Huamachuco. Each village takes turns to provide the tree trunk, and each village takes turns to lead the procession carrying the trunk. Traditionally a gift from a village, the tree trunk is now paid for by a city donor (perceived as wealthier), as recognition of the significant financial value of a tree of that size which would be a loss to its cultivator. The rotating provision of the tree trunk from villages recognises the importance of the product of the land and labour of each village, as constitutive of an act of unity with other parts of the community. The transportation of the tree trunk, from the rural village to the centre of the

[57] The *gallardete* appears unique to fiestas in Sánchez Carrión. However, in other areas of Peru there are fiestas where tree trunks are erected, ritually climbed (Gose, 1994: 180) or decorated and ritually cut down (Isbell, 1978: 190–191).

district, physically and spatially connects the parts of the community through communal labour and distinguishes rural areas from the city through the distinct labour and resources.

In the account above, the difficult communal labour shows how important the cooperation of rural communities is in the provision of rural resources to the community, demonstrated through the deposit of the tree trunk in the plaza at the centre of the district and the labour required in the raising of the *gallardete*. Through this cooperation, villages are united in their rural likeness (in comparison to the city) and social relations are distinguished from one another in the rotation of different types of labour; one year providing the tree trunk, another leading the carrying of it, and praying over it.

City authorities (the mayor and other senior civil servants) attend and participate in coordinating each stage of the transformation of the tree; cutting (in March before the fiesta), carrying and raising. However, few city participants attend the rural parts of the labour. The role that city authorities perform fulfils the expectation that they organise a bigger and better fiesta than the year before (see below) and that photos and videos are made of these events to prove to the community and wider world the fiesta was a success. This publicity is used to demonstrate to the wider world (drone footage of the fiesta won an international drone film competition), through news articles in regional and national papers, that the performance of this unique heritage of Huamachuco contributes to the modern progress of Peru (see chapter two). As further explored below, the act of coordinating the fiesta, including the *gallardete* with rural communities, is seen as a key role of the mayor and his administration, without which there could be no successful term of office; because the community is remade through the fiesta.

A city donor (usually elite, 'known' family) is expected to provide the *gallardete*, which despite its name is rectangular rather than a pennant. There are long lists of people who are waiting to contribute the *gallardete* and it will take many years for all these volunteers to take their turn (such lists also exist for the new clothing for the Virgin). In providing the *gallardete*, there is an expectation to host the party prior to its parade. The party is for the city elite, distinguished in their dress, food, drink (wine, spirits rather than *chicha*), music (brass bands rather than *chirocos*). Being in the donor's house, the party can only entertain a limited number, and although theoretically anyone could enter, only those with connection to city families attend.

The importance of the symbolism of the *gallardete* was highlighted to me by a moment of serious reflection by my collaborator, María. She once said to me that the part of the fiesta she most would like to save to be able to contribute in the future, would be the donation of the *gallardete;* this is the part of the fiesta to which she feels the most emotion towards. María had clearly been considering this for some time and saw this as a most serious undertaking, as a contribution and a symbol of her participation in the community. It also highlights that for some people, even of the elite of Huamachuco, such a contribution is not a small endeavour but a real act of sacrifice. The donation of the flag and party is a financially costly endeavour. It is distinguished as a city elite act not only due to the financial resources required, but also the type of resources. These are not locally grown natural resources, but rather show connections to broader economic and political networks.

Where the tree trunk is provided by a rural village and communal labour, the *gallardete* is donated by a named family who shares in the labour to celebrate the *gallardete* and carry it to the top of the plaza with the help of other elite families and a blessing by the church. Here there is also distinction for the donor but also unity with other members of the city elite. The distinction of the elite from others in the city is made clear in who attends the party prior to the parade of the flag, and in who carries the flag in the parade; the mayor and his wife, the donating family and other close family or friends of the donor.

Whilst the strenuous labour of villages requires the city to provide coca, *chicha*, and food, the elite reflect their contribution as a different kind of labour. Through work which provides increased financial wealth they buy the *gallardete* and provide food for party guests and sweets which are thrown onto the *gallardete* during the procession and caught as they fly into onlooking crowds. These acts recreate the moral expectation of sharing of resources through the community. Different parts give different types of labour and goods, brought together in the plaza as the centre of the district. In return there is the expectation of a share of these communal resources.

The tree trunk is transformed on arrival in the plaza. It is painted red and white, and the subsequent attaching of the *gallardete/* pennant, creates the whole *gallardete*, uniting city and rural communities. However, the linguistic subsuming of the tree trunk into the *gallardete*, which is described as such all along perhaps underlies the unequal power relations evident in the elite's day to day inhabiting of the centre (traditionally literally in the plaza). Nevertheless, the power of rural communities is revealed in the physical creation of the whole *gallardete*, without the tree trunk and the difficult communal labour, there would be no *gallardete*, it would not be the same community.

During the fiesta, elites are outnumbered by rural actors who come to the centre, to the plaza, demonstrating their potential power through their actions in that space and recreating the moral community.

Although literally translated as a pennant, the *gallardete* is a rectangular flag and is that of the Department of Sánchez Carrión, the pattern and colours differ from today's Peruvian flag in the direction of lines and the lack of coat of arms in the middle. Instead it is similar to the flag of 1822 (changed a year later) in the direction of the lines as a horizontal tribunal, which correlates in time with Sánchez Carrión's letters (see chapter two). The flag therefore connects its donor, the fiesta, and Huamachuco as a community with Sánchez Carrión and the history of the making of the Republic (chapter two).

The fiesta, and the *gallardete* in particular, is locally described as an 'ancestral tradition', part of local heritage which links to ideas of modernity as discussed in chapter two. Detailed knowledge of connecting histories is less locally discussed, however there appear to be some linkages to histories and ethnographies of the region which add to the analysis of the meaning; indicating the importance of communal labour and the bringing of goods to the centre space of the plaza, to constitute communal membership and rights to communal resources. Later in this chapter using histories and regional ethnographies, I consider how the fiesta dances are considered as communal labour which include ritual conflict, considered necessary for community making and progress.

Whilst its Catholic origins are linked to the Spanish introduction of the faith, the communal participation, the *gallardete* and some of the dances appear to have links to pre conquest. In his analysis of the raising of the *gallardete* in Huamachuco, the archaeologist Topic[58] (1994: 104) demonstrates how accounts by the first Spanish missionaries describe the festival of the deity of Ataguju (probably equivalent to the Quechua god Viracocha, seen as a creator of energy and fertility) (San Pedro, 1992[1560]: 160–64 [folios3v4] cited in Topic, 1994:104) where poles were erected and sacrifices of guinea pigs and other animals' blood were made. This was part of a five-day fiesta where people dressed in their best clothes, danced and some became drunk. Topic (1994:108-109) suggests that it is possible that fiestas took place in an area of niches around Huamachuco such as Marcahumachuco where the bones of ancestors were interred to reinforce corporate lineage ('*ayllu*') connections. Topic goes on to assess that due to San Pedro's account

[58] Topic's (1994) account of the modern day raising of the *gallardete* differs in some parts to my own, particularly notable in the divisions of labour between upper and lower communities: His account states the lower part carries the end of the trunk, and the upper part the top (1994:113).

and the size of niched areas in Huamachuco, it is possible that the poles were not as large as at present and were numerous rather than the single pole used today. That fiestas took place amidst the bones of ancestors perhaps indicates, as McEwan (2005: 6) argues in his analysis of archaeological evidence from the Wari site Pikillacta in Cusco, that storing lineages of bodies ensured adhesion and adoption into the state system.

The historic use of central spaces also indicates their importance in incorporating communities into state systems. The name and location of Marcahuamachuco is of interest as it sits in an intermediate zone in the vertical economy of the Andes (Isbell, 1968; Murra, 1979) between the high altitude '*puna'* and the valleys below (note this is relative to broader geographies, as viewed from the city it sits on a mountaintop). Ethnographies of the Andes describe how the middle zone is of particular significance and the word '*marca*' in Quechua means 'town' and can indicate an intermediate place, of "*meeting and division*" (Harris, 2000: 103–104). As such it is a space of mediation and negotiation. Whilst the modern-day fiesta does not take place in Marcahuamachuco, the present-day city of Huamachuco with its Inca plaza also sits in the intermediate zone and demarcates the line between 'upper' and 'lower' rural populations of Huamachuco. These terms therefore refer to the position up or down from the plaza as a central point (as discussed in the Introduction and above).

As noted above, the central point of the plaza in Huamachuco is a symbolic and ritual place of negotiation and meditation. Ramírez (1995) argues that on Conquest, what Spanish observers thought were markets in Northern Peru were actually part of the Inca state's redistributive and exchange system. Labourers would bring the products of communal labour to plazas for centralised collection, storage and distribution. Inca officials would redistribute prestige items or those not produced locally, which the state's lords had exchanged with regions further away.

Historical analysis of the Andes pre-conquest also reveals important systems of state redistribution as a result of communal labour contribution. The importance of communal labour as tribute to the Inca was written about by Spanish observers at the time of Conquest. Collective labour was undertaken on Inca land in a festive atmosphere; people were dressed in fine clothes with decorations of gold and silver and crowns of feathers on their heads, there were songs and dances (Harris, 2007: 151; Watchel, 1977: 71). The silver and gold crowns were specifically noted for use during dances (Ramírez, 1995: 151), which perhaps we can see linked to the costumes of some dances (*Turkos*, Incas and *Ñustas*) of Huamachuco today, described below. In a relatively recent

ethnography Gose (1994: 103–104) notes the use of headdresses of flowers during communal labour parties and a festive atmosphere. Harris (2007: 154-55) shows how some Spanish observers (such as Polo de Ondegardo in 1571 (1990)) suggested that communal work was irrational as workers did not benefit from it. Harris argues that these observers show their desire to strip social relations from labour, thus alienating it from the broad social relations of production.

Today the plaza is a central space which materially connects generations through its materials and actions undertaken there (see chapters two and four), particularly the fiesta; repeated actions (*gallardete*, dancing, festivities) over time recreating community. It is also the location of local government offices as well as the local elite's houses, shops and businesses. As the location where the fiesta is largely enacted a physical manifestation of the reciprocal acts of communal creation, the plaza is also the meeting space of 'upper' and 'lower' (discussed in the introduction and below). Through labour (*gallardete*, dances, gifts), there is a ritualised acceptance of the rights of access to the communal/government resources which the centre (through local government) manages and negotiates its distribution.

During the fiesta, the distribution of communal resources is undertaken primarily by the mayor's leadership in coordinating and allocating funding to the fiesta. As part of this ritualised exchange, coca leaves cigarettes and '*chicha'* (maize beer) are given by the local government to '*republicanos'* (communal labourers from the upper and lower areas) and their families. The provision of these items has been noted by Mayer (2002: 177) as often a necessary part of reciprocal exchange in the Peruvian Andes. During communal labour under the Inca state, it was also necessary to provide *chicha*, otherwise the population would not gather and work for the lords (Ramírez, 1995: 149). Ramírez (1995: 143) suggests that the gift exchanges which often took place in plazas, including during fiestas, implied gain, but not of the commercial kind, rather it was good will, it was political. Under Colonial rule, 'Indian *republicanos*'[59] that were 'good' by undertaking local communal labour ('*republica*'), serving local patron saints and those paying tribute to the King, would have rights to communal resources, protected by judges and administrators of the state (Thurner, 1995: 302–303). Today the provision of coca and *chicha*, and the importance of providing a better fiesta than the year before, is also part of this act of reciprocity; remaking the moral community in the central space.

[59] Not to be confused with the later use of *Republica* and *republicanos* in the anti-Spanish and anti-monarchist struggles of the 19th century. Used under colonial rule to denote specific populations in terms of labour and taxation see Thurner (1995) for more.

The role of the state however is not clearly delineated, its 'blurred boundaries' (Gupta, 1995) are negotiated in this reciprocal formation of community. The city elite's participation in organising the fiesta and purchasing items outside of local productive capacity are an essential part of the exchange, showing the political power and external connections of the city. There are institutional and personal contributions to this, but the actors coincide at times making it difficult to distinguish between organisational and personal actions. In effect, an amalgamation of personal and institutional actions is realised, particularly where the person is the mayor or another person of prestige (see chapter five). Personal contributions from city residents (or those that have migrated to other cities and return for the fiesta) are of things which must be paid for with money, rather than through their own personal labour. These items range from the *gallardete* flag, fireworks, to the clothes for the Virgin of the Alta Gracia (see below), but the key point is that these items are not made by the families that contribute them, but rather they are paid for by them.

Cooperation and exchange between populations of the different altitudes is fundamental to the functioning of the vertical economy (Murra, 1979), which has probably been used since the middle horizon period, pre-Inca (Isbell, 1968). Ethnographies of the region also demonstrate the use of communal interdependence in labour both between vertical zones and within communities (for example Harris 2000). Van Vleet (2008: 51) in Sullk'ata, Bolivia, and Isbell (1978: 67) in Chuschi, Peru describe how people from cities, or people who are outside of reciprocal labour relationships, are considered to be '*q'ala*' 'naked' showing how fundamental labour reciprocity is to society and the ability to survive. Acts of reciprocity through labour exchange must be regularly repeated for them to be maintained and renewed (Allen, 1997: 76; Van Vleet, 2008: 78, 184).

As noted in the introduction in relation to conceptions of Andean duality, the importance of repeated reciprocal labour exchanges in the creation of community is further emphasised in regional ethnographies which demonstrate how becoming fully human is a process undertaken through increasing levels of social connectivity. Canessa (1998) working in Pocobaya, Bolivia describes how it is only after the first hair cutting that children are theoretically able to undertake work (and grow in skills), gradually entering into more numerous social relationships within the community. However, only when a couple marry are they considered as fully human, fully part of society, as upon marriage the couple become indebted to those that undertake labour to set them up with both the wedding party (e.g. food, drink) and the goods which they make for them (Bolin, 1998: 124–131; Harris, 1984; Van Vleet, 2008: 146–150). The symbolism of the wedding ceremony

as described by both Van Vleet and Bolin shows similarities to the structure of the Inca dance in Huamachuco, described below, and suggests the importance of the union of different parts of the community, the 'upper' and the 'lower', and also of the centre as a point of redistribution.

In the labour of the fiesta, in the raising of the *gallardete,* the dances, processions and gifts, the rural communities of 'upper' and 'lower' and city residents enter the central space as a ritual of recreation or fertility[60], renewing the ties between parts of the community and through this labour, reaffirming the return rights of all parts of the community to the communal resources. Despite the right to a fair proportion of communal resources which labour imbues, there is no guarantee of a return, especially when undertaken for those who are more powerful (Van Vleet 2008:51). Rural communities may hope for a new project, elites may hope for jobs or project contracts for themselves or families. The hopes may not turn into projects or jobs, but by undertaking these acts, they are more possible. However, these hopes are not purely calculated in terms of inputs to possible gains, they are also done because it is what it means to be Huamachuquino, and to perform as a good member of the society. The acts of communal labour (including gift giving) are the basis for what it is to be part of the society, as with a written contract (Alexander, 2001), it is a starting point from which there are ongoing negotiations for a fair share of communal resources, often articulated in the form of projects.

Today in Huamachuco, the acts of labour by upper and lower communities and gift giving by central government and elites provide a physical, ritualised enactment of the community which is renewed during the fiesta. The interdependent exchange between rural and city inhabitants constitutes a key moment in the year in which the community of Huamachuco recreates these bonds, which are embodied in the symbols of the *gallardete* and icon of the Virgin. The short-term immediate exchange of labour, coca, cigarettes, *chicha,* food and gifts/donations for the fiesta are constitutive of the relationship but also show the expectation of longer-term rights to the redistribution of communal resources, particularly public investment projects. Thus, ritualised exchanges of collaborative labour and gift giving are part of a system of political power.

Politics, projects and the fiesta

As social hierarchies are fundamental to formal and informal politics, it should be clear by now that whilst the fiesta is not locally regarded as a particularly political event, it is an expression of

[60] Topic (1994) assess that a ritual raising a tree trunk may have been more common in the pre-Incan Andes, and that the ritual may use the tree trunk to promote fertility (crops and community relations).

the local political relationships between individuals and groups. As such, the fiesta can illuminate relationships which are otherwise difficult to observe but which influence approaches to government spending decisions.

As a key figurehead in the community of Huamachuco, the mayor of Sánchez Carrión plays an important role in the celebrations. This is reflected in his (thus far always male) organisation of and spending on the fiesta (as head of the organising committee), and his leading role in the ceremonies/ processions. Since the increases to local government budgets due to mining, mayors have been able to increase spending on the fiesta, and use the fiesta programmes and public speeches to demonstrate (moral) actions for the community, including highlighting the projects which his administration has undertaken in the previous year. The fiesta is seen as an important annual milestone; the mayor must be seen to put on a good fiesta for the whole community. Failure to do this would show a lack of commitment to the community and this process of sharing in a common experience and effort.

Interviews with city inhabitants and ex-mayors of Huamachuco revealed that the fiesta is funded from the local government tourism budget, even though by national law this is not allowed. Throughout my time in Huamachuco, both city and rural residents thought it appropriate that local government funds should pay for the fiesta, however this was talked about in direct reference to the mayor. It was the mayor who would be seen to have put on a good or bad fiesta - and if the fiesta wasn't bigger and better than the previous year it would not reflect well on the mayor himself. Well placed interviewees estimated that in the late 1990s the budget was around 100,000 PEN (approximately £23,000) rising to around 400,000 PEN (approximately £93,000) in peak spending years. The higher budgets correlate with years when the mining canon was at its highest, perhaps enabling higher fiesta spending.

Part of the responsibility of the mayor as head of the fiesta organising committee is to produce a programme in which he writes an introduction and commissions articles which provide additional information on the schedule of events. Below are four examples of the front covers of programmes, the first two from before I arrived and the latter two during fieldwork.

On the fiesta programmes the number of years since the Spanish founding of Huamachuco are given - in 2016 four hundred and sixty-three years had passed (although an urban population is thought to have been present in the same site in Inca, and in nearby areas pre-Inca, times). Whilst

seldom discussed locally, it is likely that a pre-Inca fiesta which focused on lineage and patronage, seen today in the raising of the *gallardete* and dances (below), was taken over by a Spanish Church/ state fiesta which added the Virgin as the symbol of the community relationships, as well as the *gallardete*. This structural power relationship of state involvement continues in the organisation and leadership of the fiesta by the mayor and in the involvement of the elite of Huamachuco who are more strongly connected to Church and political aspects of the event than the rural population. The rural population are more involved in non-church aspects, a point which I will expand upon below.

Image 1: Fiesta Programmes 2012-2013, 2015-2016

The first two programmes were made under mayor Luis Alberto Rebaza Chávez, whilst the latter two were compiled under mayor Arturo Rebaza López[61]. The fiesta programmes, although officially not political, are used by mayors to promote their vision for the future of Huamachuco and demonstrate the things they have done in the previous year to improve Huamachuco. In 2012 Luis Alberto Rebaza Chávez used the introduction to promote his vision of Huamachuco as a tourist destination:

> "The Committee of the Fiesta 2012, according with our traditions and customs, has coordinated various activities which focus on the promotion of tourism, with the hope of developing Huamachuco in the not too distant future as one of the most important tourist destinations of the country. Because of this, it has been important that our festival has now been officially declared by the Ministry of Culture as "Cultural Patrimony of the Nation" and within the fiesta, one of the most important parts is the "Raising of the *gallardete*". We invite everyone to participate in the program of activities, and to visit Marcahuamachuco, Wiracochapampa, lake Sausacocha, lake Cushuro, the thermal baths of Yanasara and El Eden, Agua de Los Pajaritos [natural spring], as well as other tourist attractions with which our lovely land has been blessed. Welcome to our town!" (Own translation from Spanish)

As well as a schedule of activities, the thirty-eight-page 2012 programme contains articles about the history and culture of Huamachuco, particularly relating to local archaeology, many by researchers who have been working in the area. In 2013 the same mayor continues to promote his vision of tourism through the programme. On the front cover is a montage of images of both tourism and the fiesta; Sausacocha lake is merged with archaeological remains of Marcahuamachuco which is on a mountain on the other side of the town, and a photo of the Virgin hovers over the top, looking down on the images of touristic locations. In 2013 whilst the mayor's introduction is more about thanking the local population for their work on the fiesta, the articles continue to focus on tourism and heritage giving summaries of key archaeological sites and telling Huamachuco that "*the world is watching the fiesta*". In both programmes there is one image of the physical projects which the mayor commissioned: the repaving of a pedestrian street in the centre of Huamachuco and the renovation of Agua de los Pajaritos (natural spring) (chapter two). Both were done in the same style which used small stones (originating from the area) in a crazy

[61] I understand the mayors are not directly related, although names are important to negotiations of hierarchies, see chapter five.

paving style, with street lighting reminiscent of the colonial era, with the aim of making the centre more attractive and to encourage visitors.

The mayor Arturo Rebaza López who presided over the fiestas in 2015 and 2016 (amongst others) provides an even more direct account in the programmes of his political vision for Huamachuco. In 2015 he begins by acknowledging that tourism should play a part in the life of Huamachuco, and says that with new technology Huamachuco is even more in the eyes of the world:

> "Through the internet and social networks we are in direct view of the world and it is for this reason that we should adequately prepare ourselves and reflect on our pending commitments, the most important of which is to bring to our city the vital service of potable water. Also improving our Plaza de Armas is urgently needed, to value it and improve the access to it, the gardens, the lighting, between other fundamental aspects which permit us to convert it into an important attraction for regional and national tourism." (Own translation from Spanish)

In 2016 the same mayor reflects on the completion of the work on the plaza and declares:

> "The fruits which we enjoy [from the work on the plaza] are a consequence of dedication, teamwork, honesty and transparency. Because of this we have published the accounts of the first year of the administration so that the citizens know how resources have been allocated. But we also recognise that we still have enormous challenges, and for this reason we are making a supreme effort, in the project of potable water, the new market, the renovated theatre, the new hospital, which bit by bit will be a reality. At the same time we are improving security, maintenance of public areas and education." (Own translation from Spanish)

Interestingly, Arturo Rebaza López chooses to present a picture of himself in both 2015 and 2016 with José Faustino Sánchez Carrión in the background (either a statue or a painting). This is a purposeful connection with a person who is considered by Huamachuquinos as of primary importance in their history as one of the forefathers of the Peruvian Republic (see chapter two) and who provides Huamachuco with an important connection to modernising forces in the history of Peru.

The purpose of these introductions is clearly to promote the mayors' work and to demonstrate what they have done in the previous year. However, their focus on tourism (both national and international) and infrastructure projects also indicates a narrative of aspiration of modernisation in which projects play an important role. These themes of modernity are explored elsewhere but here I note that these narratives of change, progression and modernity are intertwined with the identity of a community working together through collaboration in the fiesta and throughout the year. Because the fiesta ritually establishes community membership and rights to communal resources, mayors highlight projects in their public communications during the fiesta (as a key way in which communal resources are distributed). Projects funded by the mining canon are intertwined with the fiesta because, as part of the negotiation of the moral community, the government must fulfil its side by providing these publicly funded projects.

Apart from the programme, the mayor has one other opportunity in the fiesta in which to openly discuss politics and the achievements of his administration; directly after the mass on the central day of the fiesta, holding a central place with the most formally religious aspect of the day. Every year the speech is given the title in the programme of "*Solemn Session, for the* [XXX] *Anniversary of the Spanish Founding of "The Very Illustrious and Faithful City of Huamachuco*", "*Classic Land of the Patriots*"" and is held in the hall which is just beside the Cathedral (Photograph 87). As such there is limited space for large numbers and it appeared to me (in 2015) that only well-connected city/ elite families attended. The mayor, other local government politicians and the bishop of Huamachuco sat at a long table on a stage with a banner of the fiesta propaganda behind them. The alignment of the state and Church in the central part of the fiesta and throughout the processions as described later is also a way of aligning state power and institutions with the Church and the authority of God, reaffirming hierarchies. The municipal government and the mayor specifically have an important part in this by reasserting the leadership role of the mayor and the responsibility placed on him by the community of Huamachuco to deliver in return.

Photograph 87: Solemn Session

In addition to giving out some long service recognition certificates to teachers and other members of the community, the main focus of the session I witnessed is the mayor's speech in which he gave an account of the both the work undertaken by his administration and the future vision for the work yet to be done. In this he repeated from the programme the key projects he wished to undertake, the plaza, an improved water supply to the city, the building of the new market and the restoration of the theatre. All projects which would be highly visible, and emblematic of Huamachuco's modernity and high culture.

As the head of the fiesta Committee the mayor leads many parts of the fiesta and is more visible than the bishop and church priests. In this the mayor is a figurehead for the activities and continuity of the community's work. On 12th August, the new clothes of the Virgin are donated by a Huamachuquino family in the civic rooms of the library.

Photograph 88: The Virgin's clothes

I arrive early with María and her friends who have long lived in Lima but who are from a 'known' family of Huamachuco. We sit in a room of the building overlooking the plaza. A ring of empty seats lines the walls and within this are rows of seats on the tiled floor. All along the walls are a line of paintings of renowned people of Huamachuco's history and a glass cabinet containing a flag and other relics of the 1883 Battle of Huamachuco, the last major battle of the War of the Pacific with Chile. At the end of the room, on mannequins, are the new clothes of the Virgin and the two icons of the son of God. There is a white dress and long blue cape, embroidered with blue flowers. I see from the window, that the mayor, Miss Huamachuco, and a procession of the donating family, leaders of the church Brotherhood of the Virgin, members of the city community are arriving all dressed smartly. The women in the highest of heels and most pencil of skirts, and I realise my walking shoes, dirty jeans and fleece are an embarrassment, or perhaps just state the obvious that I am an observer. They file into the room, and the mayor takes a phone call; we are all waiting for him. The press and official government photographer are hovering around the side at the front, waiting.

Photograph 89: Presenting the Virgin's clothes and crown to the mayor

Then he is ready and the family stand to speak into the microphone to present the clothes to the mayor. A handshake and photos follow, and the leader of the Brotherhood of the Virgin receives the crowns of Jesus and the Virgin from another family, the leader of whom is very emotional that they have had the privilege to present these gifts to the fiesta to the Virgin. More handshakes and more photographs, and everyone starts to leave, and the clothes of the Virgin are lifted over the chairs and out of the door. Members of the Brotherhood of the Virgin and the donating family display the cape, holding a small corner of it, as we process around the plaza to the Cathedral. People stop in the street to observe

us as the brass band that follows plays and we reach the Cathedral. At this point the politicians leave and the others enter the Cathedral, including the brass band as a short presentation of the clothes to the church is given. The donating dignitaries stand with their gifts at the front of the Cathedral and their pictures are taken.

Photograph 90: Processing the Virgin's clothes to the Cathedral

Photograph 91: In 2015 the mayor's deputy lead religious processions of the fiesta

The most visible part of the mayor's role in the fiesta is to lead the processions around the Plaza de Armas. In the years when Arturo Rebaza Chávez was mayor, he led the processions of the *gallardete* (tree trunk and flag) but did not lead the religious processions as he is an Evangelical Christian, instead his deputy represented him. In leading the processions, the mayor is visible as the figurehead of the organisation of the city. In the religious processions he is surrounded by other elite leaders of the Brotherhood of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia, of leading members of his government administration and members of the police and army. Behind them, members of the elite community (among whom are people I recognise as government officials) carry the front of the '*anda*' (processional plinth) on which the Virgin sits. The back of '*anda*' is carried by members of the police and army. The procession lead by the mayor is a symbol of the blurred creation of state power. The carrying of the '*anda*' by military and civil servants, is an act of duty to the community by the elites in their capacities as state actors and members of the community. In doing so, they connect their power over others, to the power of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia who they carry on their shoulders through the Plaza de Armas, the most important open public space of the district both historically and at present.

The mayor's role during the fiesta is therefore practical and symbolic. He must organise the fiesta and ensure that it is acceptably big enough to show the importance of the community to itself. Through informal interviews I gathered that 'big enough' meant bigger than the year before with better bands (international bands were invited in 2015), more fireworks, while maintaining good organisation. The mayor must also accept gifts for the fiesta from community members. These will be communally valued through their roles in the creation of the fiesta (the Virgin's clothes, the *gallardete*, the labour to transport the *gallardete*). The mayor must be <u>seen</u> to do these things, to be in charge and receive gifts on behalf of the community. Through this, the mayor is a symbol of the organisation of the community, of its self-governance and the power of the wider state beyond.

The fiesta begins to reveal the position of the mayor as embodying the communal negotiations over the moral community; over which acts using communal funds are considered moral, or acceptable in the pursuit of communal progress. Later chapters further show the importance of this role in relation to projects, and the connections between local interactions and national government processes.

Photograph 92: Carrying the 'anda'

Elite roles in the fiesta

Beyond the carrying of the '*anda*' and processing behind it, elites of Huamachuco provide items for different events of the fiesta. The flag of the *gallardete* and the clothes of the Virgin have already been mentioned. However, there are many more items and general financial contributions which must be made. As I have previously noted, there are long waiting lists to provide the most prestigious items, but there are also sacks of rice or potatoes, payment of brass bands or musicians.

In the fiesta programme the names and donations of all those that have given items or cash are listed so that all can see who has contributed in this way. In the programmes I have seen only one donor chose to remain anonymous. It is important to be seen to be doing one's part to support the community, being seen to be connected to the Virgin of the Alta Gracia and to be helping fellow Huamachuquinos to provide the best fiesta possible. Some local businesses also use the opportunity of donations to contribute, allowing them to be seen to support the community, and be part of it. Big companies such as La Arena mine or national banks sponsor adverts in the programme, but donations to the fiesta through in the provision of '*castillos*' ('castles') by local businesses and parts of government is also particularly popular.

> There had already been several days of intense fiesta activity, but on 14th August it went up a level. There was dancing from before 10am in the plaza with two processions, one in the morning as the Virgin of the Alta Gracia from Mariscal de Orbegoso returned to her Church up the hill from the plaza, and another at 3pm when the baby Jesus was returned to the Cathedral from the family home where he had been kept watch over. The dancing was different from the day before - made up of people from the surrounding *caseríos* (villages) and more adults rather than the teenagers from the city.
>
> The processions in the plaza had to make their way around *castillos* taller than the buildings made of bamboo which were being constructed all day. They were pre-adorned with fireworks ready for the display that night. Round holes in the concrete of the road which circles the plaza, previously filled with earth, were being made hollow again so that the poles of the constructions could slot into the road.

Photograph 93: Poles for castillos

Photograph 94: Building castillos

The plaza was vibrant with the lights of street stalls of barbecue meat skewers, sweets, popcorn and makeshift bars of stacked beer crates. The whole area was full of people, standing, dancing, chatting, drinking, eating and children playing. The photographers lined the top half of the plaza, doing good business with backdrops of Peppa Pig, a jungle complete with a large stuffed toy lion, and Machu Pichu. At each end of the plaza, facing each other, had been constructed large stages for the evening's music performances, the

lower one larger and with more lights and speakers than the upper stage, both had large screens so the performances could be viewed from afar (Photograph 95). The first acts started and both stages pushed out their sound. From the top stage Andean folk pop music and from the bottom stage Latin American pop. Meanwhile brass bands hired by the donors of each firework *castillo* played their own tunes, so the sounds melded into a strange pointed mix.

We made our way up to the top of a friend's hotel which has a roof terrace overlooking the plaza. We were greeted with Pisco Sours and chatted to the groups already up there. Most people I knew but there were several Huamachuquinos who had travelled to the fiesta, staying at the hotel. One had come from California. He'd lived there since he was twenty (so I assume for around thirty years) and returned every year for the fiesta to reconnect with family and friends and enjoy the spectacle. He bemoaned the slow internet speeds in Huamachuco, but Trujillo was fine to run his business from his laptop whilst he was away. I stood at the edge of the terrace looking down at all the revellers below, waiting for the fireworks. Almost all the *castillos* were ready and people danced to the music of the brass bands in their normal daily clothes, coats, jeans and trainers. The tower nearest us began, it banged, and Catherine Wheels whizzed as streaks of light raced away from the centre, revolving in a crazed spin. The brass band played with vigour and the dancing became more intense. Cameras and phones flashed for selfies, and to my horror children ran underneath the firework towers laughing as they dodged the flaming remains of the fireworks as they dropped to the floor in fountains of colour. And so continued the night, music and dancing and fireworks.

Photograph 95: Two music stages at opposite ends of the plaza

Photograph 96: Castillos

Photograph 97: Castillo fireworks

It took hours for all the *castillos* to take their turn to light up, some (I think by accident) went off at the same time. Some more spectacular than others, two with coloured lighting outlining shapes and messages to those watching: one created an outline of the chapel which sits on the plaza and is thought to be built on the original centre alter of the Inca plaza, initials of the donors were written above the door. By choosing this design, and the location by the chapel, the donors were making clear their understanding of and belonging to the local history and importance of culture and community.

Another *castillo* displayed the donors name, the phrase "*United we are more*" and a heart, accompanied by a banner with a photo of him on it. This one was funded by the then mayor of Sanagorán, a neighbouring district.

Photograph 98: 'United we are more'

It is significant that he chose to fund a *castillo* and to make sure his name was written large on it (Photograph 95 and Photograph 98). The mayor of Sanagorán was known for high levels of spending on infrastructure from mining income and had funded additional projects in the schools in the area of Puente Piedra. In 2018 he was going to run for mayor of Sánchez Carrión (of which Sanagorán is a part) and such displays of support, personal funding and commitment for the community will probably have at least kept his name in people's minds, if not made him more popular. The people I spoke to who had received such funding were aware of his likely motives but were understandably happy to gain funding for their needs. He also took out long local television adverts, for example wishing everyone a happy Valentines and detailing all the work (largely infrastructure projects) he had done for his district. In his connection of Valentine's Day to infrastructure projects he had authorised, he was perhaps seeking to show his love for his district, such that the phrase repeated by interlocutors 'robbing with love' comes to mind, where there is an acceptance of corruption as long as the community share in the benefits (see chapter five).

Many of the *castillos* had fireworks displaying the donor's name, however, most onlookers were likely to miss that, looking as they were from far away. Therefore the incentive for most donors is not that people see the name with the fireworks, but that their name is written in the programme such that the people who are connected and recognise names of 'known' people, will look at the programme and note their name and contribution. The mayor will also value the contribution such that a future connection would be more likely: sponsors will have been seen to have been helping, to be working for the community.

Remaking elite connections through the Fiesta

Whilst I have argued thus far that the fiesta represents a recreation of the community of the district of Huamachuco, between rural and city areas, it is also an important opportunity for the remaking of connections within city elites. It is likely that it also serves as an opportunity for rural populations to reconnect with other villages, but I was unable to observe specific examples of this. For city elites, the fiesta provides a time in the year when they can hope to meet people they have not seen for a long time.

As a member of a 'known' family, being seen to play a role in the fiesta can simply be done by turning up. Many of the members of these families no longer live and work in Huamachuco. Although some do remain, more work between Trujillo and Huamachuco or Lima and

Huamachuco. Both Trujillo and Lima have clubs for Huamachuquinos living there and although I have never visited the Lima one, the Trujillo club is very active, including organising a fiesta for those that cannot return to Huamachuco. However, many people who have migrated away do not return, so those that do are notable for their presence and are valued. The importance of this annual reconnection with old friends and distant family and in participating in (co-creating) the fiesta, can be seen by these long trips both from within Peru and internationally, a number coming from the USA, Europe and other countries of Latin America for the event every year. It is important to be seen to be present and to be noted there, as loyal members of Huamachuquino society.

One opportunity to be seen is the Gala Ball, held on the evening of 15th August. It is a ticketed event, which theoretically anyone can buy a ticket to, but in effect only those that are connected to known families or business will attend. I was told many times about the ball and that it would be smart so I should bring a dress! I dutifully packed a long black dress, and some heeled shoes (as opposed to my walking shoes) for this one occasion:

> I pass the bell tower on the plaza and pay my twenty soles at the gate. I narrowly avoid getting my feet caught in the dress as I enter, unused to the formal leather shoes and long black dress required for the Gala Ball. Walking down the wide corridor-like entrance of the school I hear the music, and turning the corner am amazed by the transformation of the school. Instead of the concrete courtyard is a marquee of white chiffon, with a stage at the far end filled with a band dressed in white suits and bright shirts. Large white linen draped tables surround the couples dancing, men in dark suits and ladies in very short skirts and heels so high I can't imagine walking in uneven Andean streets, never mind dancing. I meet a group of Huamachuquinos and two of them have not met before, Geraldo in his fifties who normally lives in Trujillo and the other, David, is in his twenties and normally lives in Huamachuco. They go through the usual exchange, starting with first names but focusing on their surnames.
>
> David: 'My father was Fernández Muñoz García…' and he details the names of his grandfather and grandmother.
> Geraldo: 'Oh I know your family' and reels off the other connections, detailing other families which are related
> David: 'Yes that's right, that's my family'.

Geraldo: I knew your father; he was a very good man'
David: 'Thank you for saying that, he was a good man, it's good to hear others think that.'

Another man who I have never seen before approaches María and me. He introduces himself as Fernández Vásquez Rebaza and María nods and recalls his family connections and how his father was friends with hers. He now lives abroad but returns every year for the fiesta. David joins us, and David, María and Fernández look at the building around them and reminisce about their school days here. David tells me '*you see that door down there, that's where I had all my classes*' he smiles '*yes, it really was a great time to be with all my friends. I have great memories, it was a different place then. We all knew each other, and we used to be able to play football in the roads around the plaza as there were hardly any cars.'* Fernández joins in '*Yes my classroom was over there*' pointing to a door further along. '*Those were great times. It's good to be back and remember all those times and catch up with some people.'* Fernández, David and María maintain a slight pause in their smiles as they all seem to hold their memories in their thoughts, and then the conversation continues and the music blasts through.

I had noted these types of interactions and mentioning of family connections many times before where surnames were repeated and father's friendships remembered where favours were asked (chapter five). Here it was used to place the person in the context of the broader community and to know where and how they belonged to it and to each other. In so doing at the Gala Ball, they were remaking connections which may have been left fallow for some time, but which remained and could be re-engaged through such conversations which the fiesta made possible. For most of the history of Huamachuco, the school San Nicolás where the Gala Ball was held, was the only secondary school and all Huamachuquinos educated in Huamachuco would go there (others would be sent to private schools in Trujillo or Lima). By reminiscing about the school, they reformed common bonds of a time now past but formative in who they had become as individuals and as a community with shared memories.

These kinds of exchanges between elite Huamachuquinos are frequent in the fiesta, reconnecting those that have moved away to those that continue to live in Huamachuco. By sharing this annual occasion of remembering connections and ways of life (such as childhood/ schooling), this provides a mutual bond through which solidarity with one another is expressed. Being present during the honouring of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia is to be part of the creation of the community of Huamachuco, thus contributing towards one's own status as a 'good' Huamachuquino (see

chapter five). Returnees enjoy the week by eating with old friends, going on outings to local attractions like the thermal baths, as well as attending key parts of the fiesta such as the Gala Ball.

Aspects of the fiesta which are more religious appear to be paid for/ contributed to by migrated Huamachuquinos. In 2015 I noted that the clothing of the Virgin was paid for by a family living in Trujillo, and a marching band for the Virgin was paid for by a family that had recently moved to Trujillo to work. Many, perhaps a third to a half of the brotherhood of the Virgin were living in Trujillo. However, many financial contributions that are listed in the fiesta guide are paid for by families who base their businesses or professional lives either strongly in Huamachuco or between Trujillo and Huamachuco. Thus, it is possible that an investment in the fiesta is also associated with the importance of maintaining social, business and political connections in the area such that those with regular interactions are more likely to invest in it. As I mentioned above in relation to the *castillos*, it is important for members of the elite to be seen as present at the fiesta and to be seen to contribute to it, within each person's means, in order to be considered as doing their bit to the creation of the community; being a 'good' Huamachuquino. These contributions can also be seen as a way of helping the mayor deliver a good fiesta; creating alliances, and in return increased possibilities to gain jobs or contracts for projects.

