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Technologies of Dis/Order: Extractivism and Racial State-Making in the Andean Highlands

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by

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How does one properly acknowledge all that entails or contributes to the making of something new?

Western Science has recently begun to recognize what many subjugated worldviews have known for quite some time: no single entity exists on its own. For example, it was only recently that a vast array of viruses (the human virome) were properly recognized as being an integral part of who we are as humans—an assemblage of other life forms.

With this understanding, the goal of my acknowledgements is to bring attention to how the completion of this dissertation is not simply a reflection of my own independent achievements, but a reflection of a profound assemblage composed of experiences, peoples, and environments that have not only influenced this project but my life in general. Allow me to make use of the old iceberg cliché: I will start my acknowledgements with the most obvious before working my way down beneath the break line:

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Dedicated to the runakuna and all those fighting against state violence around the world.

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ABSTRACT

Technologies of Dis/Order: Extractivism and Racial State-Making in the Andean Highlands

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Placing the mining-oriented model of development within a historical and colonial context, this study examines extractivism as a fundamental Peruvian statecraft. Centering the region of Espinar in the area known as the Southern Mining Corridor, this study de-economizes export-driven mining or extractivism and reads it as the state's key subject and meaning-making technology.

As it's central statecraft, this study understands extractivism as carrying out three key functions or technologies of power in Peru: racialization, territorialization and commodification. Engaging in a critical theorization of state discourse and meaning-making across the colonial and contemporary epoch, this study threads together the mining operations in two of the most contentious mining sites, Antapaccay and Coroccohuayco, and places them within longstanding historical processes. As such, the central thesis of this research puts forth the argument that extractivism forms the nexus point that congeals the underlying politics of race, commodities, and territory in Peru. By extension, this research disrupts the dominant framework that posits resistance as the expression of counterhegemonic contentious politics and instead claims that anti-extractivist movements in the Andes are for this reason always already contentious. In preserving their place-based cultural ways of being, anti-extractivist movement are thus

inherently oppositional to the Peruvian state and its political forms and ideologies. Ultimately, this reading of anti-mining resistance as the enactment of a kind of praxis of refusal and epistemic disruption contributes to what is referred to as the ontological turn in the humanities and social sciences.

Critical discursive analysis and the reconceptualization of two key terms threads this work. The first is a counter-reading of *Peru Profundo*, the term referring to an imagined geography used throughout Peru's modern historiography. This works reads the historical evocation of *Peru Profundo* as a self-serving discursive power informed by colonial geographies. As such, it finds a postcolonial imaginary present in the way that contemporary extractivism continues to reorder populations and motivate discourses of development. By the end of this work, *Peru Profundo* is redeployed as the potential hermeneutic to read autonomous formations against extractivism. The alternative politics of being described in this study ultimately reconfigure dominant contemporary models of Indigeneity in the region as inherently antithetical, and instead attempts to create a critical framework for reading the enunciation of these politics across time and places them within an Andean radical tradition.

In examining extractivism as statecraft, this study ends up building upon contemporary politics of Indigeneity, particularly as it pertains to resistance and autonomy. The study concludes in a dialogue with key thinkers in the field of critical Latin American Studies, Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar and Raúl Zibechi. Seeking to contribute to the broader redeployment of difference in Latin America, this thesis provides an important contribution to understanding Indigenous-based models of autonomy as emerging from differentiated politics. The study is ultimately about how states render certain subjects illegibly or invisible and subsequently relagate them to spaces of subjugation.

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Introduction: The Undercurrents of Illegibility

According to the National Coordinator for Human Rights in Peru, (Coordinadora Nacional de Derechos Humanos, CNDDHH), there have been at least 200 hundred protestors killed by police and military units since the end of the internal conflict in the year 2000. During this period, not a single state official has been criminally charged. Analysis from the Ombudsman's office classifies the majority of the contentious episodes since the end of the internal conflict as related to socio-environmental issues, thus a correlation can be drawn between models of development and state violence. This correlation led to some of the early prelimary questions for the present study: why has the domain of development come along with so much violence? And why do the channels of accountability fail to hold the state accountable in these instances? The present study sought out to address these questions from a critical theoretical standpoint to read back the state. Given that socio-environmental conflicts are primarily centered around export-driven mining, or extractivism, it placed into focus to understand its in role in pertuating violence against mostly Indigenous and campesino people. More specifically, I sought to examine the ways in which discourses of development and progress come to sanction violence upon certain bodies and ways of being. I first came to understand the role subject and meaning making plays in state violence from my own experiences in 2011 that would ultimately lead me to Peru.

One of the questions we were most frequently asked during the occupation was: "what are your demands?" Even the most sympathetic of reporters and allies could not understand why we were expressing our grievances in the manner that we did. It was late September in 2011 in New York City's newly renamed "Freedom Square," a relatively small (33,000 sq ft) plaza in the most famous financial district of the world. Hundreds of us had gathered for an unauthorized rally in what would turn out to be a six month encampment. Initially responding to a call put out by the

Canadian magazine *Adbusters* to "occupy" Wall Street, the movement started off as an untethered and decentralized model of direct democracy: assemblies were set up to cooperatively manage the day-to-day logistics, plan meetings, and strategize our next movements. It did not take long for the State to respond to what it [mis]understood as a problematic or "illegible" kind of political expression. Just as had happened in similar occupations around the globe from which we drew inspiration—in places as diverse as Cairo, Madrid, and Santiago—the State quickly turned to using heavy handed tactics, occasionally razing our tents, ultimately dismantling the various communal projects set up in Freedom Square.

Despite having distinct historical memories, cultural practices and social traditions, these movements all shared a defining characteristic of decentralization as well as expressions of refusal to engage in the official terrain of politics. Although occurring in different geopolitical contexts, the uprisings that took off in 2011 all shared similar political expressions, which found a place outside the purview of the State, that is, they refused to partake in the institutions on which its polity was defined—elections, councils, referendums and more. Instead, many of them relied on direct action, most notably through the politicization of the public space in the form of occupations and takeovers, for the creation of other worlds. The May 15th movement in Spain saw tens of thousands of people take to squares and plazas in a collective show of defiance against corporate and party-centered politics. Known as the *Indignados*, the movement was a part of the wave of anti-austerity movements that began in 2008 in Greece and the popular rebellions of what was known as the Arab Spring earlier that year. The Arab Spring, the name the media had given to the uprisings in the SWANA (Southwestern Asia and North Africa) region that began in Tunisia, had led to tens of thousands of people in Egypt occupying the central square of Tahrir in Cairo earlier that year. Fed up with the three-decade long US-backed government of Mubarak, Egyptians attempted to enter parliament, kicking off a months-long standoff with the

government that paralyzed the country. While at first the governments of these respective countries attempted to pacify the movements by making concessions in the form of rescinding some unpopular legislations and backing calls for some elections, the reforms ultimately failed to slow down the movements that year, as occupations spread to other parts of the world. As these collectivities remained in the streets ignoring official State orders, they consequently broke ordinances and legal statues—the place where legality ends. It is from this point that the present project takes off with a few fundamental questions: What are the politics ungirding the permissible? Alternatively, what can we learn by following the transgressive actions moving across the delineations of the permissible? And under what terms do unsanctioned assemblies cross over into the realm of illegibility?