It is also possible for non-Huamachuquinos to contribute to these elite city obligations in an attempt to be considered part of the community or to develop business or political alliances. Such contributions in 2015 included more senior civil servants in the local government paying for sacks of food for the raising of the *gallardete*. Whilst these smaller contributions develop personal links between the organising committee and the giver, they are also noted by the wider community as a commitment and contribution.

The actions of the purchase of gifts to the fiesta are critical in terms of the position of the centre to the rest of the community. It is the centre that is seen to hold greater connections and access to the cash economy, other parts of Peru and political and economic power. In reality, many of the elite of the centre are financially unable to contribute these gifts, particularly the larger more expensive commitments, such that those that do make such contributions are currently more economically or politically successful. With such contributions, the mayor and others with economic or political power notice two interdependent possibilities - that these people could be competition to their own power (such as future mayoral candidates), or possible allies to maintain their connections and politico-economic possibilities. These two options can be intertwined due

to the legal bar on holding two consecutive terms in office as mayor. This means that ex and present mayors, although theoretically in opposition to each other, may in fact form alliances and work together to undertake projects. This was the case in a project in Cahuadan in 2016 where the ex-Mayor Carlos Loyola was promoting a large development of a pampa into a tourist attraction/ botanical garden and worked with Mayor Arturo Rebaza in order to make it happen.

Thus the provision of gifts in the fiesta can be a contribution to the community, in the mutual creation of it, or it can be a gift (for example in the donation of the Virgin's clothes by a family) whereby the individual/ family forms stronger bonds and increases their profile in the community with a prospect of some unknown benefits in the future. At the same time it can be a more calculated political act to show support to the current mayor (two of the mayor's closest engineers donated sacks of food in 2015), or to negotiate political power in an attempt to increase access to it. The fiesta is an opportunity to develop or maintain alliances which are used year-round in business, or for gaining jobs or contracts for projects.

Therefore, the centre itself uses the fiesta as a point of negotiation of power and influence as well as unity where they all share in memories of shared childhood schooling and families' interconnections. Both types of interactions bind the elite; the negotiation is continual, but the remembering of family connections during the fiesta provides a foundation for trust and understanding, the basis from which negotiations can take place.

Ritual dance in the centre as politics

Ritual dance in this fiesta is a labour performed by different parts of the rural community in (or moving towards) the central plaza, without which the district community would not be considered complete. There are many dances which are performed by rural populations during the fiesta, each village tending to have dance groups for particular dances. The dance of the Incas is distinct, it is performed by all villages of the district dancing in two groups, from the 'upper part' and the 'lower part'. As highlighted previously concerning the raising of the *gallardete*, it is important that both the upper and lower parts of Huamachuco provide labour and that the city authorities attend for the communal labour to be considered 'correct'. As I suggested regarding the *gallardete*, the performance of the dance is a ritual creation of the community, through specific actions by different parts of the community; membership is claimed, and rights to communal resources asserted.

In other fiestas, the exchange can work both ways: During the fiesta of Puente Piedra, village leaders insist that dancers must also come from the city for their own fiesta to be complete[62]. However, the contribution of city dancers is small, where in the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia, rural dance is the focus during key parts of the fiesta, both terms of number of dancers and meanings through space and time. The dance of the Incas is central in the fiesta, taking the central day of the fiesta, performing the ritual recreation of the community and filling the central space of the district with a dance which is passed between generations. In this section I suggest this dance today is political, with historical links to pre-Conquest and Andean conceptions of the importance of the negotiation of power in central spaces.

Not all dancers are the same

Urban based dance groups from schools and folklore associations for teenagers have grown in popularity, as the urban population has grown (largely due to rural-urban migration) and the number of national folkdance competitions/fiestas has increased. Whilst I am unclear whether city dance troops have always existed, today these dance troops, probably made up of children of immigrants to the city, are popular (Saldaña Rebaza and Peña Rebaza 2013). Where in chapter two rural-urban migrants were a challenge to city elites, here they also challenge rural populations by undermining the apparent reciprocity and distinction between rural-city in the creation of the district through ritual labour (asymmetry creating tension, see Allen (1988: 180)).

The increased use of the city dance groups during the Huamachuco fiestas and competitions has caused some concerns amongst some rural inhabitants and a differentiation between 'authentic', 'real', rural dancers who 'have it in their blood' (city elites also describe them as 'rough', 'brutish and 'brave') and 'pretty' or 'unauthentic' urban dancers. The importance of the distinction seems dependent on the context, such that during the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia it is essential that the rural dancers undertake the labour for it to be valid. This in-between category of rural-city migrants in such dance groups therefore find themselves participating in dances during less central parts of the fiesta.

[62] As noted earlier, (non-dancer) attendance of city Huamachuquinos at village fiestas was traditional. Today city/elite attendance is only normally undertaken where there is a specific connection (such as family ties or land ownership).

> It is 13th August, we are stood on the corner of the plaza looking up towards the bridge on the road to Trujillo from where the dancers would precede the Virgin of the Alta García from Mariscal de Orbegoso. The Virgin would come to the plaza to stay the night in the Cathedral before heading back to the Chapel where she is kept. The plaza is full of expectant observers, babies sat swaddled in the slings behind their mothers' backs, bonnets, big eyes and ruddy cheeks peering out. We hear the music, the drums and the flutes, the rattles of the costumes. Line after line of teenage dancers, girls and boys, in bright costumes and carefully planned moves progress down the street towards the bell tower in the plaza. Their movements are light, they watch each other to make sure they are in line and coordinated. The musicians are their teachers and fellow students. A couple of teenagers walk alongside in jeans and t-shirt with a rucksack of water bottles and sweets, which they hand out when they decide to briefly rest. As we stand watching, María (an elite Huamachuquina who attends the fiesta most years) says to me, '*These dancers are very pretty but this isn't the real thing like you will see tomorrow and the day after. Then, the people from the villages will dance, those are the real dancers, they have it in their blood.*'

This type of comment was repeated by others, both in the city and in the rural area around Puente Piedra. In the villages there was real concern expressed at times about the dances. An ex-village leader said:

> "The other year they wanted to put them [city youth dancers] at the front of the procession. We were not happy about it, it is our job to go first… it wouldn't have worked. They don't know the dances like we do. We threatened to pull out altogether, so they let us go first. …They change the dances so that they make them what they think is prettier. They take them to competitions and win prizes. They're teaching our children these dances in school and our children want to learn them this way so that they can also win the prizes."

Photograph 99: City based dance group

Although I could see the difference between the dance styles, the key issue is that local actors consider it important that the rural populations undertake the dance for it to be considered authentic and real. Throughout this chapter I have suggested that rural and urban populations recreate the community of the district of Huamachuco during the fiesta through specific types of acts. In the case of the rural populations, the physical labour which they undertake is of import. For the children of migrants to the city, the participation in the dances through clubs is perhaps an attempt to find a role for themselves as an in-between category of neither the city elite nor rural.

This role is accepted by others as a contribution to the fiesta, but not as a substitute for the established categories and roles of city as elite providers of external connections (political and goods) and rural as labour and agricultural production.

The Dance of the Incas and Ñustas

The villagers must decide whether they will dance in the fiesta or participate in the raising of the *gallardete*; each are considered as communal labour. The fiesta organising Committee sends out 'papers' with the signature of the mayor, calling each '*republicano*' (republican) to take part. By having the status of '*republicano*' the (male) person is considered able to contribute labour to the needs of the community and in turn to receive the benefits of belonging to the community. Whilst some will have acceptable reasons not to participate (such as illness), others will be unwilling or unable to attend and so will pay someone else to participate on their behalf, or will be fined (Saldaña and Peña 2013:21)[63]. This request from local government to undertake the ritual labour, and the payment where *republicanos* cannot participate, underlies the political nature of this action, and the blurred boundaries of the state (Gupta, 1995)[64]: Communal membership and rights to communal resources are determined through communal labour and negotiation in the centre (ritually the plaza, but also a space of mediation mutually created by actors).

The Inca dance is actually the dance of the Incas and *Ñustas*, the Incas being a male dance troupe and the *Ñustas* female[65]. Set pieces are mostly segregated, but within the same performance. The word *Ñusta* was used by the Incas to refer to a "*maiden of the royal blood*" (Garcilaso de la Vega, 2006: 10). The Inca group is symbolically lead by the Inca king and his two associates and the *Ñusta* group is symbolically lead by the male *Ñusta* king and two male associates.

[63] Migrants can seek permission to cease to be '*Republicano*' of a village where they were previously resident.
[64] Similarly to under Colonial rule (Thurner, 1995: 302–303), and pre-conquest (Garcilaso de la Vega, 2006: 48–49), noted elsewhere.
[65] Although not covered here, there are also *brujos* (wizards/ shaman) dancers who protect the dance and *el caporal* (leaders/ foremen) who carry ceremonial whips and keep order in the parades. There are also musicians - *el cajero* who simultaneously play flute and drum, as well as violinists.

Photograph 100: Kings (left), Ñustas (right)

Photograph 101: Kings

The kings hold a staff which is decorated with coins and at the top is a sun over a half moon and a cockerel above both. The kings wear silver coloured metal crowns with a cross on the top over cloth (often white and embroidered), all other male dancers wear painted crowns with a sun on one side, worn on the forehead and a half moon positioned on the back of the head, over an embroidered white cloth. All male participants wear a skirt made of layers of eight or nine polleras (skirts worn by women made of sheep wool) and seven or eight petticoats in layers, depending on how many skirts the dancer can cope with (Saldaña Rebaza and Peña Rebaza, 2013: 29). On top

the male dancers wear the long colourful dress shirts normally worn today by women in the area. On their fronts are small mirrors surrounded by colourful star shaped surrounds, and on their backs, is a triangular cloth, like a shawl which is white and embroidered with images of brightly coloured plants and flowers. Over this cloth is attached a mirror or more of the star shaped/ framed mirrors. In their hands they carry a woollen sling which is held tight between the hands of the dancer and moved above the head and down towards the floor during many of the movements in the dance. On their legs are tied dried fruits that look like small wooden bells (*maichiles*) which lightly clatter during the dance.

Photograph 102: Incas

Women wear their daily attire, which can be either the pollera and regional brightly coloured top, or a skirt, blouse and cardigan. On their heads they wear crowns made from paper or metallic paper flowers. They also have mirrors in the shape of stars on their front, and on their backs, they drape a bright highly embroidered triangular shawl over which is hung a small vase filled with herbs or flowers. In their hands they carry white handkerchiefs which are also sometimes embroidered.

Photograph 103: Ñustas

The general dance movement of the Inca dancers (male) is to bend from the middle to twist such that the skirts flare out in the jump between one leg and the other, meanwhile raising the sling and lowering it in a whipping motion, in coordination with the twisting feet and hips. It is an energetic movement which is continued for a long time and dancers struggle in the heat, sweating, requiring their refreshment of *chicha*. There are a number of specific sequences of the dance[66], which I will not attempt to cover here, other than to note that in one of the sections the troupe forms the shape of the sun (inside of which is the Inca king and two assistants) and the crescent moon (with the *Ñusta* king, two assistants and female dancers inside the shape), the moon is then overcome or absorbed by the sun (Saldaña Rebaza and Peña Rebaza, 2013: 53–56).

Photograph 104: Incas dance

[66] See (Saldaña Rebaza and Peña Rebaza, 2013)

Photograph 105: Inca dance

I did not pursue interviews specifically on what people thought the meaning of the dance was, however, when talking more generally to both rural and city populations about the fiesta and the dances, no one really expressed specific interpretations of the dance. A local Huamachuquino analysis (Cruz Ledesma, 2003: 103) suggests the dance originates from the times of the Conquest due to the song which the *Ñustas* sing which recounts the last Inca's demise at the hands of the Spaniards. Whilst this song undoubtedly is post Conquest, and Bolin's (1998: 81–83) account of the festival of Pukllay in Chillihuani (Peru) includes a song which laments the destruction of Tawantinsuyu (the four regions of the Inca state), during which there is a ritualised whipping of the legs of a dancer, it is possible that the dance dates further back.

Garcilaso's (2006:48-49) account at the time of conquest illuminates similarities to rituals of imperial power negotiation. The Feast of the Sun in June after the winter solstice was attended by all military leaders and *curacas* (lords of vassals) of the empire. The festival was of great import as the sun was the source of all life and the Inca king was descended from the sun.

> "The chiefs appeared in their best attire and adornments, some wearing plates of silver and gold on their garments and wreaths of the same on their heads, round their headdresses…. Each tribe carried the weapons it used in time of war, some bows and arrows, other lances, darts, bolts, clubs, slings, and short single-handed axes or long double-handed ones. They carried representations of the deeds they had performed in the service of the Sun and of the Incas, carrying great drums and trumpets, and brought a great many performers to play them. In short each tribe came as well attired and attended as possible, each seeking to outshine his neighbours and countrymen, or the whole assembly, if possible." (Garcilaso de la Vega, 2006: 48–49)

There are similarities between the dance and accounts of Inca fiestas (further explored below), however as the Incas were present in Huamachuco only eighty years before Conquest and are known to have built on pre-existing socioeconomic structures (Isbell 1968), the dance could also have pre-Inca roots. The analysis connecting the dance to ethnography and historical accounts which I set forward can only be speculative, however there are strong similarities in the dance to both ethnographic data from elsewhere in the Andes and historical accounts at the time of Conquest.

Reflecting on ethnographic accounts of Andean duality and historic sources I assess that the dance (and fiesta) is a ritual recreation of moral community, where prosperity/ fertility (rights to resources) can only be attained through joining in central spaces to negotiate communal labour. Ritualised communal labour and conflict in the plaza recognises the importance of mediation for the community to be prosperous. Regarding projects (a significant communal resource), whilst the communal labour of the fiesta establishes community membership and rights to resources (the contract), it also highlights the importance of ongoing negotiations to ensure communal prosperity. Therefore, as we see in later chapters, when projects are promised by politicians, negotiations are not over; it is uncertain whether the project will be delivered, in what form, who will gain from it by how much and how it will be maintained. Constant negotiations, inherent in the mediation of social relations are required for communal prosperity.

Communal labour and conflict in the centre: Prerequisites to prosperity

The costumes of the dance indicate fertility or prosperity[67]: *Ñustas* have crowns of flowers, which reflect Gose's (1994:93,109-110) account of work party participants "*festooning headbands*" of their hats in flowers. Like the flowers, the pots of herbs and flowers carried on the backs of the *Ñustas* perhaps also relate to the productivity and fertility of the land through communal labour. The coins on the staffs of the kings are old and no longer legal tender, they may symbolise the gold and silver over which the Inca had control of production and distribution, and were thought to be the "*sweat of the sun and tears of the moon*" (Harris, 1995: 219). Gose (1994: 207–208) describes how coins which are taken out of circulation are considered as amulets which can "…*attract and fix circulating wealth and vitality*". Likewise, the mirrors attached to costumes perhaps link to Van Vleet's (2008:152) account that mirrors are thought to attract fertility.

As discussed in the introduction, where in the dances of the fiesta slings are used to whip the earth in the plaza of Huamachuco, ethnographic accounts of Andean duality also reveal the importance of ritualised conflict at the meeting points of upper and lower parts of a community (for example see Gose 1994: 194-203, Allen 1988:210, Bolin, 1998: 81-83,99-100). Through the ritualised conflict between upper and lower, and ritual sacrifice of essential life sources of sweat and blood in the central space, links and rights are established between groups, generating "…*energy that is circulated through the universe."* (Van Vleet 2008:150).

In the dance of the Incas and *Ñustas*, there is rivalry between the groupings of upper and lower, they compete to arrive at the locations to dance before one another, and will shout 'long live the upper part!' or 'long live the lower part!' (Saldaña Rebaza and Peña Rebaza, 2013: 59–60). Each group must dance the same dances (although considered the same dances, certain aspects between upper and lower are somewhat different interpretations of the same themes of the sun taking over the moon). Ceremonial opposition between different parts of communities also took place in the Inca state: upper and lower parts used ceremonial slings to hurl fruit at each other, as a sign of strength, after which they united in friendship (Bernabé Cobo[1653]1956:212-213 in Bolin (1998: 97)).

The presence of both upper and lower communities is essential as a meeting of different parts of the community in the central plaza. Ritualised whipping and the very real hard work of the dance,

[67] The quantity of fabric in the costumes may also reflect Huamachuco's history of fabric making, and the importance of textiles as tribute in the Inca state (Castro de Trelles, 2005: 32–34).

resulting in sweating of the dancers, is an exchange of labour. The contribution of energy to the community and the expectation of a return of circulation of that energy and resources from the community, is negotiated and managed at the centre. The importance of sweat from labour is highlighted by Gose (1998:113,134-135) who notes that it is seen as dying a little in the giving up of energy and spirit and is thus a personal sacrifice. Indeed, silver and gold were seen as the sweat of the sun and the moon in the Inca state. They are metals with ritual and ceremonial importance (Harris, 1995: 319), highlighting the importance of physical labour in not only the production but also the circulation/ redistribution of resources through action in the centre.

Through the ritual conflict of the dance, the simultaneous distinction between and unity/ interdependence of the parts of the district is emphasised. This is seen through the costumes in the dual presence of sun and moon on the staffs of the Inca and *Ñusta* kings and on either side of the headdresses of the Inca dancers and the duality of the Inca and *Ñusta* kings each supported by two assistants. The interdependence and conflict is also seen in the sequence where the moon (female queen associated with lower areas) is overcome by the sun (male Inca associated with upper areas).

This dance holds similarities to historical accounts of the structure of the Inca state. It was believed that the first Inca and his wife were children of the sun and the moon, and that the Inca believed that the creator of all things was Viracocha who created the sun and moon and stars (Sarimento de Gamboa, 2000: 29).

> "They say that the moon was created brighter than the sun, which made the sun jealous at the time when they rose into the sky. So the sun threw over the moon's face a handful of ashes, which gave it the shaded colour it now presents." (Sarimento de Gamboa, 2000: 30)

As noted earlier in the chapter, the separation of the moieties of the Inca (sun, upper) and Queen (moon, lower) was seen in the physical and social organisation of the Inca capital of Cusco (Bauer, 2004: 15–22). Garcilaso de la Vega (2006:5-20) describes how upper and lower parts of Cusco related to moieties of the Inca and Queen, a distinction which was replicated in other parts of the Inca state. This distinction was complementary, as if elder brother to younger, and "*they were to be as the right side and the left*" Garcilaso de la Vega (2006:5).

The description of the upper and lower communities as the right and left sides, is replicated in the presence of the two assistants to the Inca and *Ñusta* kings in the dance and this structure is repeated in ethnographic accounts of Andean weddings. In their analyses, Van Vleet (2008:146-150) and Bolin (1998:124-131) demonstrate how weddings simultaneously demonstrate the confrontation, unification/ conflict and interdependence through reciprocal labour of upper and lower. Both ethnographic accounts describe how the wedding couple are accompanied by two people, the groom by the upper and lower fathers, and the bride by upper and lower mothers. Separate notes are kept of items given by upper and lower guests at the wedding, as a sign of the debt that is owed by the couple and the competition between upper and lower to enter relationships of reciprocity. The competition between the two groups is seen as important to encourage fertility (Van Vleet 2008:150). These ethnographic accounts indicate the importance of the wedding as the couple fully become a person (Canessa 1998:239-240) as through the act of marriage the couple become indebted to the community through the communal labour which is undertaken on their behalf (in the provision of food and drink at the wedding and in items made for the couple). It is through the repeated reciprocal exchange of labour, and subsequent interdependence within the community, that they become fully part of the society. Similarly, the parts of the community, upper and lower, must come together through reciprocity in the vertical economy and can only thrive by doing so.

The layers of meaning in the dance of the simultaneous friction and interdependence indicative between upper, lower and the central place of negotiation and power is also seen in the surrounding of the Inca and *Ñusta* kings by two assistants (left and right of centre), in the absorption of the moon by the sun and the competition between upper and lower dance groups. The replication through different scales is not a coincidence but rather indicates the essential foundation of interconnectivity and interdependence of reciprocity in labour and redistribution by a centre. These layers and scales of meaning and representation are embodied in the dance and through the fiesta where dancers from upper and lower communities compete to enact the dances first, they whip the ground in the central meeting point, and they work hard, sweating and releasing energy into the creation of the community.

Through these different scales of interaction, the duality of upper/lower, male/female, left/right are repeated, from dance to state to marriage. However, despite the focus on dual divisions in Andean thought which appear as balanced reciprocity, "…*antagonism [is] …at the centre of the productive process: within the household.*" (Platt 1986:256-257). In the vertical economy upper and lower

are in opposition and interdependence, challenging power based hierarchical assumptions. The temperate middle to low areas are more fertile and therefore are highly valued in terms of agriculture (Platt, 1982: 29–32), whereas high places are thought to be uncivilised and wild (Isbell, 1978: 57) and yet are valued for pasture and are of importance in rituals marking fertility and reciprocity (Bolin, 1998: 92–95). Thus, we see how the two locations, upper and lower (male to female, sun to moon) are placed in constant conflict and yet also interdependence where without reciprocity, fertility and vitality cannot be continuously renewed.

Negotiating power through the central fiesta

Allen (1988: 180) reveals that in Andean thought there is often an apparent triad of positions in social relations, where two positions become aligned in comparison to one. Similarly the different scales of social relations are present in the Inca dance, the upper and the lower rural communities negotiate with each other, yet are unified and seen in comparison to the city elite/politicians, such that the duality can shift from upper/lower to rural (upper-lower)/city.

We have seen that different groups have different roles in the raising of the *gallardete*, in the provision of the flag and Virgin's costumes. Through these examples we have also seen the ways in which space is used and delineates roles and hierarchies in a physical way. The *gallardete* takes place almost entirely outside (except elite home-based celebrations), the tree trunk enters the plaza from a rural location in a physically demanding way, and the flag is processed a short way entirely within the city centre. The Virgin's costume is made in Trujillo and presented in a civic hall, amongst the pictures of historically important Huamachuquinos. It is briefly processed around the plaza and enters the Cathedral. This distinction of roles and physical locations of different communities are repeated throughout the fiesta; rural populations are outside, undertake physically demanding roles and do not directly engage in the activities in the Cathedral, where urban elites buy gifts, inhabit indoor spaces of civic and religious importance as well as walking around the plaza with less physical demands.

The only exception to this is the night of fireworks and music described above, which is paid for by elites, and to an extent also enjoyed by them in the plaza, but they are divided; the rural population to the upper part (uncivilised sun/ *puna*), and the city in the lower part (civilised moon/ pampa) of the plaza, although many of the elite will also watch from their balconies overlooking

the plaza (Allen, 1988: 179; Bolin, 1998: 96–100; Platt, 1986; Silverblatt, 1987: 210)[68]. Whilst each part of the community is required to make the unified district through their distinct types of labour in the fiesta, their contributions of different types of things (land grown, cash-bought gifts) and actions in different spaces, distinguish and reflect hierarchies which are present despite the performance of reciprocity (Allen, 1988: 177–178; Platt, 1986: 256–257).

As I stated earlier, the labour of the fiesta constitutes the embodied recreation of the community, through which participant (upper/lower/city) communities seek to establish the right to access the resources of the community, as distributed by the centre through the municipal government. As Harris (2007: 154) notes, it is likely that accounts of joyousness of labourers during Inca work parties, "…*'singing praises to the Inca' in fact embodied rights to land and the feeding of the landscape deities*." Thus, the act of participation in the fiesta was as a ritual sacrifice and established community/ labourer's rights to resources.

As noted earlier, the attendance in plazas as acts of communal membership and redistribution is reflected in historical accounts of pre-Conquest Andes where tribute was paid to the local lords and the Inca through labour and gifts, and the reciprocal distribution by lords and the Inca of food or prestigious items not obtained locally (Ramírez, 1995: 143; Watchel, 1977: 81). This state redistribution indicated a hierarchy, but one which was dependent on local systems of reciprocity which local lords were connected to and provided a link to the state redistributive system (Watchel 1977:62). Post conquest, Isbel (1978:203-205) suggests that Inca festivals were transformed into Catholic fiestas which took place at a similar time of year and were sponsored by the *varayoq* (leadership) hierarchy linked to church and state.

The importance of the role of the centre (the meeting point of negotiation between upper and lower) as a place of political power and redistribution is clear in the actions of the political elite of Huamachuco in the organisation and payment for key fiesta components, including the papers calling '*republicanos*' to participate and the provision of coca, cigarettes and *chicha*. This role is reflected in the redistribution of communal resources allocated through the national government by the municipal government, through projects (explored subsequently).

[68] Reflecting how indigenous women after conquest escaped and resisted Spanish rule and Catholicism by living in *puna* regions, reproducing pre-conquest traditions/beliefs through teaching children (Silverblatt, 1987: 197–210).

As Arnold (1997) shows[69] how small scales of personal action (weaving designs also structured by upper, lower, and centre as the heart) is thought to enable the transformation of larger scales of interaction, ensuring future fertility/production, so it is with the fiesta. The fiesta is a ritual of (re)making of social relations to ensure communal prosperity; through this act, the whole is (re)made.

In Huamachuco today, different parts of the community participate in their unique, non-exchangeable roles in the fiesta, which re-establish social structures and access rights to communal resources managed by the municipal government. The upper and the lower communities provide labour through ritualised sacrifice of whipping and sweating, conflict between upper and lower, whilst the city elites organise and provide items which must be purchased. Thus, the centre is created in time and space through the presence and particular actions of all parts of the community to attempt to ensure the recreation of community and its long-term fertility/ prosperity.

The plaza, as the centre is the site of possible mediation, negotiation and redistribution of resources, a location of political and economic power. Yet the negotiation is ongoing, for the fiesta is a ritual microcosm of broader interactions, of daily negotiations which constitute the moral community, its membership and distribution of resources. The fiesta establishes rights which are reflected in the expectation of equal shares of numbers of projects (chapter six), but whether projects are undertaken, what they are, how they are undertaken and used, is constantly negotiated, as we explore in following chapters.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored how through the fiesta, an ideal moral community of the Huamachuco district is constructed. Drawing on conceptions of Andean duality I have shown that the central point where communal borders meet, the plaza, becomes the liminal site of the negotiation of power. Here quotidian hierarchies are challenged, an essential part of community (re)making through ritualised conflict and cooperation. Rural communities in their physical number, enactment of ritual conflict through dance, their labour and agricultural production (e.g. tree/ *gallardete*), demonstrate their power in the (outdoor) plaza, normally controlled and inhabited by city elites. Elites perform their roles of political leadership and purchasing of goods consumed during the fiesta from outside the community, and inhabit the indoor spaces of the plaza connected to the church and state. The maintenance of distinctions of use of space underlies the different

[69] In Qaqachaqa, Boliva

roles and the daily hierarchies of power. Elites also use the fiesta to maintain and develop networks of interdependence and political alliances. However, this is similar to the motivation for the rural communities, both groups seek to be seen as 'moral' members of the community[70] by undertaking their part (labour or purchases), and as such to build up rights to access potential help from those in power, to gain their access to communal funds.

The actions of different parts of the community are distinguished, non-exchangeable and essential to the ritualised formation of the community. This creates a morality of equality of inputs, which asserts rights to a fair share of communal resources. However, this is a moral aspiration as if a contract, to which quotidian negotiations refer and by which they are assessed; the moral ideals are simultaneously challenged and reasserted by these negotiations which recreate identities and their relative positions of power, ever changing. Relative identities are formulated and reformulated by multiple belongings to different layers of community, (from close family, close community, to city elite or rural, to the district) such that the historical narratives of chapter two and their construction of a moral community for the elite interlace with the conception of the district moral community examined here. They are not created independently, but rather are formed in constant relation to one-another, as self and other are cocreated, they are continuous, complex and interlocking (Hall, 1996; Ricoeur, 1990).

In the following chapters I consider how these negotiations take place in the creation of public investment projects, beginning in the centre, the plaza.

[70] See chapter five

Chapter 4. Refurbishing the plaza: Negotiating the centre

"I remember the night well, it was the evening of a fifteenth birthday party of a friend of my daughter's and we were coming back in the taxi and the whole plaza was blocked off and we couldn't enter. My friend who lives on the other end of this block got out and tried to get past on foot. They were going to make her walk all the way around and it was raining. She argued with them for ages and eventually they let her walk by.

My friends who were in their houses woke up shocked by the sound of all the machinery 'Plom!', so loud! Everyone was really upset and shocked that it was being done like this in the middle of the night. …There was no meeting about it. …it seemed like the mayor just wanted to do it his way without having to speak to any of us about it."
(Cecilia, Huamachuquina business owner)

This chapter considers the refurbishment of the central plaza of Huamachuco which began in the early hours of 24th October 2015. I will suggest that the sudden works and subsequent negotiations between community members over changes to the plaza reveal how relative relationships, power[71], are constantly renegotiated spatially. To do this the chapter will consider: Firstly how rules, processes and moralities act as '*boundary objects*' (Star, 2010; Star and Griesemer, 1989), creating liminal space for action through which moral community and relative hierarchies, the '*blurred boundaries*' of the state (Gupta, 1995; Mitchell, 1991), are remade; Secondly how policies of the central state enable increased power for the mayor, such that the '*vertical stratification of the state*' (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002) deflects dissent towards named local politicians who can be considered 'moral' (or not), whilst the imagined non-personified ideals of the nation-state are reaffirmed; Thirdly how this happens through materials in space, such that changes to the plaza, being the emblematic centre of the meeting of all the boundaries of the district, were changes to

[71] Wolf (1990) identifies four different types of power which are under continuous change through relationships: personal capability, interpersonal relations, tactical organisational power and power to control the settings of interactions/ structural power. The intermeshing nature of these types of power will be examined throughout this chapter.

the moral community. The meaning of the moral community, and its ideal of the pursuit of 'progress' for the community was debated through memories associated with materials in the centre of the community, "*weaving a process of space-time*" (Massey, 2005: 139). It was because of the constant renegotiation of identity of the moral community through actions in the plaza[72], that the mayor wanted to undertake the works; he was replacing the concrete bought by previous generations, with polished stones from Arequipa chosen by the mayor and funded by money from the Lagunas Norte mine. To associate his name with the materials of the plaza, as emblematic of moral community, he would become remembered for 'progressing' the community through the new materials of the plaza's refurbishment. The moral community is embodied in the plaza, such that relative relationships of power are constantly negotiated through it.

> "Power is… never external to signification – it inhabits meaning and is its champion in stabilization and defence."(Wolf, 1990: 593)

The structure of the chapter reflects the concerns expressed in public and private over the changes to the plaza, through which the above argument will be developed. The first section considers the shock over the lack of consultation regarding the works and how breaking ground at night was considered evidence of an attempt to exert control over the community. The second section explores concerns that the systems, processes and rules covering public works had not been adhered to, leading to a suspicion of corruption. The third section reflects on anger and fears that the plaza had been damaged, its meaning altered through the removal of materials and the pursuit of a new design, and finally, assessing how a kind of resolution was found, and the plaza returned to the community for its use.

The discussions that took place were not neat, they were meshes of interlocking arguments and actors. All these themes were intertwined through multiple interactions over a period of a year, with some legal actions ongoing to date.

Whilst there was concern over the refurbishment of the plaza amongst many parts of the district[73], the participants in the public and private discussions I observed were largely from the city elite:

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[72] As Massey (2005: 141) argues, place is not "*settled and pre-given*" but rather "*demands negotiation*".

[73] For example Josefa, who had lived in in Huamachuco for thirty years, having come from a rural village spoke of discussions she had heard on the radio about the plaza and how she and her friends were willing to march on the municipality offices to prevent them from making the plaza like that of Trujillo or Lima. 'We're us! Not them! We want our fountain how it is!'.

Radio and tv presenters, lawyers, civil servants and businesspeople. They run or fund civic and religious events and festivals and write local histories. Therefore, the discussion which follows of the meanings of the plaza and the relative positions of knowledge over systems and processes reflect their interconnected elite positions. However, in the following chapters (particularly six and seven) I suggest that broader relative hierarchical positions of actors can affect the way in which they engage with rules and processes of the state, such that those from rural villages find themselves excluded from roles they undertook before there was profit to be made.

Daily life

In the morning, the sounds gather as the sun peaks over the mountains onto the rooftops. The moto-taxis speed round the plaza, the mine workers in their orange jumpsuits trudge in their heavy boots, white helmets in hand, across the plaza towards the road out of town. The ladies gather with their baskets of sweet and savoury humitas[74] by the Cathedral. Parents walk with their children hurriedly towards schools. Groups of teenagers casually saunter, hairstyles, bags, and long socks in their precise positions of balance between rebellion and conformity.

Throughout the morning businesspeople meet and chat on the benches, taking shelter from the bright sun under the old calming tree with graceful flowing branches. Villagers come into town, crossing from the top right-hand corner to the bottom left, from the road that leads into town from the upper part, to the road that leads to the market in the lower part. Some try to sell their bags of quinoa or pulses to those sat in the plaza, like myself, contemplating the life of which they are part.

By lunchtime, the movements to and from schools to homes repeat and by the end of day, as schools finish, and office hours come to an end, the pace slows. Teenagers linger, some around the bandstand, others on benches by flowerbeds centred around archaeological stones. They chat and laugh with their mobile phones in hand, eating snacks of pink and green jellies, sold by ladies who carry them in large tubs. Parents watch over their toddlers who totter towards the hedges of the gardens, and sit on the floor with aplomb, smiling. Friends have their photo taken by the topiary of the Inca dancers which tower above them. Elderly gentlemen sit chatting by the statue of José Faustino Sánchez Carrión and flower beds of bright yellow hues.

[74] Fresh cornmeal steamed in cornhusks

> As the pinky remnants of the day fade and the moon rises above the theatre, the lights reflect on the central fountain and its railings. Businesses around the plaza have had a slow trade during the day but by the evening more people come and go to pick up necessities and enjoy meals of chicken and chips or Chinese. By the library and the Chapel of San José the sellers sit by their enormous baskets of freshly baked bread and buckets of fresh cheese, ready for supper.
>
> The pop music plays through loudspeakers lingering, as friends and family stroll, chatting, laughing, bumping into more friends, colleagues and extended family. Reluctantly retreating to bed as the cold night deepens, they amble arm in arm up the plaza, up the steps and through the arch of the bell tower, past sellers of barbecued skewers of chicken hearts and lamb, picking up the pace as they leave the plaza towards home.

Such was a normal day around the plaza of Huamachuco before the works began. It was a place where people relaxed and socialised amongst the neatly kept gardens, with the fountain in the middle. Surrounded by the living monuments of the community, the Cathedral, secondary school, Bell Tower, theatre, library, chapel of San José. Through the everyday use of the space, relationships were remade. Memories attached to moments in the plaza. It was therefore not a static space but was under constant change.

Part of how to become a member of the community is learnt from childhood in the plaza, repeating the everyday and ceremonial physical acts, from the daily strolls to encounter friends and families, to the fiestas which punctuated the seasons. It is *"…the establishment of a social and cultural space, which binds the participants by constituting an emotional and a moral commitment to a culturally specific way of being and moving…*" with others, creating "*expectations about what it means to be… a social being.*" (Duranti, 1997: 352). The use of the plaza was part of collective bodily reproduction of social practices such that the space was both symbolically and practically a space of reconstruction of the community (Bourdieu, 1990).

Photograph 106: Everyday in the plaza

Breaking ground, taking control: Shock

> "To be honest I crossed the plaza with my brother on the Saturday morning and I was so shocked and really very upset I couldn't believe it! So much emotion to see it destroyed like that! We have so many childhood memories there. My brother said 'Arturo's [the mayor] gone mad!' Now time has passed, I've come around to the fact that things have to change and things must improve and hopefully it will be nice.
>
> And the thing is the mayor had done it in the early hours of the morning. …He'd called an obligatory meeting at 5am on the Saturday morning! 5am! And it being Saturday, he has no right to call us to work - the permanent staff being surer of their rights didn't turn up… It seems from that meeting he was expecting to feel attacked by the population of the city and wanted the support of the civil servants regarding the plaza. Since then things have gone downhill with him. Everyone is afraid to say anything and do anything wrong. That's the way it works, and it leaves you feeling totally impotent, without power, like an ant under an elephant. It's very sad about how things work and whether things can work any other way."
>
> (Filipe, Huamachuquino civil servant)

For Filipe and his brother, the mayor is thought to have "*gone mad*" because his actions break understandings of moral communal behaviour. This is also reflected in Cecilia's comments with which the chapter began. The lack of consultation breaks agreements which bind the mayor to the community; the roles and responsibilities of different parts of the community which allow the negotiation and distribution of communal resources (public and private space). In acting without prior discussion with the community, the mayor takes away power from the community which now is as if "*an ant under an elephant*".

The shock reverberated around the city. The plaza's concrete paths had been dug up in the early hours of a Saturday morning, without any public meetings or consultation about the project. In the following days I observed Huamachuquinos complaining in private, as well as publicly to government officials, on the TV and radio, in the printed press and on Facebook. The indignation appeared complete, whilst those I spoke to acknowledged that for years there had been talks and plans to repair the plaza, there had been no decision, no consultation to agree a plan now.

I was away for the weekend when it happened. I came back to the plaza being enclosed in flimsy wooden hoardings and looking through the last of the gaps I could see the concrete had been dug up, the walkways upturned, the plaza could not go back. I was bewildered, selfishly thinking yet again something had happened without me knowing in advance. But no one had known, it seemed, except the mayor's closest team. As I walked with the governor[75] through the streets, we passed well connected Huamachuquinos being interviewed by the local tv station. I could not hear what they were saying but they were angry, there was gesticulation towards the plaza. Another Huamachuquino collared the governor and he complained at what had happened, the governor was as surprised by the works as almost everyone else.

Photograph 107: Hoardings (front), dug up concrete path (behind)

Photograph 108: Hoardings

[75] Local political representative of the president of Peru's political party, in Huamachuco this was recently the local organiser of an electoral campaign. The role is often largely ceremonial.

The shock was about the destruction which asserted the mayor's control over the community. As expressed by Felipe, above, the mayor was expecting a backlash, and therefore his actions to upturn the plaza at night could only have been to make sure the works continued. The concrete had been ripped up, after years of the community deliberating possible plans to tidy up broken sections of concrete but not agreeing how to proceed, this mayor had ensured it would be refurbished under his watch. The call to the civil servants to attend the early morning meeting was also seen as a move to bolster his position by seeking to maintain them onside, or silent.

I was never included in larger group discussions about what happened to the plaza, I was given second-hand accounts of interactions of groups of trusted friends and colleagues. I had not earned the trust required to attend such wider discussions. In everyday interactions[76], people were concerned who they spoke to, in order to protect their network of contacts on which they relied (Ruud, 2000: 275). Reports that they had been critical of a contact could create repercussions; losses of jobs, contracts, or just having lives made a little more difficult through slow running actions of those administering daily interactions such as official paperwork (see chapter five).

The lack of desire to talk directly to me by some may also have been through embarrassment that such an important part of the community had been dominated by the mayor, even if briefly. For although the initial destruction of the plaza concrete and its following refurbishment was a shock to the community, I remember feeling that it was a continuation of the day-to-day operations of the mayor and the community, albeit heightened and for higher stakes. As will be further explored in chapter five, there were ongoing rumours that the mayor attempted to control dissent through threats (and actions) to sack civil servants or exclude people from networks through which contracts were given. The perception that the mayor attempted to use rules and processes in order to silence critics, and pursue his agenda, as this chapter explores, was exemplified by what happened in the plaza, although he did not go unchallenged.

[76] Revealing the political importance of everyday interactions (Lefebvre, 2014)

Photograph 109: Project banner

The control was also spatial, the central space of the community had temporarily been removed and in its place, as a monument to the refurbishment and wooden boards, was a large banner to notify everyone of how much it would cost[77]. Before the closure, people's interactions during daily (and ritual) use of the space transformed the plaza through actions to "*convey symbolic meaning*"(Low, 1996: 861–862), socially constructing the space through social relations (Lefebvre, 1991: 37–46).

Plazas have long been considered spaces of the assertion of power. Lefebvre (1991: 50-51,151-152) describes how plazas and their surrounding urban areas were established as spaces of state power and Low (1996: 867, 2000) also shows how colonial plazas were a continuation of local structures and spaces of resistance, as seen in Huamachuco (Topic, 1994: 110). In present-day Huamachuco the space has become symbolic and practically a central space of community identity formation, through daily and ritual acts. The closing of the plaza was an attempt to temporarily remove the power embodied in the daily (and regular rituals) of community making through the space of the plaza, replacing it with a symbol of 'progress'. This was seen as an attempt to change the meaning of the plaza, and the community, through the space (Kuper, 1972: 421; McDonogh, 2003).

The experience of living without the plaza lasted for nine months and was a shock to everyone who lived there. Hoardings surrounded it such that only those living around the plaza with balconies could see what was happening. They would allow local TV stations to shoot footage and take pictures, shared on Facebook for others to see. Everyone periodically would peer through the gaps in the hoarding to attempt to see, although you really could not see much.

[77] A legal requirement for public projects.

Photograph 110: Gaps

Photograph 111: Outside

No one knew where to go to stroll, to chat, to meet people, especially in the evenings. I would see people attempting to stroll around the plaza on the outside of the hoardings at first, but this meant walking in the busy road, many people gave up as the traffic made it unpleasant. Some stood in the local shops around the plaza and chatted. I never fully understood where everyone went, I suspect to a few other open spaces, smaller squares, cafes, people's houses. I was invited friend's houses for dinner or wandered around to sit in their front rooms to chatter. As nice as that was, we all missed the plaza for its functions, for me most of all as a place to meet, natter and enjoy watching the world go by, day and night. Over the nine months, fiestas other than that of the Virgin of Alta Gracia came and went, parades following around the hoardings of the plaza, and civic days such as that of José Faustino Sánchez Carrión, temporarily shifted to different places in the city. The move to other places felt strange and incomplete, even to me.

Photograph 112: View from the first floor of a house on the plaza

The lack of the physical space of plaza made it, if it were possible, even more central in people's lives. As the space was physically blocked off, the adaptations of everyday were not routine and forced people to consciously think about it. Instead of walking through the plaza from one end of town to the other, detours had to be taken to walk around, confronted with high wooden hoardings. It also became a source of constant discussion, such that the space became remade in the narrations of what was taking place in the plaza, and the disagreements over how the issue should be resolved. The sudden works attempted to establish power over the plaza by ripping the concrete up, to divide it off from members of the community by action which could not be reversed. However in response, through the physical use of space and continuing discussions, multiple '*tactics*' (de Certeau, 1984: xiv–xv) were used to continue to claim the plaza for the wider community and to recreate it through the negotiations over its future.

For some, the experience of living without the plaza made clear a further distinction between the mayor and much of the rest of the community, he didn't really understand what it was to live there and really be part of the community because although Huamachuquino, he spent his weekends in Trujillo where his family now lived. His actions were seen as confirmation of his separating himself from the community and its interests, the moral community. Yuri, a Huamachuquino businessman, explained:

> "He's only here a few days of the week, most of the time he's in Trujillo, or Lima. His family are on the coast. If he lived here, he wouldn't have closed off the plaza like that, he'd have done one section at a time so that it could still be used."

Similar distinctions were made of his deputy, Joel, who defended the actions on the plaza. He said there was nothing historical under the plaza, just some water drains from the early 1900s, people were just complaining about nothing. Although previously relatively well spoken of (previously a teacher), on hearing this one Huamachuquina living on the plaza responded "*What does he know? He's not Huamachuquino anyway!*". Joel had lived all his life in Huamachuco, his parents from another district, but now other members of the elite, who claimed familiar blood lines through generations of Huamachuquinos, drew distinctions to explain his disagreement with them.

However, many who were regarded with esteem in the community also had houses and families in Trujillo and Lima, many lived on the coast intermittently. The drawing of distinction was a way to call into question the politicians' intentions, questioning their commitment to the advancement of the moral community, and pushing against the attempt at control over it. The points of distinction (actions and blood line), identified the mayor and Joel as not being fully members of Huamachuco, not understanding what it was to really use the space, or value it. They were, even if temporarily, not considered to '*be cultured*' (De La Cadena, 2000: 9-12,47-52) whilst their present actions were perceived to challenge the moral community. Through this we can see the importance of undertaking iterative actions through space, viewed as reconstituting ideals of the moral community, in order to be considered as a member of it (Butler, 2011; Canessa, 2012b: 27,120-121; Moore, 2013: 117–119; Weismantel, 2001: 192). It highlights how distinctions of types of membership are used in the negotiations over conceptions of moral community, in this case the desires to preserve an imagined 'authentic' past, and yet to 'progress' the community through space.

Action and challenge

The shock of the disruption to the plaza, lead to immediate (re)action such that after the initial night of works and the hoardings being erected, they were halted for weeks. I was told how the Trujillo-based office of the Ministry of Culture had been called on the night of the initial works and requested to attend. Very early in the morning they had set off without telling anyone where they were going, the driver was given directions as they went, such was the concern that anyone be tipped off about their imminent arrival. After seeing the plaza, they went to the public prosecutor and got him out of bed, to insist the project be suspended pending investigation.

This account indicates the nature of the competing positions of knowledge, and connections (types of power (Wolf, 1990) amongst the elite. The person who called the Ministry of Culture in the middle of night must have known the official, known their personal phone number, and had enough influence to have convinced them to travel in the early hours. They must also have had some knowledge over the systems and processes of government to be aware that prior consent of the Ministry was required for public works on areas considered of historical importance.

The concerns of the Ministry of Culture, expressed in the media (Paredes, 2015), were that they should have reviewed the plans before such a project took place. In one television interview an archaeologist from Lima working locally, Cristian Vizconde García, said the works should have taken into account possible archaeological remains beneath the surface and the excavations done by hand rather than machinery, and to a limited depth.

Javier, a local archaeologist working in the Ministry of Culture, later explained to me that in 2013 during works to plant a tree, the plaza gardeners had found a stone water canal of historical interest, after which it was concluded that excavation could only be done by hand and to a depth of 50cm. However, the night-time excavations, went down to one metre and used machines.

Thus, despite the general shock about the plaza works, actors in the community had immediately identified a rule which could at least temporarily halt the works. The appeal to the Ministry of Culture reveals both how 'the state' is not a unified entity, and that divisions between public and private spheres, 'state' and 'civil society' do not hold (Gupta, 1995; Mitchell, 1991). The actions on the plaza were conceived as actions by a local mayor and officials, rather than a 'state'. Thus 'the state' is shown to be "…*bundles of social practices, every bit as local in their materiality and social situatedness as any other.*" (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002: 992). Instead of clear divisions between public and private spheres, there is a '*blurred boundary*' (Gupta, 1995), a liminal space in which negotiation continuously takes place (Mitchell, 1991: 93). This negotiation is done through the rules and processes, and the ideals of moral community, here embodied in the plaza.

The concerns were two-fold; first that the authentic cultural identity had been damaged through the removal of the concrete paths and disruption of the subsurface; second that not following the rules requiring consent of the Ministry of Culture (and other rules, detailed below) indicated a lack of modernity, a lack of modern governance.

Thus, the appeals to the Ministry of Culture were due to an interwoven concern to uphold the ideals of moral community and support rules and procedures of government. Both ideals and rules were used as '*boundary objects*'[78] through which meanings (realised through actions) of ideals of cultural authenticity and modernity were being negotiated. When the plaza was disrupted by the mayor, previously accepted meanings and the ability to remake them through actions in space, were contested through the changes to the spatial and material embodiment of communal identity in the plaza (Kuper, 1972: 421; McDonogh, 2003). Communal actions to appeal to the Ministry of Culture and subsequently the Public Prosecutor, were counter moves over how ideals become realised in space through actions.

Boundary objects in central space.

To address the use of the concept of 'boundary objects', I briefly return to the conceptualisation of Andean duality and identity formation described in the introduction and chapters two and three, whereby self is constructed in relation to other. Within this negotiation, change happens from the basis of norms which are iteratively changed in the cocreation. Thus, there is a centre ground between self and other which is a shared space of action, and potential power.

Star (2010) defines a 'boundary object' as something which people *"…act toward and with. Its materiality derives from action, not from a sense of prefabricated stuff or "thing"-ness. So, a theory may be a powerful object*" (Ibid.: 603). The boundary is not a centre-periphery boundary, but rather a *"…shared space, where exactly that sense of here and there are confounded. These common objects form the boundaries between groups through flexibility and shared structure—they are the stuff of action.*" (Ibid.:602-603).

Here the boundary object is the 'norms', ways of doing things, through which interactions between selves and others work, which come into being through actions, and through actions are gradually changed. We saw in chapters two and three how some of these ideals of accepted ways to behave become reiterated through actions in time and space in the moral community. Whilst rules and processes may appear to be entirely different types of objects, I suggest they operate in the same "*shared space*" (Ibid.602) in which, through action, potential power lies.

[78] Originally termed by Star and Griesemer (1989) from the analysis of the classification of specimens in museum records, and since has been applied analytically more widely, particularly in relation to the sociological analysis of science and technology (Bowker et al., 2015; Star and Bowker, 1999).

Rules and procedures of government appear to be different to the moral community (discussed in chapters two and three), however they attempt to do similar things. They are often presented as facts, the way things must be done and to which citizens of a state must comply, but they are interpretations of how things might be done (Gledhill, 2004: 155, 162–163; Hardt and Negri, 2001). They are the product of taking generalised ideals (for example an idea that 'education is important to reduce poverty' or 'equality') and constructing rules and procedures which are thought to encourage actions to meet the ideal (Bochow et al., 2017: 451–452). A higher ideal or moral is the point of reference to which the rules and procedures claim to apply, as if to make the rule non-political. However through actions[79], ideals and rules are political, they have effects on socio-economic realities of lives (Bornstein and Sharma, 2016; Ferguson, 1994, 2006: 77–81).

Whilst there are many differences between how rules and processes and the moralities come about, not least of which is the hierarchical positions of who initiates them, here I am concerned with their local use and effects. The initial creation of rules and processes is not the end of their creation. There may be a requirement to comply with distinct detailed ways of doing things, including through materials of the state (for example forms to fill in, timetables to keep). However, they are also distinctly altered, through the people that undertake them, and the relationships which are negotiated in the use of the rules and procedures (Pinker, 2015; Pinker and Harvey, 2015). Through their use, there is a blurring of lines between the theoretical division between state (initial makers of rules) and society, through which there is a collaborative (re)creation (Gupta, 1995; Mitchell, 1991). In this way rules and processes are not so different to the moral community, where repeated (inter)actions using materials and space, constantly recreate norms of behaviour. Both refer to ideals of how communities should live together, both are limited by what came before, and recreate norms through multiple ongoing (inter)actions (Butler, 2011; Canessa, 2012b: 120–121; Moore, 2013: 117–119; Weismantel, 2001: 192). Rules and processes, and ideals of the moral community interrelate, as "*layers*" of "*moral interpretations and expectation*", part of "*everyday morality*" even when they are not always in agreement (Parkin, 2017: 541,548-549).

Like the ideals of the moral community, rules and procedures often are imagined in some way, pointed to as a distant policy number recorded in the central state, but which materially and experientially, is no one thing (Abrams, 1988 [1977]; Ferguson and Gupta, 2002; Scott, 1998). However, they are manifest and constantly recreated in multiple iterative interactions between

[79] Action conceived as both a performance and ongoing judgement requiring criteria. The criteria (ideals) are recreated and reinterpretation through action (Lambek, 2013).

multiple actors through time and space. Rules and processes can be an accumulation of papers, meetings, conversations, the control and construction of physical space. Similarly, the moral community is materially realised through time and space, imagined connections made real through physical documents, the use of space, materials of construction, communal rituals.

Thus 'boundary objects' of ideals, rules and procedures (norms), are (re)created through (inter)actions; action and response making incremental changes. However, this does not negate relative hierarchical positions, for they are part of the process such that relative resources (knowledge, connections, materials) affect the relative abilities to make desired changes. Boundary objects can also become naturalised across communities, such that they present an illusion of fact, making actions to challenge accepted ways of doing things difficult (Star and Bowker, 1999: 312–313).

Continuing challenges

The appeal to the Ministry of Culture, happening immediately during the disruption of the plaza, was just the beginning of the challenge over the mayor's action.

The mayor of the historical centre 'sector'/ neighbourhood[80], Eloy Carrión Ríos, a retired teacher, set up a meeting for the residents to discuss the works. The local TV station Antena Norte was present recording[81]. In the meeting Eloy said that the works should not have started without an opportunity for the community to discuss the issues involved. An elderly Huamachuquino, Erasmus Rojas, spoke, clearly deeply moved by what had happened to the plaza:

> "The plaza should be put back to the same as it was before. The politicians did not meet with the community… they should have respect for the community of Huamachuco!"

Another attendee, German Calderón Morales, a politically active member of the community for decades, shared this opinion. He added no one was against improvements to the plaza, but people were unhappy about the "*form of the project*" and the "*lack of respect shown to the community*" by not consulting them on it and undertaking the work in the early hours. He said politicians should have engaged the community and listened to what they wanted. He noted how previous administrations'

[80] A largely voluntary, although prestigious, representative role for the neighbourhood ('sector'). The city is split into 'sectors', each with their mayor who represents the neighbourhood at cross community meetings, often with the municipality.
[81] See Facebook postings on 4 November 2015 (Antena Norte, 2015)

proposals for projects on the plaza had also been challenged by the community, because they wanted to do the same, thing, to change it:

> "The people want the plaza back how it was, we have to ask to who's advantage it is to have stone rather than cement floors… The project should not cost so much."

German continued, suggesting that there were not many people at the meeting because the politicians had divided the community over time by offering them financial favours or contracts for their businesses so they wouldn't oppose the government's actions.

The repeated phrases "*lack of respect*" and the disagreement over the "*form of the project*" reflect a rejection of the attempt to control the plaza, and its meaning by the mayor. German's speech continues to ask who gains from the change in plaza, implying that the changes in materials may be indicative of someone gaining financially from the project.

On Facebook, a local Huamachuquino businessman, unconnected to government contracts, and known for his political opinions, shared the diagrams and plans for the plaza. He said that he was against the project of the plaza as it was a huge expense and did not sufficiently benefit the community as a whole "*just those families around the plaza*". His concerns were those expressed by many others who responded to him on Facebook and by others to whom I spoke: The costs were too high, the project was being undertaken by the mayor's family, it hadn't gone through the proper procurement procedures, there was no oversight committee as there should have been by law, and the design did not respect the history and unique design of the plaza; they should not have changed the plaza.

In such discussions, it was thought that the works were started without consultation in order to prevent the community from questioning the large-scale changes to the plaza and the resulting high price tag. The assumption was that the high price was required so that the mayor and his associates (including family) could either make the maximum amount of money from a percentage cut on the value of the project, or directly benefit by using their own companies to undertake the works. In particular, it was thought the mayor's own family was both the contractor and providing the technical oversight.

In support of these accusations, arguments would point to evidence of not having followed the process necessary to start public projects, or of creating temporary companies to gain contracts for projects (discussed in chapters six and seven). Some of the knowledge of processes was generally known, such as requirements to have a Community Oversight Committee of a project, the need to have an Engineer onsite at all times when work is undertaken and the need to have written permission from the community (known as handing over the land for the project).

Comments such as these circulated, the anger largely directed towards the mayor, although including his closest family (believed to be financially benefiting). The focus on the mayor rather than the local government is a consequence not only of the accusations of wrongdoing against him, but also of the very blurred lines between the local state and community (Gupta, 1995; Mitchell, 1991).

Many of the people who were complaining in private (few in public) worked in the local municipality. Their dissent, although publicly limited, was made in private, contributing to the wider knowledge of other community members about how systems and processes should be applied, as well as about the actions of others in the municipality when they were perceived not to comply with the rules.

The local Public Prosecutor had been investigating the project since it started, initiated by the complaints by the Ministry of Culture and other residents. Formal complaints had been made through the legal system against those responsible for administering the project, including concerns over procurement and oversight. However, this legal action formed part of a broader pattern of challenge by the community.

The manipulation of rules and procedures was considered indicative of attempts to hide corruption by profiting personally from public office. For example, German Calderón Morales had made a case about the construction of pedestrian areas during the administration of Carlos Loyola (mayor between 1996-1998 and 1999-2002). German said the evidence suggested the mayor had profited by decreasing the size of design features such as street furniture and quality of materials in order to skim off profits from the budget. Detailed dossiers of evidence with plans of the works had been collated as evidence: the case was ongoing.

mayors of Huamachuco and key civil servants or advisers were routinely accused of procedural irregularities. There was a generalised belief, based on accounts by civil servants who administered government processes and those who sought to gain business contracts from them, that corruption took place as a matter of course by those in power. I spoke to professionals who were either witnesses to these acts or participated in them. Many Huamachuquinos who complained of how politicians were corrupt, making personal profit from public projects, explained in general terms how they used government processes to enable them to make money.

As I continue to suggest in chapters six and seven, the detailed knowledge of rules and procedures enables assessments of actions of politicians, civil servants and contractors. Specific evidence such as quantities of materials used in projects are used as indicative of wrongdoing through charging for materials not used, or excessive profits. The detailed analysis required to identify perceived excess profit, inappropriate procurement practices or corruption, is difficult for those who do not participate in the application of rules and processes. It is therefore often serving or ex-civil servants, ex-politicians, businesspeople or contractors who use their knowledge to either publicly or privately (for example through anonymously speaking to the press, or private conversations), to challenge how projects are carried out.

Thus, rules and processes can function as boundary objects, the details of how they should be undertaken challenged in the central space where actors are both part of state and society, both challenging the rules and processes and recreating them. These challenges are also aligned with ideals of the moral community, for as discussed in the introduction and chapter two, the ideals of good governance are also ideals of modernity. As further discussed in the following chapters, to be moral is also to perform in accordance to modern ideals of governance, amongst which fair procurement and employment, and correct budgeting are considered core.

However, formal accusations of corruption or procedural irregularities through the law courts are not expected to reliably call people to account. The importance of the complaints to the Public Prosecutors is that there is a reassertion of what is considered acceptable. Without the challenge, the lines would be eroded. Those thought to exceed their positions in office are made to feel the potential power of other members of the community. Although the outcome of legal proceedings is far from certain, the act of taking someone to court is painful for the person accused. Not only do proceedings take many years, but they can bar a civil servant or politician from work in the municipality until their name is cleared, it is humiliating, and can cost a lot of money. The

frequency of accusations of malpractice or corruption, even without legal proceedings, is a way to attempt to limit potential corrupt acts (Lazar, 2005: 218). As in the rituals of the fiesta of the Alta Gracia, it reminds those in power of the precarity of their position.

The local press (television, radio regional papers and on Facebook) covered what had happened in the plaza, discussing the sudden works, the plans for the design and the questions over the application of rules and procedures. One article said there was "*no life*" in the plaza after the works, and that by undertaking the works there had been a "*lack of respect*", thus using the local history and ideals of the moral community to challenge the actions (Vazallo Peña, 2015). The local television station, Antena Norte, report of 26 February (2016) also added to a sense that those in charge were not responding sufficiently to the community over the questions of irregularities. The report started with images of black ribbons and the date of the works on the plaza, as if it had died, the soundtrack from the X-Files played over images of the night the plaza concrete was removed, heavy machinery paused, the civil servants and labourers in the early hours standing around in the rain. The report then cut to an interview with the Public Prosecutor who explained to the reporter the process the complaints were following, and the reporter explaining to the viewers the specific procedures which were believed to have not been followed.

However, through repeated discussions both in public and private, counter points from the politicians and other civil servants surfaced. The frustration was palpable. Vilma, a Huamachuquina civil servant who had been discussing what was happening with other friends working in the municipality, sighed, shoulders hunched said:

> "…apparently, they didn't need to comply with the procurement processes, and they didn't need an oversight committee. I don't know, it's what they say, because it's funded by the Social Fund."

Through these discussions, people I spoke to in the city came to realise that some of the processes which they had been pointing to as malpractice, did not formally apply in the case of the plaza. This was because the plaza project was funded through the Social Fund of Alto Chicama. This fund was established by both Barrick (the owner of the Lagunas Norte gold mine) and the Peruvian central government.

Several Social Funds were negotiated to compensate for low long-term taxation schemes agreed with some mines in the 1990s. Through this fund, the mine would work with communities,

represented through a mayoral oversight committee, to undertake projects in the area of 'direct influence' of the mine. However, as it is formally considered as a non-profit civil association, it is privately administered and does not comply with the same regulations as government projects. This means that it is significantly more difficult to fully assess what the fund does, and which companies gain contracts as the information is not publicly available through normal mechanisms such as government websites recording public spending/ investment.

According to central government regulations (MINEM, 2016), Social Fund projects should contribute to one of three priorities: 1. The reduction of poverty and extreme poverty including malnutrition and illness. 2. Infrastructure projects to provide 'basic services' of education, health, water and sanitation, electricity, roads. As well as the provision of technical training and development in these areas. 3. Projects which generate 'productive employment'.

Despite difficulties in overseeing the activities of the Fund, some Huamachuquino residents continued to point out that it was difficult to understand how the construction of the new plaza would fit within the priorities of the Social Fund. This was reflected in other comments about the previous mayor's use of the Fund to construct a swimming pool (which had yet to be filled with water due to heating problems)[82]. Thus, complaints about the use of these funds had been ongoing before the plaza but didn't seem to go anywhere due to the lack of ability to hold mayors accountable, they were the Oversight Committee, deciding how to spend the funds.

There was frustration that the mayor of each community were perceived to support each other to use the fund for infrastructure projects seen to be politically helpful, but that could not be funded through normal government channels. In addition, they were all thought to have their own construction companies and to give each other contracts to undertake the works in each other's districts. The lack of requirement for the use of public procurement practices and lack of visibility of the fund, exacerbated the assumptions of corruption.

The use of the Social Fund for the works on the plaza highlights how the imagined state can seem morally above the politics of local interactions, and yet 'encompassing' such that the morals which are imagined to underpin the nation state are appealed to in order to negotiate local actions (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002: 938-984,988). Within local interactions the rules and procedures,

[82] The report from the Ministry of Energy and Mines (MEM, 2016:20) records that one hundred percent of the funds from Alto Chicama were spent on priorities 1 and 2.

which are identified as part of 'modern' governance and therefore part of the ideals of moral community, were appealed to by actors against the works in the plaza. These rules were thought to apply to (encompass) the project and act as an adjudicator to ensure a 'correct' way. However, the mayor and his team could also point to having followed rules and procedures which had been set out by the central state, for different rules applied to the Social Fund.

The agreement between the central state and the mining company Barrick[83], and the rules which apply to the Social Fund, makes it appear that the state has entirely handed over the funds to the local communities, such that when local disagreements arise, they are not identified as culpable. In doing so, the central state transfers risk to local relationships (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002: 989; Rose and Miller, 1992: 201). The mining company (also represented on the board of the Social Fund) also transfers risk through the fund, absenting itself from local disagreements by being viewed as an actor simply following procedures. Outnumbered on the board by the local mayors, and needing their support to continue mining, the disagreements over allocation of the funds is not a matter to address to the mine, but rather the mayor. Instead of challenging central state institutions about how funds are created and managed, generalised imaginations of the ideals of the nation-state, repeated in the local ideals of moral community (for example 'good governance' aiming to 'progress'/ 'develop' the community), are used to negotiate against local acts perceived as unacceptable.

Through this, the central state becomes imagined, an imagined set of ideals, rather than many thousands of human interactions in space and time. Thus a sense of a central state is given coherence to which higher moral ideals can be appealed to, beyond named individuals; a "*hope generating machine*"(Nuijten, 1998; Gledhill, 2004: 174). At a local level, the state is often realised through the municipality (although multiple other bodies are present), and when local actors speak of the state, most often they don't mention offices, nor job titles, but instead name people (see chapter five). This act of naming people associates the actions they undertake in the administration of the state with their person and their relationships with others, regardless of whether those acts take place in the office or at their homes[84].

[83] As well as several agreements for Social Funds with other companies. All apply the same regulations (MINEM, 2016).

[84] This is exemplified through the naming of projects in direct connection to named mayors and contractors who undertook the work (see chapter seven). Despite this, undertaking official work at home or through personal contacts was also recognised as potentially problematic, and indicative of possible corruption, further explored in chapter five.

The act of naming people enables them to be considered as moral (or not) by association with their actions. The mayor was identified as the main actor in the work on the plaza, and was assessed accordingly, in relation to different interpretations of the ideals of how things should be done, as set out both by the local moral community and the imagined higher ideals of the nation-state (for example democracy, consultation, 'respect').

As the ideals of the moral community can be pointed to in terms of embodied histories and narratives of past actions of people now deceased, the higher ideals of the nation-state can also be pointed to. Sometimes this happens through numbered rules and regulations, often repeated and identified to back up arguments. But as shown in the case of the Social Fund, this does not always work. This can be seen in the legal challenges. Numbered rules and laws were appealed to, but as there was little faith that the law makers were themselves incorrupt; the legal challenge aimed to assert the importance of higher morals, which regardless of the application of precise interpretations of rules and processes, remained a code which actors would be called to comply with. Legal action made life difficult for those accused, as well as serving as a reminder to all those in the community of the potential for action against themselves[85]. It thus asserted the importance of the morals regardless of the procedural end result, similar to the use of rumours of corruption as acts to keep actors in check (Lazar, 2005: 218).

The conceptualisation of the nation-state as an imagined place of higher morality depoliticises the higher ideals and removes the central state from the local negotiation (politics)(Hansen, 2000: 257; Shah, 2007: 142). That the higher ideals imagined as constitutive of the nation-state are seen as separate from living *named people*, places the nation-state and somehow the imagined central state outside of moral question. The local state, particularly the municipality is not conceived as unified, rather as the composition of the many *named people* which undertake work there, their actions evaluated against moral ideals. At a local level, the naming of people places them within local networks of relationships such that morality of actions is assured by surnames which show lineage and relationships with others in Huamachuco over time (see chapter five). However, this also can happen at a national level to politicians who in their naming are also associated with relationships and interdependencies, and their motivations questioned against moral ideals. Thus there is an allegiance to and desire to uphold nation-state ideals, despite the actions of politicians who are widely assumed to be corrupt (Lazar, 2008: 109–110).

[85] Discussed further in chapter five.

In the case of Peru, the decentralisation of funds from mining, with the accompanying creation of systems and processes to regulate their use, was a result of corruption scandals under Fujimori. This provided the appearance of the removal of the central-state from these decisions, in response to previous failures, to attempt to create a sense of "*moral certainty about what constitutes good governance or harmonious social relations*"(Harvey et al., 2013: 298). However, the negotiations over the plaza show that uncertainty continues. As the complexities of applications of rules and procedures are contested, different sources of funding are described differently (categorised, territorialised), such that different rules are formally applied, and yet the overarching ideals continue to be appealed to. Uncertainty is not removed, but rather decentralization of mining funds and accompanying rules and procedures deflects from the central state (and the mining company) to local interactions, even though the rules and processes constructed centrally effect how resources are allocated (explored further in chapter six).

The power of rules and processes is in part that they appear unnamed, and therefore beyond question, as fact. Used in the minutiae of everyday regularising of interactions, and viewed as unlinked to named people, who are always morally questionable (Rose and Miller, 2010: 272). In the case of public projects in Peru, they are also an attempt to remove the central state from local points of potential conflict. However through the use of sometimes apparently contradictory rules and their repeated production through different institutions of state, their meaning is constantly renegotiated (Gledhill, 2000: 230–234; Hull, 2012: 258–259; Kelly, 2006: 91; Pinker, 2015: 109). In this way rules and processes act as boundary objects, in central liminal spaces through which negotiations (actions) take place in the division of resources and the (re)construction of the moral community (Barry, 2002: 270–280; Bear and Mathur, 2015: 19–20). Through these boundary objects, there is the "[re]*construction of notions of the good, the attempt to put them into practice in social relations*…" (Robbins, 2013: 458).

The moral community in the plaza: Meaning, materiality, design.

> "They say that under the fountain is the largest, purest source of gold in the whole area. It's right there under the fountain. That's what they say." (María, Huamachuquina living near the plaza)

Photograph 113: Fountain

In this final section I will suggest that these negotiations are undertaken through materials in space. As María indicates, the plaza is the centre of the community; changes to the plaza were considered changes to the identity and meaning of the moral community. In this way, the plaza can be conceived of as a conceptual and physical boundary object, a space through which meaning is negotiated. Building on the discussion at the beginning of the chapter, which showed that the habitual (and ritual) embodied use of space in the plaza continuously recreated the community, I will show how these identities are also associated with the materials and designs of the plaza. Through a discussion of responses to the removal of old materials, such as concrete, and their replacement with stone from outside Huamachuco, I suggest that differently positioned actors were negotiating the meanings of two competing pillars of the moral community expressed through space and time; authentic culture and conceptions of progress, hopes for the future. Lastly, I consider how an agreement on the way forward was made, due to the necessity of the communal repossession of the physical space. In this, despite the disagreements, the sudden works on the plaza meant that the mayor's name would evermore be associated with the plaza and the identity of the moral community. As such the negotiation was over the power to assert and contest the meaning of moral community through space and time (Massey, 1995: 284, 2005: 139–140):

> "One of the most powerful ways in which social space can be conceptualised is as constituted out of social relations, social interactions, and for that reason always and everywhere an expression and a medium of power. Moreover, if space is indeed conceptualised in that way, then it is possible to think the identity of place precisely in terms of being the product of a particular set, a particular articulation, of those power-filled social relations." (Massey, 1995: 284)

The plaza is the symbolic joining place of all the boundaries, a liminal central site of negotiation between parts of the community (selves and others). In chapters two and three, the plaza was shown to be a central point through which communal commemorations and rituals are regularly enacted in the (re)creation of the moral community. Chapter three particularly identified the way in which it is symbolically considered the meeting point of all the borders of the parts of the community, through ritual labour and gift giving of the fiesta in the plaza. It is the physically and spatially realised boundary object through which the moral community is renegotiated both through quotidian and ritual actions.

This constant (re)creation and (re)negotiation of communal identity is through the use of space and time in the construction of place (Massey, 2005: 179). Thus, the negotiations over the plaza were also over the materials which physically construct it, through which social relations are embodied.

Low (2000) shows how the meanings of plazas today are layered, assembled through their histories of construction/use. Similarly, in Huamachuco the plaza embodied memories and meanings through the design, the materials used and the stories of who had made it that way. As a result, when the concrete was removed, it was as if the ground was stripped of the history which it contained. For some, as discussed previously, this was a concern to preserve archaeological remains, but for most it was also that there was a direct connection between the current community and that of the past through the materials. It was through materials that this connection was authentic, as a way to experience in some way imagined past communities (Bender, 1993; Miller, 1995; Selwyn, 1996; ter Keurs, 2014).

> "It was the place where Incas killed people and during the war people were killed …there will have been stones underneath which could have been present at the killings… It has nothing of history… after all that money it won't be a piece of history, that will all have been destroyed and the tourists will come and it won't be a historical monument. It will just be pretty. …Imagine how it would have been if they'd decided to bring all the materials to build Marcahuamachuco and Wiracochapampa from other areas of the country?!" (Luis, Huamachuquino living between Lima and Huamachuco)

Luis's connection to the history of killings effectively focuses on the blood he imagines was split in the ground, on the stones which provides a connection to the past, now gone such that the plaza is no longer authentic.

Even more common amongst elite Huamachuquinos, was a sadness that the concrete had been removed. Through it there was a physically embodied memory, a connection, to family members who had paid for it, some of whom had passed away:

> "Imagine how much the neighbours of the plaza had to put in initially, each buying a bag of cement, another something else. They did it for the benefit of the city and they did it gradually… we were all in agreement that it needed fixing, but not to destroy it! But then they wouldn't have gained anything. The price now is too much… They're taking everything away and then bringing in stone from Arequipa and what do we have to do with Arequipa? It will look good but the love you have for your childhood does not have anything to do with the love you might have for the newly built mansion you just bought. Your memories are in the family house." (Ciro, middle aged businessman Huamachuquino)

Photograph 114: Plaza, 1973. Seats, balustrades, concrete paving visible
(Photograph with kind permission from private archive, Huamachuco)

Photograph 115: Plaza prior to the new Cathedral
(Photograph with kind permission from private archive, Huamachuco)

The removal of substances (the concrete, subsurface material) meant a rupture with the history which was as if a continuous line between generations had been broken. In these discussions, it is as if, as Basu (2007) suggests, different histories are unearthed and placed in relation to each other, creating new meanings. Here the sacrificial blood of pre-Colonial times is related to the upturning of the cement. The cement is important because it stands as the moral work or sacrifice undertaken

by members of the community, for the benefit of the whole. Through the narratives of the history of its creation, it was as if the material, concrete, were an object with agency (Gell, 1998: 17–20; Steiner, 2001: 210), to connect to a past time and the people of it.

That the concrete was to be replaced by stone from Arequipa was particularly troubling, because it was not from the local area. The use of stone in Huamachuco instead of concrete is not novel, areas of the city had been pedestrianised by Mayor Carlos Loyola in his second term (1999-2002) in which local stones were used in the paving, seating and other ornamental features (Photographs 116 and 117). These areas were talked of fondly by interlocutors[86].

Photograph 116: Seating in Tauricuxi place

Photograph 117: Pedestrian area

The fondness was linked to the beauty of the local stone, and a perception that what was there before needed significant alteration. Because these stones were local, they were valued as 'authentic', and thus these previous public works were considered as both 'authentic' and

[86] Although the cost of these works was still under investigation for corruption.

'progress'. However, as these stones were small and uneven, they were difficult and costly to work with, one reason given by engineers that the current plaza could not have used them. Fredy, a senior municipality engineer from another province, argued:

> "People say now they want to restore the concrete, as if it were original! …There are no local stones that have the right resistance to weight and abrasion, and the stone from Arequipa is better than concrete by weight… they are in large blocks… The ones used by Carlos need cement…There isn't the quantity of stone locally and no local specialist producer. We could have done concrete but then they would have said why not stone!"

Thus, the same materials were perceived differently by different actors in the community, here by someone from another province who did not share the same history as Huamachuquinos. Many local community members sought materials which were felt to be 'authentically' from Huamachuco, or connecting to people in the past who had made or paid for materials. Yet, Fredy and the wider team lead by the mayor, saw these substances as impractical for a modern plaza, using technical language to substantiate a preference for larger stone blocks. These stones, although not locally produced, would provide an aesthetic considered modern, as Fredy later put it, "*like the squares in Europe*". However, this was also a negotiation of relative power relationships in the community. The high cost of the stones from Arequipa were a concern to many, and they were considered one way in which the mayor was thought to gain from the project[87]. Therefore, the materials were also associated with potential corruption, viewed as contrary to 'modern governance'.

[87] Mayors were commonly thought to take a ten percent cut on the total value of projects, such that the higher the price, the greater the gain. See chapters five and seven.

Photograph 118: During works, stone paving from Arequipa

Photograph 119: Stones: Arequipa (left), Huamachuco (right)

Photograph 120: During works, local stones used on the new balustrades

The distinctions were based on differing interpretations of the social meanings of the same materials. The discussions highlight how the decisions over the use of materials were also considered negotiations of the identity of the community (Herzfeld, 1991: 226–231). The ideals of the moral community, of authenticity and modernity were being negotiated through the

materials of the plaza, both in the materials embodying connections to the past, visions of the future but also conceptions of 'moral' behaviour[88] in the pursuit of 'progress' for the benefit of the community as a whole.

After the pause to the works and the discussions in public meetings and the media, it didn't take long for the municipality to put out high-finish videos of plans for the plaza, stating that the plaza would 'stay the same', a message repeated during speeches by the mayor and councillors in public meetings. Despite this, there were areas of concern for many. Not only was the stone to be from Arequipa, but it was to be pink, rather than grey. The fountain was to have a chain around it rather than a concrete balustrade, the old tree was to be removed. In addition, there would be subterranean power cables, new lighting, a new sound system, WIFI and an automated watering system. Whilst many considered the latter changes excessive, they could accept them. What they could not accept was a pink floor, changes to the fountain and the removal of the old tree. It was said that the idea for the fountain to have a chain around it was to make it more like the one in Lima, but there was a desire to keep the original design as it was unique to Huamachuco. It was also a matter of what the plaza was used for, as Lilian, a Huamachuquina shopkeeper in the plaza said:

> "It's fine for Lima but imagine us with a chain around the fountain! It would never work in the fiesta! People get rowdy and it would be a mess!"

Quickly the local government responded that there would be no changes to the plaza, the fountain would not have a chain around it. The stone would be grey. Everything would just be 'improved' and made with 'better materials', the balustrades would be a special improved concrete which would be longer lasting and not require painting. The move by the government to say that the plaza would stay the same but improved, seemed to quieten many concerns, even if those I spoke to would have rather it had not been done. Lilian continued:

> "It's our plaza, we now have to hope they do a good job and make it beautiful again."

That the plaza would 'stay the same' and yet be 'improved' was a resolution for many. It appeared a compromise between 'authenticity' and 'progress'. It was also an acceptance that because the concrete had been removed, and everyone wanted the plaza back to be able to use it as before,

[88] See chapter five.

they needed to come to a resolution whereby the community got the 'same' plaza back, but all the disruption and cost would be worthwhile as it was 'improved'.

However, the concerns over the high cost of the project and the possibility that the mayor was personally gaining through it, were still discussed. Rumours and legal action[89] against him and his team continued, functioning as attempts with which to ensure the project would be done well (Lazar, 2005: 218). Whilst there was a kind of resolution allowing work to continue in the plaza, the acceptability of the mayor's actions was still under negotiation.

Perhaps because of the continued scrutiny in such an important project, the mayor was keen to defend himself. During public meetings, the mayor and his team were keen to regularly point out that the plaza's refurbishment would be good for all members of the district, it was important for tourism, after all *"…the plaza is the sitting room of the city!"* It was a phrase which seemed to capture imaginations, becoming a repeated phrase as to the benefits of the refurbishment.

> I was with José, walking around the plaza, when suddenly there was a loud bang to our left. One of the hoardings had come down. The next section of wood fell, and the next. We looked at each other shocked, and then realised what was happening, the plaza was being re-opened. Those around the plaza started to walk over the remains of the hoardings and walk into the new plaza. Everyone was shocked, as we did not realise this was the day the plaza would come back, having been absent for what seemed like so long.

[89] The legal challenge against the mayor was eventually dropped two years after it started. A new action over the works in the plaza began in March 2019, this time against the Social Fund by the subsequent Mayor, Robert Contreras Morales, and his team.

Photograph 121: Hoardings come down

People started coming out of the shops and walking into the plaza, talking to friends about what they were seeing. The familiar design of the plaza was there. The flower beds well-tended, the fountain still there. The walkways were new, with the promised grey stone floor and the balustrades smart in white and red. It looked good.

As we were looking around, we realised there was a grouping of the mayor's associates in the plaza, and some of the media were arriving. The mayor arrived, greeting some of his colleagues warmly. In front of the fountain, he spoke to the gathered media crews and the small group of people around him, of the delivery of the new plaza. Others like us who had happened upon the plaza's reopening, looking on. There was a round of applause, much happiness from his group, and off they went. We, and others, part drawn into this event, were still taking it all in. We were taken aback that the plaza could have been opened so quickly with no warning. It was good though; it was well done, and we had this treasured space back.

Photograph 122: Crowd gathers around the mayor

José and I shared the shock, but no one else I knew really spoke of it, perhaps they encountered the opening differently, but they were also happy and relieved that the plaza was back. Looking back, it was perhaps that some of them had heard the news a few days earlier on Facebook and on the radio. Later I saw that the mayor had organised for some municipality civil servants to participate in the cleaning of the plaza before the hoardings came down. He was pictured with office staff, mopping the new floors. Perhaps the idea was to connect himself and his team to providing a new clean plaza, '*the sitting room of the city*', in preparation for it being given back to the community. On the local Radio Los Andes, the mayor described the benefits of the new plaza, including free WIFI for anyone who visited. He said that "*99.1% of Huamachuquinos were in favour of the plaza redevelopment.*" They wanted it to be "*the best and most modern of La Libertad*", and they had worked hard to achieve this.