Legality is the paradigm that informs the parameters of the permissible as it defines what is epistemologically acceptable to the social order. As Michel Foucault argued, the political and epistemological are mutually constituted, producing knowledge as power. For the state, law and knowledge are interchangeable. In his lectures from the Collège de France, Foucault describes power's intimate connection to the state's economy and law, making up the economic functionality of power. This in turn disqualifies certain epistemologies that do not contribute to the inherent functionality of the state. The result is what Foucault would go on to identify as the deeper significance of subjugating certain knowledges, and what I argue carries on effacing their legibility under the eyes of the State. By illegibility, I refer to a political project that dismisses that which refuses to properly engage with the prescribed channels and political arenas of the State and what is understood as the only way of managing relationships of power within its sovereign. Inverting this conceptualization, this project approaches the politics of illegibility from below to examine how the permanence of these occupations enunciate a different political expression that can also be used to read back the illegitimacy of the state. This point is a key site for further

inflection where I offer up some important questions that guide this research: how do states determine the legibility of protest? How do both states and methods of political analysis reify the notion of legibility and the idea of permissible politics? And lastly, how do we understand politics ultimately informed by habitus or notions of beingness? Some theorists, like the scholar Alberto Moieres, have referred to illegible political expressions as "infrapolitics," politics that operate on a frequency outside or beneath the predetermined parameters of state politics. How can the adoption of new critical vantage points from within subjugated spaces contribute to a deeper understanding of the political? In other words, how can we begin to read infrapolitics as other spaces of power and autonomy beyond the dominant?

Although conceptualizations such as *infra*politics or *alter*politics seek to capture the political expressions of the otherwise, they simply lead to qualified politics which are then used to describe the enunciations of historically marginalized communities and spaces. The qualification and amalgamation of *politics* as a concept or idea only ends up reifying and reproducing a hegemonic political life. Here we find the confluence of the analytical along with the power of the state, where discourse and language forms the very paradigm of knowledge. This confluence—of language and knowledge—is what permits the State to control what it deems to be operating outside of the parameters of recognizable politics. How then to describe politics *otherwise*? Before engaging in this otherwise space, we first need to locate it. Emily Apter, a cultural critic, refers to politics outside of the state as "unexceptional," in contrast to the grand politics of the state and its governing entities. By naming these small every day and "unexceptional" practices as political, Apter recognizes an *otherwise* politics, something that we may not be able to properly name:

> thinking politics unexceptionally spools into explanatory structures of historical epic and of classical political theory, muddying their structural coherence, obfuscating mainstream political and diplomatic ends. This is politics that eludes

> conceptual grasp, confronting us with the realization that we really do not know what politics is, where it begins and ends, or how its micro-events should be called.[1]

It is important to interrogate the referent here. In other words, *who* is the subject that is attempting to conceptualize or capture these elusive politics? The referent that Apter alludes to is the normative subjectivity that presumes to speak from an objective or "zero-point" of reference.[2] The concepts, indicators and other predominant analytical tools for understanding the political seek to make sense of these unexceptional politics on the terms of the dominant disposition or the State. In relation to this, the elusive politics that Apter describes are not only escaping *our* conceptualization but also eluding the State's capture. The necessary process used to maintain hegemony—or at least an illusion of it—is the State's perpetual quest to capture the elusive politic, either through violence or appropriation in order to preserve itself. In effect, this endless struggle gives way to what Walter Benjamin described as the permanent state of emergency.[3]

Confined to the political, how then to do we make sense of the *otherwise*? Interrupting the presumptions of contentious domains, what can we (those of questioning the epistemological foundations of power) do to better read the dialectic of rebellion and repression? How do we amplify the so-called political realm to make space for plurality? The spectacular public displays of refusal in the second decade of the new millennium contrasted with the nominal discourse of globalization at the time. In the expanding socio-economic networks of neoliberal multiculturalism, the celebrants of globalization saw an emerging "Global village," arguing that

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[1] Emily Apter, *Unexceptional Politics: On Obstruction, Impasse, and the Impolitic* (Verso Books, 2018).

[2] I borrow the term 'zero-point' from the Colombian philosopher Santiago Castro-Gómez, who uses it to describe the place that western philosophy presumes to speak from. For more, see Santiago Castro-Gómez, *Zero-Point Hubris: Science, Race, and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Latin America* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2021).

[3] Benjamin, Walter. "Theses on the Philosophy of History." In Critical Theory and Society a Reader, 255–63. Routledge, 2020.

new modes of social connectivity at the turn of the 21st century would bring diverse communities together under new socio-economic regimes where new global institutions would diffuse access to the mechanisms and channels of modern governance. And yet, nearly a generation after these predictions, numerous uprisings around the globe have presented vigorous counterpoints, forcing political analysts to confront and rethink their frameworks.[4] The problem with attempting to capture the enunciations and embodied politics of occupation and other modes of resistance is that they are often effusive expressions of refusal. This can help to explain the difficulty in capturing and theorizing the occupations, as their fluidity makes fixing or containing their politics within geopolitical borders quite challenging. It is also a methodological matter: just as States were responding to the illegibility of these seemingly novel political expressions, so too were the empathetic parties who were attempting to make sense of them.[5]

Grand political narratives, defined by their state-centric orientation and top-down approaches, read these rebellions as the expressions and movements of *counterpublics*.[6] Presenting a critical intervention to Habermas' theorization of the public sphere, the American philosopher Nancy Fraser conceptualized the counterpublics as the marginalized communities that create their own modes of communication in the peripheries of the broader public domain. Whereas Habermas read the public sphere as the open space where ideas were taken up, debated and engaged with, Fraser identified alternative spaces beyond these normative dialogues. Rather than wait for official recognition, these alternative publics cultivated alternative social practices and

[4] While history from below continues to move along.

[5] David Graeber, "Occupy Wall Street's Anarchist Roots," Al Jazeera English, 2011.

[6] Yannis Theocharis et al., "Using Twitter to Mobilize Protest Action: Online Mobilization Patterns and Action Repertoires in the Occupy Wall Street, Indignados, and Aganaktismenoi Movements," Information, Communication & Society 18, no. 2 (2015): 202–20.

relationalities while seeking to break onto the mainstream.[7] Yet, although the concept of counterpublic denotes an alterity to the nominal discourse and practice of the public sphere, it nonetheless operates from the same paradigmatic political schema. The conceptualization of counterpublics presupposes that all marginalized communities are concerned with entering the predominant polity or the politics of inclusion. More so, in reading alternative publics in relation to the dominant political realm, counterpublics understands the project of alterity as one seeking approval and recognition, albeit on different terms. While this may be true for some groups, such as the marginal political subjects and collectives seeking to acquire rights through prolonged campaigns and social movements, not all those presenting alternative politics aspire to do so.

The capture or "occupation" of public space utilized by various movements during 2011 reflected a different kind political alterity. Writing from the OCCUPY movement, Rodrigo Nunes stated that they "possess a constituent power whose future and direction is as yet impossible to predict."[8] This much was true at the time when significant and sizable sectors of society remained outside of the main political life following changes in governance, particularly those that took place in the Global South, as was the case in Egypt. These demonstrations force us to reconsider the meaning of the repertoire of occupation, leading to more questions: What new form of politics take shape in these spaces? Was this a break from national dialectics? How should these political enunciations be understood?

Perhaps, a better way to understand the phenomena of occupations in 2011 would be to turn to earlier thinkers on how the politics of the particular concerns and takes into account the

[7] Sarah J. Jackson and Brooke Foucault Welles, "# Ferguson Is Everywhere: Initiators in Emerging Counterpublic Networks," *Information, Communication & Society* 19, no. 3 (2016): 397–418.

[8] Rodrigo Nunes, "The Lessons of 2011: Three Theses on Organisation," *Mute Magazin*e, 2012.

universal. Egyptian sociologist Anouar Abdel-Malik was theorizing this very notion a couple of decades prior to the Egyptian uprising. Abdel-Malik's dialectics, presented in his pioneering critique of orientalism, placed their situated national struggle within unique historical particularities. Identifying two main dialectical realms or "circles," Abdel-Malik breaks from the universal fixity of Marxism to see how social transformation occurs in the encounter between internal and external dialectics, crossing between national and regional borders in a transient way.[9] For Abdel-Malik, state-centrism leads to a reification of borders that fixes dialectics to internal processes within isolated geographies. According to Abdel-Malik, only once these are overcome, can a truly transformative revolution take place: "the meeting or conjunction of the maximal effective presence of each of these two great circles - classes, social groups: nations, cultures, civilizations - in a given country or group of countries, during a given period of historical evolution, is capable of producing the great transformations in the general course of evolution of human societies."[10]

Abdel-Malik's study of dialectics opens a broader analytical field that goes beyond the public-counter-public dichotomy. His intervention establishes a distinction between publics and society, recognizing that while there may be a heterogeneity of publics, there may also be a plurality of the latter within the state. By this I mean that while political studies separate the state from society, their analytical binary ultimately presupposes and reaffirms the existence of only one society at a given time. What is at stake here is not mere semantics or analytical processes, but rather *worlds* or ontologies themselves. By only seeing and recognizing one society at a given time, any study or analysis of contention is ultimately limited. It can also miss the "other

[9] Anouar Abdel-Malek, *Social Dialectics: Civilisations and Social Theory* (Vol. 1) (SUNY Press, 1981).

[10] Ibid

utopianism," what Avery Gordon describes as the movements of those who operate in the present sicio-economic world but draw upon way of knowing from another place.[11] These worlds do not simple stay in place but rather surface occasionally, as Asef Bayat reminds us.[12] As the Brazilian anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro notes, this is "an ongoing war of worlds, hence the sudden, pressing insistence on the ontological import of our ethnographic descriptions, in a context in which the world ('as we know it') is imposed in myriad ways on other peoples' worlds (as they know them), even as this hegemonic world seems to be on the brink of a slow, painful and ugly ending."[13] When these worlds begin to make themselves known, they are immediately questioned and confronted by a state that purports to hold command over society. As with the occupation in Tahrir square, although the state had difficulty comprehending the essence of OCCUPY Wall ST., it ultimately perceived it to be a threat. Responding to OCCUPY's decentralized political ethos, those demanding clarity and clear descriptors—through persistent inquiries regarding "demands"—were attempting to fold the movement within a particular tradition in order to better register its political expression. Yet what contributed to OCCUPY's elusive politics went beyond its decentralization, as it contained within it a collection or plurality of worlds. For us, the renaming of Zuccotti Park to 'Freedom Square' symbolized a reclamation and takeover, our own kind of nomenclature that expressed an ontological break.[14]

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[11] Gordon, Avery F. *The Hawthorn Archive: Letters from the Utopian Margins*. Fordham Univ Press, 2017.

[12] Bayat, Asef. Life as Politics: *How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*. Stanford University Press, 2013.

[13] Eduardo Viveiros De Castro, "Who Is Afraid of the Ontological Wolf?: Some Comments on an Ongoing Anthropological Debate," *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 33, no. 1 (2015): 2–17.

[14] Zuccotti Park came about as a result of New York city's Public-Private Partnerships. PPPs, as they are known, are development projects whereby private entities are granted zoning permits under certain conditions, most common are those that reserve a space for public use. The ontological break that occurs in the renaming of

As the days turned to weeks, the city of New York grew increasingly frustrated with the occupation—the longer we were allowed to remain in the public space in open defiance of the state, the more legitimacy the movement gained. The only way for the state to read these political enunciations was through a criminalization of the movement that would in turn win over public sentiment with claims of moral decay and panic. Operating outside of the conventional channels of political expression, our collective resistance—what were otherwise enunciations of alternative politics—unsettled the acceptable polity of the state: the occupation of squares and the establishment of autonomous spaces of subsistence were a kind of illegible politics, transgressive for their ability to evade recognition and capture. It became quite clear that the *fugitive* notions of our politics, their ability to be in constant motion and refusal to fix in place and dialogue, disturbed the terms of order on which the state depended.

And yet, OCCUPY ultimately disintegrated. In the end, it was not only the state repression that ended the occupation but its own internal contradictions as well. At the same time the state attempted to criminalize the elements it found to be illegible, the OCCUPY movement, through its own approaches and relationship to power, similarly reified the alignment of society with the state. Although many subcommittees attempted to revise and introduce new communal practices, the movement defaulted to convergence. Collective practices such as the use of the "peoples microphone" and the general assemblies folded collectivity into totality. In the process, the generative aspects that were originally the initial impetus for the enunciations of refusal were ultimately obfuscated and erased. Following the dissolution of the movement as a result of both State repression and its own internal

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the square is the inherent rupture of the social contract through the renaming of so-called "public" property, an element that underpins the legitimacy of the State. PPP's nomenclature presumes that the State operates on behalf of the "public good," an assumption that is delegitimized with the occupation and subsequent renaming of the square. In other words, occupation breaks the self-reinforcing logic present in this discursive practice of the State.

contradictions, organizers eventually left to take up various different political trajectories: some moved into conventional party politics, forming the initial base for what would morph into the progressive wave and the Bernie Sanders campaign; some turned to NGO work, seeking to push through changes from within civil society. Seen through conventional frameworks of power and politics, the formal end of OCCUPY Wall St. in 2012 seemed to endorse "the end of history." If history can be defined by a fixed repertoire of protest and resistance, then it could rightfully be declared over. However, the persistence of political refusal forces us to rethink the paradigm of resistance beyond the repertoire of protest as it was defined in the Global North.[15]

It was at this point that I began to think about better ways for undertanding otherwise politics rather than the frame for contention which the social sciences have long relied on to examine its root causes.[16] Contentious politics as an analytical paradigm seeks to disentangle the various agents vying for power in a given terrain. The predominant definition of contentious politics comes from the sociologist Sidney Tarrow, who defined it as the place where distinct claimants to power can be found.[17] Most recently, the concept of contentious politics has been amplified by political geographers, turning its conceptualization as a contested terrain itself. By the turn of the 21st century, geographers had come to expand the idea of contentious politics. Helga Leitner et al.'s reconceptualization of contentious politics understands the general framing of contentious politics as more of a point of departure, redefining it as a "concerted, counter-hegemonic social and political action, in which differently positioned participants come together

[15] Micah White, a co-founder of the meme that would become OCCUPY Wall St., muses about a new paradigm that reinvents the repertoire of protest. Micah White. *The End of Protest: A New Playbook for Revolution*. Knopf Canada, 2016.

[16] McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. "To Map Contentious Politics." Mobilization: An International Quarterly 1, no. 1 (1996): 17–34.

[17] Aminzade, Ronald R., Jack A. Goldstone, Doug McAdam, Elizabeth J. Perry, Sidney Tarrow, William H. Sewell, and Charles Tilley. *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2001.

to challenge dominant systems of authority, in order to promote and enact alternative imaginaries."[18] In their research on migrant justice social movements, Leitner et al. identify a discursive regime that is informed by much more than conventional politics. To properly understand social movements in this regard, Leitner et al. recover some of the empirical practices that migrant justice social movements draw from, including their experiences, social imaginaries, histories and more, describing these dynamics as "co-implicated." The authors broaden the notion of contentious politics by extending the arena of conventional politics, making room to read politics across various dimensions, including scales, networks, and other spaces. In amplifying the field of the political, Leitner et al. identify how distinct spatialities interact and encounter one another.

While Leitner and co-authors identify co-implicated spatialities, critiquing the limitations of the scaler lens as applied to the study of place, they nonetheless reify interdependence as the framework of contentious politics already sets up an analytical paradigm that politicizes a given terrain through its recognition of an array of power brokers. Chapters 1 and 2 will examine the ways in which this paradigm produces a reductionist and limited framework for understanding the complexity and nuances of resistance in the Andes. I argue that it misses how the historically constituted social and political geographies, epistemologies and ontologies have come to define the logics of development in the periphery. It is this formulation which led Anibal Quijano, the renowned Peruvian sociologist, to develop his meta-conceptual framing of the "global coloniality of power," an idea which would later be expanded to include the coloniality of being by Jamaican philosopher Sylvia Wynter and the coloniality of gender by the Argentinian philosopher Maria Lugones. Displaced from this colonial and historical footing, the paradigm of

[18] Leitner, Helga, Eric Sheppard, and Kristin M. Sziarto. "The Spatialities of Contentious Politics." Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 33, no. 2 (2008): 157–72.