Photograph 123: Newly reopened plaza

Photograph 124: New topiary marking the reopening of the plaza

Despite the concerns over potential corruption, through the refurbishment of the plaza, the mayor would forever be associated with the space. As the refurbishment happened under his period in office, the changes are directly referred to by his name. In the same way that the concrete was remembered by the actions of the neighbours buying bags to contribute, so the new story of creation will narrate the negotiations between the mayor and others of the community. Thus, in some way the mayor was able to connect himself through the refurbishment, with the central site of the moral community. Through the negotiations, reshaping its values of authenticity and progress.

As the plaza was opened on 29th July 2016, it was just in time. All public investment projects have inaugurations, large events organised by a community, providing food, with dancing, speeches and a whole day's party (see chapter seven). However, in the case of the plaza, its opening was just in time for the fiesta, which would be both physically and conceptually challenging in any other space. The only event that could inaugurate the plaza was the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia, through which the district comes together to ritually re-create the moral community in the plaza, the central meeting space of all the parts of the community.

Conclusion

In considering the refurbishment of the plaza, I have suggested that the plaza acts as a boundary object, a mutually constructed changing central space through which communal identities and

power are negotiated. The materiality of the plaza enables past generations' moral communal actions to interweave with the present. Through these material moralities, it makes tangible the power negotiations between the position of the mayor and others in the community in the construction of ideals of progress. Skilled negotiations through the boundary objects of rules, processes and moralities to influence the central space of identity making in Huamachuco shows how different scales of interactions form the blurred boundaries of the state. The next chapter will continue this theme, considering the negotiation of help, fairness and rumours of corruption.

Chapter 5. The Good Huamachuquino: The uncertain negotiation of help and collaboration. Rumours of Corruption

> *"Money has made us ill, they don't have any respect. They don't love their neighbour and don't mind if the poor eat or not… They should help others and be nice even if they rob. We've all voted for them and they do nothing for us and they mistreat people… You can't be a saint, but you need to share it. You need to steal with love, not abusively. You must rob with love! There is a difference!" (Wilfredo, Huamachuquino businessman)*

The influx of public funds to the Sánchez Carrión municipality, as a consequence of large-scale mining since the early 2000s, was accompanied by widespread concerns that much of the money would be misused. Whilst the projects were not always considered ideal, of more concern was that the mayors, their closest associates and contractors were all thought to be making too much money out of it; many were considered corrupt. Rumours circulated continuously, specific accusations against individuals suspected of corruption, and general discontent with the ways things were thought to work. At times, the accusations were made formally through the legal system, but mostly concerns were discussed in rumours which spread in conversations, discussed on Facebook, on the radio and local television.

Wilfredo's comment reflects an expectation of a reciprocity of the moral community. We have already seen that particular kinds of labour and purchasing things with money (chapters three and four) mark membership of, and reciprocal claims on, the moral community. Here voting for politicians requires reciprocation; this is a moral contract of trust between the mayor and the electorate. In return for the power gained by becoming mayor and a low level of personal financial gain, there is an obligation to share power and resources which are accessed through holding public office for the benefit of the community as a whole. As Gledhill (2004: 167) suggests, accountability for the delegated public resources from the people to those in public office, is regulated through the negotiation of moral obligations (a social contract (Rousseau, 1973 [1762])).

Many attempts to define corruption centre on the use of "*public power for private benefit*" (Ruud, 2000: 273), however attempts to define the divisions between public and private reveal corruption as a

"*continuum of shades*" (Ibid.:285), unclear and continuously reviewed. That a mayor can 'rob with love' represents an acknowledgement that because the office of mayor is a significant role and a personal sacrifice (despite it being paid relatively well), it is understandable that there should be a level of personal gain through the office, which theoretically might be classed as theft from public funds. However, this personal gain should not be excessive, and importantly, the benefits should be shared out with others in the community, both formally and informally. Therefore, the 'robbing' could be done with 'love', since the 'robbing' was to benefit the wider community and the level of theft would be small enough not to significantly impact the public budget.

Despite the description of an understandable or acceptable level of personal financial gain to be shared amongst others, no example of a recent mayor met with these criteria, and thus this possible state of 'robbing with love' might not be possible, as different groups will complain if they do not personally gain from a mayor's office, or they deem his gains too large and public projects ill-chosen and/or linked to perceived corruption.

Of all the mayors I spoke to and heard spoken of (covering most of the last fifty years), it was only those since large-scale mining started that were accused of corruption, the others were considered to have had very little to spend, and therefore it had not been an issue. Since then, each mayor has been formally accused of corruption by other members of the community and taken (or are in the process of being taken) to court. This is reflected nationally: in 2014:

> "…92% of the 1,841 mayors nationwide were under investigation for alleged acts of corruption, including embezzlement, misappropriation of funds, abuse of office, and collusion. In addition, 429 former provincial mayors and 1,326 former district mayors were under investigation…"(Muñoz, 2018: 75).

This was placed in the long-term national context by Marisol, a teacher living in Huamachuco for twenty years, when I asked her whether she thought people had always thought that politicians were corrupt:

> "No, I don't think so. To be honest with you, it was the Fujimori scandal that really did it. There were recorded tapes of the bare faced lies and on such a scale of corruption for personal gain which shocked everyone. That a politician could mislead people like that was just such a shock. And they took millions and millions of dollars for themselves. For me

it is since then that I find it hard to believe what they say, and I think there is mistrust, you just don't know whether to trust them and believe them anymore."

It is perhaps no coincidence that local concerns over corruption due to increased local government funding followed the Fujimori/ Montesinos corruption scandal in 2001. Montesinos, Fujimori's head of intelligence was found to have recorded years of tapes of leaders from many sectors of Peruvian society including politicians, journalists and businesspeople of all political parties taking bribes, the largest of which was for $2 million to then editor of a daily Lima Newspaper (Faiola, 2001).

Whilst it is not possible here to give a history of corruption in Peru[90], numerous national corruption scandals since 2001 as well as broader national and international politics, both current and past, frame local responses to ideas of moral behaviour in public office. The assumption of corruption locally (that everyone might be corrupt) is therefore not just a municipal dynamic but is placed in a wider discourse[91] (Gupta, 1995: 388–389; Lazar, 2005: 218; Shore and Haller, 2005). At all levels there is suspicion of those in power (not just the mayor) gaining more than is fair from their office, rather than working for the good of the community or country.

This chapter considers why and how rumours of corruption in relation to projects were so common in Huamachuco. Whilst there are many attempts to define corruption attempting a-cultural and universal definitions (Shore and Haller, 2005: 16–17), many centre on the use of "*public power for private benefit*"(Ruud, 2000: 273), . However, in practice, this distinction between the person working in the municipality (in some sense with public power), and the same person with private interests in the community is extremely blurred (Gupta, 1995). I suggest that repeated networking and practices of their narrated performance reveal the negotiation of what is considered locally as an acceptable use of public funds (Gupta, 2005: 6–7; Ruud, 2000). Through these practices, we can understand something of how they constitute the local state and can reproduce hierarchies and unequal relationships (Gledhill, 2004: 168; Gupta, 2005: 28–29).

Successful networking relies on what Herzfeld (2017) calls a "*technology of social knowledge*", where "*cultural intimacy*", knowledge of idealised virtues and conversely embarrassment, are made by and constricts actors in negotiating identity and status, connected to scales of power (Herzfeld, 2005).

[90] See (Crabtree and Durand, 2017; Quiroz, 2013)
[91] See (Morillas, 2014; Muñoz, 2018). Including in connection with ideas of modernity where other countries perceived as modern follow rules and prevent corruption , see chapter six.

Culturally knowledgeable interactions are in themselves ideals of moral behaviour, covering a wide range of social actions some of which have been covered in earlier chapters (through historical commemorations, rituals, political discussion over the plaza). Here day to day interactions are seen in connection with and part constitutive of the moral community: where long-term relationships (connected through generations) create reciprocal moral obligations of help and collaboration.

Parry (1986: 456–457)[92] shows how gifts can be imbued with the giver, creating a bond between giver and receiver, the nature of the relationships reflected in the exchange, which creates obligations of return. However, the gift can be given without an expectation of a specific return; a gift can be generative of a generalised return because exchange itself attracts growth and fertility. Similarly, here there is a general obligation to 'help' or 'collaborate' with others in the community, through which the long-term progress of the community is realised (see chapters two and three). The helper or collaborator can be considered as 'good' as they have shared their personal resources for the broader benefit of the community. If any member of the community (whether working in government or not) is considered to have more power and resources, they are also considered to have a greater responsibility to help others and share personal prestige. This sharing takes place through everyday requests for help between individuals, but also applies to a more general sense of an obligation to assist the wider community. The moral obligation is particularly clear for those working in government regulating how public funds are distributed, and to guard against misuse or private gain.

However, as Parry (1986: 456–457) notes, because gifts (help and assistance) are inseparable from the giver, these acts can (re)create moral obligations of reciprocity, part constitutive of the moral community. Repeated actions between long-term community members, use common memories/heritage and allude to kinship ties to recreate networks of reciprocity. These interactions both include and exclude to distinguish parts of the community, entangling reciprocal obligations of politics and kinship, public and private (Goddard, 2017; Herzfeld, 2017; Pine, 2017). Those in public office are believed to 'help' by distributing jobs or other benefits, such that this increases their power over the recipients. Acts of 'help' can favour members of the elite who have networks of contacts with more resources, such that relative networks of power and inequality are perpetuated through apparently 'moral' acts. Through these interactions, the values against which actions are evaluated can appear contradictory and the long-term nature of relationships can make judgements difficult over what is considered 'good' (Muir and Gupta, 2018: S8). This entanglement

[92] Addressing Mauss' (1954) argument.

of public and private obligations in the moral community means that "*the language of corruption will suggest the violation of family trust*" (Herzfeld, 2017: 41), diverting *"…common resources to the self-interest of the few…* [infecting]*…the body politic as a whole*" (Herzfeld, 2017: 43).

Because jobs in the municipality are believed to be often gained through these entangled networks, and contracts are largely temporary, civil servants consider themselves vulnerable to losing their jobs. As a result, they feel unable to express concerns about perceived irregularities in the application of rules and processes relating to projects, such that they use rumours to challenge acts of government officials which they perceive to excessively favour personal gains rather than communal. However, not only civil servants express concerns over corruption. Generalised rumours also circulate based on networking, knowledge and observations of politicians, civil servants, businesses and other interactions of daily life.

Whether or not rumours are true, does not change the power of them as they are frequently told, believed and impact daily actions (such as employment). As Parry (2000: 53) argues:

> "The idea of a 'crisis of corruption' may be as much a product of a growing acceptance of universalistic bureaucratic norms as of its actual increase. Corruption has seemed to get worse and worse not (only) because it has, but also because [it] subverts a set of values to which people are increasingly committed."

That some behaviours are seen as not 'good' does not mean that they are necessarily uncommon (Herzfeld, 2005: 192). In a way rumours recognise this and due to the potential for increased benefits by those in the municipality, are an attempt to act as a deterrent (Lazar, 2005: 218). As Herzfeld (2005:196-197) demonstrates, there is an art of negotiating the ambiguity in values to personal advantage, managing to be seen as 'good' whilst simultaneously remaking values through action. Unsuccessful negotiation of the uncertain boundaries of acceptable public and private benefits can be unpleasant, no one wants to be accused of corruption. Not being seen as 'good' can potentially cause problems getting things done in the future, both for oneself and close family members.

By using rumours in both the specific and generalised ways, actors "*mediate… understandings of the state*"(Gupta, 2005: 17), iteratively negotiating the blurred centre. The "*…anxious concern…* [is] *a key part of the process by which the state as affective formation is remade, and remade differentially for differently*

positioned people." (Muir and Gupta, 2018: S10). This anxious concern expressed through rumours of corruption is also an act of moral community making; negotiating the ideals which aim for long-term communal 'progress' in which the fair distribution of resources is considered highly important. Rumours of corruption are part of the negotiations of reciprocal relationships, of what is considered a fair distribution of resources, in making the moral community.

Naming people: Making moral connections.

In Huamachuco, no one really talks about the 'state' in any local sense. The state is a far-off entity, and even that is seldom named as such, more often 'the president' or named politicians stand in for it. Locally, the municipality[93] is talked of, but more as a place to go to rather than an institution. Instead people talk about meeting people who work there.

People speak of needing to go to the municipality, to talk to a named person, who they need to see in order to get something done. The first name of the person will often be said in conjunction with their roles in the municipality, such as 'engineer' or 'doctor', a kind of honorary title indicating the knowledge and position they hold in the office, but may not be literal such that status may be assumed or given[94]. The title is used less as the contact develops and becomes increasingly familiar. However this is also dependent on relative hierarchical positions such that a villager will continue to refer to an engineer as for example 'engineer Carlos', where a person who develops a closer relationship through social interactions, or common backgrounds such as education, may only use his name. Titles such as engineer, without names, can also be used to infer respect in formal settings such as public meetings, even between people who know each other relatively well. The possible exception is the mayor, who whilst in office, in formal settings is referred to either as the mayor and his full name, or simply as the mayor. But when people talk about him, out of his presence, they use his first name interchangeably with his role. Once a mayor has left office, in day-to-day discussions, he is referred to by his first name only, everyone knowing that he was once mayor. Thus, the first name of a mayor becomes synonymous with the public office he held, the policies he pursued and the projects which were undertaken under his administration (as noted in chapters four and seven).

[93] Other institutions of the state are also in Huamachuco, as mentioned in chapter four. Here I focus on the municipality as the institution with responsibility for projects locally.
[94] Part of hierarchies of distinctions of expertise, see for example (Harvey and Knox, 2015).

Names are used in the constant recreation of social relationships, of identity creation (personal-collective), over time and through space (de Pina-Cabral, 2013: 75–76; Herzfeld, 1982: 288): "*People can constantly do 'work at' their mutual relationships by manipulating names.*"(de Pina-Cabral, 2010: 307). Here first names are used to indicate familiarity and proximity and titles as markers of respect. This performance of names entangles public and private obligations, indicating the relation of the speaker to the named but also is done in relation to the audience (Bocarejo, 2018: S49; Goddard, 2017; Herzfeld, 1982: 288; Ruud, 2000: 277–289). The specific (first) naming of individuals undertaking a role in the municipality identifies the person as someone with communal connections of mutual heritage (familiarity) to the speaker. Named civil servants therefore have obligations to undertake their job 'well' and maintain the relationships and obligations as a member of the community, who can be considered as more or less 'good'.

This is part of a broader system of networking in which the performance of naming connections and sharing of memories is important in everyday life. María often arranged meetings for me with her contacts. When she did, the request was preceded by a short introduction in which she highlighted the long running mutual family connections between her and the interviewee. This applied to city and rural residents alike. In the case of elite Huamachuquinos, there would be shared stories where most often the interviewee would also participate in the reminiscing, for example:

> María: "Of course our fathers knew each other very well, they were business partners."
> Interviewee: "Yes, of course, they were great friends and were trusted by one another explicitly."
> Or
> María: "I remember us as children running between our houses and giving some of the dinner my mother had cooked, and how when your Aunt was making *humitas*, you would run to our house to share with us! What a wonderful, happy time that was."
> Interviewee: "It was such a special time, where we would play in the streets and run between the houses, they were all our homes. It was really wonderful. How much Huamachuco has changed now."

On one occasion, María came with me to the village of Puente Piedra. We met a family who live there and we chatted, sat in front of their house. María said to the elderly parents of the household, Carlos and Juana:

María: "You may remember my father, he worked here, his name was Jaime Escobar Morillas

Carlos: "Oh yes, I remember Don Jaime, he worked round here. He was a very good man."

These examples show how María and interviewees create increased proximity of relatedness and associated obligations, locally considered as a way to establish trust. The behaviours referred to in the past either by María and the interviewees or by family members (especially parents) are viewed as moral. Moral behaviours were those where there was assistance between the people, often in terms of sharing or helping one another.

In the first example, a close friendship and business relationship between fathers is remembered; aligning the present conversation to these vertical kinship ties. Bodenhorn and Vom Bruck (2006: 3–5) and Kaur's (2019: 124–125) analysis suggests that surnames are used to recognise inheritance, both likening and distinguishing individuals. Similarly, this conversation indicates an inheritance of the proximity of relations from the fathers to their respective children where the children are both distinct from the parents and yet alike. Here as their fathers were close and trusted friends, their children inherit this proximity and expectation of trusted reciprocal relations.

In the second example, horizontal and experiential memories are shared demonstrating a more direct mutual heritage. Here their proximity is expressed through both the actions of mothers and aunts sharing food through the children running back and forth between houses. There is a very direct interdependence and reciprocity here of labour (cooking, children care) and food, and of proximity of sharing of private (kitchens) and public space (playing in streets). These exchanges and common experiences entwine the families of which the speakers are part, drawing similarities to kinship, its reciprocal obligations and trust, with the present conversation. As Herzfeld (1982: 292–293) notes that the sharing of Greek baptismal names allows continuity of community, these memories link time and space to create a continuity of moral community. It is not just a personal account, but rather one in which one's own prestige is in relation to the community. Through regular and continued moral behaviour towards other individuals or broader communal activities, a reputation for being a 'good' Huamachuquino is built.

The third conversation also created more proximate relations. When María says her father worked in Puente Piedra, she is demonstrating that she by inheritance shares a common interconnection with the villagers there. In some way she states she retains in some way something of the reciprocal

ties established by her father and can therefore be trusted. In his response, Carlos says he remembers María's father, indicating an acceptance of her inherited connection to the village and trustworthiness. In naming María's father as 'Don Jaime', Carlos is both indicating respect ('Don') and familiarity ('Jaime'), reinforcing the reciprocal trust initiated by María's introduction.

The recounting of names and kin-related heritage is a skilful performance, an art of self-presentation sustained over repeated interactions which negotiates identity and social relations (Herzfeld, 2005: 190–196). As María's examples show, they can also be intergenerational, such that networks are passed through family lines of long-term exchanges whereby the good behaviours of ancestors indicate the moral motivations of present-day interactions with the community. As such, if a present generation has fallen on hard times so that they lack resources to maintain certain types of communal reciprocal acts (for example in purchasing items for the fiesta), they can draw on the prestige of previous generations in order to demonstrate their own morality, trustworthiness and connections to others.

Similar to colonial period Mexico when Spanish lineage was used to trace "*notions of nobility and honor*" Lomnitz (2001: 274), knowing and remembering the surnames and family connections of an individual provides a background to their trustworthiness. Elite Huamachuquinos who can trace their families back several generations, and point to the houses where their grandparents lived, enable them to be considered as '*gente conocida*' 'known people'. Such a title indicates that the person has a history, a background, an investment in the community and place. This suggests that their actions will be undertaken and measured in this context, with the long-term benefits of the community in mind. Not being 'known' will likewise make it less likely/ a slower process for people to trust or help you.

Surnames can also be used to explain actions, why people did things, as they are often thought indicative of networks of interdependence and exchange. For example, a Huamachuquino invited me for a coffee and proceeded to question me intensively about what I was going to say in my thesis. It was far more than a general interest, he wanted to know specific arguments and issues which I would raise. I gave general answers, of things that I found interesting, such as changes to the urban environment and the focus on buildings and use of concrete in publicly funded projects. However, I found the level of persistent questioning unusual and once home chatted to Huamachuquino friends about what might have been happening. After a slight pause, one said:

> "Ah, one of his surnames is Rebaza! He's a cousin of the mayor! Of course, he's finding out on the mayor's behalf and wants to make sure you're not getting into anything he's concerned about!"

The surname Rebaza was in itself not indicative of kinship, there are a number of Rebaza families in Huamachuco: On a number of occasions, I thought people were related, sharing the same surname, only to be told, 'no that's a different family!'. The Huamachuquino who identified the familiar link thought of the common surname and remembered the kinship ties between the mayor and his cousin. This remembering of connections involved skill, developed over time and was indicative of one's own interconnections (Ruud, 2000: 287–291).

This example also shows the layered perception of behaviours in terms of being a 'good Huamachuquino'. The individual who met me for coffee is known for writing about the culture and history of Huamachuco and is therefore seen as contributing towards the progress of the community. However, his familial connection to the mayor, generated a level of caution towards him regarding our conversation since the mayor's motivations were questioned due to his position of power. Similarly, family ties are also thought to influence which companies gain contracts for public works (see chapters four and seven), and thus remembering surnames and family histories, are important to rumours about who got contracts and why. If family connections are remembered or identified, this adds to a suspicion of possible corruption and collusion over the project.

Through these examples we can see that people routinely remember each other's backgrounds, relatedness and family connections, not just in case they would one day need to go to the municipality for a favour. Instead, it is because that is how things get done, through relationships between people who share varying levels of obligations, developed over time through space. This is part of the everyday constitution of the community.

The habitual networking, the development, maintenance, remembering and narrating of social ties in everyday life, is also enacted in relation to interactions with local government. However, the difference is that the civil servant has a role which places them in a position to take actions to get things done. Through these roles they gain capital such as knowledge and decision making or administration of rules, systems and processes set out by the central state. This means that gaining certain posts in the municipality bestows influence over how things are done; the application of the rules and processes, how they are carried out and who interacts or benefits from them. Thus,

when interactions (meetings, negotiations) take place to get something done, simultaneously different ideals of how to relate to one another are being called upon, both the ideals of the moral community and of rules and processes of the state.

This is the constitution of the central liminal space, where through actions (including evaluating others), actors are simultaneously recreating both moral ideals and rules and processes, gradually changing them. As the actors are intertwined in their roles of community members, civil servants, and needing to get things done, so the ideals, rules and processes ('boundary objects' (Star and Griesemer, 1989), or 'scales' (Gupta, 2005: 8)), through which negotiations take place, become blurred. In doing so, the state and community identities are (re)constituted, their meanings remade and changed.

Help, hierarchy and jobs

Marisol, a teacher living in Huamachuco for twenty years, is chatting with me about politics:

> "The thing is, here everything is politics. You can't do anything without it being about politics. Whatever you do, if you need to get anything done here there's always politics done. Take for example if you go to an office and there's ten people working there. There really don't need to be that many people, and many of them won't be qualified to work there. Many will have a job there because they'd done a favour to the mayor or another candidate who's a councillor in the mayor's team, and they will have been given a job in return. Then you get this situation where if you want something done these people don't have the authority to do anything and you get passed from one person to the next as the politics between these people means they can't or don't want to make the decisions that need to be taken. My relative works in the municipality and he says that often there are too many people and they just don't have the qualifications that are needed which can cause problems about getting things done. …Here everything is not straight forward, you don't know if someone is going to do what they say, and it can be very frustrating. You go and attempt to do something in an office and get some papers done and you allow two days and then you find you must be there for longer. Things don't work as they should, and people can't make decisions or don't understand what they must do as they're not professional in the area. Nothing is as simple as it should be…. it's all corrupt. …people get jobs as an exchange, it's a favour for another favour. Everyone knows that a favour must be repaid. The thing is, it's corrupt but we're all involved in it in order to get things

done. …Once they have a job, if they see anything corrupt, no one will say anything as they know their job is under threat."

"Rumours are so influential here. Stories get passed around and there's always some truth and something not true about the rumour, but we all listen to them and spread them, and then these stories are what we think happens. People observe things in the office and then tell someone else and then it gets passed around. So, we know that since money has come from mining, the mayors have all been corrupt."

"How do you know that?" I ask

"Because they all get rich in office - how can they afford to buy big houses and cars with a normal salary? So, they must be getting benefits that they shouldn't - they must be taking a percentage cut on the projects. …before mining there was none of this. The mayors were normal people working for the town and there was no money for this to be a problem. Now there's all the corruption and they aren't making improvements for Huamachuco. The improvements from mining have been personal not public."

"What do you mean by it being personal not public benefits?" I ask

"The people who have worked in El Toro [illegal mining] have been able to make money and then use that money to start a business, and private investment here has changed things. But the mayors haven't done what they could have with the money [from taxes of large-scale mines] - where is our drinking water and where is a modern hospital?"

Marisol's analysis of the situation explains how it is thought that networks of contacts, the necessity of 'help', and the large influxes of money from mining are intertwined, making it difficult to openly complain about possible corruption. Instead rumours act as a defence against those with more power, placing in question their moral character.

This section will consider how jobs are thought to be gained and maintained through networks of contacts, and how the contacts based on patronage are considered insecure, such that openly challenging acts seen as corrupt is difficult. Rumours are used as a way of challenging those with more power, establishing one's membership of the moral community, and in so doing, negotiating

and (re)constructing what is considered as 'good' or 'moral' behaviour, and what is considered corrupt.

Helping some and not others to get a contract or job is a way of helping and constituting a social network. The giving of 'help' is not often talked about locally in terms of corruption, although those who lose out may be disgruntled and think it unfair that one person's social influence has gained them more. The relative hierarchy within the society around the job seeker and the patron is perceived to be important regarding who gains from help when seeking employment.

Rosa, a middle aged Huamachuquina teacher whose home was near the plaza, told me how she had to go about looking for a job in the local school system. She was very concerned about whether she would be able to get a good position. She had been to see her contacts in UGEL (the local office of the Department for Education) who had been attempting to influence others in the office to provide her with a good job. Her main contact was the husband of a school friend with whom she had family ties. However, such were the number of people attempting to influence to get the same job, some with more senior contacts, Rosa was unsure whether she would get a job at all. This year she was lucky, she got a job, but it was far away from Huamachuco, difficult to get to and had few amenities; a place where people with multiple established contacts in the Education Department would rather not go. She had been told by her contact that she would have had a position closer to Huamachuco but a senior boss in UGEL changed the decision. Apparently, the senior did so in order to help their own contacts. As a result, Rosa lost out on her post near Huamachuco, but did gain a post further away.

Each academic year it is the same, if not specifically requested by their current head teacher, teachers and administrators must reapply for jobs and hope they get the ones they want, closest to Huamachuco. Another contact, Teresa, a new teacher and resident of central Huamachuco, told me that one year she had been warned by another teacher that she should give money (a whole month's salary) to the headmaster, with whom she had no prior social connection, before the paperwork was handed in, to make sure she had a job the following year. She was outraged that she should have to do this and decided not to. But as a result, she said the headmaster did not put her paperwork in on time and the following year she was left unemployed.

Rosa's experience was repeated in multiple other cases which were shared with me, both in relation to UGEL, and other parts of government in Huamachuco. Although it is difficult to know if this

is actually how the system of recruitment works, it is how everyone believes it works (Parry, 2000: 50–53). This meant that that when misfortune hits, it is blamed on a lack of contacts, or on others having hierarchically more important contacts or having paid bribes. In the common practice of using social networks to gain employment, the private and public boundaries of the state and ideas of the acceptable use of hierarchical positions within it are being negotiated. Generally, those I spoke to felt that although this was not how it should work, it was so common that it was difficult to see it changing and was not often labelled as corrupt. The negotiations are both a response to and (re)create unequal power relations (Herzfeld, 2005: 9, 2017: 44).

Teresa's experience also highlights how it is thought a lack of social contacts can mean a job is dependent on paying a bribe. We cannot tell whether or not her loss of job was because of the lack of bribe payment, but Teresa believed it to be so, such that again the power of the narrative of corruption is recreated (Parry, 2000: 50–53). Where long-term networks of contacts were maintained and favours given and received, bribes were not spoken of and considered differently (Ruud, 2000: 283–290). Money changing hands was considered corrupt, damaging to one's honour and moral standing in the community, similar to Herzfeld's (2017: 43) likening of corruption to original sin and "*human mortality as "corruption of the flesh*": Because of this, Teresa had not wanted to pay the headmaster. As this school was not in the district and the headmaster, well established in his role for many years, was not Huamachuquino, Teresa's social position was not useful to him. Teresa was well connected and skilled (Ruud, 2000: 289) at using her networks, maintained over generations, to get things done in Huamachuco. Her social connections perhaps meant she had not previously needed to consider paying a bribe, as paying a bribe was a last resort (Ruud, 2000: 284); she had to be warned to pay. However, Teresa was unaccustomed/ unskilled in the implications of lack of social contacts. Valuing her honour as an upstanding member of the community, she refused to pay a bribe not recognising that her social standing would not convince the headmaster, and because she did not want to question her own moral position.

Local civil service jobs are a space where the effect of help and rumours of corruption can be strongly felt. Many of my contacts in Huamachuco and Trujillo were civil servants, and I observed their difficulties maintaining their contracts, and dealing with the daily politics of allegiances whilst aspiring to maintain their principles which included using public funds 'well'. When talking to these civil servants, some had concerns over how long their contract might last and where they might get the next job. Periods of employment saw their demeanours relax slightly, but long periods of unemployment put strain on their finances and on their family networks on whom they had to rely

in such times.

Most civil servants in the local government of Huamachuco are employed on short term contracts. At first, most are employed on two to three month rolling contracts, which normally should be reviewed. After a year has been completed this shifts to a six-monthly contract, and after a further year, to a yearly contract, and after a further five or six years, to a non-fixed term contract under which 'better' employment rights are gained making it more difficult to be sacked. Due to the combination of the short-term contracts and the political electoral cycle, many civil servants are dependent on politicians and their circle of contacts in order to obtain and maintain their jobs. Those on permanent contracts are therefore considered as non-political civil servants as they have not been directly appointed by the incoming mayor and political associates. Those on short term contracts are considered as political appointees.

The mayor during most of my fieldwork was Arturo Rebaza whose campaign included a policy of reducing the number of civil servants, stating that their number had ballooned in recent years. In the event, after his appointment, interviewees suggested the numbers stayed the same, because he gave jobs to supporters in the area. Well placed interlocutors estimated that in the first quarter of 2016 there were fifty permanent office workers, a hundred permanent labourers and around five hundred and thirty staff on fixed term contracts employed in the regional government of Sánchez Carrión. Jobs in local government were accessed by both city and rural populations. For example, one semi-rural community leader who told me he had helped in the election of the mayor, was given a role on the committee overseeing public investment projects and made a security guard for the local government.

Whilst officially jobs must go through an open competition with clear requirements of skills and qualifications, multiple civil servant interviewees suggested that this was sometimes overlooked in favour of politically aligned associates.

Marilyn, a Huamachuquina told me how her daughter got a job:

> "A good friend of mine did a lot of work in the political campaign, and she was offered a job, a good one, but she felt she was too old, so she offered it to my daughter She was grateful for the opportunity and has been working there since. She's hoping to hang onto it until she can get onto a permanent contract. If she keeps her head down, she might be able to."

Civil servants told me how job adverts were written with people in mind, requiring specific sets of qualifications to suit the preferred candidate of the mayor or other political appointees. This was seen as unfair and corrupt, not only by people who were unable to gain jobs in local government, but also by a number of civil servants who had seen such processes take place.

Although these jobs were thought to be gained through the same types of habitual networks of connections previously described as normal ways to get employment, when these acts were undertaken by politicians, they were sometimes considered unfair and corrupt. The political and hierarchical power which the mayor's position held, and the pervasive narrative of corruption which surrounds the post and actions of any mayor in recent years, perhaps distinguishes it from other employment through networks. The extent of the post's potential power is such that the narratives of corruption are a way of attempting to limit it by making local interactions difficult. These narratives serve to attempt to negotiate the ways in which those in power can use their personal networks in public office, thus delimiting the state (Muir and Gupta, 2018: S10; Parry, 2000: 53).

Multiple civil servant interviewees told me that permanent members of the civil service were sometimes viewed with suspicion by newly elected politicians as they had not been selected by them. Some permanent civil servants were therefore moved to different posts if they were in key positions which politicians wanted to offer to their contacts. In one instance, in the early term of office of Mayor Arturo Rebaza, he had filled a key senior role in the finance department with an appointee who had no prior experience of public (or other) accounting systems. Within the first six months of his term, the mayor moved this appointee to another role, replacing him with the previous incumbent who had worked under numerous previous mayors and had developed, over long-term employment, specialism in the area. Without this specialist, interlocutors told me that the accounting of the projects had not maximised the spending on projects, necessary to be recognised as efficient in the national 'investment' league tables which are used to compare the speed by which local governments spend project funds as a national instrument of accountability. This incentivises quick spending (especially as funds can be released before projects are undertaken), and the choice of projects can be influenced by how fast they can be enacted rather than meeting more complex needs (see chapter six). The importance of skill and experience in this role was particularly clear as all mayors want to be seen to be doing well in the league tables, and therefore the potential power of skilled civil servants to influence in critical positions.

Whilst I had observed this civil servant's changes in position, the interpretation was discussed by several civil servants. In their analysis, they emphasise the potential limiting of political power, through knowledge of systems and processes which civil servants develop and hold. This type of long-term knowledge, (also noted in the performance of names and honorary titles), was considered important in the pursuit of 'progress' of the community, since improvements could be made through good public governance. Thus, the knowledge held by civil servants was important to the moral community and could be a limit to political hierarchies of power.

In this section we have seen how jobs in the local government are believed to be given as 'help', using habitual networks of interconnection. This perceived interdependence is thought to perpetuate relative positions of power as civil servants feel unable to express concerns about possible misuse of public positions and resources. But the development of expertise by civil servants can also be a source of power, through the understanding and scrutiny of the day to day running and practice of local government. The following section explores how rumours formulate conceptions of what is considered as the acceptable use of public positions, through which the state is constituted (Gupta, 1995, 2005).

Rumours of corruption

At times, such was the political atmosphere, the rumours and suspicion seeped into corners of the everyday. I would enter rooms and friends who had been talking between each other would quiet, and I would later discover they were swapping information about what had been happening in the local government offices between leaders and decision makers. Some civil servant acquaintances manoeuvred themselves as best as possible to avoid situations in which they felt morally compromised to avoid being involved in or aware of administrative methods of hiding corruption.

The political rumours differed from more personal rumours because as they involved livelihoods and ideas of moral behaviour in public service, the stakes were high. Where personal rumours might talk of extra-marital affairs, although not positive, as a private matter they were viewed as less problematic. But behaviours which were seen to be detrimental to the whole community, tarnished the individual's moral character more. In the case of a Huamachuquino popularly thought to be a drugs trafficker, some Huamachuquinos refused to include him in social, political and business events. Following Herzfeld's (2017: 43) analysis, corruption is both perceived as taboo, damaging to community and its morals in diverting "*common resources to the self-interest of the few*", yet commonly used by ordinary people as "*a basis for mutual protection*" (Herzfeld, 2017: 46). In

Huamachuco, individuals, families and friends were so intertwined by help and favours, many sustained over generations of interconnections, it was difficult to ostracise corruption as if a drugs trafficker. Instead rumours of corruption were used to hold those with more power to account.

Specific evidence for what people considered as corruption was described in rumours: particular ways of contracting projects, presenting budgets, measuring materials used in constructions. Some of these specific concerns were discussed in chapter four and will be further considered in chapter seven. These specifics are important in understanding how people believe and negotiate what is considered as acceptable in the management of public funds. However, here I focus on the rumours and the way in which they are used to negotiate relative relationships, over what constituted acceptable public and private space.

Whilst I use the term 'rumour', it was not often used by my interlocutors. I use the term not to indicate whether the content of discussion was true or not, but rather to indicate that the accounts spread and were repeated creating an atmosphere of suspicion. Whether or not they were true is, in a sense, less important than the treatment of them by discussants (Parry, 2000: 50). Accounts were normally discussed and accepted as true by interlocutors when they came from trusted sources. In the context of rumours about local public administration and government, the information came from civil servants and businesspeople who had witnessed events during work or socially.

The many first-hand accounts of accessing jobs or contracts I collected corroborate each other, supporting the broader second hand rumours of corruption which circulated, creating for my interlocutors a narrative of common experience and common understanding of how public administration was taking place locally (Gupta, 2005). Rumours of corruption of which I was aware, were entirely spoken about by city interlocutors rather than rural communities, a point which I return later in this chapter.

The effect of rumours, whether true or not, was very real. Rumours constantly whirled and became real, embodied in behaviours. Rumours framed why people had whispered conversations and carefully managed relationships with hierarchically connected people. Generalised rumours, as if tangible, became suspicions about 'them', whoever they were. The rumours were sufficient to prevent some from speaking publicly about corruption or specific concerns with local government projects. The belief that there could be consequences of the loss of jobs, business contracts, or

even to be accused of corruption yourself was enough to prevent most people from speaking publicly about concerns over public spending.

Instead, the anonymous nature of the circulating rumours, enabled a communal rather than personal agitation to those in power. It formed a negotiation of what was considered moral behaviour in public office (Gupta, 2005). Individuals in office were challenged by the discussion of these rumours such that their moral character would come under question, putting them under pressure to act with more regard for the community.

The assumption of corruption is used as an attempt to control individual gain over the community, even at lower levels of power (Lazar, 2005: 218). In order to avoid such accusations, and possible taints to their character, some do all they can to prevent accusations (Parry, 2000: 45–50). Rosa, who was working in a semi-rural school was organising the teachers' Christmas party. She had been asked to go to Huamachuco to buy the necessary items for the hot chocolate and sugared breads, but she was unhappy about it as she feared no matter what she did, she would be accused by others of corruption. They would say she asked merchants to alter the receipts for the goods in order that she might pocket some of the money for herself. With this in mind, she insisted that another teacher accompany her to witness all the purchases. This way Rosa attempted to prevent accusations of personal benefit, protecting her reputation as an upstanding member of the community. Despite her efforts, however, a mother of one of the children accused her of using the sugar meant for the children for the staff party. Because of Rosa's preventative actions she was able to prove this was not the case.

The mother who wrongly accused Rosa was concerned Rosa would personally benefit from public resources as the children's sugar was state funded and not meant for teachers. The example serves as a comparison to the way in which networks of interconnections and rumours circulated amongst elites, often with information from civil servants, known and valued for their knowledge of systems and process of government. In both cases, the accusations of corruption indicate proximity to the suspected wrongdoing (Bocarejo, 2018: S49), as sufficient information about the resources and how rules may or may not be applied were known by the accuser.

With many of my city interlocutors, corruption was of primary concern when talking of public investment projects; my rural interlocutors did not bring it up. I was surprised and reluctant to raise the issue, but towards the end of my fieldwork decided I had to, because the absence of

discussion seemed important in itself. Pedro, a middle aged *caserío* resident told me:

> "We don't have corruption here, there's no money really, so we don't worry about it."
> Me: "But I hear concerns about the '*diezmo*'[95] of mayors, what do you think of it?"
> Pedro: "Ahh, yes, that's a concern for the city people, it's not a concern for us, that's where the money is and they say there is corruption there, but it's not a concern for us, it's a city problem."

The idea that corruption was a concern for the city and not for rural communities reflects that proximity through networks to knowledge over how things work is important in the local constitution of rumours. However, rural actors did express concern that they accessed a fair share of communal resources and that it be of good quality. This meant that the village should receive projects by virtue of having contributed to Huamachuco as a whole (through fiestas and everyday interactions), and that the project should be done well. Concerns focused more on making sure the project would come to fruition, that the collaboration would take place, and that it would be of a good quality (see chapter seven). The collaboration between rural and city communities was evaluated in terms of fairness such that there was a 'moral' exchange both as a symbol and use value; the centre providing the project and the village continuing to undertake its role as labourers, producers (e.g. in the fiesta).

Within villages rumours did circulate and the fair distribution of communal resources was commonly discussed. In one instance I observed how a family that had been using a few feet of land at the back of the village school to grow maize had their crops removed (flattened and torn up) because they were perceived as benefiting more than others from communal land, even though no one else could use it. The family who lost their maize did not appear upset, as they accepted that they had spread out into communal space. Through others in the community asserting the communal ownership of the space, the family's young maize was removed, and the boundary between public and private space reasserted. The example highlights how fairness underpins participation in and compliance with the terms of moral community in the negotiation of boundaries; once communal concerns were voiced, there was a mutual understanding that the slight encroachment on communal land by the family's crops was unfair.