"contention" ultimately collapses complex realities into categories that do not take into account the diverse ontological and epistemic differences that constitute Andean territoriality. These theoretical limitations extend into the way in which reseach is conducted, causing methodological limitations and failures. Pushing back against the entrenched universalist approaches to understanding difference, scholars like the anthropologist Marisol de la Cadena and the Belgian philosopher Isabelle Stengers have broken past the boundaries of reductionist paradigms for understanding the political. In turn, they have moved along what has been broadly described as the "ontological turn" for reading other ways of being. A concern of both scholarship and practice, it is important to bridge theory with critical and applied study. Aware of these limitations, I began this project with a central research inquiry: what can a reframing of politicized spaces as constituted by different modes of being tell us about Espinar and the notion of contention more generally? To answer this question, the practices taken up in this chapter are not only set up to find the sites of contention but understand its epistemological and ontological roots.

Seeking other modes of resistance, politics, and epistemologies beyond the well-known repertoire of protest, I embarked on what is in essence the warrant for this current project. I began by moving beyond the paradigm of conventional politics, seeking to understand what lay beyond what Cedric J. Robinson described as the "terms of order." Instead of seeing place as a composition of co-implicated spatialities, I read it as a variegated composition, an approach and framework that I draw from critical Black and Native methodologies which center intersectional analysis, multiplicity, and ecologies of knowledge.[19] For Robinson, politics as we know it operates under a set of conditions limited or confined by rigid and fixed conceptualizations that

[19] Audre Lorde, member of the Combahee River Collective reminded us that "There is no thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives." Similarly, Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg

only protect structures of power. As he put it, "the political seems to have as a characteristic the quality of arranging the relationship of things and of people within some form of society. It is an ordering principle, distinguishing the lawful or authorized order of things while itself being the origin of the regulation."[20] In proposing or enacting an otherwise society, the street takeovers, communal kitchens, peoples' libraries and more—*the disorder*— of the OCCUPY movement inherently created a fugitive practice as it spoke to another reality present beneath normative politics. This unmooring led me to look elsewhere, following the undercurrents of resistance down into the global justice movement that picked up where OCCUPY left off.

I entered the Peruvian political milieu though the global climate justice movement that followed the rebellions of 2011 and 2012. It seemed like a natural transition given that the climate crisis is a consequence of state capitalist exploitation. In December of 2014, I joined a delegation to work with Indigenous communities in the Peruvian Andes and to attend the Peoples' Forum, the grassroots response to the United Nations' Conference of Parties. Like OCCUPY, the Peoples' Forum, held in Lima that year, became a space of convergence for various political organization and movements. Debates, roundtables, and workshops formed the core of the gathering, where academics engaged with activists and community organizers. While the Peoples' Forum provided a space for critical dialogues with regards to the climate crisis, its solutions were still very much state-centric—while many understood the problem as emanating from the stae, they nevertheless made demands upon it. Progressive parties put out open calls for mobilization while its most radical wing proposed amendments to the constitution. So while the state was understood as the central entity responsible for much of the violence and exploitation communities sought to overcome, they nevertheless could not imagine anything beyond it. State-centrism those entrenches politics and critical frameworks in relation to the state

[20] Robinson, Cedric J. *The Terms of Order*. SUNY Press, 1980.

and networks of power.

However, this wasn't the full extent of oppositional or contentious politics in the country. Leading up the conference, I had spent a few days with our American delegation in the northern Andes, investigating the politics and epistemologies of resistance present in the central mining corridor, particularly those related to the Yanacocha mine. In contrast to the mobilizations and occupations I had been accustomed to, these contentious zones presented alternative political practices that expanded the repertoire of resistance beyond protest. In these contentious zones far removed from the state, either through their own accord or state negligence, politics were defined by an organic autonomy. Here, communities turned inward, relying upon themselves for security, subsistence, and care. It was at this point that my orientations shifted as I began to closely examine how political refusal can take the form of epistemic disruptions, contributing to the recognition of beingness born of different worlds, what is referred to as the ontological turn in the humanities and social sciences.[21]

The social and political practices of groups resisting mining that I encountered in the Andes fell outside of the conventional repertoire of protest as well as the paradigm of contentious politics. As I moved outside of North American area studies, I found that even the critical paradigms most often used in Latin American social sciences remained committed to state centrism.[22] Much of this renewed interest in state-centered development in Latin America was due in part to what was known as the Pink Tide, the ascendency of center left and left-wing governments that followed anti-austerity movements at the turn of the 21st century. Riding the wave of social discontent, these new governments sought to reformulate governance,

[21] Holbraad, Martin, and Morten Axel Pedersen. The Ontological Turn: An Anthropological Exposition. Cambridge University Press, 2017.

[22] Rey, Mabel Thwaites. "EL ESTADO EN AMÉRICA LATINA: CONTINUIDADES Y RUPTURAS," n.d.

appropriating *campesino* and Indigenous concepts as they developed a new governmentality while negotiating popular movements from below, establishing a unique kind of dual power.[23] However, about a generation into these negotiations and varying degrees of dual power,[24] the progressive model has remained wholly ineffectual in bringing about sustained social transformation.

Rather than review the shortcomings or cynicism of the Pink Tide, I instead turn to the growing number of autonomous modes of governance present in Latin America. By autonomous governance, I refer to a kind of political autonomy where communities turn inward to develop networks of care and subsistence without the support of the state. I highlight just a few notable examples here. On April 15, 2011, in Cherán Mexico, after years of intimidation and violence at the hands of loggers and narcotraffickers, the women of Cherán attacked the buses passing through their towns, taking the weapons held by the illegal loggers who ran through their town. For the women, this kind of response was appropriate in the face of years of systematic sexual violence, kidnapping and extortion by the paramilitary and loggers. Needless to say, the exploitation and violence perpetrated upon the young women and girls of the city and the destruction of nearly 70 percent of the surrounding forest are interconnected in many ways. Similar expressions of autonomous political formations can be found in the Cauca region of central Colombia where the *Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca* (The regional indigenous council of Cauca) have periodically closed off their territory and established Indigenous guards to protect their communities. In the Amazon the Wampis territory in Peru saw 22 communities come together across more than 1 million hectares to declare their autonomy from the Peruvian state

[23] Bretón, Víctor, Miguel González, Blanca Rubio, and Leandro Vergara-Camus. "Peasant and Indigenous Autonomy before and after the Pink Tide in Latin America." *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 2022.

[24] Andersson, Vibeke, and Steen Fryba Christensen. "Paper for the Conference The Pink Tide': Reconfiguring Politics, Power and Political Economy in the Americas?", University of Nottingham, UK, 22.-24. January 2010 n.d.

in 2015. While many Latin American writers, journalists and theorists have written about these movements, less have been written about the conditions of which have led these movements to take up autonomy. In other words, there is gap in understanding the functionality of the modern state in relation to what Zibechi refers to as people in movement. This kind of reading, what some refer to as counterreading or reading against the grain, often remains within the theoretical realm at the expense of engaging the politics of praxis. My goal in this study is to fill this void, by reading back the state to understand how the country makes sense of the Andean highlands in relation to its own state project. To do so, it draws upon a critical and interdisciplinary theoretical framework to understand how subjects and meanings are constructed through extractivism, what it argues is Peru's fundamental statecraft. As a study on subject and meanining making, this study situates itself within broader studies on capitalist/colonial modernity, particularly the work with scholars who have written on Blackness, Indigeneity and other subjugated identities.