[95] Directly translated as 'tithe'. Originally a tax collected by the Church in Spanish colonies, now refers to the bribes that mayors or functionaries are commonly thought to take from contractors (individuals or companies) worth ten percent of the value of a project (Muñoz, 2018: 74). Locally this is often now thought to be fifteen to twenty percent.

Thus, whilst rural communities did not focus on rumours of 'corruption' in the same terms as many in the city elite, they were concerned with the same issues. The concern was often expressed in different ways because their proximity to projects was different. They expressed their concerns over the realisation of schools and roads in their villages and negotiated their construction with the municipality and contractors, as discussed in chapter seven.

Collaboration and projects

In the city, it was often said that rural community votes for mayors had been bought with promises of projects in villages. The projects were often considered by elites as useless, enabling a mayor and his contacts to make money out of '*diezmo*'. Where in the city rumours focused on networks of personal relationships, rural connections were commonly conceptualised by elites in more general terms between villages and politicians. Ronald, a local journalist explained to me how it was thought to work:

> "They want people to be poor, and mentally too, for this reason they do projects for education [school buildings] and popular things rather than really generating development. And so, the local government will undertake projects in areas where they were supported politically during campaigns rather than those areas that didn't. So, they look at where they got more votes rather than where poor people are in order to decide where to spend money.
>
> I went to Curgos last year and asked why they decided to build the stadium as it's the poorest district of Peru. How can we have a new Plaza de Armas in Huamachuco when in the province we have the poorest district in Peru?
>
> They look for popular politics and for this reason they wait for the [mining] canon. The mayors take ten to twenty percent of the value of the projects and some are partners of the companies that do the projects.
>
> For example, in Cahuadan [village], the community didn't help the current mayor during the elections, and they went to the municipality to ask for a project to be done and he kicked them out. There still is no project there."

"Is there clear evidence for voting on mass by villages for specific politicians?" I ask

"Yes, you can see it in the voting patterns."

"Can I see this in the statistics on voting?" I continue

He thinks momentarily and responds "Yes, you can."

City rumours talked of the importance of electoral rallies to gain support of villagers. During election rallies, candidates hand out food, drink, t-shirts and baseball caps. A number of interviewees who were involved in politics currently or previously, accused some candidates (both local and national/ presidential) of directly paying poorer members of the electorate cash (10-20 soles each) for votes, hidden in bundles of gifts of packets of food. However, during elections I observed villagers going to rallies and campaign offices to pick up free t-shirts and caps of multiple candidates.

Whilst rumours assume a direct link between campaign bribes and promises from politicians to villages, (possibly thankfully) such election statistics do not exist, despite Ronald's assertion, as they are not separated into specific villages. However, many elite interlocutors assumed the allocation of projects was related to whether the village voted for the current mayor. As noted above, whether or not the system worked in this way, there was power in the belief that it did (Parry, 2000: 50). It may be as Muñoz (2014) suggests; it is the rally itself (for example how many people attend) which is more important as an indicator of the candidate's possible success than their ability to fulfil promises of projects.

Interviews and observations in villages suggested a more nuanced version of political interaction and influence. A promise for a project in a village is no different to a promise to the city electorate that there will be a new hospital. During multiple conversations about elections with a number of villagers in Puente Piedra, Casumaca, Rumichaca and Marcochugo, no-one focused on the issue of the provision of gifts, or indeed the use of houses on which to paint candidate's adverts (for which a fee is paid), instead they focused on specific local interactions with candidates.

Candidates often tour villages in order to campaign for votes. Some village leaders say they will attempt to arrange a communal meeting with the candidate to discuss their manifesto. One leader

told me that in the 2014 elections, the villagers did not want to meet candidates and so didn't bother to gather and hear their messages; "*I don't know why, people just weren't interested and we couldn't convince anyone to come, so we didn't meet them*…" It was possible that because the village had recently had a project undertaken, they thought it was a waste of time to meet candidates as they were unlikely to receive projects again for the next few years (see chapters six and seven).

I discussed with leaders from the villages the assumption made by some that each village votes en masse for an agreed candidate because they have promised them specific projects. Víctor, a leader said:

> "…well, we do meet to discuss who we think we should vote for, and try to encourage people to vote for the candidate we think will help us most, but in reality, who knows if everyone votes that way, it is between them and the voting booth."

In one village, leaders reported discussions of agreements made with politicians during their campaign. A signed and stamped document was kept as proof of an agreement with the Congress candidate Richard Acuña who if elected (subsequently he was), promised a primary school and to buy land worth 1,000,000 Soles (approximately 300,000 USD) necessary for further projects. On showing me the document one leader said:

> "Who knows if it will happen… but with this we have proof that he promised to help us. It's the best we can do, and we have to hope that it helps…"

Community leaders often spoke of the need to attend the municipality to speak to named civil servants and politicians, others spoke to prospective contractors to try to progress projects through the system. This required skill to know who to speak to, how to speak to them, and how to engage with the process (further considered in chapters six and seven)(Ruud, 2000: 287–289). Although often with less proximity of relatedness than those of elite city networks, the skills were similar. Maintaining and using networks relied on having developed them over the long-term, remembering common histories of relatedness, and narrating points of mutual connections in meetings. It also required considerable resources of time and money, to travel to the municipality multiple times and wait (often for a long time) for officials to turn up or accept a meeting. A senior engineer in the municipality noted that those villages with good leaders who understood how the system worked, how to engage the municipality and the politicians, were more likely to get projects for their villages. Other villages' projects could sit in the system and never get done.

In two of the villages I worked in, several interviewees associated inviting the mayor and his associates for a party and receiving the funding for projects. In one village where they had been petitioning for a nursery school for years Elmer, a leader, said:

> "So, we decided to invite the mayor for a party. We put on music and dances and shared food and drink with him and his associates, they had a great time. Pretty soon after that, we found out we had our nursery school project passed. We formed a bond with him through the party, and he responded."

As with jobs in the city, whether the system worked this way or not, there is power in the belief that it does. Explanations of why projects were successfully acquired in villages were considered the result of forming good relationships with 'collaborators' or 'friends'. However, the misfortune of not getting a project was more often put down to happenchance. There was a realisation of the interdependence and the possibility that what was promised by politicians and others in power would not necessarily come to fruition. Even when all had been done, papers signed with politicians, invites to parties undertaken, sometimes it just did not seem to work out; 'you never really know'.

In Marcochugo, talking about how the recently completed project to expand the secondary school came about, one member of the parents' association said to me of the senior local councillor who had acted as deputy to the mayor in the 2014-18 local administration:

> "Joel is our friend, we knew he wouldn't forget us."
> I said "You know Joel?"
> "Yes, he was a teacher here [before the election], he knows us and wanted to help us."

Amongst those I spoke to from the parents' association there was a clear feeling that the relationship which Joel had with the local population through working at the school had ensured that their project had gone ahead. It was a project which had been in process for some years. Joel was therefore considered to have 'collaborated' with them over time, and most recently had honoured their relationship in promoting the project to completion. However, the story of the school's development was longer and both parents and teachers described to me how the secondary school had taken a long time to establish and involved a gradual process first to obtain

land, then construct basic buildings, which were quickly outgrown, a temporary expansion and then to the current secondary school which had recently been completed out of 'modern' materials (brick and cement).

This gradual process had involved 'collaboration' with multiple mayors and their administrations, starting with Héctor Rodríguez (2003-2006), followed by Carlos Loyola (2007-2010), and recently Arturo Rebaza (2015-2018) with the connection of Councillor Joel. Local teachers described to me the process by which agreement was reached to build the school. One teacher, César, said:

> "…the thing is it took us years to be able to come up with the secondary school for the area. All the primary school teachers in the area got together and met with the village leaders and convinced them that the secondary school should be located in the middle of the area. Before they agreed, each place would say that they wanted it in their own village. It was mainly Puente Piedra and Capuli that were fighting between each other for the school. It took eleven years to convince them to put it in its current location which is in the middle of the area it serves. Initially Héctor helped to buy the initial plot of land, and then UGEL [the local office of the Education Ministry] helped to start the school. Before, there was no secondary school for the area… It is now 10 years since it started in 2006. Before they just learnt how to read and write and then left school. Now there are people who've graduated and become professionals - for example there's a nurse! Many want the school to become a specialist technical secondary too, but this will take time. The idea is to become a specialist agricultural and fish farming specialist school as this would be of help to the pupils and the area. They are working with UGEL to see if it can be done and will also see if the municipality and the *Fondo Social* [Social Fund from the Barrick mine] can help finance it…."

Through these conversations about the history of the secondary school, it became clear that its development was dependent on multiple collaborations between villagers, teachers, the municipality and mayors/ politicians. In accounts of the progress towards the secondary school's current form, after the teachers (some of whom have been teaching in these particular villages for decades), the mayors of Sánchez Carrión were those most often named as having helped in the school's development. In their naming, despite the involvement of many others in the process, the relationship with the mayor was highlighted because he had used his power to collaborate.

The physical materials of the project were an indication of the maintenance of these networks of relationships over time, the material change indicated the age of the building. Since large-scale mining, local projects have ceased using adobe and are undertaken with 'modern' materials of brick and concrete. These changes to materials and design indicated collaborations with mayors of the district over time.

The 'collaboration' is conceived as part of the exchange, where rural communities undertake habitual networking practices (as shown above) and periodic rituals (chapter three) to assert communal membership and receive a 'fair' share of projects in return. Although using less proximate familiar and social links than city elites, rural interlocutors also engage in networking with politicians, civil servants and contractors in order to assure access to a share of public resources. As in the fiesta (chapter three), the projects are both a symbolic enactment of the social contract and have a value themselves[96]. Through the projects, the communal relationships and obligations are remade. As Hart (2005) argues that money is memory of relationships, here projects are prestigious both for their use value, symbolism, and as material monuments of networks of relationships; indicators of being 'good' members of the community.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered why and how rumours of corruption in relation to projects are so common in Huamachuco. It has explored how communal ideals of mutual help and collaboration frame reciprocity, the terms of which reflect the different qualities of the relationships entangled in these projects. Whilst some interactions appear to follow dynamics that can be described as patron-client relations, the long-term friendship and sometimes kin-like qualities of interactions reflect a depth of relations which enhance a focus on honour and fairness. Long-term networks of social relations of the moral community create expectations of fairness which seek to limit personal gains from transactions rather than for the benefit of the community. Skilful negotiation of these interactions is necessary in order to navigate outcomes which are publicly viewed as fair. However, mayors, politicians and civil servants come under particular scrutiny including through rumours of corruption as an attempt to limit their personal gains and ensure fair communal benefits and accountability to the community.

[96] This is similar to Hart's (1986, 2005) argument about the coin, where heads symbolises political authority and tails indicates the value of exchange.

Chapter 6. Projects and the performance of processes

This chapter focuses on the negotiation of power through scales of interactions, tracing connections between global-national-local as interlocking and overlapping spheres of interaction (following Shore and Wright, 1997: 14). In tracing these scales of interaction, I suggest that generalised ideals, "*universal dreams*" (Tsing, 2005: 1), of progress must be translated and negotiated to make sense, because meanings are increasingly uncertain between larger scales of interaction. Generalised ideals mean different things in different contexts, to different actors; they are boundary objects which require negotiation and translation through action (Barry, 2002: 270–280; Bear and Mathur, 2015: 27; Bornstein and Sharma, 2016; Ferguson, 1994, 2006: 77–81; Parkin, 2017: 541,548-549; Robbins, 2013: 457).

As part of a long history of extractivism, and intersecting global flows (Burchardt and Dietz, 2014; Gudynas, 2009; Heyman and Campbell, 2009: 136; Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1986; Svampa, 2015)[97], I have already noted that that increases in global metals prices (and demand), along with government mining and tax policy reforms correlate with the growth of large-scale mining in Peru (Bebbington, 2008: 274–275). These price fluctuations and government policies inform production levels and the value of tax revenues derived from the mines, altering local (and national) government budgets. Previous chapters have shown how increases to local budgets have raised local concerns over the possibility of and opportunities for corruption. Here I track how generalised ideals of progress have become intertwined with these increased local budgets connected to mining revenues are translated into national government rules and processes leading to projects, and adapted to/ intermeshed with local social relations of the moral community. Tracing these scalar interactions through local projects is important in order to identify how relative hierarchies are (re)formed, interconnected and naturalised. Although through the performance of certainty rules and processes limit possible challenges and recreate relative positions of power[98], they are also spaces of 'friction' (Tsing, 2005), centres of negotiation, potential challenge and social change.

In part one of the chapter I consider how local civil servants attempt to make sense of 'disjunctures' (Appadurai, 1990) between different scales and temporalities relating to government incomes, budgets, accounting, project planning and execution; these result in heightened

[97] See also (Gootenberg, 1989; Mintz, 1985)
[98] (Ferguson, 1994, 2006; Harvey and Knox, 2015: 200–202; Star and Bowker, 1999: 312–313)

uncertainty and, in response to this, a range of attempts to increase certainty at a local level. In part two I explore how rural communities work with and around national rules and processes of government, form alliances with politicians, civil servants and business, and work within local moral community ideals of sharing to increase and speed up access to projects. Finally, in part three, I consider how the ideals of moral communal progress through reciprocity and rules and processes of projects are ritually united through the participatory budget meeting.

Part one: Establishing rules and processes

> *"We just don't do things right here. They don't follow the systems and rules, they manipulate things for their own gain. It's not like the USA or Europe. You don't have those issues there, the rules are followed, the systems work."*
> *(Anyeli, civil servant)*

Anyeli's comment illuminates how ideals of fairness of the moral community are intertwined with rules and processes of the state: 'We' refers to the communities of which she is part (local and national), and 'they' refers to a sense that politicians or civil servants (local and national) can manipulate rules for personal gain rather than for communal redistribution. The comment also suggests that others, such as from the USA or EU who are perceived as 'modern', do follow rules, distribute resources fairly, and have processes that result in 'progress'[99].

This part of the chapter explores these themes. Project processes pursue *ideals* of 'public good' (Bear and Mathur, 2015), conceived as 'transparency' and 'good governance', encouraged by international organisations such as the World Bank (Bear and Mathur, 2015: 21–22; Hardt and Negri, 2001: 155; Mignolo, 2010: 119–120; Pinker, 2015: 97–98; Pinker and Harvey, 2015: 16–17). They appear 'as if facts' (specific and detailed without need for debate or challenge) from international standards set out to reform a perceived past failing governance (Harvey et al., 2013: 298), seen as a "*crisis of legitimacy*" and corruption, "*which structural adjustment produced*" (Ferguson, 2006: 84). This was part of "*all-too-familiar racialized and civilizational hierarchies*" (Muir and Gupta, 2018: S6)[100]. Thus, the appearance of rules and process 'as if fact' is an illusion of scale, rather they

[99] This is commonly expressed in Peru. In 2020, the UK government has been given a country-country agreement to oversee infrastructure projects on behalf of the Peruvian government (a new approach)(Chaman, 2020). Some comments from the public and press on Facebook, have reflected a lack of trust in local actors, and have expressed belief that the UK government will not be susceptible to problems of corruption.
[100] Also see (Mignolo, 2010).

must be translated and negotiated to create specific meanings to gain agreement and reduce uncertainty in interactions (Harvey and Knox, 2015: 204; Lefebvre, 2014: 87–88).

The rules and processes for projects created by national government in response to both international and national *general* ideals of 'good governance' are undertaken locally within *specific* complexities, creating 'frictions' (Tsing, 2005) where actors attempt to make sense of 'disjunctures' (Appadurai, 1990) of meanings. These gaps, where general rules and processes are negotiated and applied to local specifics, creates uncertainty (Harvey and Knox, 2015: 202). The apparent local incoherence in the process, creates a local sense of failure and a search for why rules could not be followed, contributing to accusations of incompetence or corruption, a sense of not being 'modern'[101].

Through limited decentralisation, the national government (following international ideals of 'best practice') is able to attempt to control the outcomes, and prevent negotiation outside of a prescribed space (Barry, 2002: 270–280; Crabtree, 2014: 454; Gledhill, 2004: 163). This also shifts the risk of decisions to implement certain types of projects to local social relations and leaders (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002: 989; Rose and Miller, 1992: 201). In so doing not only are national politicians removed from local complexities of negotiations, but also the meanings of ideals of the nation-state (for example democracy, equality) can remain as general ideals as opposed to becoming specific in messy negotiations of their local application (Hansen, 2000: 257). This suggests that the translation of generally accepted ideals of 'public good' into rules and processes can reproduce relative hierarchies of power.

The very idea of public investment projects is considered a 'fact', which in turn means that as a fact these projects frame how public funds can be allocated to different parts of the community (Harvey and Knox, 2015: 148–149); deflecting attention away from the range of possible negotiations for broader meanings and ideals which could improve equality and reduce poverty (Ferguson, 1994, 2006: 60; Lefebvre, 2014: 88–90). Whilst many rural interlocutors in Huamachuco were happy to have projects in their villages, these projects were of limited help. Consequently, rural populations remained concerned and frustrated about how their long-term economic needs could be improved. Many members of the city elites were also sceptical and concerned to focus on longer-term projects aimed at achieving economic improvement. However,

[101] Repeated sometimes in literatures (for example Arellano-Yanguas, 2011; Loayza et al., 2013) which consider a 'lack of capacity' in local governments to spend the money 'efficiently' to reduce poverty.

identifying what those might be and how to undertake them remained problematic[102]. Projects were most often focused on infrastructure, a rapidly achieved and visible form of spending. As such infrastructure commonly defined as the only use allowed for Investment funds. However although government rules often constrain Investment fund spending to infrastructure, rules also indicated it was not the only permitted use, and other options were discussed locally by civil servants and the mayor, with limited effect (further discussed in part three below) (MEF, 2019a; Vincent, 2010a: 70).

Budgets and Planning projects: Appearances of certainty, experiences of uncertainty

The rules and processes which apply to subnational governments in the use of funds for public investment projects, are determined by the central state, and follow policies encouraged by international organisations such as the World Bank ('second generation reforms')(North, 2003: 10). In the 1990s, Fujimori undertook policies of privatisation and decentralisation, and in 2000 initiated the National System of Public Investment (SNIP). The SNIP is a transparency initiative through which projects are recorded and approved by the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF). It aims "*to promote efficiency in relation to the use of investment resources, to build a sustainable knowledge base for the management of public investments, and to maximise the positive socio-economic impacts of public investments*" (Harvey et al., 2013: 298).[103]

There are several funding streams which can be used for investment projects, these are:

1. Mining canon: The large increases to government funds through large-scale mining have been dispersed through the mining canon[104] (laws passed in 2001), fifty percent of revenues are transferred to the regions where mining takes place.[105]
2. Mining royalties[106]
3. Other canons (e.g. Fishing, Forestry) (MEF, 2019a)
4. Incentive Plan (bonus payments from central government at mid-year, for undertaking projects within a short time within preferred themes such as education) (MEF, 2019d)

[102] The focus on tourism (including of the fiesta) was seen as a longer-term source of economic growth. Other ideas included a quinoa processing plant.
[103] The Peruvian national public investment management system changed in 2017, after fieldwork. I do not reflect changes here.
[104] Arellano-Yanguas (2008:9-10) notes how decentralisation and participatory budgeting was considered by the World Bank as a way to combat problems of the 'resource curse' (Arellano-Yanguas, 2008, 2011; Auty, 2007).
[105] Divided between governments of the origin of extraction: 25 percent to regional government (20 percent of which transferred to state university), 10 percent to districts, 25 percent to provinces, and 40 percent divided between all the districts within the department of origin (MEF, 2019a).
[106] Divided between governments of the origin of extraction: 15 percent to regional government, 20 percent to the district, 20 percent to the province, 40 percent to the department, and 5 percent to the state university in the department (MEF, 2019c).

5. FONCOMUN (*Fondo de Compensación Municipal,* Municipal Compensation Fund): Payment from central government, varying according to national VAT tax and is distributed to focus investment on deprived areas. Local governments decide the allocation between investment or overhead costs (MEF, 2019b).

Figure 1 shows how the main sources for Investment funding are the mining canon and FONCOMUN. Within this data set, between 2003 and 2014, the mining canon was the largest income stream. Subsequently FONCOMUN was the largest and continued at around 2014 levels until a drop in 2018, reflecting national allocations of VAT revenues. There is a direct correlation between the gold price trend and the mining canon for Huamachuco, as the value of tax on sales from local mines is reflected in receipts (World Gold Council, 2012, 2014). We can also see a trend in the growth of FONCOMUN receipts, which reflect the neoextractivist (Svampa, 2015) economic boom which Peru has experienced since the mid 2000s, also related to mining and high international demand and pricing[107].

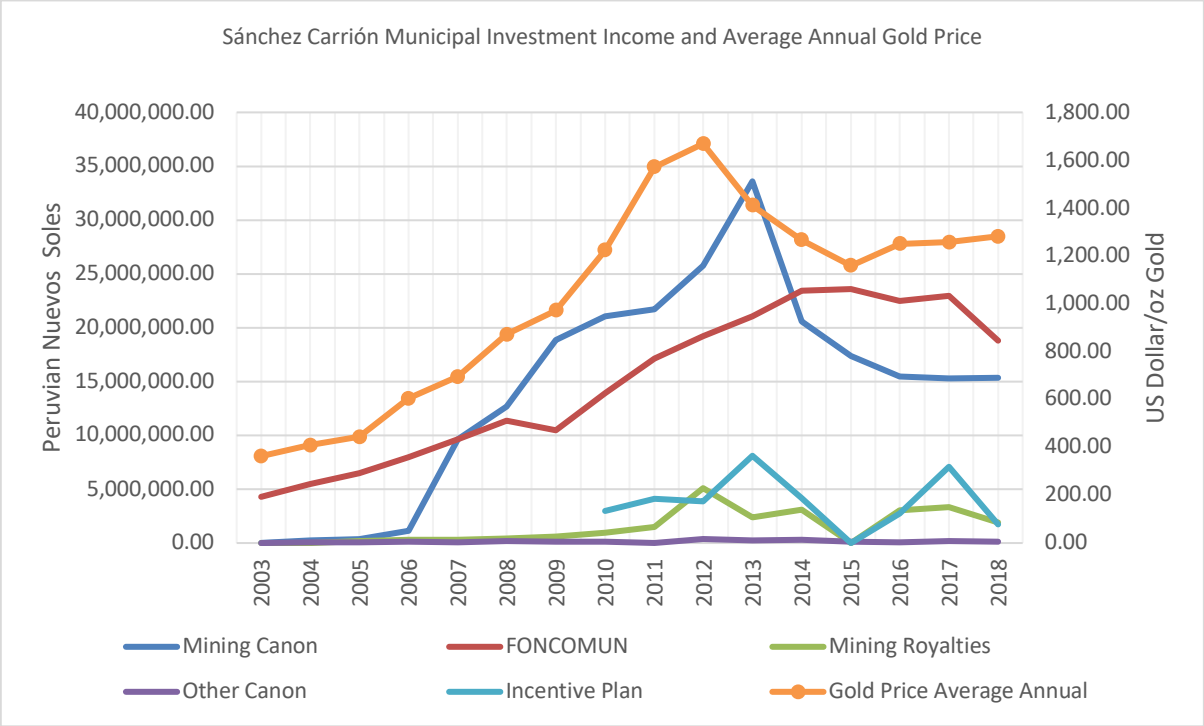


Figure 1: Sánchez Carrión Municipal Investment Income and Annual Average Gold Price
Data Sources: MEF and World Gold Council

[107] Gold prices rose post the international economic crisis of 2007-2008 reflecting a shift to gold investment from the dollar. The longer term price rise is also due to the growth particularly of Chinese and Indian demand, making extracting lower gold density sites more feasible (World Gold Council, 2014: 02_03).

During my fieldwork (2014-2016), there was much discussion by local politicians and civil servants about the drop in local government income. This reduction was blamed on cases of corruption in local government in other areas which was thought to have led to central government controlling more income. However, in terms of direct 'investment' transfers, the reduction appears due to a fall in the mining canon directly related to the drop in the international price of gold (Figure 1 and Table 2). Table 1 shows how between 2010 and 2014, the canon income was over 20,000,000 Soles, with a peak in 2013, but by 2015, income from the mining canon had returned to less than 2009 levels and stabilised between 2016-2018, reflecting gold price fluctuations. The fluctuations in the Incentive Plan reveals the importance of the management of accounting for projects in order to maximise income. As the Incentive Plan requires particular types of fast spending for national government to disburse these funds, the figures reveal how some years politicians and civil servants are more successful than others at aligning local projects with national priorities at speed (either due to staff knowledge of how to manage the system, project selection/ execution, and possibly election cycles).

In 2015 the Mayor Arturo Rebaza, stated in public meetings that due to the funding transfer reductions from the central government, he would apply for funds direct from the central government and the Barrick funded Social Fund (*Fondo Social*). However, the projects he sought to fund were of such scale (a large-scale water supply for the city of Huamachuco, a new Market building, a new plaza, and a new hospital), that other funding sources would always have been necessary.

Reflecting the 'frictions' (Tsing, 2005) and 'disjunctures' (Appadurai, 1990) between scales and temporalities of interaction, fluctuations in global markets which caused reduced budgets were universally identified as due to national narratives of corruption. This misrecognition of processes at global scales as local failure is perhaps indicative of the pervasive belief in the extent of corruption (discussed in chapter five), intertwined with a sense of local failure, rather than a failure of international systems seen as 'modern'. Thus when the mayor said he would search for more funds, he was able to demonstrate he was searching for additional resources which had been removed by an issue outside his control, effectively blaming a generalised discontent with corruption and the national government's handling of it. Instead, the appeal to the Social Fund from the Barrick mine Lagunas Norte, appeared to indicate greater consistency of funds from the internationally owned mine. This reflects the disconnect at a local level between a global narrative of economic failure, and the sense of failure to pursue international ideals of 'good governance'.

Year	Mining Canon	FONCOMUN	Mining Royalties	Other Canon	Incentive Plan	Total
2003	13,421.54	4,292,988.28	0.00	0.00	-	4,306,409.82
2004	235,526.58	5,456,045.32	0.00	56,587.51	-	5,748,159.41
2005	344,642.51	6,510,650.09	198,082.82	46,675.78	-	7,100,051.20
2006	1,131,804.13	7,989,739.87	322,002.02	126,120.70	-	9,569,666.72
2007	9,668,336.16	9,661,609.75	314,160.66	80,765.89	-	19,724,872.46
2008	12,652,171.88	11,383,861.50	446,618.38	169,409.32	-	24,652,061.08
2009	18,872,929.69	10,459,928.15	611,539.51	116,039.66	-	30,060,437.01
2010	21,078,164.45	13,909,942.98	966,145.45	148,851.15	2,985,336.00	39,088,440.03
2011	21,692,692.82	17,108,095.59	1,475,659.34	33,903.42	4,136,588.00	44,446,939.17
2012	25,771,672.03	19,216,541.19	5,100,387.07	375,371.00	3,868,023.13	54,331,994.42
2013	33,595,423.72	21,084,848.26	2,356,147.28	246,650.08	8,106,861.00	65,389,930.34
2014	20,597,266.42	23,464,478.45	3,127,815.15	298,152.71	4,195,950.00	51,683,662.73
2015	17,369,909.49	23,589,359.44	3,348,468.92	129,541.66	2,997,127.00	47,434,406.51
2016	15,495,856.29	22,485,216.28	3,048,255.63	70,923.68	2,764,614.00	43,864,865.88
2017	15,313,196.87	22,982,434.02	3,360,669.54	182,704.35	7,103,870.00	48,942,874.78
2018	15,347,863.70	18,789,809.51	1,926,954.32	116,642.34	1,750,441.00	37,931,710.87

Table 1: Investment Income (Peruvian Nuevos Soles) Sánchez Carrión 2003-2018

Data Source: MEF Transparencia Económica

	USD/troy ounce
Q1 2012	1,690.6
Q2 2012	1,609.5
Q3 2012	1,652.0
Q4 2012	1,721.8
Q1 2013	1,631.8
Q2 2013	1,414.8
Q3 2013	1,326.3
Q4 2013	1,276.2
Q1 2014	1,293.1
Q2 2014	1,288.4
Q3 2014	1,281.9
Q4 2014	1,201.4

Table 2: Quarterly Average Gold Price

Data source: World Gold Council

Perhaps reflecting the uncertainty of budgets (and related planning discussed below), a clear composite written account of plans and budgets was difficult to access in Huamachuco. Once projects had been allocated funds, or had taken place, there was considerably more written publicity by the municipality through monthly magazines, annual budget statements, and coverage in the media. Despite this, there was much talk of general figures for budgets and plans by politicians in public meetings, in the press (radio, tv), in conversations and on Facebook. The

preference to speak of budgets rather than commit them to written form before projects were confirmed, made plans and budgets difficult to track, analyse and compare. It gave them an intangibility, which reflected how budgets might be anticipated but would almost certainly change.

The Ministry for Economy and Finances mandates the use of (four year) Multi Annual Plans for long-term planning. These, however, are difficult to create and use due to uncertainties created by a combination of budget, leadership and the process for developing projects (discussed below). Budgets are affected by uncertainty in global economic trends/gold prices leading to fluctuations in the level of tax receipts from mining. Perhaps as a result, central government systems directly allocate local government funds annually rather than over the longer-term. The democratic cycle also leads to changes in mayor, who cannot hold successive terms of office, each with different policies and priorities. As mayors were known for the projects they undertook, they were often keen to distinguish themselves from predecessors. For example, in Trujillo the day after taking office in 2015, the new mayor reversed the traffic flow of a new city flyover and one-way system, initially to much chaos.

In Huamachuco, the Multi Annual Plans changed annually, such that only the first year was ever used. This created a sense of a theoretical process, undertaken as required by the central government, but the fluctuations in budget and political preferences made its long-term utility negligible. As Alejandra, a senior civil servant explained:

> "In theory the multi annual plan is done every four years, but it gets changed every year. Really it is not a different plan to all the others - it's all the projects accumulated in one. In effect we put down that certain projects will be done in year one and then in year two, year three, but in reality it goes year to year as so many changes take place and preferences for different projects occur - from the participatory budget or other routes… The multi annual plan is really designed to work for the central government who do big projects over many years, like installing electricity in rural areas…."

The perceived lack of strategic planning was lamented by some civil servants and elite Huamachuquinos who saw it as a reason why the long-term needs of the district were not being met and became part of a sense of failure linked to the inadequacies of local actors. Aligning with narratives of corruption, the lack of long-term plans was thought to be because mayors wanted to undertake projects from which they could profit. The inability to utilise long-term plans created a

double uncertainty; firstly, that it was unclear what the ideals of 'good governance' meant in practice; and secondly around the moral intentions of local politicians and civil servants (narratives of corruption). However, as shown above, these uncertainties were caused by the inherent unpredictability of the international markets, democratic changes and the processes themselves. Thus, whilst the processes claimed to create smooth relations between scales of interactions, declaring certainty through which projects and 'good governance' could be achieved, 'frictions' continued and uncertainties were amplified (Tsing, 2005).

Annual plans are also difficult to create and implement due to both the fluctuations of tax receipts and the timings of their transfer to local government. In order to create a plan for the upcoming year, in March to June planning begins using an estimated budget based on the year before. For example, 2014 planning took place using 2013 income levels of 33,595,423.72 Soles from the mining canon. However, the mining canon received in 2014 was actually 20,597,266.42 Soles, reflecting a drop in the price of gold between 2012 and 2014 (Table 1). The time lag between tax paid and receipt, meant that the gold prices in 2012, which produced part of the income in 2013, effected planning in 2014 despite reduced tax receipts and lower local government income in 2014. Alejandra explained the effect:

> "…this meant that the participatory budget done in 2013 for 2014 investment was totally out, we hadn't anticipated such a drop in income. So even though we had the participatory budget, the technical team had to cut down the projects according to strategic priorities which central government set out [sanitation, education, health, electrical supply, transport] and the prioritisation given by the participatory budget…"

Whilst the effects on budgets of fluctuations in international markets is in no way unique to Peru (as are many of the points made here), locally it means that plans can be highly uncertain, and substantially changed. This effect reveals the 'disjunctures' (Appadurai, 1990) between scales, and opens up spaces of potential action to negotiate between scales, by civil servants attempting to make things work.

These changes could effectively place civil servants in a position of power to re-prioritise plans, including those of the participatory budget (discussed below). Thus, within the annual budgets, whilst the rules and processes appear to provide a clear project planning and development process through which the identified priorities/ projects produce a certain outcome, they do not. In

different ways this insecurity was expressed in the discussions I had with everyone who participated in the process, from narratives of corruption (chapter five) to practical concerns. A number of village leaders described to me how they had followed all the processes to get a project and then many would say '*But who knows if it will actually happen?*': a project was only certain once it had started.

The in-year processes for the administration of public investment projects also highlights the 'frictions' (Tsing, 2005) of temporalities of different scales of interaction. These tensions affect what kinds of projects are chosen, encouraging relatively small projects which can be undertaken quickly within the priorities set out by central government. This is not a directly articulated preference, but rather the effect of an accumulation of factors in the process to which I will now turn: the in-year timing of the arrival of income, the cost limits allowed for local government projects (set by central government), and the central government 'Incentive Plan'. Through these means, the system presents as a decentralised system, but allows central government control and effectively limits the room for debate over what types of projects can be undertaken and the speed of their implementation.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">Year 2015</td></tr>
<tr><td>January</td><td rowspan="2">Receive part of budget for 2015 spend.

Planning 2015: An approximate figure for likely mining canon is budgeted, with final figures and actual income received in July.

Project execution 2015 with funds to date</td></tr>
<tr><td>February</td></tr>
<tr><td>March</td><td rowspan="4">Planning for 2016:
- Communities meet to consider projects required
- Participatory budget meetings decide projects for 2016</td></tr>
<tr><td>April</td></tr>
<tr><td>May</td></tr>
<tr><td>June</td></tr>
<tr><td>July</td><td>Receive remaining income, moderated budget (PIM) from mining canon for 2015 spend</td></tr>
<tr><td>August</td><td rowspan="5">Project execution 2015, altered according to available income.

Project Planning 2016: Projects developed

Project Planning 2016: Estimated budget (PIA) announced by central government</td></tr>
<tr><td>September</td></tr>
<tr><td>October</td></tr>
<tr><td>November</td></tr>
<tr><td>December</td></tr>
</table>

Table 3: Annual budget and planning cycle

The in-year timing of estimated budgets and income receipts shows how short time can be to undertake projects in-year. A more accurate estimated budget for the upcoming year ('PIA') is announced in December by central government. The income is partially received in January, but the mining canon (a significant proportion of the investment income), is not received until July in the moderated budget ('PIM'). The mining canon is received in July because the financial system works on the financial year which ends in April, while the planning year operates on calendar years. This means that the majority of yearly income to carry out projects arrives halfway through the spending year (Table 3).

There are limitations on the size of project costs which municipalities can undertake. Larger projects such as improvements to city water systems or the construction of a new hospital must be done in collaboration with the national government departments rather than through local funds. This limits decentralisation and creates a focus on multiple smaller projects.

The 'Incentive Plan' run by the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF) also encourages fast, in year spending against central government priorities such that additional funds are given for meeting targets. Alejandra explained that the Huamachuco municipality aims to spend 80 to 90 percent of funds in year:

> "…You would want to spend most of the money in year as there is an 'Incentive Plan' that the Ministry of Economy and Finances runs which gives dates and targets for spending on certain kinds of projects, which means that they will give you a bonus. For example, the date for completion is 30 June for 40 percent of all projects' planned budget to be spent, and they give you a bonus… it must be spent in year… Each month the MEF put out lists of how much each municipality have spent - identifying those that haven't. Those at the bottom of the list get interventions by Lima where they get assistance to spend… Which mayor wants to be seen on that list?
>
> …The thing is central government don't measure us on how well we spend, how effective we are in our spending. The central government have national priorities which are Sanitation, Education, Health, Electrical Supply, Transport. For the last three or four years the municipality has been trying to align priorities with those of central government. So, we are no longer building community halls and so on. We try to be aligned with the central government priorities but the requirements on us are more diverse and local requests are

> more varied, such as for sports centres which are also important. Being close to the population it is difficult not to let this happen as people ask for things."

Alejandra highlights the tensions and gaps between scales of interaction through the challenges faced by civil servants in 'aligning' central government priorities, processes and local negotiations over requirements. In order to gain more funding for projects for the community, projects had to be aligned with central government processes and priorities and funds disbursed quickly. Yet projects also needed to meet local requirements.

Through the Incentive Plan, the central government attempt to direct both the priorities for projects, and the speed of their implementation. In effectively publishing a league table of fast spending municipalities, the measure of 'good' public projects is fast spending projects which meet central priorities. Politicians in Huamachuco would often point to the speed of execution of projects and spending in the league tables, along with the additional income received as evidence of a job done well.

It was estimated by civil servants that the shortest time for the process and preparation of the documents for a project up until the 'Implementation' phase is around eight months (most will take longer). This means that the planning system must be adapted locally in order to meet the requirements of the Incentive Plan, limitations on project size, and accommodate both the changes between estimated budgets and the arrival of income mid-year. A municipality engineer explained:

> "…we can't do some projects as they take too long. Really projects have a maximum of eight months duration, so that they get done in a year …In order to make sure the spends happen in year they now give contractors up to a 60 percent advance; 20 percent at first and then 40 percent for materials. We must do this so that the budget can get cleared quicker. Before they didn't do advances."

In order to be able to undertake projects very quickly, a 'Project Bank' is built up, which have undergone all the stages of project development (Figure 2 and Figure 3), from which projects can be chosen by the municipal politicians and civil servants. At every stage of project development, there are discussions between those that want it and those that hold the power to allow it to pass between the different phases of development.

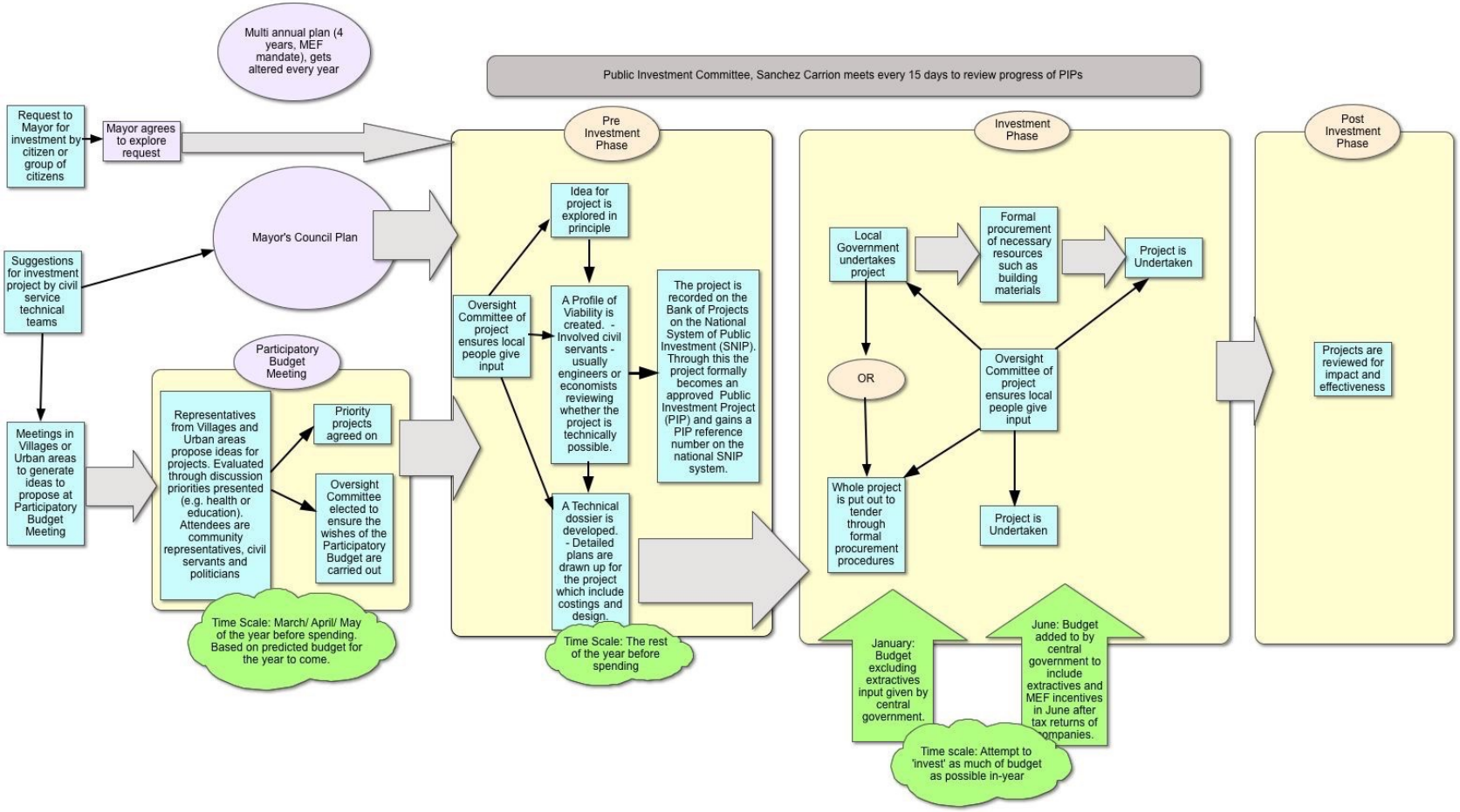


Figure 2: Sánchez Carrión Investment Process

Created from descriptions by civil servants during interviews. Note that Post Investment was not considered to happen.

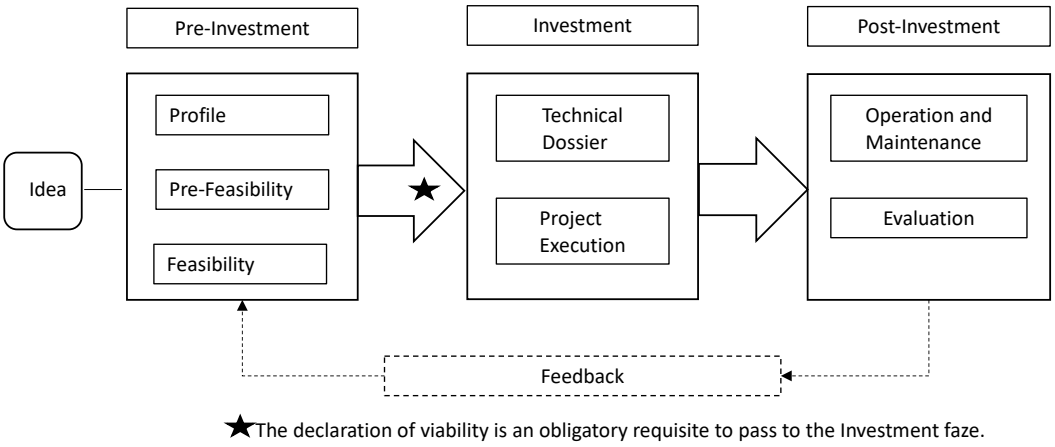


Figure 3: 'Project Cycle'
Translated from: Directiva General del Sistema Nacional de Inversión Pública (MEF, 2011: 2)

An 'Idea' for a project is discussed by the Office of Programming and Investments (OPI), the specialist area of the municipality (for example engineering) and the mayor in order to assess whether the project is worth investigating further or whether another avenue to meet the request should be explored. If it is considered as a possible project, it enters the 'Pre-Investment' phase. At this point the municipality will either directly undertake or contract out to a consultant to develop a project Profile ('*Perfil*'). This outlines feasibility, alignment with national priorities and an estimated budget. This Profile is then reviewed by the OPI and the specialists in the municipality and a decision is made as to whether it is approved. If the project is approved, it will be entered into the National System of Public Investments (SNIP) and it will be given an identifying number. The project can then move to the 'Investment' phase (depending on the decisions of the municipality).

At this stage detailed studies are undertaken and a Technical Dossier ('*Expediente Técnico*') is developed, including detailed project requirements and parameters including full designs and lists and quantities of required materials. As such the documents are multiple (spanning multiple lever arch files for a school), and very complex to understand for the uninitiated. The Technical Dossier is used as the basis for contracting out and all works (further explored below and chapter seven). Once the Technical Dossier is complete the project can be approved for 'Implementation' ('*Ejecución*'), either by the municipality or by contractors. Bids for contracts are undertaken through a central government system which aims to promote 'transparency' (aiming to prevent corruption), and are made not by price, as this is determined by the Technical Dossier, but rather by the

capability of the business (machinery, staff knowledge and experience).

Lastly in central government guidelines there is a 'Post Investment' phase where maintenance is required as well as an evaluation of the project, however in Huamachuco, there is no strategic evaluation of projects but instead receiving communities request maintenance or spot snags in the original project works.

Even when a project has gone through all the stages of the process, it can sit waiting in the bank of projects until funds are ready, which can sometimes take years, and sometimes never come. At each stage of the process there is uncertainty whether the civil servants, engineers, politicians can be convinced a project meets the criteria for development, and even once the paperwork is developed it might not get done. This creates uncertainty for everyone at a local level, and a sense that the system is not being used correctly, adding to narratives of failure or incompetence and of corruption; it is believed that if the system is used correctly, it will produce clear outcomes, so it must be being used incorrectly in some way. Yet the systems and processes of government are being used skilfully, to maximise the income from central government and meet their criteria of preferred projects. Félix, a civil servant in the municipality explained:

> "Many [projects] will have a Profile and/or a Technical Dossier approved. But there is a time lapse between the Profile and the Technical Dossier… You need to have projects which are ready to go. And you need them for the next year ready to go. This [also] enables us to go direct to central government for additional funding for projects… Once a public investment project is approved, the idea is that you do them. But in reality, we lack the money to do them all, although the majority of them are done. There are 156 projects done in 4 years so that's 38 per year. There is a bank of around 60 projects with Viable Profiles each year which means that there are around 20 each year that are not done and they go onto the Portfolio [Projects Bank]."

So far, this analysis of the budgeting and planning system has shown how although the rules and processes are seen as fact, which if followed will produce 'good' projects, they do not achieve the certainty which they claim. Instead, the very nature of plans and fluctuating incomes reveal that no such process can provide certainty, negotiations between different aspirations and available budgets by different actors with different levels of power must take place. The attempt to create certainty through the process, creates a narrative of failure at a local level to comply with 'modern'

governance, and hides the level of control (power) asserted over the process by both central government and to an extent by local politicians and civil servants.

In this limited decentralisation, the sense of uncertainty inherent in negotiations of social relations and global trading (of gold) shifts to local interactions. Yet the central government still defines and limits the parameters of local negotiations, how much, when and how money can be used. The risk of local political disagreements is thus shifted to local politicians and networks of social relations. This distracts from the levels of power asserted by the central government (and influencing international institutions) in defining the process.

Choosing projects: Power and negotiation

There are four main ways in which investment projects can be initiated: Firstly, the mayor's commitments made during the election, subsequently influenced by civil servant technical team suggestions which are agreed in the Council Plan by the councillors. Secondly the participatory budget[108] (PB) where all villages and urban sectors (neighbourhoods) meet to propose and prioritise projects. Thirdly through direct requests from the villages or urban sectors to the mayor for projects. Fourthly, up to ten percent of the investment income (PIM) can be used for small-scale 'productive' projects[109], without SNIP authorisation (PRODUCE, 2018: 9).

Ultimately the mayor decides how funds are split between these channels, in co-ordination with the Investment Management Committee (senior civil servants and politicians). Civil servants told me that in 2015 it had been decided to allocate all the investment funds to projects proposed by the participatory budget. The mayor's election promises were for large projects such that local funds could not finance most of them. However, this allocation of funds to the participatory budget is difficult to trace and almost no-one knew how the total budget was allocated to projects proposed through different avenues, and there was no record kept. This was because as the process above describes, most of the projects proposed in the participatory budget in 2015 almost certainly would not be done in 2016, but instead wait in the bank of projects to be done later. This, combined with the SNIP system which records all projects regardless of their progression through

[108] Participatory budgeting was initiated by the municipality in collaboration with the NGO Care in Huamachuco in 1999, before a central government policy was introduced. In 2003 participatory budgeting laws were passed to mandate community involvement in decision making over investment funds (Cameron, 2009a: 71).
[109] These are normally collaborative agricultural programmes with groups from villages who must meet project criteria (land ownership or a level of investment). Amongst many, projects include guinea pig farms and improved farming methods such as pest resistant potato seeds. See (PRODUCE, 2018).

to implementation[110], makes it difficult to see a composite overview of which or how many projects proposed by the participatory budget are undertaken rather than by any other means.

As explored further below, in the participatory budget itself, there is no discussion of costs of projects nor how those costs might relate to a budget. Combined with the different phases of the project development, this means that those villages or neighbourhoods with projects prioritised by the meeting continue to be uncertain as to whether they will be undertaken. Regardless of the avenues through which projects are proposed, they are all reviewed and decided on by politicians and civil servants in the municipality.

Effectively as the central government controls the systems and processes at a national level, so the municipality controls the local application of these priorities. Whilst the participatory budget is meant to allow local communities to participate in decision making, only projects which meet the priorities set out by central and local government will be undertaken. An ex-politician, Raúl, with the government of Luis Rebaza (2011 -2014) explained:

> "…You don't want all of them bringing a different idea, so it's important that each community comes up with one idea and brings it to the participatory budget. So, we guided the villagers towards the priorities - of course we didn't insist that they followed our advice. We wanted to convince the villagers that our priorities were important. The priorities were educational infrastructure and irrigation canals too."

Thus, there is a performance of decentralisation but the ability of local communities to access communal funds to shape their own futures is limited. However, Raúl's comment also highlights how the position of the mayor in directing priorities places him in a space of negotiation between scales, between local and national. Although the central systems and processes limit action, there is also an opportunity for change in these spaces of friction of scales.

Douglas, a politician in the Arturo Rebaza government (2015-2018) explained their approach to planning Public Investment Projects, which reflected the central government priorities:

> "…In terms of the participatory budget…we will do what is agreed. We would like to be able to do all of them [projects] as it's a way of making sure the projects are done in the

[110] See (Harvey et al., 2013)

> places where they're needed. But we will also have assemblies with each of the communities to discuss the projects they would like, and of these which already have Profiles prioritised so they can be done next year. It should be the real people who decide, but we help them on priorities. Our priorities include sanitation, health, education, roads, and economic development. We listen to their needs and the ones which fit with these priorities, we will be able to do."

Douglas' comment reflects a more general point: The overwhelming intention amongst civil servants, politicians and the broader community was a sincere attempt to make sense of top-down policies, maximising income for the district and to respond to the needs and requests of the community. The civil servants and politicians identify themselves the difficulties in achieving local aims when they attempt to manage the frictions between scales of interaction and resulting uncertainties.

Procompite projects, which can be allocated up to ten percent of the budget, in 2015 were allocated 1.5 million Soles, representing 3 percent of the available investment income. Although originating from the same funds, Procompite 'productive' projects are managed separately from the other avenues of investment, by a different team, often with expertise in agriculture. The programme works directly with villages such that they are seldom included as projects in the participatory budget.

These projects have a set of specific regulations, and although like other public investment projects, funds are allocated annually, projects can span two years rather than one. The regular lack of funding for them is perceived by elites as connected to corruption as unlike construction projects, small agricultural village projects to improve incomes are not so susceptible to bribes for politicians or civil servants. However, the reduced focus on them does not only sit with local decision makers, the central system does not encourage their growth. This is not only through the limited total budget, but also because they are excluded from the Incentive Plan and therefore do not attract additional funds to undertake further projects.

Procompite projects were often of interest to villagers I spoke to, as they are a way to increase or diversify incomes. Whilst villages participate in Procompite projects, this is limited by the rules and processes and local political prioritisation. This makes it difficult to increase access to Procompite projects, or to take more strategic approaches to generating economic alternatives for

villages.

As a result of the limits placed on the types of projects which the local politicians make clear are priorities, villages are strategic in their proposals, making compromises to attempt to align their needs with municipal priorities. Ricardo, an experienced village leader said:

> "The village knows what the municipality will fund so, they only ask for those things...The municipality is supposed to help villages. Before there wasn't much money so we didn't ask. But now there is money, we've only done the education centre because the municipality said it was the most important thing. In fact, the people want agriculture, livestock and irrigation. …We need economic projects because we are in a crisis …the land is not producing."

Ricardo expressed a repeated sense that the material projects such as schools were welcome, and could help in the long term to educate children, providing options for their futures, but the outcomes of education were far from certain and they took time to realise. This may be because many of the schools had long been present in *caseríos*, but constructed from adobe (see chapter seven), thus the building of schools did not necessarily change teaching entirely for children. Despite new buildings, the quality of education received in villages was still often considered lesser than that received in towns or cities, aligned with broader social hierarchies of distinction (chapters two-three, seven).

The desire for agricultural or economic projects which Ricardo expresses, came not from an assumption that these projects were unproblematic, but rather that the problems of agriculture locally were thought to be deeply troubling, for which solutions were required. They reflect the constant daily concerns faced by people in villages today: How can the same amount of land feed growing families? Where can wage labour be found to improve incomes? This focus perhaps also reflects the management of uncertainty which Ortiz (1979: 75) examines; if "*expectations are summary statements of what has been experienced*" then assessments of the future are also more commonly made through known categories which attempt to manage possibilities. In this assessment, education is good, and can improve lives in the long-term for some and sits in a category of future possibility; but agriculture is more known, connected to daily needs and labours of it, sustaining *caseríos*.

Part two: Negotiating rules in the pursuit of projects

> *"You ask for these projects to be done and then you don't know if they're going to be done or not. Last year we asked for water and sanitation and the irrigation canal, and yet nothing happened. We were told that we'd had a water project recently and so we couldn't ask for a water project so soon again. They said to me if we asked for a productive project, we would have more of a chance. So we asked for a potato project, which they said we would get, and then just before the meeting they said we wouldn't get it and it wasn't on the list of projects put forward at the participatory budget meeting.*
> *…Last year, I didn't have the contacts, I realised then that it was important, and since I've been working to improve them."*
> *(Fernando, village leader)*

Fernando highlights the importance of social capital, in addition to understanding systems and processes of government, to access projects for *caseríos*. Knowing civil servants or politicians in the municipality by name, forming closer interconnections, as discussed in chapter five, was thought to assist in access to projects. Here I explore some of the ways in which the rural populations develop and use their knowledge of how the rules and processes work, and networks of contacts, to maximise their access to public projects. Whilst the power of government to limit the sphere of influence is clear particularly in the kinds of projects which are undertaken, villagers use alliances and gaps inherent in the system to improve access to funds (Barry, 2002: 280; Bornstein and Sharma, 2016: 79). In doing so, they incrementally renegotiate how the processes are locally used, collectively redefining the liminal central space through which relative positions of power, identities are reformed (Butler, 2011; Canessa, 2012b; Hall, 2006; Moore, 2013). In building alliances with politicians, civil servants and businesses, villagers negotiate through rules and procedures, reforming the 'blurred boundary' of the state (Gupta, 1995; Mitchell, 1991; Star, 2010; Star and Griesemer, 1989).

Through an examination of village-based actions over requests for projects, I will show how the combination of obligations required of the municipality, by central government systems and processes and local ideals of sharing in the community, create unexpected effects which are hidden from official records.

La Perla

In a village meeting of La Perla prior to the participatory budget in 2016 (planning for 2017 projects), villagers decided they needed a water project. This same project had been put forward the previous year but rejected because the village had received a water project a few years previously. In the meeting a village leader Fernando explained:

> "We have the pipework for the drinking water, but we need more water at the source and not just the pipes. We are lacking water. I've told them this in meetings, but they say to me "*You've had water three years ago - leave it for other villages, you're being egotistical!*" But I'm not! I'm asking for water! Not being egotistical… I think we need to ask for water as we can't live without it. Thinking of the future and growing families, there's not enough water now, how will there be enough in the future?"

The original project had placed standpipes into the homes of some sectors of the village, in the centre of La Perla (around the plaza, primary school and medical post), and the centre of the sector of Bellavista. The water source was in the mountain above, but ever since pipes were installed there had been insufficient water, Bellavista residents thought there was even less for them than La Perla as it reached them second.

This meant that some sectors never had running water, and others had pipes and taps but insufficient water. In La Perla, they had recently agreed to reduce the frequency of clothes washing in order to reduce water use. Water for the school was drawn from a spring down the hill, to which one of the villagers allowed them access. Families struggled to access water for their daily needs, some in Bellavista resorting to using irrigation ditches of standing water to wash hands.

I spoke to a member of the municipality about the lack of water in the village, and was told "*If there's no water there, they shouldn't live there. We can't help.*" It was explained that rules stipulate local governments can only deliver the projects, for example in the construction of a school they cannot buy land on which to construct it (although I heard of mayors buying land for projects). In the case of water, by law water sources cannot be bought and sold, such that a municipality cannot buy water as it does not belong to anyone. However, the widely upheld local practice is that water sources do belong to the landowners, such that villages are expected to identify the source of water required for the project, negotiate a price with the landowner and pay for it. When some villagers complained in the meeting, they argued that they had previously received neither pipes nor water

despite having 'collaborated' (given money for purchasing water rights, and supported community requests to local government) for previous water projects. Once water sources have been identified by villages, engineers from the municipality or a contractor will visit the site and test whether there is sufficient water for the project. In the case of the previous project in La Perla it was thought that these tests had been in some way ineffective such that the project had been undertaken without sufficient water supply.

Fernando (the leader) explained to the village meeting that knowing the water project was still a necessity, he had been working since the previous year's participatory budget to improve his contacts in the municipality and had met a number of times with civil servants and politicians about the lack of water. Realising a new water source was required, he had found an alternative with other leaders which they hoped would be sufficient, but a price had not been agreed. Having spoken to the municipality, Fernando felt that it would still be the case that the water and pipes would not serve everyone because the project would not be large enough.

Members of the community were concerned that again everyone would have to pay for the water, but not everyone would get access to it, it was always the centre of the village that got priority. They discussed how they might stand a better chance of getting the project passed, by making it bigger, including sanitation, working with other villages that had no water. By making it bigger, maybe the mayor would go to Lima and ask for money for it, as he had done for the city's water project. Fernando encouraged everyone in the community to work together in order to get the project, although attempted to limit expectations regarding sanitation, explaining:

> "The municipality said no to sanitation because we're rural. I've seen that they're putting sanitation in an area near the city. So, we need to keep asking. And what's the difference between them and us? They have tops on their houses [part flat roofed[111] often used for laundry], we need to show we're no different and there are ways they can help. Without all the community I can't do anything… it has to be together in order to get the authorities to do this… The first priority is for water and sewage."

As previously agreed, the mayor's deputy, Joel arrived to discuss which projects the village wanted to put forward in the participatory budget meeting. Fernando confirmed that it would be the water and sanitation project, and as the municipality asked for two 'Ideas' (as in the process above), they

[111] Seen as a marker of modern housing (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1994: 862)

would also include repairs to an irrigation channel (although some men had wanted a football pitch, they had been overruled by the women, and their prioritisation agreed by Joel).

During this meeting, Joel and other representatives of the municipality who spoke also confirmed their approach to undertaking projects. They reminded attendees of the process that projects had to go through, that water sources must be identified by the village, and that the municipal leadership sought to undertake projects in as many villages as possible, although regrettably budget cuts meant that not all villages would get a project in their four-year term of office, so they would focus on those projects which were the highest priority. As Joel told the meeting:

> "We've come here to prioritise two projects that you need to convert into a Profile or Technical Dossier[112]… We're doing the same in the 56 *caseríos* [hamlets/villages]. So, all *caseríos* have needs, more than two needs, we know, and it's the same here for sure. But we will start with the most important to develop a Profile and Technical Dossier. To undertake a project, we must complete the requirements: 1) a Profile, which is a basic study 2) a Technical Dossier, which is a more complete study. Then you're ready to look for money to do the project, without which we can't undertake the work.
>
> We're not here to say we'll do the projects - but instead to create the Profiles and Technical Dossiers. We can't enter into falsehoods. This year there will be 150 Technical Dossiers and Profiles from this process. That's 56 x2 and plus the 8 sectors of Huamachuco, plus 7 from the districts of Sánchez Carrión which have also been requested. So there is a total of 150 to be done[113]. We would like to be able to do them all but really this won't be possible, as even if each cost 1 million it would cost 150 million soles which we don't have. Last year the budget was 100 million but this year it's only 18 million. So, this limits what we can do. We were going to do one project per *caserío* per year which with the last budget would have been possible, but it can't be done now… Perhaps we can invest in twenty *caseríos* next year, and another twenty the year after, more if the money is available. We're working in lean years, but we have to work with austerity. We will develop your two requests into Profiles and Technical Dossiers. This is our promise, and then we will try to get funding to execute the works, which may come from the municipality or from other

[112] Extensive technical documents undertaken by municipal or contractor engineers. Further discussed in chapter seven.
[113] As here, inconsistent figures were often given in speeches, particularly for budgets. This possibly reflects the challenges in project budgeting and processes discussed here.

sources."

The discussions in the meeting in La Perla reveal how the municipality's obligations towards villages have been framed through both the rules and processes of central government and local conceptions of the moral community. The previous water project did not provide either sufficient water or serve all parts of the village. However, as central government laws say that water cannot be owned, and yet locally it is, villages are told they must fill the gap by purchasing rights or finding someone else who will on their behalf. That the previous water project for La Perla provided pipes and insufficient water is seen as a problem, but it is not one that the municipality is willing to admit an obligation to resolve. Their obligation is to provide the project, not the water. Thus, there is a strange situation whereby water is divorced from the pipes, and pipes are the delivery of the obligation even if everyone knows that the community needs water in the pipes reaching their homes. As these laws, budgets, rules and processes are outside of the control of the municipality, the villagers seek to find alternative ways to work with the municipality and other actors in order to maximise their chances of gaining the projects they need.

The lack of provision of water and pipes to all the village through either the first or possible subsequent project also highlights how obligations frame decisions. While the rules and processes encourage small projects, which are quick to implement and within central priorities, the ideals of the moral community (chapters two and three) encourage equal sharing between different parts of the district. There is an explicit assumption that projects will be shared between villages (by number, not financial value). With limited budgets, however, covering whole villages (which although low in population can span wide and challenging terrains), is less likely.

The impact of the decisions to undertake relatively small projects and share them between villages such that a project may not cover a whole community, means that the subsectors of villages seek to become independent villages. The concentration of projects in the centre of La Perla has occurred over many projects over several years. Over time the sectors of the village became unhappy that their needs were not being met. Some residents of the sectors blamed past leaders of La Perla for not considering their needs.

Whilst many years ago more geographically distant parts of La Perla separated, in recent years since the advent of large-scale mining and increased municipality budgets for projects, two further subsectors decided to become independent. This process happened gradually, each establishing

their own nursery schools in communally built adobe buildings and gaining support and funding from the local office of the Ministry for Education (UGEL) to employ a teacher. This required networks of contacts in the local municipality and UGEL, in order to meet government requirements, as well as communal funding and organisation.

Once independent, sectors can directly request their own projects. This meant that the area once formally known as the *caserío* La Perla with subsectors, was now multiple *caseríos*, each of which could claim projects undertaken by the municipality in their own right. This suited both La Perla and the newly established *caseríos*, preventing internal divisions over projects and allowing each smaller area to directly make requests to the municipality. As Fernando noted "*It's better for us that the sectors split because we don't have to work for so many people and deal with their requirements*."

Becoming a *caserío* requires the subsector to undertake formal procedures in both the municipality offices in Huamachuco and regional government offices in Trujillo. There are numerous requirements stipulated as to what constitutes a village under government regulations. Villagers told me regulations mandated formally mapped delineation of boundaries, a plaza, a church and an education institution. To know what the requirements are, and to meet them takes a lot of time, knowledge and resources, such that subsector leaders need to work closely with civil servants in the municipality. One new village had been going through the process for many years (some said ten), and still had some final stages to go through. The newest village had started the process two years ago, and now had all the local documentation, but still required a trip to Trujillo, one leader noting *"…a number of us to go, and you know how it is, it costs time and money, so it's not done yet…*".

As gaining this infrastructure and completing the documentation would take time and resources, effectively the subsectors were considered new villages once the initial stages of the process had begun. This meant that the new villages had municipal agents, and deputy governors who formally represented them at district meetings and organised their collaboration in the fiesta and other community events. They were also able to formally request projects independent of La Perla.

This creation of new villages from previously larger villages was a way to increase access to projects for villages, but it could also create new requirements for them. In one village, they worked with municipality planners to create formal plans for the new plaza. In conversation it seemed that civil servants realised it unlikely that the plaza would happen any time soon, but the existence of the plan was sufficient for the purpose of the application to become a village, even if the plaza never

came to fruition. However, village leaders were concerned to find funding for the plaza, which was formally required, and they felt many villagers were keen to have. They had identified a plot of land, but the owner who lived elsewhere was asking thousands of dollars for it. The leaders sought out meetings with local, regional and national politicians to try and gain their support, to find the funding for their land, signing stamped joint declarations of intent, which as far as I am aware did not come to fruition. Once they found the funds for the plaza, they would then seek a project from the municipality to construct it. The pursuit of the plaza should be put into context, as since this village considered itself to already have drinking water (although it did not cover one area), they had a nursery school and a village hall. César, a member of the community who, like many others lived precariously with his family working between informal mining and the subsistence agriculture told me:

> "The thing is, if we thought there were other projects that they could help with, we would ask for them. We don't have any more productive land left… how can they improve our farming production if there aren't enough resources? So, we ask for things that we can get, physical things, even though we know what we need is an improved economy."

Like Ricardo's comment in part one of the chapter, César is concerned there is insufficient land to sustain the population through agricultural production. Past projects focused on water and schools, seen as meeting important needs, but other daily concerns focusing on labour and productivity: improvements to agriculture, trade or wage-labour. Labour of different kinds, as discussed in chapter three, is seen as important not only in maintaining daily needs, but also in sustaining reciprocal relationships of the moral community. However, because the rules and processes presented by the municipality indicated that projects would not be undertaken in these areas, the *caserío* took the physical projects as part of the reciprocal exchange of the moral community, through which the physical project and wage-labour to undertake it was gained.

A further problem was the shortage of land, divided into smaller and smaller plots through inheritance, and often production was thought to be low. Many men sought work in construction outside of villages, in Huamachuco, Trujillo and Lima. Others gained wage labour in informal mines of El Toro, and seasonal work in nearby clay mines used for porcelain sinks manufactured in Lima. Some women wove belts, knitted clothes for sale and took their agricultural products, legumes, potatoes, quinoa, vegetables and eggs to Huamachuco to trade for cash. These were the better off families, there were others who were landless save their houses. Some were dependent

on wage labour in the fields of the village and the assistance of relatives. In conversation with one such family, they felt unable to participate in communal fiestas due to reciprocity requirements, and unable to access Procompite projects as they had no land.

These are the perhaps unexpected effects of rules and processes of central government and their local application by the municipality, combined with local ideals of sharing within the moral community. It encourages small fast projects, which also further lead to communities dividing in order to ensure their areas received such services. However, there remains a concern amongst villagers that these projects, whilst welcome, do not meet their considerable concerns over the economy and their ability to survive. This is beyond their control, as although they manoeuvre themselves, even redefining their communities and space in order to access more communal resources, they are limited by central and local government use of rules and processes which delineate the space of negotiation.

Bellavista's water project

In order to progress projects, village leaders develop networks of contacts in the municipality, including politicians and businesses known to have gained project contracts. In the case of the water provision to La Perla and Bellavista, parts of both villages had received the previous project which no longer supplied sufficient water. As such both were trying to ensure they received a water project. Whilst it would have been possible for the villages to join to make a bigger project (as noted in the La Perla community meeting), experience showed that this could mean only a partial coverage of services. By operating independently, villages might be able to increase this.

Where La Perla had been struggling to gain traction over the last year with the municipality (as they had been told they had already had a water project), Bellavista had a different response. Even though materially they had received the same previous project, they were now asking for a water project of their own and, perhaps more importantly, had a Technical Dossier and a water source paid for.

Bellavista had recently received a project for a nursery school, the contractor for which had developed a working relationship with the leadership of the village. I was told how the contractor became aware of the village's need for water and offered to help. The contractor had arranged for a Technical Dossier to be prepared and loaned Bellavista 15,000 Soles to be paid back (plus

interest) for the water. In this way, Bellavista was able to gain their water project quicker than La Perla. As they had the technical plans and documentation and a sufficient water source identified, this meant the project would require less time to pass through the municipality processes and could be seen as a quick option for implementation, meeting in-year investment spending on priorities.

One village leader said:

> "…The thing is some villages pay for their own Profile to be done on the project that they want, and the Technical Dossier, and then this gets the project done much quicker. We don't have the money to do this here. They want us to create our own Profiles for projects - I've attended a meeting at the municipality where a technical person told us that we should do this so that our projects get advanced."

The only way that many villages can pay for their projects to be advanced and these documents to be undertaken is to develop alliances with others who have access to such funds. This was the case for the contractor in Bellavista, although I do not know if they had any subsequent role in the project. City based rumours asked what the motivation might be for companies to undertake the Technical Dossier as the project design, size, materials and therefore budget was determined through the creation of this document. If a contractor, or their associates (who may be legally distinct) did both, they could set their own criteria with which to maximise their profit, which was prohibited under contracting and procurement rules. Physical evidence of these suspicions was thought to be poor quality projects (where corners were cut), or excessive projects (excessively large or ornate buildings), both seen as ways to increase profits.

For rural communities, forming networks with civil servants, politicians and businesses enabled them to directly engage in the process, using the resources, technical knowledge and contacts of these networks to undertake projects that villages needed. Whilst they were unable to expand the types of permissible projects, they worked to facilitate access to the projects which local and national governments allowed.

Part three: The ritual of the participatory budget

> *"These things are decided well before that meeting. The meeting is fine, and in principle it's a good idea but in reality, we've already discussed these things and proposed projects before the participatory budget so it's just a rubber stamp process."*
>
> *(Fernando, village leader)*

Fernando's assessment of the participatory budget meeting was repeated amongst *caserío* leaders I spoke to. As shown so far, projects are part of longer-term negotiations and interconnections of the community. Yet the participatory budget is also important to attend, no community leader would miss it. This annual act is seen as an essential role of leaders in representing rural *caseríos* and city sectors. Without their attendance, a form of labour, the formal requests for projects and the participation of the *caserío* in negotiating the sharing of communal resources would not be performed.

The meetings I observed took place in 2016, first a training meeting followed a few days later by the participatory budget itself. I had expected the training meeting to explain how the participatory budget meeting would work to prioritise projects, but it did not address it at all. Instead civil servants used it to explain to *caserío* and sector leaders the systems and processes necessary for the longer-term nature of gaining agreement for projects. The participatory budget[114], also mandated by central government processes and encouraged by international institutions as 'good governance', prioritised projects (Bear and Mathur, 2015: 21–22; Hardt and Negri, 2001: 155; Pinker, 2015: 97–98; Pinker and Harvey, 2015: 16–17).

Training for the meeting or the process?

The leaders of the *caseríos* and sectors of the city[115] attended the training session a few days prior to the participatory budget meeting. Participants were welcomed to the morning-long meeting by a speech from Joel, the mayor's Deputy. Similar to his speech at the communal meeting in La Perla,

[114] There are extensive literatures on participatory budgeting practices. See for example (Cameron, 2009a; Coelho, 2014; Grompone Grille and Glave Remy, 2009; McNulty, 2012, 2013, 2015; Vincent, 2010a)

[115] Fifty-six rural *caseríos* and eight urban sectors. The general public and civic organisations were also able to attend, however, it was not expected. Other attendees I noted were spouses of leaders, and civil servants involved in administrating projects or liaising with *caseríos*.

Joel emphasised that projects had so far been done in twenty-five villages despite a reduction in budget, and the importance of the participation of the communities of the district to prioritise projects in accordance with the priorities of local and national government:

> "We are prioritising works on water and sanitation, educational infrastructure, economic development with productive projects, and in some villages we've built bridges…"

Following Joel was a power-point presentation by a civil servant from the Centre of Provincial Territorial Planning (CEPPLAN S.C.) who outlined their work with villages: defining roads "*to develop an ordered town*", and mapping, working with communities. "*We worked with Casumaca to define its territory so that they can be defined as a caserío. … All caseríos need this documentation.*" On demonstrating photos of the visit to the (new) *caserío* of Casumaca, the audience muttered and nodded their heads, attentive to the presentation.

This planning and mapping work, described in part two, is important to the establishment of new independent *caseríos* such as Bellavista and Solidaridad. The interest from the audience reflected the importance of this work to many attendees; it was perceived as a way of using the rules and processes to access more projects.

There was then a power-point presentation from Ángel Polo, from the Trujillo Regional Government, focusing on the importance of prioritising investment funds on the areas of Sánchez Carrión with the most need. The presentation gave maps of the province and graphs showing statistics of development and economic production levels. The message was to encourage less focus on construction projects and more on developing a long-term economy and provision of services, particularly to the poorest areas:

> "Development is not in buildings, but it is in longer-term development objectives, and these should be focused on those areas with greatest need such as Curgos…"

The presentation was listened to politely by the audience. In effect, its subject was outside of attendees' control. Although it aligned with the frustrations rural interlocutors had expressed to me, that projects did not directly address long-term concerns over their economy (as noted above), they had no clear way of changing the rules and processes of central government. As discussed earlier, it was the central government's rules and processes as applied by the local government

which appeared 'as if fact', and as such delineated the sphere of negotiation within which leaders of *caseríos* and sectors operated.

It was also the combination of central budget allocation and their local management which meant that districts other than Huamachuco, also part of Sánchez Carrión such as Curgos, did not participate in the participatory budget, and were not included in this prioritisation process. Instead, requests for projects in these other districts would either be undertaken by the district's local government themselves, or direct requests would be made to the mayor and the municipality. This was because the mayor and municipality of Sánchez Carrión was also that of the district of Huamachuco. As we see below, in the participatory budget there is a local ideal of equal sharing of numbers of projects within the district of Huamachuco, however, the measures against which the Sánchez Carrión government was assessed was for the broader province, which included Curgos, considered the poorest district in Peru[116]. Thus, the presentation from Ángel Polo highlights the conflict between dividing resources between the district, to which the moral community applies, and the resources to the province, for which the local government could also be called on to fund.

It also highlights a different process of distribution, between ranking of poverty through national statistics (INEI, 2015: 11, 51,59), (which identifies Curgos as the poorest district in Peru, connected to Polo's suggestion for its need for more government funding), and the sharing of projects amongst all parts of the district. Some comments from elite Huamachuquinos who thought the participatory budget took 'silly decisions' to fund 'stupid things' or as a result of corruption, also used the national statistics to support their positions, arguing that funds should be focused on the poorest areas. Thus the statistics also became part of a narrative of local incompetence, even though, as discussed so far, local actions attempted to make sense of 'frictions' (Tsing, 2005) and 'disjunctures' (Appadurai, 1990) between scales of interactions, in an attempt to contribute to 'progress' locally for the moral community.

The inherent conflict in the rules and processes and the shifting of risk from national to local governments are clear in this presentation. For not only does the system encourage fast spending on small projects which focus on infrastructure, but their effectiveness is also measured against internationally aligned poverty statistics (INEI, 2015: 11). As rules and processes of central government promoted conceptions of 'good governance', they were presented as the solution to

[116] Seven of the poorest districts of Peru were also in Sánchez Carrión (INEI, 2015: 51).

improving local performance against poverty indicators. It was therefore assumed that it was local poor prioritisation or poor governance, a lack of rule following, which had caused any absence of, or slow improvement against indicators. As I suggest in part one, this created a local sense/ narrative of failure and added to rumours of corruption.

The next presentation was by the Head of Economic Development for Sánchez Carrión, Luis Tolentino Geldres. He explained that the mayor had allocated 1 million soles per year to Procompite projects, despite recently reduced overall budgets, and how so far eighteen Productive Cooperatives in the different districts had been set up. Explaining how projects were undertaken, requiring twenty-five families and communal labour ('*minga*'), he gave examples of projects; guinea pig and trout farming. The audience appeared attentive throughout, commenting to each other whilst looking at the slides of projects.

Photograph 125: Training, Procompite presentation

The presentation on Procompite projects was of interest to representatives of *caseríos* because as noted above, many seek to improve levels of agricultural production and diversify activities to improve local economic possibilities, but which would probably not have been seen as projects for consideration at the participatory budget meeting. Such projects have different procedures to other types of investment projects and are locally largely considered separately to requests for projects in the participatory budget, perhaps because it is not included in the Incentive Plan and has a limited budget.

The final presentation was by a member of the Investment Projects team from the municipality, who explained the system of Investment Projects. Diagrams from the central government guidelines were shown, explaining the regulations and criteria for projects, the cycle of their development (Profile to implementation), and the oversight mechanisms for projects of different sizes. It was fairly complex and took just over five minutes in comparison to the 30-50 minute presentations of each of the previous presenters.

An impromptu summary of the system was then given by the head of Accounts in the municipality, Américo Cuba:

> "Well on the theme of Public Investment, as you all know, you must undertake the Profiles, so that the project can be developed. Once the Profile has been passed, the Technical Dossier can be prepared. Once the Technical Dossier is finished, then you can undertake the project. …Once the project has been finished, there must also be the maintenance of the project. …More or less, these are the key things regarding the system of Public Investment."

The last presentation and summary of the process which projects must undergo was relatively quick in comparison to previous speakers, even though this was the presentation most directly addressing the issue of projects. However, all the attendees were by now familiar with the process, it is repeated often in the speeches of politicians (as above by Joel) and in interactions with civils servants. Therefore, it was not the detail of the presentation that was important, but rather the repetition of the requirements for projects to pass through the system, in this meeting alone it was repeated three times by people with whom community leaders would need to work in order to access communal resources (Joel, Investment Project team, Américo). Through the repetition by politicians and civil servants, the process was reasserted as the way in which funds could be accessed.

At the end of the meeting, as hot food and drinks[117] were provided to attendees for lunch, the leader of the Community Relations Office, Francisco, announced how the inter village football cup would be organised. There was a lot of grumbling from the attendees, one told me they were unhappy because some *caseríos* were being drawn against others a long way away whilst others were

[117] Rice and meat in polystyrene take-away cartons and plastic cutlery, sweet fruit juice in cartons bought by the municipality for participants; more common in the city (and coast) than the villages where potatoes, maize, beans and Guinea pigs were more commonly served on (wooden, gourd or ceramic) plates prepared by women of *caseríos*.

not, therefore it was unfair. Their concerns largely ignored, they were told by Francisco to "*be strong*" and do it anyway. Despite the disgruntlement, I heard of no subsequent change to the organisation of the cup.

The discussion over the inter-*caserío* football[118] tournament underlines the way in which participatory budget meetings about public funds and projects were intertwined with broader social relations of community making; connecting the annual participatory budget to football matches as celebratory interactions, part of remaking communal identities. The tournament was popular amongst the *caseríos*, with keen competition. It possibly influenced some requests for projects, many *caseríos* had areas of flat land on which the owners allowed communal football practices or sometimes the pitch was the plaza. The desire for a sports pitch in the above meeting in La Perla reflected the desire to have a demarcated pitch for matches: it was commented that only those with formal pitches could host games for the tournament. Hosting matches would enable reciprocity with other *caseríos* and give some home advantage. The concerns expressed in the meeting about needing to travel a long way between matches reflected concerns about costs (perhaps in money and certainly time), which would mean that more labour was taken by some *caseríos* than others through their participation. Further travel may also make playing well and winning, more difficult. Therefore, there was an unfairness inferred in the distribution of competition. Despite this, the football tournament united the *caseríos* in relation to the city in similar ways to the fiesta (chapter three): through physical collective labour and rivalry which was only undertaken by rural communities and celebrated in the centre of the city in the stadium, organised and funded (in items purchased to facilitate it) by city authorities (further explored below).