Displacing the modes of resistance in extractive zones from the paradigm of contentious politics, this project connects the extractive zone of Espinar to the wider movements of political autonomy in their shared relationality to place and finds that they share much in common with the autonomous projects mentioned above. In other words, the modes and practices of refusal are not simply a practice of reactionary politics but draw upon other ways of being and relating, particularly those that exceed state-centered politics.[25] These are the politics of the "otherwise," or that which is typically placed beyond the purview of the state. To understand the politics of the "otherwise," I argue that extractivism serves as fundamental statecraft in Peru, bringing

[25] Perhaps the closest encounter to this framing within Western thought would be what is described as "open Marxism," such as in the work of Lefevbre, John Holloway or more recently, the framing of the "utopian margins" as described by Avery Gordon.

together global and national interests to the detriment of the peripheries of the Peruvian nation-state. In treating extractivism as itself a form of statecraft, we are able to see how the historical constructed imaginary of *Peru Profondu* with its rural/urban split itself was an attempt to capture the Andean highlands not only for extractive industries but also for the purposes of nation-building.

Espinar is a department within the province of Cusco, the historical center of Andean-Quechua Indigeneity, which has remained peripheral to Peruvian modernity. This makes it an especially rich site for investigating Andean ways of being and the different the biopolitics of extractivism play out in contradictory and complex negotiations between residents mines, mining companies, and the Peruvian state. Espinar is also the site of two relatively new copper mining projects —Antapaccay and Coroccohuayco—that have played host to clashes between community members and transnational mining corporations. It is also the ancestral home of the K'ana, a pre-Incan ethnic group that has long resisted the imposition of external governance. From the Incas to the Spanish, the K'ana have long resisted foreign impositions in order to maintain their political autonomy. In common with the broader Andean Radical Tradition, K'ana resistance has been led and organized by women as much in the past as in the present moment.[26] All of these combined factors have made Espinar one of the most intense extractive zones in the last few years. For these reasons, I consider Espinar to be a flashpoint, a representation of similar struggles in the region, which enables us to see similar patterns across the region. The core of the study thus situates Espinar within the long historical and colonial development of the state to read the ways in which extractivism comes to construct the subject and meaning making mechanism Peru relies upon.

[26] Banda, José Carlos. "'Siempre de Pie, Nunca de Rodillas': Construcción, Enunciación y Reproducción de La Identidad K\' Ana En Espinar, Cusco," 2019.

Methodology and Theory

Joining what I imagine is every dissertation project since 2020, I open this section by mentioning that the COVID 19 pandemic turned my initial project over. What had originally begun with questions about anti-extractivist resistance and enunciations of submerged Andean perspectives, ultimately morphed into more philosophical and theoretical questions about the state's workings. As fate would have it, I was days away from my flight back to the east coast of the United States to begin a month's long residency in a rural community in Vermont. The plan was to acclimate myself, an urban dweller who had become quite dependent on the state, to life in a rural setting in preparation for my field work and critical ethnography. However, social distancing provided me with the time to focus on the aspects of social life and how the state comes to define the relationships we hold. At the time, Peru was the country with the worst per-capita death rate from COVID. While many attributed it to the informal economy and weak institution, I wanted to go further and think about how the very way the state understands and reads its subjects created the conditions that led it to hold this position.

As mentioned earlier, the gensis for this project goes further back beyond my acceptance into graduate school. I spent three months in the fall of 2014, traveling throughout the Andes where I spoke with various community members including *ronderos* (community patrols), local radio hosts, land defenders and more. Along with these preliminary ethnographies, my participation with the delegation. Since that time I was able to maintain contact with numerous members their, including research and activits with MOCICC, a Peruvian network of climate activists and community organizers. These connections allowed me to finaly return to Peru in 2021, where I spent the summer conducting interviews and participant observation in the the southern mining corridor, principally in the region of Espinar. Between these two visits, I

established new contacts and have since 2020 been working with Derecho Humanos sin Fronteras, a non-profit human rights organization that is working with residents to document human rights violations and also training them as water and territory monitors. At the start of 2023, I have been coordinating with Liliana Estrella, an anthropologist and my main interlocutor in the region to plan out community mapping projects with the members to document the contamination of the region.

The interdisciplinary research methods and approaches I use in this project are part of what Macarena Gómez-Barris calls comparative and hemispheric American studies.[27] One of the latest scholars to think of resistance movements across the hemisphere as interconnected spaces, Gomez-Barris sees the potential in these comparative methodologies as able to "lift up and interlink" what she refers to as "submerged perspectives." Gomez-Barris describes submerged perspectives as "those sensibilities, forms of perception, and material practices that are organized below the modern colonial order, that go undetected by the regime of state power."[28] Thus, I draw from critical Black and Native methodologies that center intersectional analysis, multiplicity, and ecologies of knowledge which compels this analysis to move beyond the common concept of contention used in political science.

My examination of how violence comes to be sanctioned through the modes of statecraft present in the extractive zone of Espinar relies on transdisciplinary approaches to the study of state politics. It builds on postcolonial traditions, examining the new regimes of globalization and the rationalization of violence in Peru through new cultures and transnational linkages.[29] Pushing back against the innocence of development, or the apoliticized and economist framing

[27] Gómez-Barris, "Submerged Perspectives."

[28] Ibid.

[29] Accossatto, "Colonialismo Interno y Memoria Colectiva."

that dominantes political sciences, I examine its central place within globalization by de-economizing extractivism. To examine the racialization of extractivism, I turn to critical decolonial frameworks, drawing on the work of scholars such as Anibal Quijano, Sylvia Wynter, and other lesser read theorists in the anglo world from Latin America to pull apart how the the racialization of Andean into Indians was produced through extractivism. To examine territorialization, I draw on postcolonial geographers such as the work of Sarah Radcliffe who reads the making of the periphery in conjunction with the create of new subjects. Engaging in a critical discursive analysis and deconstruction of the historical subject the *criollo*, as look at the how this subjectivity is imbricated in the making of territory and the racialized other. Serving as the analytical bridge is my study of the Peruvian hinterland, *Peru Profundo*, which I theorize in relation to the formation of imagined geographies of the postcolonial tradition. Finally, my study of commodification of earth minerals draw from Critical Indigenous studies and serves to enjoin the other technologies of power. What this dissertation ultimately finds a consistent and enduring technology of power throughout the formation of the idea of Peru. A network of power, centered around the economy of mining or extractivism, was a nexus that enabled the biopower of racialization, territorialization and commodification. As the reader will see through my reinterpretation or counterreading of the historical notion of *Peru Profundo*, this network of power was quite literally mapped onto the terrain. In the following, I break down the main contribution and theoretical underpinnings in each chapter.

Chapter 1, "Biopolitics in the Andes: Extractivism and the Making of the Peruvian State," begins with a conceptual analysis of extractivism. It then moves into an examination of the ways in which extractivism serves as a fundamental statecraft function for the Peruvian nation-state, particularly through the interconnected biopolitics of reterritorialization, racialization and commodification. Beginning in the contemporary period, it starts by looking at

the territorial and environmental impact of the extractive zone created by the Tintaya mine in Espinar along with its auxiliary mines of Antapaccay and Coroccohuayco. It examines the ways in which these mines and sites become nodal points of the nation-state, rupturing Andean communities as they remake territories in accordance with global extractivist logics and geographies. By tracing the contours of these geographies and their processes across Peruvian history, this chapter finds that extractivist logics remain a central tenant of development, reproducing the imaginative geography of *Peru Profundo*, which I examine further in Chapter 2.

Chapter 2, "Into the Deep: The Politics of Peru Profundo," delves into this imaginative geography and the role it has played throughout the making of the Peruvian State. Tracing the co-constituted making of subjectivity and territory, this chapter examines the ways in which the construction of the interior, as a multifaceted hinterland, relies upon a set of colonial logics that was used to make sense of the other. It begins by exploring the so-called "Indian Problem," the historical liberal inquiry that contends with the existence of Indigenous peoples. It argues that the historical imaginary of the Peruvian state's periphery as *Peru Profundo* is a way for the State to make sense of the other kinds of knowledges present on the edges of its modernity. Conceptualized by the early 20th century Peruvian historian Jorge Basadre to refer to a civil society outside of private industry and the political sphere, the conceptualization of *Peru Profundo* in the contemporary lexicon runs through the Peruvian author Mario Vargas Llosa's recovery and redeployment of the term as a hermeneutic anthropological tool. The chapter is centered on a comparable study of community relocations—the *reducciones* or reductions carried out during the viceregency and the contemporary relocations in modern mining towns. Here I look at the ways in which the colonial logics entrench the contemporary movement of rural campesinos to a fixed territory. This chapter argues that the modern relocations of Andean communities as part of the making of extractive zones are informed by comparable logics to those of the historical

reductions.