After the meeting I asked a few *caserío* leaders if they had learnt anything new, one said: "*Not really, I've heard it all before, last year.*" This reflected the purpose of the training meeting, to ensure participants were aware of the longer-term development of projects through the system, rather than the way in which projects would be nominated and prioritised in the participatory budget meeting itself. The focus was given to actions through which additional projects could be gained, such as through redefining boundaries of villages and Procompite projects. This was perhaps because through repetitions of interactions with civil servants and politicians, leaders knew that projects take time to develop, and required the networking, negotiations and alliances described

[118] Football, both as players and supporters is extremely popular particularly amongst men in the area. For discussions of football as 'civilising' and its potential to transform identities, see Hobsbawm (1983b: 288–291) and Archetti (1999).

above. The priorities were also clear, politicians and civil servants repeating priorities in meetings. When I spoke to *caserío* interlocutors, they referred to these things as the 'fundamentals' or 'basics' of water, sanitation, education, health care. However, in this list, their concerns over 'economy' were not included, mirroring those lists of government priorities. Instead worries over lack of economic possibilities were spoken of as outside the remit of municipal projects, the solution to which was unclear. Repetition of the rules and processes of public investment projects in meetings supported repeated experiences of how local communities experienced interactions with the municipality to access communal resources; rules became implicit, 'as if fact', remaking relative positions of power (Ferguson, 1994, 2006; Harvey and Knox, 2015: 200–202; Star and Bowker, 1999: 312–313).

Whilst there were clear social distinctions in the meeting through the presentations by civil servants and Joel at the front of the room explaining the process and priorities to *caserío* and sector leaders, they also indicated the interdependency of the civil servants, politicians and community leaders. Although the civil servants and politicians were leading the application of rules and processes, they were also dependent on the collaboration of the communities. At times, the speeches indicated this, highlighting the importance of working together to progress, through promoting '*orderly growth*' and how essential '*minga*' (communal labour) is in Procompite projects.

The requirement of all parts of the community to work (labour) together in their different roles reflects the discussion of the moral community, particularly its expression during the fiesta (chapter three). The training meeting reflects the long-term labour required by all parts of the community to agree and undertake projects, year-round. Like the fiesta, it requires the elite in the municipality to organise projects, negotiating with actors outside as well as inside the community to determine the distribution of communal resources. The *caseríos* must also labour through collaboration, working with authorities year-round to develop projects. Annually leaders of *caseríos*, sectors, and the province (especially the mayor) come together with civil servants through the participatory budget meetings, to physically be present together in the centre to discuss and agree. Labour of all parts of the community is required for a fair share of resources (here projects) to be given in return. This annual labour through the meetings is ritualized (Bell, 2009: 170), remaking quotidian social relations of the moral community (here the labour of making projects), through which most communal projects must progress, as if a rite of passage (Van Gennep, 1960). In this, these meetings compress scales of interactions, of time and space (Albert, 2016: 42–43), as attempts to negotiate 'frictions' (Tsing, 2005) between scales from global to local. As Turner (1967: 30) argues

of rituals, through participatory budget meetings, projects are intertwined with (the emotions of) identity in the moral community.

Performing the participatory budget

I arrived just as they opened the doors and joined the queue to sign the list of attendees[119] of the participatory budget and was handed a folder (Image 2) containing blank paper.

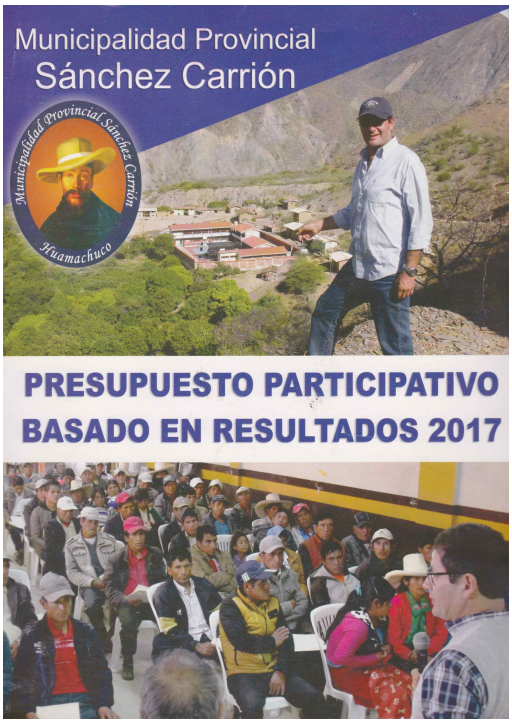


Image 2: Folder given to participants of the participatory budget meeting in 2016

The municipality crest is an image of Sánchez Carrión. Above the mayor points to a newly constructed school, below he stands in front of a participatory budget meeting.

The title for the 'Participatory Budget Based on Results 2017' reveals the attempts to make sense of temporal 'disjunctures' (Appadurai, 1990), highlighted in part one of the chapter. The participatory budget which took place in 2016, planned projects for 2017, the meeting was to be 'based on results' because the prioritisations between requests for projects, to take place in the participatory budget, were seen as the outcome of the meeting. However, because of the processes described above, many of the projects discussed in the meeting would not be undertaken in 2017, rather at an unknown future date, and perhaps not at all, as reflected in the speeches and discussions.

[119] Although relatively uncommon anyone can observe by informing the municipality in advance.

We had been waiting (for the mayor's arrival) to start, perhaps for an hour and a half, and the *caserío* leaders grumbled '*they're wasting our time*' '*this is part of their jobs, it's different for us'*. This revealed an unequal exchange: Whilst all attendees participate for the benefit and remaking of the moral community (including the disbursal of projects), the civil servants and politicians are also paid, financially rewarded for their labour.

At the front on a stage, various municipal politicians sat behind a table and underneath a banner advertising the participatory budget. Concerned time was passing, the civil servants began the meeting. Introduced by a master of ceremonies on a microphone, everyone stood for the national anthem followed by the shout of '¡*Viva el Perú!*' 'Long live Peru!', communal response '*Viva*!' and a round of applause. One of the mayor's deputies started to introduce the meeting with a short welcome, before the mayor arrived on stage to applause, whilst municipal and press photographers and videographers recorded.

Apologising for his late arrival, the Mayor Arturo Rebaza López, formally opened the meeting. His speech highlighted achievements of his government including the ongoing work on projects, despite reduced budgets compared to previous years. He stressed the need to undertake a project in every *caserío* and every sector during his period of office. In order to do this, a bank of projects needed to be built with Profiles and Technical Dossiers. These projects would be prioritised by the community. As noted above, this repetition by politicians and administrators ensures the community's collaboration in undertaking projects and delineates how projects could be done. The repetition makes the processes and associated priorities of projects appear as the only way to do things.

Towards the end of his speech, the mayor said:

> "…We have advanced since 2015, undertaken public works…. In spending the money in an educated and fair way… We are convinced, convinced, that we can achieve these things, but with the unity of community. We must grab the banners which unite us. These banners of these projects in Huamachuco - there is the Plaza de Armas, we are counting the days, counting, and we will have the plaza! And in this fiesta … you are going to see an international party, which we have never before had in the history of Huamachuco…And when, on the 29th of July it is the raising

of the *gallardete*, in the communities we have to motivate the population so that they come and participate in this ancestral activity… this is important not only for Huamachuco, or the region or the country, but the world! … So, we need you to encourage the people of the villages to come here and undertake these activities on the 29th of July in our Plaza de Armas.

…Tomorrow we have two fundamental activities, the day of the *Campesino* [Peasant], everyone is invited... And we will start the inter-*caserío* [football] championship. All the *caseríos* will participate including the sectors who are organised to participate. Here are the t-shirts, everything is ready, so that tomorrow we're going to do a briefing …and then we'll go to the stadium, and there play the championship between the upper part and the lower part. And then we will have a lunch, like when one visits a village, as you are coming here, you will receive, with all our fondness this food [mentions local foods]."

At the end of his speech, during the applause, the mayor stood at the foot of the stage with a leader of a village who was ready to have a photo taken of the presentation of a new football strip for the inter-*caserío* championship (Photograph 126).

Photograph 126: Mayor presents new football strip at the participatory budget

In a similar way to the fiesta, the mayor's presence and speech was important because, as a

successful fiesta is linked to a successful mayor, the projects are viewed as the work of the mayor (see chapter seven). The mayorship is a boundary object (Star and Griesemer, 1989), through which the 'progress' of the moral community as a whole is negotiated. This is literally the case regarding projects, as indicated above, he decides the proportion of funds available to the participatory budget and holds power to decide on which projects are undertaken. The physical projects connect the community and the mayor through space and time (chapters four and seven).

Through the speech the mayor directly connected projects with the fiesta and communal ideals; with the moral community. By first stating the ambition that all *caseríos* will receive a project, he reinforces the reciprocity of communal labour for a fair share of communal resources. Towards the end of the speech, he directly connects the works on the plaza (chapter four), the fiesta (chapter three), and the necessity of the labour of the *caseríos* in the recreation of the moral community and its' progress, visible to the world through the fiesta and the refurbished plaza[120].

In addressing the football championship and the associated photo-op, the mayor reinforced the importance of physical communal labour by *caseríos* and organisation by city authorities, as in the fiesta. The opening game between the upper and lower parts of the district repeats the ritual division of labour and conflict seen in the fiesta, through which the community is remade (chapter three). The provision of strips was important and part of reciprocity through which the moral community is remade; the *caseríos* undertake physical labour, while the municipality (the mayor) purchased items and handled the organisation. The distribution of new strips, unique to each *caserío*, indicating the importance of this communal labour in the (re)making of 'progress' of the moral community, was continued by senior members of the municipality at the end of the meeting. The day after, *caseríos* paraded through the streets to the stadium in their new shirts to play the opening matches.

The speech and distribution of football strips during the meeting intertwine projects and the moral community, linking the sharing of communal resources (equal numbers of projects) to repeated ritual acts of communal labour: The projects themselves part of the ritual cycle of community making.

Whilst projects are developed through a long process of interactions between representatives of *caseríos* and politicians, civils servants and contractors, the participatory budget meeting itself

[120] The hoardings came down shortly after.

publicly performs the process of combining both the rules and processes and communal ideals of equal sharing and collaboration of labour. This is done through the participation of all the leaders in 'prioritising' projects using a matrix prepared by municipality civil servants, against which projects are allocated a score.

After the mayor's speech, Américo Cuba, Head of Accounts at the municipality addressed the meeting and explained how projects should be allocated points against different criteria, and written up in a 'prioritisation matrix', total scores indicating priority:

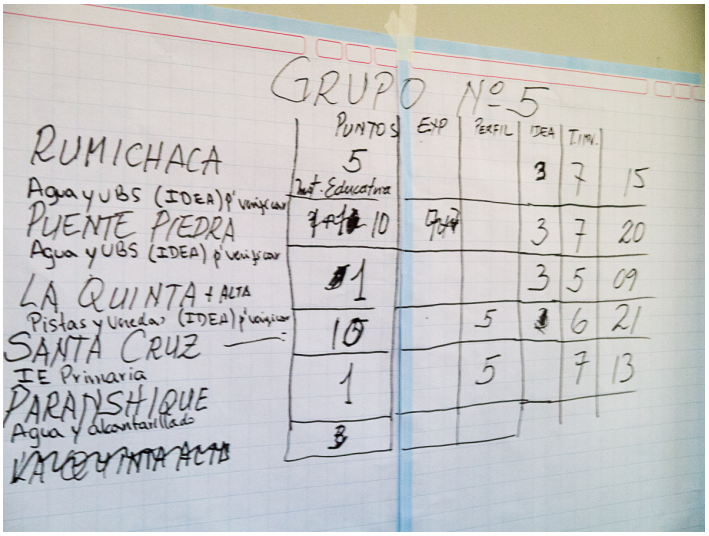
> "When we had the training session, we saw the levels of malnutrition, the levels of anaemia which the children suffer, we also saw that we haven't advanced in education, we haven't advanced in health. What does this signify? That we need to prioritise projects of sanitation, education projects, health projects.
>
> …we must give points for the projects. For this reason, we have made this matrix. So that you know which communities that haven't had an 'intervention' or project before, we have given you a list of projects of those undertaken in 2015 and 2016. Every village with their project is there. If there is a village not there it means that we haven't done anything in that village yet. And if we haven't done anything, they are going to get the maximum number of points.
>
> On the second page there are the sectors and also *caserío* by *caserío*. … We have also noted which have Profiles and Technical Dossiers…. There are points for Profiles and Technical Dossiers. Why is that? Because we know that it takes time to do Profiles and Technical Dossiers. And what we want to do is to be able to undertake the projects. …And so let's get into the groups to begin prioritising each one of your projects."

Groups of *caserío* leaders and one group of city sector leaders formed circles with their chairs, facing large pieces of paper on the wall, each with a member of the municipality team standing and leading the discussion. Using the matrix, its completion facilitated by civil servants, each project was assessed by the groups according to the criteria:

- 10 points if no project had been undertaken in the previous years of the mayor's administration, 0 points if a project had been undertaken
- If a project had been received during this time, the financial value of it determined the points, from 7 to 1, indicating the least to highest cost.
- Dependent on the project's development through the process: 7 for a Technical Dossier, 5 for a Profile on SNIP, 3 for an idea.
- The type of project: 7 for Health and Environment, 6 for Education infrastructure, 5 for Road infrastructure, 4 for Productive Projects, 2 for other projects.

Photograph 127: A group of caserío leaders consider project lists and criteria

Photograph 128: Discussion facilitated by municipality civil servant



Photograph 129: Points are awarded for proposed projects according to the criteria

These points were totalled, the higher the points, the higher the priority. In the formal record of the meeting ('*Acta*') subsequently published and stamped by the municipality, the composite list of these projects prioritised by the groups was made, in priority order[121]. The top seven projects (six rural and one urban) were prioritised in this record, two of which did not have a SNIP number. Even though they were prioritised in the meeting, it did not mean the projects would necessarily get undertaken that year, but it was an important part of the acceptance that the project was a priority. Not being prioritised at the top of the list also did not mean the project would not happen, it was still possible by directly working with the municipality, politicians and other networks such as contractors (as above). As a municipality civil servant noted:

[121] The meeting record also included a copy of the signatures of all the attendees at the meeting, indicative of the collaboration in the creation of projects, and the application of priorities.

> "Ideally in the participatory budget all projects should have a SNIP number …and therefore a Viable Profile. This means it's been through the technical analysis but not received the mayor's approval and all the requirements such as having land for the project are ok.
>
> Most projects for the participatory budget do have a Profile, but the meeting does cover new ones which don't. But it makes it more complex to be able to be done in a year if they don't. …This year there are some without Profiles which now need to be prepared for the next year's spending."

The criteria of the 'prioritisation matrix' enabled the selection of projects which were small and fast to implement, followed the Incentive Plan and local government interpretations of it, and enabled the sharing of projects between parts of the community. The focus on infrastructure here as a fast and visible form of spending is also indicated in the types of projects preferred; as noted above, whilst infrastructure was commonly considered the primary usage of Investment funds, rules suggested it was not the only permitted use (MEF, 2019a; Vincent, 2010a: 70). Other uses were discussed locally, with examples of a municipality in the South of Peru, which had focused on education over the last ten years with improved ratings against poverty indicators published in national government statistics: indicating local 'progress' relative to national scales. In Huamachuco, the mayor had given funds for a pilot project, inspired by this, to improve child welfare through composite programmes of improved teaching, parent education and nutrition. However, despite a general positive approach to these projects, they took time and were less tangible in their delivery in the term of office of the mayor. Furthermore, whilst infrastructure projects dominate public investment projects nationally, to some elite interlocutors, a narrative of corruption explained the preference for infrastructure over other types of projects; that infrastructure projects were undertaken quickly would mean more possibilities for corruption through '*diezmo*'.

The criteria also enabled the sharing of resources between different parts of the community, under the administration of the mayor. Similar to Sahlin's (1963: 296) description of big man systems and chiefdoms in Melanesia and Polynesia, this directly created a sense of exchange, between a mayor and his team, and the communities in which projects were undertaken. However, due to the time projects could take to be prepared (to have the Technical Dossier), some developed under one mayor would be undertaken by a subsequent mayor, as a quick way to undertake projects in the initial year of office. The time it took to undertake projects could mean that a community may

not get a project from every incumbent mayor. The division of resources between rural and city areas also was handled distinctly such that although city sector projects got less points, in the note of the meeting I attended, one was prioritised to the six of rural areas, also suggesting the importance of sharing between parts of the community in which the rural *caseríos* are distinguished from city sectors.

During the discussions to prioritise projects, most groups appeared to follow the process, some leaders more vocal than others in applying priorities, but largely calling out their project to the municipality facilitator who talked the group through the allocation of points. However, one group was more participatory, facilitated by the head of Procompite projects, Luis Tolentino. The participation had become debate, such that one woman (a primary school teacher) became increasingly frustrated that her concerns were not being reflected in the fair distribution and prioritisation of projects. Her concern was that sectors of some *caseríos* were being allocated projects as if they were *caseríos* in their own right, where the sector of her *caserío* was not being treated in the same way. Her sector was a long way from the centre of the *caserío* and had not benefited from the projects it had received. The leaders of some of the other *caseríos* in the group were embarrassed, looking down at their papers and avoiding the discussion. The leaders in question of Puente Piedra and Rumichaca were trying to explain: Rumichaca whilst not formally a *caserío* yet, was in the process of becoming independent, so was effectively considered as such and eligible for a project in its own right. Although her frustration continued, separately she commented to me:

> "There is some talk of becoming a sector of the city. The documents are there…. We are in-between these different zones and for that reason they don't help us. We're going to convert into part of the urban zone because of this…"

The discussion highlights both the importance of *caseríos* splitting as discussed above in order to access more projects, and how challenges to the system are sometimes dealt with. The challenge presented by the lady was the only overt argument I witnessed in the meeting, perhaps reflecting the difficulty her sector had in accessing a project and the frustration at seeing others in similar situations being considered a separate *caserío* where hers was not. Essentially her concerns were politely ignored, as they sat outside of the terms of filling out the prioritisation matrix which the meeting was set as its task. By the time the Participatory meeting took place, the prioritisation criteria used in the matrix were already widely accepted, they had been repeated in meetings, both

public and private. What projects were, as well as how they would come into being, were implicitly known, rather than open to possible reinterpretation. Thus, the use of the matrix was a ritualized communal act of remaking and affirmation of this way of doing things.

The use of the matrix to prioritise projects would produce largely predictable results, it did not require the participation of community leaders to know the points and prioritisation of projects, which had already been proposed prior to the meeting. Yet the performance of the meeting was important. It united the leaders in marking the projects, enacting the norms of processes and priorities which had been iterated through public and private meetings, and in all the engagements to access public funds for communal requirements.

The participatory budget meeting was therefore a communal ritual, in which known ways of doing things were re-enacted communally, reaffirming both the norms and the relationships between the participants. The prior repetition of the rules and processes and priorities of national and local government, the ideals of the moral community of sharing, and the criteria for what would be considered a priority project, were implicitly known. As discussed above, outside of the meeting the criteria were worked around, to improve the chances of projects progressing. The formation of new communities and alliances of networks were accepted ways to work. Yet the fundamental criteria remained. Direct links to the fiesta and football tournament in the meeting reaffirmed the importance of communal collaboration and the outcome of 'advancement' through projects for the community. The ritual of the meeting, the performance of the prioritisation criteria and the projects themselves were reaffirmed as an apparently accepted way in which things were done, as part of local community making. Such is the power of habitual repetition and re-enactment through the ritualised meeting, that the frustrations and concerns of the lack of attention to priorities of economic improvement were left unaddressed, viewed as outside the possibilities of municipality engagement through projects.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have considered how power is negotiated across scales, tracing connections between interlocking spheres of interaction: international, national and local. Whilst civil servants attempt to make sense of rules which appear as 'facts', aligned with international ideals of 'good governance' and national priorities, the 'frictions' (Tsing, 2005) and 'disjunctures' (Appadurai, 1990) between scales are apparent in the uncertainties they produce.

The temporal and financial gaps linked to international gold markets and national planning and budgeting systems interlace with local ideals of the moral community and sharing of resources in the creation of projects. Although the 'frictions' between scales of interaction open up potential spaces of power locally, the rules and the due process of national government and local hierarchies of power also limit local negotiations over what projects can be; consequently, many local actors remained concerned that economic problems were not addressed by projects.

The connections made during the participatory budget between ritual communal labour in the fiesta, football, and reciprocity through projects highlights how projects themselves become a focus through which the moral community is remade. As further explored in the next chapter, through the intermeshing of scales of interaction, projects become spaces of negotiation, of communal conceptions of 'progress', of relative identities and of power.

On the day of the inauguration, outside the secondary school in Marcochugo two bicycle ice-cream sellers are parked and a few women sit on the floor by the front gate selling beans with herbs, bread and sweets.

Through the gate on the left-hand side, in a narrow strip of grass behind the main teaching block, women tend a row of enormous cauldrons of bubbling beef and potato stew, stirred with long-handled spoons. The families had clubbed together to have a bull slaughtered for the occasion.

Photograph 130: Outside selling snacks

Photograph 131: Cooking

Sitting on the hillside, the school courtyard is tiered with two storied teaching rooms on two sides, and at the bottom a one storied block. In front of the lower building, an oblong canopy with the municipality's name embossed on the side has been erected with seating underneath, ready for dignitaries. A microphone stands at the front with large speakers to the sides of the seating. The buildings have been decorated with flowers of balloons matching the blue and white of the school paintwork.

Photograph 132: Seating

The dancers gather and start leaving the school and I follow them, walking down the slope on the main road. They start to dance on the road, most are children in various groupings of costumes and styles of dances, one group are a mixture of older students and adults who regularly dance together. Flutes are played by teachers and students. An hour and a half passes, and there is no sign of the mayor for whom they are waiting. I and several other spectators walk up back to the school and leave the dancers to wait and rest.

The headmaster decides to start the ceremony without the mayor, the children had been waiting in the sun and the food was ready. Parents and children gather in the courtyard, teachers make their way to sit at the front[122].

[122] From fieldwork diary and video 20 May 2016.

Photograph 133: Walking to the main road

Photograph 134: Dancers on the road

This chapter will consider how projects are designed, contracted, constructed and inaugurated (continuing from the description above), with examples from the creation of schools in the *caseríos* of Puente Piedra, Casumaca, Rumichaca and Marcochugo. I will discuss how, aligned with the principals of Andean duality discussed earlier, projects are active monuments, central spaces through which the blurred boundaries of actors (including the state) are negotiated, and relative identities and hierarchies of power are remade.

Hobsbawm (1983b: 276) argues that monuments reveal a choice of national symbols which unite people. Following Hobsbawm, here projects are shown to be monuments, both symbols of ideals of progress and modernity (Cherry, 2013: 10; Kaur, 2013: 132–3) and of connectivity between people and inclusion in modernity. The projects are unifying because they act as central social spaces, boundary objects, which in the process of their creation and continuing use necessitate the remaking of local networks of social interactions (Bourdieu, 1985, 2018; Lefebvre, 1991: 34; Massey, 2005: 9–11, 141; Star, 2010; Star and Griesemer, 1989). However, the centrality of the space does not indicate equal power, it indicates the space which is the boundary between actors, "*centrality-as-publicness*" (Lefebvre, 2003: 79,99; Murawski, 2019: 38), through which relative identities, hierarchies, are iteratively renegotiated and reproduced (Butler, 2011; Moore, 2013: 117–119). Through these central spaces, state processes are naturalised and integrated into the habitual local networks of interactions as factual realisations of ideals, enmeshed into the materiality of project creation (Bornstein and Sharma, 2016: 77; Mukerji, 2014; Webb, 2019: 700). These monuments are therefore *active* spaces, created through a continual process of remaking social relations. Once constructed they both mark the relationships that made them, and remain active spaces through which social relations can constantly be remade (Lefebvre, 1991: 34; Massey, 2005: 9–11, 141).

That these projects are monuments does not remove nor reduce their function. Projects have both use and symbolic value, which are intertwined and through which their power is realised (Kaur, 2013: 131; Murawski, 2019: 42; Webb, 2019: 701; Wolf, 1990: 593). I suggest there are two types of intertwined symbolic function of a project. The first is what would be viewed as its practical function, for example schooling[123] (earlier examples include water provision), however these varied uses are aligned with ideals of progress and modernising. These ideals are interwoven with

[123] De La Cadena (2000: 5–12) has shown how education is part of racialised hierarchies of power in Peru, in which education is seen as civilising (also see Canessa 2012:184-215). The focus here is material construction, education will not be discussed. Extensive literatures exist on education, power and states, for example (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Collins, 2009; Hobsbawm, 1983b: 271,280,291–97).

racialised hierarchies of geographic regions in Peru, where *"…modernized spaces of the coast ranked higher than the highlands*."(De La Cadena, 2000: 21), such that these hierarchies frame project decisions and designs. The second function is the creation of central social spaces for the (re)creation of social relations (Lefebvre, 1991: 34). This means that projects themselves become the focus of social interactions between actors, the *caseríos* and the local government. Projects themselves (throughout the process of their realisation) become the focus through which the purpose of social interactions are framed, and through which social and material connectivity, ideas of progress, are measured and remade.

As discussed in chapter six and developed below, this reveals the 'frictions' (Tsing, 2005) and negotiations of power through scales of interactions. Processes of central government appear to provide a free hand to local decisions and be inclusive, whereas they tightly constrain local actions, excluding local actors from power (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002; Rose and Miller, 2010: 271–273). Processes can do this because they are naturalised, appearing as facts and beyond question (Barry, 2002: 270–280; Bear and Mathur, 2015: 27; Bornstein and Sharma, 2016; Ferguson, 1994, 2006: 77–82). This enables the state to appear removed, but it is instead the basis of its power.

The naturalised processes (and their consequences such as project choice and design) are enacted through habitual networks of social relations and ideals of the moral community, such that the state is embedded into the everyday (Hobsbawm, 1983b; Lefebvre, 2014: 86–88). Thus, the projects appear as local creations, products of local social interactions with the aim of communal progress. However, in the negotiations to create them, and in their physical realisation and use, projects are the central spaces through which the state is interwoven into local networks of social relations and ideals of progress.

The basis of state power is not, therefore, as a distant top of a pyramid, but as control over central social spaces through which layerings of networks of social interconnections must pass. The projects create these central social spaces into which local social networks come to be focused in the pursuit of progress, intertwining the state and local society; the blurred boundary of the state mediated through material means (Abrams, 1988 [1977]; Ferguson and Gupta, 2002; Gupta, 1995; Mitchell, 1991; Mukerji, 2014: 58; Webb, 2019: 700). Whilst here addressing Huamachuco, the nation-wide reproduction of projects, frequently similar and identifiable both in aesthetic and function, could enable the repetition of this interlocking of the state with local networks, a process through which relative hierarchies of power are negotiated and reproduced. This is the material

construction of state power (Mukerji, 2014), interwoven and naturalised into local networks of social relations.

Projects appear as monuments of inclusion and interconnectivity in present and future progress. However, they also manifest exclusion, enabled through the naturalisation of government processes, mediated through materials and local social relations. This enables simultaneous acts of inclusion and exclusion which are necessary to perform a particular vision of progress; one where attempts to improve the material lives of communities are intertwined with the intermeshing of networks of social relations into the material realisation of the state. Through this, layerings of ideals (Parkin, 2017) and relative identities are recreated such that the ideals of moral community, apparently local in nature, are intertwined and rebound into national narratives of modernity and interconnectedness.

Materials of inclusion and exclusion

This section considers how example projects, school buildings, are designed. Before increases to local government budgets, schools were designed and built largely by *caseríos*, with support from the municipality. Now, the designs of projects is undertaken through the Technical Dossiers[124], including consultation with *caseríos*. I suggest that ideas associated with the aesthetics of modernity, intertwined with the racialised hierarchies associated with materials in Peru, lead to the design choices and materials used. I show how the materials seen as modern are interconnected with wider economies of production and profits for businesses which exclude rural communities from potential profits. The use of buildings in the local environments enables communities to increasingly adapt and alter spaces, using 'tactics' (de Certeau, 1984: xiv–xv) to include and integrate them into local practices and the environment. This has the effect of challenging ideas of how such modern buildings can be used, where and by whom and in what environments; challenging conceptions of modernity and hierarchies of power, reconstructing community (Kuper, 1972: 421; McDonogh, 2003). The consequence is that the designs and materials simultaneously include and exclude the *caseríos* from the creation of the projects of schools.

Through the designs and materials associated with modernity, the constructed projects are monuments, physical manifestations, of the inclusion of rural communities in local (and broader) ideas of 'progress'; products of both the *caserío* and local government negotiations to decide on

[124] The Technical Dossier includes all details of the project requirements including design and materials. It is used to contract the project and is the basis for all works. Further explored below.

projects, working through budgets and processes of central government. They are also monuments to the exclusion of rural populations from defining progress through local materials and production, limiting their economic benefits from projects, whilst furthering profits for external large producers of cement and bricks.

Projects to construct education institutions were very common in the district of Huamachuco after municipal budgets increased as a result of large-scale mining in the area. Encouraged by the two most recent mayors, projects were relatively small, followed easily replicated designs and once contracted out, were quick and cheap to undertake (Harvey, 2010: 30–31), enabling budgets to be spent in-year (the construction in Casumaca took three months). These new schools (nursery, primary, secondary) constructed out of bricks and cement were monuments to ideals of sharing 'progress' in the moral community.

In the construction of Casumaca's previous nursery (built around five years before the recent one), each family contributed ninety adobe bricks, working a communal '*republica*'[125] of parents of children at the school. It took eight days to build the nursery measuring fourteen by seven meters, and the roof was provided by the municipality. The structure of exchange shows similarities to those of the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia; labour and local produce from rural communities, and political support, items bought with cash from outside the community and food for labourers provided by city authorities. Villagers told me which mayor had 'collaborated' with these constructions; their assistance had not been forgotten. There was no profit to be made, but schools were built and relationships renewed and remembered through the ongoing use of the buildings; as monuments to the relationships which formed them.

Previous adobe school buildings I had seen (not all remained) were single buildings, one still in use in Marcochugo was cramped, unfinished walls and floors, electric light bulbs hanging in make-do arrangements and electric cables draped precariously. Although predominantly adobe, concrete joists and pillars had also been used (Photograph 135). Children's work on posters were hung over un-plastered adobe bricks, classrooms were separated by plastic sheeting such that each class could hear the other. Outside of classes, children played in the grass areas around the school.

[125] Term for communal labour, also called '*minga*'.

Photograph 135: Marcochugo primary school

A leader of the school's parents' association explained that they could not have made the adobe building bigger because they could not afford the land. They were looking for help to buy more[126] land and apply for a project to build a new school, as they viewed their adobe building as temporary. He told me how previously the children went to the primary school in Puente Piedra, but there were sufficient children in Marcochugo to warrant their own primary school, which

[126] Rules state that land cannot be bought by the municipality for projects. However, mayors were often credited locally with having bought land for communities' projects.

would save children and parents walking so far every day. It was perhaps because the building was temporary that it was cramped and difficult to work in, but many adobe buildings are plastered and painted, with smooth earthen floors, they included locally built communal meeting halls (Photograph 136) and churches which had a larger capacity.

The new access to public funds means that *caseríos* no longer need to undertake this unpaid labour, a significant cost to the community. In addition, they can have buildings which look like those of the city, paid for by the municipality, and gain wage labour from the project. Thus, the creation of these new buildings is generally viewed positively by many in *caseríos*. It is in a way an act of inclusion that the *caseríos* will receive the same facilities as the city and the same service from the municipality in the process of construction.

Where before schools were designed by the local community in collaboration with the municipality, now either contractors or municipality engineers develop the Technical Dossier in which designs are specified. municipality architects ensure plans meet standards and specifications required by the Ministry of Education, including the size and facilities of schools according to numbers of pupils. Communities are meant to be engaged during this process through their project oversight committees[127]. Most of those I met were men[128].

Under this process of designing schools, *caseríos* can express a preference for the design. Often teachers will work with communities in these discussions so that requirements also reflect their visions for the future school. Parents in Rumichaca told me they were shown possible designs for the new schools by the municipality and were able to choose the general form they preferred and requested a design they had seen in Huamachuco. In Casumaca, oversight committee members explained how they wanted a nursery out of '*material noble*' as it was safer than adobe which "…*gets wet and can fall down*". A village leader explained that the engineer came to the village to do the plan and they had discussed ideas. At first the plans were not right, so they spoke to the municipality and the plans were changed to include a wall around the school to keep out dogs. They had wanted the nursery bigger than it ended up, in order to use it for village meetings, but it did not seem possible.

[127] Regulations require each investment project has an oversight committee to represent the community and manage interactions with the municipality and contractors during the design, contracting, construction, inauguration, maintenance stages of the project. In the villages, those members I spoke to were all male and were usually already in community positions of authority such as the head of the parents association.

[128] Most *caserío* leaders I met were male, except for roles such as health, '*Vaso de Leche*' (nutrition programme), water and potatoes.

Photograph 136: Rumichaca's previous nursery school, now community hall (left), small chapel (right)

Photograph 137: Rumichaca new nursery wall (far left), old nursery (right), grass plaza (centre)

New education institutions follow similar designs, adapted to the amount and incline of the land available. All I saw were made up of several buildings with smooth plastered, painted walls, concrete floors, numerous windows and asbestos[129] strips imitating clay tiled roofs. The buildings were arranged around a concrete area, which in primary and secondary schools often had painted basketball and football markings. In nurseries there were small play areas with softer surfaces, such as grass, in case of falls. Each school had a surrounding wall enclosing the space, with a large metal gate. Around the front of the gate some had raised concrete pathways around the front wall.

Photograph 138: Rumichaca nursery perimeter wall, painted bricks (right)

Photograph 139: Rumichaca front gate with concrete path and water drainage

[129] These strips are also commonly used in private buildings. Local architects acknowledged the potential health implications, but most interlocutors seemed unconcerned. One architect noted asbestos roofing is made in Peru, alternatives were not. I do not know if the users of buildings and the labourers constructing buildings are aware of the dangers of asbestos, it was not spoken of with me.

Photograph 140: View from Rumichaca nursery gate (left), commemorative plaque (right)

Photograph 141: Raised paths and drainage at front (left), asbestos roofing (right)

Photograph 142: Rumichaca nursery school

The furnishings and facilities are also part of projects. All the buildings in the four *caseríos* under discussion had numerous school rooms[130] furnished with tables and chairs, chalk boards, a staff room, storage room, concrete play areas, kitchen with gas stoves, sinks and storage area, tiled bathrooms, electric lights, water storage tanks and pumps. Nursery schools had a computer for the teacher, and primary and secondary schools had limited provision of a computer room. As briefly discussed in chapter six, and reflecting the broader deficits of projects to meet immediate needs, the ability to use these facilities could be limited through lack of water, electricity and gas; points I will return to below. Like the participatory process, here I note the design, materials and facilities were an attempt at inclusion, like those of the city and beyond, however the inclusion was limited, for example in Rumichaca lacking connectivity to water or electricity supplies.

[130] In a number of nurseries which I visited, some rooms appeared to be out of use possibly because of few pupils. The size of the schools was a particular point of contention in the rumours of corruption amongst elites. Thought to be often made too large for the numbers of children in *caseríos*, this was seen as a way for contractors and corrupt officials to make more profit. However, architects who undertake plans doubted this, as size of schools were connected to pupil numbers and mandated by the Ministry of Education. Other accusations suggested poor quality materials were used, or parts of the work were not undertaken in order to increase profits. As contractors did not bid for projects on price, but rather on their capability/ skills/ machinery to fulfil a project at a set price, it was seen as 'corrupt' to find ways to reduce costs and increase profits.

Photograph 143: Nursery classroom, Marcochugo

Photograph 144: Nursery kitchen and dining room, Rumichaca

Photograph 145: Nursery bathroom, Casumaca

Overall, villagers I spoke to told me it was better that the educational institutions had been built from '*material noble*' because it was considered to be 'modern', better for the children as classrooms were larger, cleaner and lighter. There were spaces for children to play and the materials would last longer. In comparing old with new buildings, in Rumichaca, villagers noted that although the previous school had worked well, it had to double up as a community hall (still functioning, Photograph 136), had few facilities such as toys or white boards and the windows were smaller making the rooms darker. Now the school was modern, spacious, light, clean and properly equipped.

Whilst there was an assumption that the buildings would be out of '*material noble'* and adapt commonly set designs used in cities and towns in the region (and beyond), a visiting Lima based Ministry of Education architect, confirmed that this was not mandated in rules; there are guidelines for buildings of different types of materials[131]. She noted that adobe could be advantageous due to its thermal capacity in comparison to '*material noble*' and adobe could be made more earthquake resilient[132], commonly assumed impossible. The accompanying municipality architect was surprised as the conversation challenged the naturalised assumptions that cement and bricks in all situations would automatically be better than adobe.

[131] Architects and government education administrators (UGEL) explained to me that in addition to building regulations, extensive rules exist for the construction of schools which stipulate requirements including sizes of classrooms and windows.
[132] See (Blondet et al., 2011).

The point here is not an assessment of the relative benefits of construction from different types of materials, but to identify that there is an assumption that '*material noble*' is, to follow a literal translation, more 'noble', or better than other materials. However, even a cursory discussion of the material properties reveals complexity, suggesting that the assumption is related to socially constructed hierarchies of materials and their production through technology. The materials are seen within the social construction of relative aesthetics and perceived benefits which overcome the possibilities of the materials themselves. The assumption appeared to lead to an impossibility that local materials could produce modern buildings, however, elsewhere buildings made out of cob, re-envisioning and adapting old construction methods of straw, clay, wood, with rainwater showers and composting toilets (one such building has recently been constructed in Trujillo), are argued to be 'modern' eco-homes.

In one *caserío* I spoke to village leaders who did not know the design until works were about to start. Leaders said how they were surprised when the contractor turned up and asked why they were not building with adobe which they could have made locally, sold and made some money from. But they were told that according to the Technical Dossier it was to be made from '*material noble*', the contract was signed, and it was too late to change it now.

> "We're still happy with the building but it seemed a shame that we couldn't build it out of adobe bricks which we make here, we could have done it, it would have been good."

Despite the high levels of skill required in the construction of adobe buildings, they do not appear to conform to conceptions of modernity. *Caserío* inhabitants are therefore effectively excluded from contracting and financially profiting from projects further than wage labour because of the capital and technologies required in the creation of '*material noble*' used on projects of scale. This is due firstly to the production techniques, and secondly to the subsequent costs of the project and applicable government processes for contracting out projects (further explored below).

Photograph 146: Adobe bricks drying, Puente Piedra

Photograph 147: Building with adobe in Puente Piedra

Whilst local materials are exported to coastal manufacturers for mass produced cement and bricks, locally fired solid bricks are made by small producers and can be used for lower parts of buildings. Mass produced bricks from the coast are hollow, lighter and amenable to use higher up structures. Coastally made bricks are preferred as they are cheaper, lighter and there are larger supplies. Only through the application of a modernising industrial method of conversion is the earth considered acceptably formed into materials of modernity.

Photograph 148: Brick manufacturing, Huamachuco

Photograph 149: Hollow bricks (left), solid bricks (right)

As Harvey (2010: 40) highlights, the choice of materials is connected to broader interconnected hierarchies of interests and power. Peru's cement industry developed in the early twentieth century and was intertwined with nation-making. Due to the requirement for high levels of capital investment, operations are at scale, such that there is little competition and high levels of profit can be made (Harvey, 2010: 40). In conversation with local architects, they noted that there is a government preference for prefabricated asbestos roofing strips in educational institutions (despite the potential health implications), possibly because it is mass produced in Peru, whereas a non-asbestos alternative is manufactured in Chile. The choice of materials largely excludes local production and requires the application of industrialised technologies for earth to be made into suitable building materials. But this conversion is also part of a larger structuring of power relations. Large companies can increase profits, while local communities are excluded from them.