Chapter 3, "Beyond Contention: Scenes of Extractivism and Resistance in Espinar's Extractive Zone," touches down in the extractive zone of Espinar. It draws from my early ethnographic work in collaboration with the photographer Alessandro Cinque and community members using the photograph as research to examine mining within the context of Andean realities. Taking up a critical analysis of photographs depicting various scenes across the extractive zone, this chapter unearths and visualizes some of the lifeworlds of the K'ana present in the region. In Cinque's photographs, we see encounters between different lifeworlds in this Andean region, such as those enacted by Elsa Merma. She and other community leaders' defiant stance and refusal to hold consultations anywhere else but their lands define a different paradigm of engagement. In Espinar, the politics of the K'ana, Indigenous and gendered, upsets the state's politics centered on a development predicated on formality, consumption, and individualism. Understood in this way, we can see how anti-mining struggles are already or always contentious.The photographic analysis shows how anti-extractivist movements are expressing alternative notions of power cultivated in an always already contentious terrain. The chapter concludes by situating these other lifeworlds within the broader continental notion of *Abiayala* or *Abya Yala*, the Guna people's term for the present world loosely translating as land in full maturity. *Abiayala* has been deployed by numerous *pueblos* and communities as a mode of ontological resistance and radical imagination. The conclusion of this chapter ends by developing *Abiayala* as a kind heuristic analytics to read resistance beyond the state-centric model for a counter-reading of *Peru Profundo*, recognizing historical resistance not as expressions of contentious politics but as collective eruptions of the submerged ways of being against the totalizing modes of modernity.

Chapter 4, "Hemispheric Encounters: Critical Dialogues for New Espitemological

Futures," uses the widespread political and pedagogical practice in Latin America of knowledge sharing and co-theorization through dialogues or *placticas*, rooted in Indigenous and Afro-descendent traditions of informal learning processes. This chapter presents dialogues with scholar activists Raquel Gutierrez Aguilar and Raul Zabechi, each of whom, in their own way, serve as interlocutors between established critical thought and the alternative politics within the space of the politics of the grassroots. Raquel Gutierrez Aguilar is a militant sociologist who works with feminist collectives to engender the territorial politics of the body as well as build out collectivism from below. Raquel began her early political work as a student organizer in Mexico before making her way to Bolivia to take part in the early resistance movements against its neoliberal agenda. Aguilar's work has moved from centering Marxist frameworks of power to theorizing from communality as a way to move from state-centered politics to the politics of care and the reproduction of life. Her work helps us to think through the K'ana womens' socio-political practices as they pertain to anti-mining resistance in the region of Espnar. Raul Zibechi is a journalist and political commentator who has long accompanied movements throughout Latin America, working with communities on the ground while reading the embodied practices of various different autonomous movements. His concept of *pueblos en movimiento* (societies in movement) is useful in helping to locate the different kind of movements in and against civil society.[30] Breaking from the interviewer-interviewee dichotomy, this chapter brings in these scholar activists as interlocutors, helping me to co-theorize alongside non-state paradigms while developing the metacritical analysis at the center of this project.

With resistance in mind, this work seeks to take up a broader purview of the historical and postcolonial conditions that construct the socio-political landscape of Peru. As I hope readers

[30] Zibechi, *Autonomías y Emancipaciones.*

will see, these landscapes, what have otherwise been referred to as extractive zones, are an invariable nexus of what constitutes the state. This work ultimately meets anti-mining resistance from its own standpoint, articulating the critical theoretical examination of statecraft which communities enunciate in their movement and alternative politics.

Chapter 1: Biopolitics in the Andes: Extractivism and the Making of the Peruvian State

As much as it is understood that the nation-state is a product of modernity, the same holds true if the order were reversed. It would be impossible to imagine the dominant universalizing modern project of our present moment without the nation-state as its centerpiece. While this much is recognized by many fields of study, modernity is nonetheless taken as a break from the colonial moment. However, as scholars like the Argentinian semiotician Walter Mignolo have noted, colonialism was not modernity's precursor or even its progenitor, but its underside.[31]

To understand how the role of colonial logics is obfuscated in contemporary analysis of the modern state, we must turn to dialectics and historicism. The dominant perception of history

[31] Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options* (Duke University Press, 2011).

is modern dialectics which understands a historical motion from which the contemporary state supposedly leaves behind its colonial past. Across the new world, the states that would constitute what came to be known as Latin America were, according to this reading, born from this rupture. While not alone in coming from this territorial modernity, extractivism in Peru presents a particular biopolitical regime that serves as a site of reference to understand how various modern processes converge in the making of this nation-state.[32] In this chapter I examine the ways in which extractivism is Peru's centripetal force preserving its coloniality, reproducing the colonial/modern disarticulations of the physical and metaphysical worlds. Extractivism acts as such by entrenching three main biopolitical functions within the nation-state project: reterritorialization, racialization, and commodification. Working as a triadic, these biopolitical functionalities inform the categories of inclusion and exclusion that are the basis of the nation-state of Peru.[33] By examining the biopolitical regime that extractivism creates, this chapter looks to understand the ways in which categories of inclusion and exclusion are not a consequential phenomenon of state-building but rather reflect the interests of a particular social and political project that undergirds the Peruvian State.[34] This chapter begins with a conceptual analysis of extractivism, before identifying and situating the historical role it has played in the Andean region since the time of the Peruvian viceregency. The chapter then examines the ways in which racialization, reterritorialization, and commodification come to be co-dependent processes, forming an interconnected triadic that reorders the lives and afterlives of those who fell (or were captured) within the geopolitical boundaries of Peruvian modernity.

[32] Here of course building off from the Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano's work on the colonialities of power.

[33] Anthony W. Marx, "The Nation-State and Its Exclusions," Political Science Quarterly 117, no. 1 (2002): 103–26.

[34] William I. Robinson, "Global Capitalism and Nation-State-Centric Thinking—What We Dont See When We Do See Nation-States: Response to Critics," Science & Society 65, no. 4 (2001): 500–508.

A deconstruction of the modern nation-state might start with Hegelian philosophy and its account of the world as defined by the tensions between opposing forces, representing the thesis (the prevailing, the dominant) and the anti-thesis (the oppositional, the resistant). Ultimately, a new synthesis emerges from this dialectical struggle. At the center of modern philosophy, Hegel's thought underscores a contentious state of nature, a reality based upon his own interpretation of his contemporary world: nearly half of the earth's surface was under colonial control during most of his life; the Atlantic slave trade remained a highly profitable region up until his death; and it would not be until the year of his death in 1831 that the Spanish crown formally outlawed the *mita,* the system of compulsory work required of its Indigenous subjects. Modernity was—and arguably still is—defined by the inherent colonial dialectic in which conquest (and the conquering subject) was seen as the manifestation of this synthesis.[35]

The dialectical process of modernity can be read as a process of allopoiesis, requiring resources from something *other* than itself to turn into something new, or, in other words to progress.[36] As such, western modernity has produced a set of corollaries, from enclosures to different kinds of monocultures, that have themselves been informed by self-serving imaginaries. This is not simply a general condition of the colonial era, but a condition absorbed *into* the modern state as its craft. As a mestizo-colonial state, the territory that would become Peru converted an internal space of its own into one of "underdevelopment" against which modern creole/criollo identity would be defined. Such a space of underdevelopment provided the proverbial rationale for what has been referred to as internal colonization: it is how the early creole *independistas* made sense of their 19th century "predicament" of imagining new mestizo

[35] See Nelson Maldonado-Torres' discussion of the *ero conquiro* Maldonado-Torres, "On the Coloniality of Being."