The design of the schools, made of materials apparently distinct from the surrounding area, delineated space. The enclosure of the space by a wall was seen as practical, keeping children in, and dogs out, distinguishing 'safe' built environment from 'unsafe' local environment, as if an extension of the high areas of the Andes characterised as wild and uncivilised (Isbell, 1978: 57) (see the introduction and chapter three). Materially, in the use of '*material noble*' it mirrored this distinction, with the new school space clean and modern, compared to adobe buildings and space outside the school where pathways were dirt tracks along the sides of the fields and roads were compacted earth. The distinctions related the modern materials with culture, and local materials with nature, safe and unsafe, clean and unclean. These categories repeated the making of related hierarchies of inclusion and exclusion, linking manufactured materialities of space with modernity and progress (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1994; De La Cadena, 2000: 2–12; Harvey, 2010; Orlove, 1998).

Photograph 150: View from the second floor of Casumaca nursery

Photograph 151: Casumaca main road

Photograph 152: Houses and crops in Casumaca

These distinctions between spaces are part of broader hierarchies of identities, through which materials mediate relative identities in the Andes where proximity to the earth is conceptualised as less modern or civilised. Whilst talk of racial terms such as '*indio*' or '*mestizo*' are not normally used in Huamachuco[133], broader discussions over their use highlight the hierarchical relative identities

[133] The term '*indio*', indian is an insult in Sánchez Carrión, and in Latin America more broadly (Canessa, 2012b: 6). I follow Canessa (2012:7) in using the lower case 'i' as an ethnic rather than national term, exceptionally using these terms here to engage with relevant arguments presented in literatures. Elsewhere I use the terms locally preferred,

between city and rural communities. Orlove (1998) shows how the perceived relative proximity to earth is used to distinguish between racialised hierarchies in the Andes. He shows how indians work with the earth, in agriculture, construction of roads, bricks and making pots, where mestizos are characterised as unproductive in their labour and not wanting to be dirtied by the earth. Earth touching objects distinguished between hierarchies of social relations. This is visible in the construction and maintenance of homes, for example in the floors. For mestizos, floors are clean and polished: the "*avoidance of earthen objects, can be seen in their efforts to distance themselves from the earth*" (Orlove, 1998: 217). Even in buying adobe bricks, mestizos show themselves closer to the nation in their access to the national currency and distance themselves from the earth contacting labour necessary to make them (Ibid.:218-129). For indians, floors are of compacted smooth earth, whereas rugs are used as wall hangings to prevent them from becoming permanently dirty as families constantly work with the earth (Ibid.:216).

This proximity to the earth is also shown in the characterisation of indians as closer to nature and dirty, with mud engrained on feet (Canessa, 2012b: 193; Weismantel, 2001: 188–190), and their contact with the earth unmediated by technology (such as tractors) (Canessa, 2012b: 194–195). On the other hand, non-indians are characterised as incapable of the physical labour required to work with the land, distant from the earth (Canessa, 2012b: 24–25; Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1999: 87–88). These constructs are used as civilising narratives, of progress, such that children are taught in schools how to become more like city inhabitants, to be more civilised (Canessa, 2012b: 196–200).

> "The modern Enlightenment notions of civilisation and progress, dovetailing with Romantic notions of national essences and national wills, developed further the idea of the nation as a project into which culturally distinct citizens must incorporated."(Orlove, 1998: 219)

Colloredo-Mansfeld shows how the changing designs, materials and methods of construction (including work parties) of rural Andean houses are used to "*signal… appropriate economic activity*" and incorporate them into local "*symbols of identity*" (1994: 862). They are indicators of success and modernity. House designs are indicative of access to the cash economy, such that those with higher levels of inclusion have flat topped houses, like those in cities and use materials of brick and cement. These designs were considered to have qualities of "…*spaciousness, durability, security and beauty to its truncated form.*" (Ibid.:861). Through the repetition of these forms, they are naturalised

'Huamachuquino' for elite city inhabitants and more generally '*ciudadanos*' citizens for city inhabitants. Rural communities were referred to generally as '*la gente baja/ alta*' the lower or upper people, by their *caserío* name, rural people, '*campesino*' peasant or '*agricultor*' farmer.

in their association with modernity and success, locally reconstructing relative identities of power (Ibid.:861-2).

The new schools are not private buildings as those considered by Colloredo-Mansfeld, nor products of individual wealth. They are monuments to relative identities and public resources expressed through designs and materials such that modernity and relations of connectivity are implicit in their use. As highlighted below, the forms of schools are part of processes of government, such that the choice for cement and brick rather than adobe, and the associated differing building and contracting regulations, become the expectation of modern schools and learning. Similarly Canessa (2012b: 189–199) demonstrates how the metal flagpole, hexagonal buildings and desks, regulated in Bolivia, are thought to be important in the delivery of modern education. Education through which relative identities are formed, and "*legitimate culture*" is reproduced (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 128 cited in Canessa, 2012:189), is also constructed through the physical materialities of space where repeated embodied actions recreate behaviours and identities (Duranti, 1997: 352).

Harvey (2010: 41) shows how concrete is seen as modern in its "*inert sociality*", removed from energy giving *"earth, rocks and mountains*". It is considered useful and desirable because initially it is flexible and then fixes, smoothing over other materials and standardising forms. The schools built in *caseríos* observe the forms of design and materiality of schools in cities, they appear to smooth over social and environmental differences, and their unpredictability. Concrete promises certainty, and yet environmental and social relations can mean that "…*concrete often fails to live up to its promise of stability and strength.*" (Harvey, 2010: 35).

Whilst the designs and materials of brick and cement appeared to dominate the proximity to nature, local materials and identities, they could not. One of the buildings in the villages suffered structural problems due to the building techniques and the incline of the hill on which it was built, the environment winning over materials. Muddy feet would quickly enter schoolrooms or dust would be blown in. Local preferences (as well as lack of gas) meant that cooking took place outside in pots on open fires, not in the kitchens on the stoves provided. Mothers would sit on the floor in the small patches of grass left around the cement to prepare food and cook, in spaces constructed through state processes, through designs and materials external to rural spaces. Thus, these spaces are used as part of the environment and the people who live there, in ways which are

distinct to a school in the city; the daily interactions are 'tactics' for changing spaces to assert local needs and claiming the space as part of both the *caserío* and the state (de Certeau, 1984: xiv–xv).

Photograph 153: Preparing school meals outside

Photograph 154: Cooking areas

The desire for these new materials was also associated with the necessity for creating more stable and regular engagement with city authorities. In a way local desires for projects are driven by ongoing expectations of instability of access to resources and reciprocal obligations; projects could

diminish these instabilities, reasserting obligations and maintaining relationships in their initial and continuing recreation through ongoing use. These new buildings need maintenance, and will require local government, civil service, engineers, contractors to continue to work with *caseríos*, facilitating and maintaining social networks of relations. The state of maintenance of buildings are indicators of relationships between *caseríos* and the municipality, the materials revealing tensions in relationships between actors (Webb, 2019: 704). As Webb (2019: 706) argues for government notice boards in Delhi, in Huamachuco the projects are "…*simultaneously indexes of, and monuments to*…" ongoing relationships of inclusion and exclusion, relative identities and hierarchies through the materiality of modernity.

The creation and use of these buildings in rural sites highlights how these identities of city/rural are socially constructed, there is *"…no clear social binary, the categories… are always relative.*" (Canessa, 2012b: 7). As Orlove (1998: 209) shows, materials are used to distinguish, but they also indicate a connection between people, *"…it is the terrain on which they meet."*, their differences and relatedness also understood through materials. The identities are not *"…two separate categories, but rather… a continuum, both of whose poles cannot be reached.*" (Ibid.: 220).

Despite relative positions of power, the space creates a meeting point, where the two are in constant negotiation with each other, and ideas of modernity can be remade through the materials and practices of using space. There is potential for social change through repeated negotiations, as liminal sites between actors (Corrigan and Sayer, 1985). This negotiation of relative identities is also conducted through the function of schools, of education by the state[134]. These new schools create spaces through which it is hoped children can learn, in order to access better jobs in the city, recreate and inhabit changing identities (Butler, 2011; Moore, 2013: 117–119).

In the *caseríos*, the new educational institutes are not only manifestations of a state (Harvey, 2010: 35), they are the constructed spaces (terrain), "…*an expression and a medium of power*" (Massey, 1995: 284), through which city and rural meet, as if a new central liminal site of negotiation. Through the design, materials, construction and their ongoing use, the buildings are monuments of these central social spaces through which relative identities, social relations of power through inclusion and exclusion, and the blurred lines of the state are contested and reformed.

[134] About which extensive literatures exist, see for example (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Collins, 2009)

Contracts, construction and fixing problems.

The choice of materials also has an impact on the monetary value of projects and the subsequent procedures for contracting businesses to undertake the work. Most projects are contracted out rather than undertaken by the municipality itself. Of these, projects above a certain cost must undergo a procurement procedure (visible online) which sets out to ensure procurement practices are transparent, following 'good governance' and international transparency initiatives (Harvey et al., 2013: 298) (see chapter six). As the Technical Dossier sets out the design, technical details, materials and costs, companies do not compete on costs, but instead on technical and capital competence to undertake the work. This is reflected in the rules which stipulate the minimum capabilities (such as machinery or expert staff) required for certain types and costs of project. The result is that often consortiums of businesses are formed specifically for a bid so that joint capabilities and experience are evaluated (even if effectively only one company from the consortium does the work)[135]. Not only are relatively large resources required to bid for projects, but the process is highly technical and requires specialist knowledge to interpret the Technical Dossier and the contracting process. Many of those who won contracts in Huamachuco were either from the Huamachuco elite or the larger cities of northern Peru such as Trujillo or Chiclayo and with experience of running such projects.

This means that knowledge viewed as modern or technical are recognized and incorporated into the Technical Dossier and contracting process, where other practical skills and knowledge are not. Therefore, the Technical Dossier, which forms the basis of the contract, limits *caserío* attempts to negotiate changes, particularly as *caseríos* may only realise the implications of technical plans when buildings are being constructed. However, as discussed below, to an extent *caserío* actors who hold this practical knowledge exercise their authority to influence works once underway.

The process ensures that where, as a result of the design and materials choices, projects are of a higher value, contracts must undergo particular technical preparations and procurement. We saw in chapter six how policies of 'good governance' encouraged by international institutions create unexpected results. Here, the desire for development and modernisation, and 'transparency initiatives' which claim to resolve negotiations over the public and private space and unequal social relations, result in local communities being excluded from the possibilities of accessing increased

[135] This re-enforces rumours of corruption, particularly because the fluidity with which consortiums are formed and dissolved makes it difficult to know who owns the consortiums, and therefore who is profiting from projects. In villages, lead contractors are known by their first names, but they do not necessarily correlate with the names on contracts.

economic benefits from projects constructed in their communities (Ferguson, 1994, 2006; Harvey and Knox, 2015: 200–202).

Contractors are expected to employ staff with formal technical qualifications such as engineering degrees, and to have capital and machinery to undertake the work. This means that although there is rural competence in building with '*material noble*' (see below), most from *caseríos* do not have the formal qualifications nor technical knowledge necessary to present and interpret Technical Dossiers, nor the capital with which to access the machinery necessary for the work. They do not perform their knowledge in accepted ways to be considered 'expertise' (Carr, 2010: 18–19). The technical qualifications and capital differentiation and exclusion resulting from designs, materials, resulting Technical Dossiers and costs, is such that it was is assumed that rural communities could not undertake projects themselves other than as wage labourers.

In *caserío* education projects, male community members (mostly fathers of the school children) gained wage labour, including them in a very tangible way through their physical labour. Many male community members are seasoned construction wage labourers (locally, regionally, nationally). The wages increased possibilities and profitability of cash exchanges in the wider economy, both through wages received and the increased price of labour (although already highly integrated into the cash economy). The days of work were divided between men, and wages were negotiated with the contractor. This had the effect of driving up the price of local labour which has not since been reversed. Previously wages had been thirty Soles per day but for new projects, in Casumaca wages were forty Soles daily (for fifteen days' work over three months), and in Marcochugo wages were forty-five per day and included two days paid leave. The negotiations and differences between wages and conditions could cause discontent with the contractor. Years after the construction of one school, there was still some discontent about wages being too low, as subsequently other neighbouring villages had negotiated higher wages.

The division of labour in the construction of schools as projects, repeats the divisions of roles and hierarchies of power in the broader relations of production in Huamachuco, of the moral community, ritually evident in the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia and inter-*caserío* football tournament. The physical labour is provided by the *caserío*, while the political and technical knowledge as well as externally sourced materials are provided by the municipality. This division of labour, part of local networks and hierarchies of social relations, is intertwined with the Technical Dossier and contract, naturalised, appearing 'as if fact' (Bear and Mathur, 2015: 27;

Bornstein and Sharma, 2016; Ferguson, 2006: 77–82; Hobsbawm, 1983b; Lefebvre, 2014: 86–88). Thus state power is enmeshed into layers of networks of hierarchical social interconnections, making projects an inseparable focus of the local moral community's pursuit of communal progress, materially reconstructing the blurred lines of state power (Abrams, 1988; Ferguson and Gupta, 2002; Mitchell, 1991; Mukerji, 2014; Parkin, 2017; Parry and Bloch, 1989)

Thus, the design and choice of materials, in which *caseríos* are included, also contribute to their exclusion from gaining profits from the construction of schools in villages. Before there were no profits to be made, schools were constructed from adobe through '*republicas*'. Now there are new modern designs, the costs and technology required is higher and there is profit to be made, both locally through construction companies and more broadly through the supply of materials. As Colloredo-Mansfeld (1994) identifies for private homes, so public buildings also manifest the hierarchies and integrations of social identities and economic relations. *Caseríos* are excluded from potential profit, through the adoption and inclusion of "*legitimate culture*" (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 128 cited in Canessa, 2012:189), whilst profit making companies extend their physical space into rural areas, from which to extract gains.

The contracts themselves also change the nature of the relationship between *caseríos* and local government. Contracts are signed between the municipality and the contractor, excluding the *caserío*. The formal arrangement indicates the power of the municipality over the project in the allocation of the funds, progression of process and documentation and the choice of contractors. Whilst *caseríos* are influential in some parts of the process such as the selection of land (also chapter six), contracting and specifics of the Technical Dossier are handled by the municipality, requiring expert knowledge. Because of these processes of central government, linked to the choices of design and materials, projects become the site of increasing state control, through the municipality. Where *caseríos* once had direct control over village constructions, now they were formally excluded from contracts and technical developments (processes) of projects such that whilst they appeared as monuments to inclusive progress, they simultaneously excluded villagers from participating in core parts of their creation.

Although the Technical Dossier and contract promise certainty of a process to be followed in order to gain a well-executed project, it is the continuing negotiations of social relations which has the potential to make projects meet local needs (Alexander, 2001; Harvey et al., 2013: 299–300; Harvey and Knox, 2015: 200–202). The effects of exclusion are to some extent moderated through

the obligatory project Oversight Committees (which are particularly active during the construction phase) and through their labour, *caserío*s are also able to directly oversee projects.

Oversight Committee members I met were fathers of the schoolchildren and were often also leaders in the community. The committee receive copies of the Technical Dossier, in multiple lever arch files from which it is intended project oversight can be undertaken. In practice oversight through the Technical Dossier is difficult, as the information is quite impenetrable to the uninitiated. The committee members I spoke to said that the Dossier was complicated, difficult to read, and they felt unable to use it. Instead, committee members said they oversaw the projects by using their knowledge of building techniques to ensure contractors did not cut corners, to make sure the building was of good quality:

> "…we kept a good oversight of it with the municipality engineer. What wasn't done right was demolished and built again… We know the measurements and quantities that should be used and if we were not happy, it got changed…. We really don't much understand the Technical Dossier, as it's complicated. But we can see what's happening and provide oversight to the project like that." (Oversight Committee member)

It is practical knowledge of building which enables *caserío* actors to oversee projects and engage with municipality engineers who have the technical knowledge required to engage with contractors through the Technical Dossier. The ability to oversee the project therefore requires committee members to develop and maintain relationships with both the contractor and the municipality engineers to ensure projects meet their requirements. If *caseríos* were for whatever reason unable to develop good working relationships with the contractor or municipality, the project may not meet their requirements.

The relationships between *caseríos* and contractors can be mixed, as they negotiate their labour on projects and worries regarding oversight. Whilst concerns can be discussed with both contractors and the municipality, *caseríos* can effectively be side-lined by the terms of the Technical Dossier. This is because the implications of the Dossier may not have been clear before the project commenced. Once the contract is signed, the Dossier can be used as a reason to refuse changes, as any deviations from it could be outside the contract's terms and create additional costs. The flexibility to changes would therefore be dependent on the relationships between the contractor,

caserío and municipality. Some contractors were more content than others to be flexible, possibly in the hope of future contracts.

In Casumaca, there had been concerns over the size of the outdoors play equipment for the children, it was too big for nursery age children. The contractor was asked to replace it with age-appropriate equipment, but they said they could not, as what they had provided met the requirements of the Technical Dossier and any changes would incur a cost. The parents of children at the school subsequently decided to take the equipment out and replace it with age-appropriate facilities themselves.

In Rumichaca, it was only after the project was complete that the committee found that the electricity and water for the nursery were not connected to the mains systems. Village leaders had asked the contractor to fix it but had been told it was not included in the Technical Dossier, so it could not be done. As a result, they were unclear what next actions they could take.

After construction, if problems with buildings arise, *caseríos* must raise concerns through the municipality, who can require contractors to undertake remedial works under a seven-year warranty. The exclusion of the *caseríos* from the contract necessitates further interactions about the project with the municipality, keeping *caseríos* dependent on hierarchically powerful leaders and civil servants. Yet the requirement to engage the contractor through the municipality formally hides the extensive role of the communities in the oversight of the building, both in its creation and in its subsequent use. It is the community themselves who must oversee the building and ensure that any concerns are reported.

In Casumaca, the parents of the school children were concerned that the water pump was not working which meant that toilets could not be used, there were cracks in the walls, peeling paintwork and outside there was a lot of rubbish and rubble left over from the works. The contractor agreed to visit the site with the municipality engineer to consider the cracks in walls and the issue of water. In order to organise this visit, the community had approached both the contractor and the municipality, as leaders considered that speaking to both would be necessary in order to get things done.

In Puente Piedra, there were some concerns over some cracks in walls of the Primary and Nursery schools. Like in Casumaca, the community leaders and schoolteachers were clear that they had to

go to the municipality to report these issues and keep going until the issues were rectified. It was thought that although it could take time and numerous visits to the municipality; eventually it was resolved under the contractor's warranty.

Often teachers worked with leaders of *caseríos* to bring the municipality and contractor to the village in order to address the problems. Teachers could be highly valued by *caseríos* in these interactions regarding schools, as they could sometimes use their positions of some social prestige, as a knowledgeable teacher, to support their case and navigate meetings. They attempted to maintain good relationships with politicians, civil servants and with contractors in order to get things done. The actions of the *caserío* are fundamental to the expectations of a modern functioning nursery school, without which the building would not be repaired. Thus, whilst the *caserío* is formally excluded from the contract, the building is a space through which the relations between actors are maintained and reasserted, the *caseríos* use the building as a focus which requires repeated interactions and through which there is increased interconnectivity. However, this requires the action of the *caserío* leaders, without which the building problems would be unknown by the municipality or the contractor. Their interconnectivity and inclusion to the provision of projects can only happen through their own actions to require the fulfilment of the promises of the contract, as part of the moral community's ideals of sharing projects and communal progress.

Through the designs and materials, the Technical Dossiers and contracting out, the wage labour and oversight committees, and negotiations in ongoing use and maintenance, the buildings are active monuments of the continuing negotiations of social relations (Cherry, 2013: 10; Kaur, 2013: 132–3; Lefebvre, 1991: 34; Massey, 2005: 9–11; Star, 2010; Star and Griesemer, 1989). Projects are a focus, central social spaces of negotiation, boundary objects through which relative identities and ideals of progress are materially contested and iteratively reformed.

Inauguration

Photograph 155: Raising the flag

The ceremony starts with the playing of the National anthem by the school band, the flag is ceremonially walked to the flagpole and raised. Some parents' hats are taken off heads, most sit and observe. A teacher stands to give the introductory speech:

> "… it is ten years ago that the teachers of the Primary school in Puente Piedra started developing the Capuli network [the group working to gain the secondary school, named after one of the villages the school serves], they are all witnesses of the progress and development of this Secondary School. And today they are also witnesses to this recently constructed infrastructure which is modern. Implemented with all the necessary modern facilities which enable our students to receive an education at the same level or better than at urban schools. We thank the municipality of Sánchez Carrión for their help, and to all the parents and families and teachers of our community, who fought so that this dream could be a reality."

As the teacher speaks, the sound of Andean flutes and drums gets louder, the dancers

arrive, escorting the mayor's deputy, Joel. Accompanied by several other municipality representatives, he makes his way to the front. As they take their seats behind a table under the canopy, in front of them are parents sat on the steps of the courtyard or peering over the edge of balconies. Overhead, a drone is filming, and the official municipality photographer makes his way around taking photos of the dignitaries attending the event.

After the performance of an Andean pop song, there are speeches by the headmaster and Joel, welcoming everyone and celebrating the importance of the secondary school to the communities it serves. We are invited to watch the breaking of a clay pot which has been filled with alcohol and hung over the entrance of the school gate. Everyone gathers around, attending signatories shake the hands of people they recognise. Once the photographers are in place, Joel joins hands with one of the mothers and with a hammer, they reach to strike the pot a few times and break the clay pot in half. Another pot is broken above the entrance to the Headmaster's office. With this they formally inaugurate the school. Afterwards, there is singing and dancing by the groups who had previously been waiting and food is served.[136]

Photograph 156: Dignitaries sit under the canopy

[136] From fieldwork diary and video 20 May 2016.

Photograph 157: Families listen to speeches

Photograph 158: Clay pot

All the educational institutions had such an inauguration organised by the community. They are seen as important events by the communities in which they welcome the city authorities into the village, perform dances and share food and drink. The (late) arrival of Joel rather than as expected the mayor was not entirely unheard of, he was often late, or not able to attend and sent councillors such as Joel in his place. In this instance, the presence of Joel was welcomed, due to his long-standing connections to the school and communities, having taught there himself. The teacher's speech reflects the work undertaken by teachers and the many *caseríos* who use the school, with multiple mayors and administrators over several years to create the school (as described in chapter five). This reflects the collaboration of *caseríos*, teachers, mayors and municipalities and the long, ongoing nature of social relations through the building, and the constant changes which are realised through it.

The inauguration is like the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia in many regards, compressing the space and time of social relations required to make the school into the celebration and defining a central space of continuing negotiations. The different types of labour and reciprocity in the construction of the community through the building are recognised through ritualised action of inauguration. The physical labour of the dances is undertaken by the communities, and the city authorities have provided the labour of organising and funding the building of the school.

In the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia food was provided (purchased, both food and labour) by the city in exchange for the labour of the *caseríos* who have travelled to the centre of the city, However, here the labour of making (growing, harvesting and preparation) and provision of food, is also done by the *caseríos*, because the inauguration takes place in the *caseríos* and the city authorities are guests, who have provided labour in this social centre, of the school.

The inauguration acknowledges and marks the school as a site of cocreation, built through rural and city relationships, the ritually recreating the reciprocity of the moral community. These different actions reflect the broader interactions discussed throughout the thesis, of Andean duality framing different forms of contribution (knowledge, skills and labour) and exchange (from reciprocities to contracts).

Through this central social space, children and teachers participate in education, and networks of social relationships are mediated through the materials, iteratively changing and providing hope of progress. The school represents the ongoing "*prospective momentum*" of hope (Miyazaki, 2004: 8), a

method through which knowledge (Ibid. 2004: 14–15) and progress are pursued although never fully attainable; a cycle of comparison with both others and the unknown future. The building of the school aspires for improved education of children, reflecting hopes for improved access to resources and social relations. The reciprocal acts of fiestas, projects and their inaugurations are hopeful, for a future of continuing reciprocity and communal progress.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

As I conclude with a reflection on hopes and perceptions of progress, so this thesis started. In analysing Mateo's assessment that mining had returned Huamachuco to a place of advancement, as it had been in the past, I suggested that this framing of time and space is part of the construction of a moral community in which communal progress is seen to inspire the highest and most worthy actions (Hann, 2018; Parry and Bloch, 1989; Thompson, 1971). Present day actions undertaken by elite city inhabitants in particular places (especially the plaza), which commemorate particular types of constructs of the past, are considered as both moral and constitutive of the moral community. The selective forgetting (Carsten, 2007: 17; Portelli, 1991) of parts of history such as the agricultural reforms highlight the elite nature of this structuring of history and moral community. However, through the analysis of the fiesta of the Alta Gracia, the moral community is shown to be broader, to include the whole district of Huamachuco. I argued that particular types of actions (performances of particular dances, buying things for communal use) by different types of people (city elite, rural populations) are types of labour through which membership to the community is asserted, and the moral community itself is remade. Through these actions of belonging, a kind of contract is asserted, as in return there is an expectation of a share of communal benefits (public funds, social connections). Projects are a material expression of these multiple engagements and negotiations, such that participation in multiple events is seen to be fundamental to participation in projects; and on the other hand, the physical environment and quality of life in Huamachuco and surrounding areas demonstrate the outcome of these negotiations through the implementation of specific projects.

In the discussions of chapters two to four, I argued that identity making is iteratively constructed through both time and space, self always in relation to other (Canessa, 2012b; Hall, 1996; Ricoeur, 1990). Reflecting on regional literatures and histories, I suggest that Andean duality is important to understand both the negotiations of centres, as the space mutually constitutive of actors, and the scalar nature of layers of centres (Bauer, 2004: 153; Harris, 2000: 91–111; Platt, 1986). These are relative identities expanding and contracting through space and time (Allen, 1997). This was seen through the distinctions between city and rural, upper and lower rural communities, in the rituals of dance (including ritualised conflict) and the meeting in the plaza as the centre of the district. Building on literatures which discuss the plaza in Latin America (Lefebvre, 1991; Low, 1996, 2000), I showed how relative identities and hierarchies of power are negotiated through actions in relation to the plaza and through materials in space and time. This suggested that

through these actions the state and moral community are intertwined, and public and private spaces negotiated.

A situation of friction and conflict illustrates these tensions and co-existences which are core to Andean duality. The analysis of the responses to the refurbishment of the plaza, highlights its importance as the mutually constituting centre of the district. The material changes to the plaza, and their negotiation through public dispute, were themselves part of the creation of the moral community itself, in relation to temporal as well as special dimensions. In chapter three I show how discussions of actions, materials, spaces, relate to the constitution of the moral community and the unwritten contract concerning a fair distribution of resources for the common good. The refurbishment highlighted how the plaza and the mayor's acts towards it constituted a boundary object (Star and Griesemer, 1989) through which the moral community was recreated. The negotiations over the plaza revealed how rules and processes over projects (as boundary objects) of the state, became intertwined with local negotiations and the moral community.

Further evidence of tensions and contradictions within the moral community relates to the rumours of corruption, which nevertheless, along with requests for help and collaboration are used to negotiate the contract of the moral community and the 'blurred boundaries' of the state (Gupta, 1995). In this process, 'good' actions are those in which everyone 'does what they can' to help or collaborate and share resources with others. The blurred boundaries of public and private were highlighted by questions over the morality of actions where public funds are administered, such as through projects, or the allocation of civil service jobs. Through the constant challenge of rumours regarding levels of private and public distribution of benefits, attempts are made to limit the power of those in public positions. The conflict in this negotiation was seen particularly though the position of the mayor who is perhaps the ultimate boundary object, through which the layers of centres, the moral community, the state, public and private are negotiated and challenged through mutually defining actions.

Chapter six considered how ideals of progress are translated, negotiated and become intertwined through different scales of action, from international ideas of development to conceptions and enactments of local moral community. Rules and processes in relation to projects mandated by national government and following international ideas of development, were shown to be presented 'as if fact', such that following them correctly would inevitably produce certain outcomes associated with development (Barry, 2002: 270–280; Bornstein and Sharma, 2016; Ferguson, 2006:

77–81). However, it was argued that no such certainty exists in the rules and processes, which attempt to contain the inherent uncertainties of global markets, global economic flows and national tax distribution and planning systems. As such the rules and processes which appear 'as if fact' both provide opportunities for potential challenge and social change through spaces of 'friction' (Tsing, 2005) and 'disjunctures' (Appadurai, 1990), and transmit uncertainty to local scales of interaction, passing on risks (including being seen to fail to comply with processes which claim guarantees of success) to local actors (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002: 989; Harvey et al., 2013; Rose and Miller, 1992: 201). A corollary to this is that whilst processes appear to devolve choices over projects to local communities, these local decisions are limited by national rules and processes, which promote construction projects and the uncertainty (including budgets and timings) which they contain.

In Huamachuco, projects are seen as a core part of the communal benefits which should be shared, such that an ideal of communal progress is clearly expressed in the equal sharing of numbers of projects between communities during the participatory budget. This in turn encourages *caseríos* to formally divide themselves to gain more projects. However, as the development of projects and the decisions to undertake them take place throughout the year rather than only during the participatory budget, the Budget meeting acts as a ritual (Albert, 2016) after which discussions continue. Through the meeting, state and moral community ideals of progress are intertwined: mayoral speeches and distribution of football shirts make direct links between projects and communal labour (fiestas, football competitions, meetings). Both projects and communal labour mark membership and the making of the moral community, through which progress can be attained.

I argue that projects are active monuments to interconnectivity, ideals of progress and the moral community itself (Cherry, 2013: 10; Hobsbawm, 1983a: 276; Kaur, 2013: 132–3; Webb, 2019). National rules and processes regarding design, contracting and materials perceived as modern (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1994; Harvey, 2010; Orlove, 1998), constrain how projects are undertaken. These seek to pursue modern building and contracting methods, encourage the use of designs based on the use of concrete like those found in cities across Peru, and encourage the contracting of companies and engineers who have the capital (knowledge, technical equipment) to bid for the work. Because these rules are presented 'as if fact', the national state appears removed from project creation, however these naturalised processes and perceptions of modernity enable its interlacing with everyday networks of social relations.

This simultaneously includes and excludes local actors in the creation and continuing use of projects, reinforcing hierarchies of power. Projects drawing on materials perceived as modern such as concrete rather than adobe, may be welcomed as symbols of inclusion into wider networks of modernity. However, the materials and designs mean that projects that were previously undertaken locally in *caseríos* are now undertaken for profit by city (local and national) actors. Nevertheless, despite the exclusion of *caseríos* from written contracts for projects, the ongoing use of projects did provide opportunities for *caserío* actors to use maintenance requests as a means to develop closer relationships with politicians and projects contractors. These relationships held the possibility for further interactions, for future projects. In this thesis I suggest that inaugurations are celebrations of the increased connectivity and inclusion which these projects appear to provide and, importantly, to promise. The acts of communal labour (dance, provision of food) are given as a part of the reciprocal contract of the moral community which aims to pursue communal progress. Thus, projects are central spaces through which, at different scales (from international to local), layers of ideals of progress, modernity and interconnectedness are interwoven, and through which relative identities and power are iteratively negotiated.

Acting in the centre: Hope

As we have seen, participation in some aspects of the process associated with projects offered hope for future outcomes even for those who might be excluded from specific, present-day benefits as is the case for the *caseríos*. In many ways, this is a familiar story, from the personal to global: hopes to improve in the future building upon and seek inspiration from imagined pasts and alternative presents. Seeing particular people, things, places, ideas, ways of doing, as further along the road to 'progress' than others; following or creating rules, ways of doing things, that appear 'as if fact' because the people that appear to have advanced profess them as the way to improve. A continuous cycle of "*prospective momentum*" through hopeful actions (Miyazaki, 2004: 8). Yet, as we have seen, despite following the processes, the desired outcome (of economic wellbeing) remains elusive and is not achieved. One is still not successful; we are still not 'modern'. As I discussed in chapter two, European Enlightenment conceptions of modernity are part of a long history of global power relations and the violence of colonialism; today the ideas of 'progress' continue to be framed by and through these power structures and scales of interaction, such that 'progressing' is defined in relation to 'Western' culture (Mignolo, 2010; Quijano, 2007). However this thesis has also discussed how these conceptions of modernity have been long intertwined with an extensive history of Andean duality, structures of social relations through space and time (Mignolo, 2010:

117–119), revealing complex points of 'frictions' (Tsing, 2005) and 'disjunctures' (Appadurai, 1990), central spaces in which negotiations continue.

Extractive industries of varying kinds (from guano to metals) have long been part of this striving for modernity in Peru (and elsewhere) (Bebbington, 2009; Gootenberg, 2008; Svampa, 2015). Extractives have been part of Peru's continuing inclusion in the capitalist World System in which commodity chains are used to shift value from 'periphery' to 'core' areas of accumulation (Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1986; Wallerstein, 2004). Not only do extracted metals physically create cities, technology and provide locations of investment, displays of wealth, success and modernity; they also remove substances from places often deemed as somehow less modern ('periphery'), in the promise of a share of 'progress'[137].

Accumulation by the 'core' takes place not only through extraction, but through the delineation of ideas of progress; "*core-like products*" (Wallerstein, 2004: 27–28) with their techniques of production, including the neoliberal government policies which have pursued extractivism as a way to 'progress' (Bebbington, 2009; Gudynas, 2009; Svampa, 2015). Through translations of ideals of progress, global commodity chains and hierarchies of power are interlaced through scales of interaction. In these translations, the conversion of mountains into minerals for international export[138] is intertwined with the building of schools out of concrete in the pursuit of progress. Power is realised iteratively through these points of 'friction' (Tsing, 2005), in negotiations of ideals of progress.

This thesis considers how projects in Huamachuco come about. In this, it has been an attempt to open a small part of the "*black box*" of policy implementation (Mosse, 2004), focusing on how policies become translated into actions and events, rather than attempting to assess whether or not a project meets any given criteria of success. I have suggested that, in the creation of projects, the pursuit of an ideal of 'progress' (modernity) is translated at different scales of interaction, intertwining national government policies, rules and processes with the local moral community of Huamachuco. By following how things such as events, projects, actions take place, the data generated in this research challenges common assumptions that a 'lack of capacity' at local level to

[137] The frequency with which this does not take place is much written about in literatures concerning the 'resource curse' (Auty, 2007).
[138] Where some metals require more complex processing than others. I have written elsewhere (Wilson, 2012) about the low level of processing of copper in Peru which results in less local accrual of monetary value, placing it within a 'periphery' production through which accumulation in the 'core' takes place (Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1986, 1994).

implement policy is to blame for not achieving a given vision of modernity (cf. Arellano-Yanguas, 2011). Instead, the thesis shows how ideals of progress are translated and iteratively create hierarchies of power which categorise certain types of people, places, knowledge, things, as less or more modern; and yet simultaneously holds these unequal parts in a perceived whole, the community of Huamachuco.

I have suggested that because ideals of communal progress are generalised and broadly accepted, their translations through government policies (originating in international discourses on development) appear to provide certainty, such that, if followed, these would result in an outcome of 'progress'. As generalised ideals of progress and a desire to manage the inherent uncertainty of interactions also underpin the moral community, government policies become intertwined with the moral community and local negotiations of communal identity making. Through these acts of translation and negotiation, the boundaries of the state are blurred. Everyday interactions constituting local government simultaneously constitute a moral community, which links the scales of interaction through space and time. This means that projects themselves become a focus of communal interaction, and are seen to embody the community's highest moral act, the pursuit of communal progress.

This thesis proposes that it is important to consider how these negotiations take place through the moral community, building on literatures of Andean duality, moral economy and the blurred boundaries of the state (Abrams, 1988; Gupta, 1995; Hann, 2018; Mitchell, 1991; Parry and Bloch, 1989; Thompson, 1971). I have argued that by identifying the negotiations as shared mutually constituted (liminal) central spaces, we can further our understanding of how relative identities and hierarchies of power are iteratively challenged and remade. I have suggested that these central spaces are often negotiated through boundary objects. Boundary objects can be any 'thing', but it is important that they be sufficiently malleable to be agreed upon and yet negotiated through, such that they can mean different things to different people (Star, 2010). Through these objects there is the appearance of certainty, and ability to move forward in negotiations, despite continuing differing interpretations.

The ways in which this takes place has been discussed throughout the thesis, and multiple layers of boundary objects (such as the plaza, the position of the mayor, and projects themselves) are interlaced. Negotiations are realised through actions such as public commemorative acts, fiestas, rumours and discussions over projects. These negotiations are important and continuous as they

mutually constitute the moral community and its ideal of communal progress. In the moral community, this ideal is defined by a kind of contract: labour of different kinds from different people is undertaken at particular times and places (such as the fiesta of the Virgin of the Alta Gracia). In return, an equal share of communal resources is expected, for example in terms of an equal number of projects to a *caserío*.

Whilst these discussions of ideals of progress perhaps read as if removed from real lives, this thesis has shown the very real consequences of how power is negotiated in translating these ideals through scales of interactions, through space and time. However, as I suggested earlier, the consequences are broader. As I write, lives are being lost in Peru and around the world due to Covid-19. From Peru there are newspaper reports[139] of anger over years of perceived underinvestment in public services, poor public spending and corruption. Although the scale of available resources differs, the tales from the UK and elsewhere are similar. They reflect the iterative shifts of power through negotiated centres over time and through space, enabled through illusions of certainty, of ways of doing things, ways of being, of modernity.

Nevertheless, by understanding how projects are realised, there is hope in the analysis presented here. As we are made through mutually constituting actions, so power is realised in these multiple layers of liminal centres. If we are conscious that these are cocreated centres, then we can realise the potential power of our actions. No matter how small we feel, our cumulative actions create tangible change.

[139] For example (Collyns, 2020)

Annex 1: The Goodbye (*El Adiós*)

Huamachuco, my sweet Andean city,
My Alta Gracia, you are on your altar,
The nostalgia and the memory burns into me,
Because I don't find myself happy at your side,

I went far from you, at an early age,
Body and spirit left totally broken,
These verses written in my distant solitude,
Compensating in some way for a debt badly paid.

In the centre of your heart I have lived,
Proud of the greatness of your history,
In your crystal waters I have drunk,
Memories permeate my mind.

If the hard rock, bursts and still rolls,
If the clay dries and expands,
Why by looking at you can't I return?
My beautiful and historic city of the Andes.

San Nicolás, which nourished me in my youth,
My knowledge, my impulses tempered,
From your cloisters to your students,
You wanted Peru and the world to acclaim them.

Today drinking this bitter coffee,
whose contents add to my tears,
Hard has been the hustle, and the way long,
And little remains for me to accompany the souls.

Today illness and death pursues me,
Which dwell in my chest, in the world of its weakness,

I promise you that the pity and solitude leaves,
When I return to you, happy again and without sorrow.

Translated from Víctor M. Reyna Marín (2000: 214).

Annex 2: Civic Hymn of Huamachuco

Verse 1:
From the Andes emerges your name
Famous cradle of our nation,
In your stones Marcahuamachuco
Brings honour to your tradition.

The dawn of the glorious feat
Of José Faustino Sánchez Carrión,
Turning to victorious willpower
When confronted with oppression.

Chorus:
Huamachuco, beloved Mother Earth
Firm hand ready to overcome,
In the forge of our future
There is, brothers, so much to be done…*

Verse 2:
In the final hour of the war,
Defying the invading force,
Leoncio Prado in dying for the homeland,
Knowingly gave us an example and valour.

Your landscapes paint the memory,
Your customs are kept in the heart,
Today we cast the past
In the forge of education.

Verse 3:
Great people of the shining soul,
Heirs of the mythical Falcon,

In time your fame was recorded
Which raises you in elevated glory.

In the brilliance of your children reborn,
A strong lineage,
And its light spreads throughout the world
Bestowed by nobility and virtue.

Verse 4:
Your riches happily given,
Always you, ancestral generosity,
Waiting, knowing and powerful,
To respond with social justice.

Huamachuco promise and victory,
Of knowledge, love, and friendship,
The home which opens up life,
And the path of prosperity.

*Taken from César Vallejo, The Nine Monsters

Translated from González Cárpena (2012)

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