[36] "Colonialism is not a machine capable of thinking, a body endowed with reason. It is naked violence and only gives in when confronted with greater violence." The quote is attributed to Frantz Fanon

nations upon territories where Indigenous peoples still resided. This predicament is best captured in a letter by Simon Bolivar:

> Americans by birth and Europeans by law. We [Creoles] find ourselves engaged in a dual conflict, disputing with the natives for titles of ownership and at the same time struggling to maintain ourselves in the country of our birth against opposition of the [Spanish] invaders. Thus our position is most extraordinary and complicated.[37]

As in other emergent Latin American societies, Peru overcame this predicament by taking up a nation-building endeavor based on a selective political community and an attendant geography constructed *alongside* state-making forces of development. To better understand how this process takes place, I turn not to any Peruvian theorist but to one who based their work in Australia and dedicated it to understanding the logics of settler colonialism. Describing the deterritorialization, violence and otherwise broader structure of settler-colonialism imposed upon Indigenous North Americans, Patrick Wolfe points to the fact that this did not happen to them as Cherokees, Lenape, Chumash or other kinds of peoples, but rather as *Indians*. In other words, the targeting of Indigenous peoples under settler-colonialism was itself the racializing biopower of the settler project.[38] The upshot was structural dispossession in the post-independence period requiring a different kind of *dis*articulation between Indigenous peoples and criollo populations that would occur through a racializing process; the state-sanctioned violence meant the Indigenous communities had no recourse to legal redress for their loss. To contend with this paradoxical reality—dispossession and Indigenization of an emergent creole class—the Peruvian state machineries espoused a criollo liberalism, in which its ontology replaced that of the Andean peoples as the rightful historical figure of the new state.[39] In a

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[37] Thurner, "Historicizing 'the Postcolonial from Nineteenth Century Peru."

[38] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," Journal of Genocide Research 8, no. 4 (2006): 387–409.

[39] Jackson, Shona N. *Creole Indigeneity: Between Myth and Nation in the Caribbean*. University of Minnesota Press, 2012.

comparable case study of the South American country of Guyana, the scholar Shona N. Jackson demonstrates a similar disarticulation that took place in the post-colonial geographies that produced an intertwined phenomena—of replacing Indigenous peoples with a new mode of being—by which a state would soon be defined. In Peru, this disarticulation came about through the interconnected construction of a criollo political community that relied on its own form of *resource extraction*, the subject of these first two chapters. These interconnected phenomena of state-making—the making of identities, land enclosure, and resource extraction as the driver of the modern state's economy—distinguishes the colonial sphere of Latin America from European colonialism in Asia and Africa for instance, where extracting labor and its products were of primary importance.[40] As Benedict Arnold has described it, the "Creole" communities that lacked a shared language, among other preconditions, had a very different trajectory toward forging national identity; the Indigenous as the other was their point of differentiation for consolidating the modern criollo nation and later, the nation-state.[41] As a corollary to modernity, or as an "invention," to borrow from Wallerstein and Quijano, Latin American societies developed an immutable relationship between particular ethnic and civic factors.[42] Extractivism was central to this process, particularly for Andean countries and especially for Peru, taking up an important role in the making of the nation-state. It was through extractivism that the ethnic and the civic would be welded together, producing the modern criollo (the makers of the nation-state) against the Indigenous who were placed outside the modern fold through their racialization as *indios*.

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[40] Nancy Shoemaker, "A Typology of Colonialism," Perspectives on History 53, no. 7 (2015): 29–30.

[41] Anderson referred to Latin American states as the "Creole pioneers," arguing that the nation was imagined long before independence. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

[42] Miller, "Latin America."

To understand extractivism in Peru as a type of statecraft, a process through which the nation and the nation-state emerges, is to complicate the economic model of extractivism elaborated by many critical and neo-marxist Latin American scholars. For example, Maria Svampa and Eduardo Gudynas each attribute the permanence of extractivism across neoliberal and post-neoliberal regimes to the prevailing political institutions, despite the different models of governance in their respective regions of Argentina and Ecuador.[43] Others, such as the Peruvian policy analyst Roger Merino, treat this permanence as even deeper, describing a fixed paradigm of development that ultimately elides the differences between extractivism and "neo" extractivism, suggesting these are mostly discursive, and thus requiring a similar critique.[44] Building on this analysis, I find extractivism simultaneously providing the legitimacy of the state as it props up the nation by reproducing the main elements of its historical and dominant social class, while preserving a self-serving disarticulation of Andeans from their territory. To understand the complexity of this process of statecraft, a more expansive definition of extraction is necessary. One might start with the predominant definition of extractivism by the Ecuadorian economist Alberto Acosta:

> those activities which remove large quantities of natural resources that are not processed (or processed only to a limited degree), especially for export. Extractivism is not limited to minerals or oil. Extractivism is also present in farming, forestry and even fishing.[45]

This definition is limiting in a number of ways. First, it ruptures the interconnected spaces and economies of the urban and rural spaces. That is, it severs the intricate web of accumulation and dispossession spread across the geography of development, extending beyond the peripheral

[43] Gudynas, "Neo-Extractivismo y Crisis Civilizatoria.";Svampa, "Commodities Consensus."

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

zones and into the administrative centers in Lima, the exporting cities on the coast, and the global investors whose portfolios are traded in north American and European stock exchanges. Second, it fails to recognize the interconnected temporalities that commodities and natural resources carry, conceptualized as such from different eras.[46] Because of these limitations, some of the most common frameworks for reading social conflicts tend to have reductionist interpretations of the relationship between contention and power in the area: governance framework argues that ensuing social conflicts are a consequence of ill-designed policies and poor policy making, suggesting a deeply negligent governing structure is at play.[47]

Although approaching the conflict from a more critical standpoint that identifies the crisis as the result of imprudent behavior, the Human Rights framework nevertheless argues for social responsibility behind strong advocacy.[48] These proponents argue that stronger regional and international pressure from NGOs and adherence to Human Rights would result in fewer social conflicts. Most recently, the work of policy researcher Roger Merino has extended the critical approach beyond normative politics to understand the socio-environmental crisis in Peru as one of political ontology.[49] According to Merino, the socio-environmental conflicts emerge from the divergent ways of being across territories, as the State's commitment to the development paradigm subsumes alternative relationships to land present in extractive zones.[50]

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[46] Gago and Mezzadra, "A Critique of the Extractive Operations of Capital."

[47] Baud, Michiel, Fabio de Castro, and Barbara Hogenboom. "Environmental Governance in Latin America: Towards an Integrative Research Agenda." Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y Del Caribe / European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, no. 90 (2011): 79–88.

[48] Lutz, Ellen L., and Kathryn Sikkink. "International Human Rights Law and Practice in Latin America." International Organization 54, no. 3 (2000): 633–59.

[49] Merino, Roger. "An Alternative to 'Alternative Development'?: Buen Vivir and Human Development in Andean Countries." *Oxford Development Studies* 44, no. 3 (2016): 271–86.

[50] Merino, Roger. *Socio-Legal Struggles for Indigenous Self-Determination in Latin America: Reimagining the Nation, Reinventing the State*. Routledge, 2021.

Although Merino is comparatively more critical of governance, his analysis retains the presupposition of the State as a given entity that can at best be "reinvented." While I join Merino in reading the root of these conflicts as one of political ontology, I argue that the state itself cannot be separated from extractivism, establishing a deep correlation between social deprivation and economic growth. This intervention thus requires a reconceptualization of extractivism in order to avoid the reproduction of political binaries and postcolonial social hierarchies in studying Andean extractive zones.[51] Taking off from what has been labeled as decolonial realism, this research understands the logics of extraction as the naturalization of one particular human condition or reality. That is, this form is simply *one specific* interpretation of reality, based on a euro-western notion of development and growth.[52] Adding "another layer," this examination looks at how the motivations of "conquest in the name of progress" animates the extractivities that make up the Peruvian nation-state.[53] What is currently taking place in Espinar and the greater Andean region, the sites where the necessary transfigurations to reproduce the State are taking place, is but a microcosm of the greater processes currently underway in the region. In other words, a break from the poststructuralist discursive critique of development is established here, presenting instead the argument that the dialectic between development and conflict is the expression of a historical colonial condition that has always been a part of the State.

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[51] The limitation, that of effacing indigenous peoples political power, is addressed in subsequent chapters.

[52] It is this reality that led Fanon to describe colonialism as an "unthinking machine," one that is simply responding to its fixed dialectic and instinctual move towards an overpowering synthesis.

[53] A critical maneuver, this work contributes to the interventions on nominal state politics to avoid reproducing historical violentologies.

Defined by actions involving the removal of natural materials, extractivism functions as a nation and state-making process in three fundamental ways: racialization, territorialization, and commodification. These three processes that make up the bio- and necropower of extractivism materialize as fundamental functions of statecraft for the Peruvian State: the racialization of certain groups and conversion into social beings; the transformation of land into state territories; and the reclassification of minerals into commodities for the global market. As interrelated functions of the State, these processes can be found throughout the different phases of State formation.

Since the colonial encounters of the late 16th century, Latin American modernity has been undergirded by the removal of resources to finance the global market.[54] For much of its early history, a mercantilist system relied on the mining of raw materials and defined the relationship of the metropoles with its peripheral zones. In Peru, the exportation of raw materials such as guano, sugar cane, coffee, and rubber would take over the majority of mining exports across the country, shaping the political economies of each epoch until those deposits were exhausted and new technologies allowed for a return to the mining of precious metals like gold, copper, and silver in the late 20th century. Peru's political economy did not change much after independence in 1821, as it was arguably still being defined by its strong extractive regime that continued mining natural resources for the growth and development of the State.[55] After exhausting the guano deposits on the coast, the Peruvian economy, defined almost exclusively with what occurred in this region, shifted into an economy heavily reliant upon its cotton and sugar plantations in the late 19th century. Silver and gold, the two main colonial resources of the

[54] Svampa, "Neo-Extractivism in Latin America."

[55] Gellert, "Extractive Regimes."

colony, later returned to shape a new extractive regime in the 20th century: these previous metals, along with other mined metals, went from around 10 percent of the country's exports to nearly 70 percent at the turn of the 21st century.[56]

By the end of the 20th century, the notoriously cyclical commodity prices aligned with various social factors in the global south, particularly in Latin America. The most recent bust in the commodities price in the region, what was known as the "lost decade" of the 1980s, gave way to massive mobilizations against austerity-driven governing models. Yet, while this led to a shift away from the Washington consensus, it nevertheless entrenched extractivist regimes through the auspices of national governance, what is referred to as the commodities consensus.[57] The extractivist regimes under progressive governments that came to power in the early 21st century can only be distinguished in two main—but not fundamental—ways from the historical regime and what now forms the commodities consensus: rhetoric and the model of rent redistribution.[58]

Modern Extractivism and Good Governance

Many leading scholars on extractivism have argued that the distribution of rents alongside a critical and oftentimes anti-imperialist rhetoric has led to an expanding paternalistic state. Scholars such as Eduardo Gudynas and Maristella Svampa argue this contemporary form of extractivism differs from the previous drivers of extractivism where multinational corporations

[56] Orihuela, José Carlos. "The Making of Conflict-Prone Development: Trade and Horizontal Inequalities in Peru." The European Journal of Development Research 24, no. 5 (2012): 688–705.

[57] Maristella Svampa, "Commodities Consensus: Neoextractivism and Enclosure of the Commons in Latin America," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 114, no. 1 (2015): 65–82.

[58] Gudynas, "Diez Tesis Urgentes Sobre El Nuevo Extractivismo."; Acosta, "Extractivismo y Neoextractivismo."; Svampa, "Resource Extractivism and Alternatives."

transferred much of the rents into profits. Many studies have pointed to an increasing reliance on mining and other extractive rents since the turn of the 21st century.[59] Calculating the exact amount of rents States generate is quite difficult given the opaque nature of bureaucracies across the region. Various kinds of rent-distribution structures exist across different scales and models of governance, from the local and regional capture of taxes to federal captures that take place at early stages when mining concessions are given to transnational corporations. "Neo-extractivismo progresivo," as the Argentinian geographer Maristella Svampa coined it, became a new form of governance that has established extractivism as a core element of independence and self-sufficiency across many parts of Latin America. In this way, historical forms of extractivism have carried on, yet their process is occluded by a veneer of socially conscious-discourse that exploits anti-imperialist rhetoric to the benefit of public-private partnerships between the state and corporations.

Distinguishing between historical and modern forms of extractivism has been the main preoccupation of Latin American critical thought for at least a generation. Extractivism has been most commonly studied independently from other functions of the state. Scholars such as Roger Burbach, Michael Fox and Federico Fuentes, offer up a more traditional view of power. Recognizing the Pink Tide as a kind of 21st century socialism, these scholars argue that the left-turn and paternal governance at the start of the new millennium has the potential for transforming the State's social relations and logics of development.[60] This model of good governance, as it is known in the region, is defined by a strong presence of the State, taking up new regulatory functions and redistribution of rents.

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[59] Kacef, Osvaldo, and Juan Pablo Jiménez. "Políticas Macroeconómicas En Tiempos de Crisis: Opciones y Perspectivas," 2009.

[60] Roger Burbach, Michael Fox, and Federico Fuentes, *Latin America's Turbulent Transitions: The Future of Twenty-First Century Socialism* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013).

Other scholars like Richard Stahler-Sholk and Marc Becker distinguish between State power, development and neoliberal capitalism when studying and analyzing Latin America's social movements. Their framework for reading resistance and coercion recognize at least two camps of power, or what is known as dual power, within the context of Latin America—the State and social movements.[61] Political theorist Geo Maher describes the dual power present in Latin America as an active and generative agitation between two forces across civil society, 'ongoing, tense, and antagonistic opposition to the state, straining insistently upward from the bases to generate a dialectical motion allowing the revolutionary transformation of the state and its institutions, with the ultimate goal of deconstructing, decentralizing, and rendering it a nonstate.'[62] While these frameworks may seem distinct in their approach to power, they nonetheless operate with a presumption that the State is constituted by a singular society. This contributes to a stagnant dialectic of analysis—and power—that may explain what one critic has described as an "impasse" of the electoral left in the region by stating that "when it wins, it tends to lose."[63] The problem here is that "winning" elections is an illusory process of social change given that struggle is confined to fixed institutions. State-centric analysis reads the electoral domain as the exclusive space of anti-capitalist formations. As such, this view serves to reify homogeneity as it presupposes State power as neutral and separate from extractivism. Studying extractivism as separate from of State power fails to understand how resource mining becomes an integral process woven into the nexus of State power and overlooks how a consistent political ecology is not simply maintained by extractivism but how the two become part of the same.

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[61] Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden, and Marc Becker, *Rethinking Latin American Social Movements: Radical Action from Below* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2014).

[62] Geo Maher, "Introduction," in *We Created Chávez* (Duke University Press, 2013).

[63] Jeffery R. Webber, "Rhythms of the Left in Latin America," NACLA Report on the Americas 54, no. 2 (April 3, 2022): 155–66, https://doi.org/10.1080/10714839.2022.2084979.

In moving beyond the political economy, this chapter begins to recognize the ways in which extractivism functions as a kind of ontological design in order to avoid the general equivocation that is produced by the framework of contentious politics.[64] By doing so we can see how the discursive performance of independent "modern Peru" enables and reproduces colonial and state-centric analysis by reading extractivism exclusively through the lens of the political economy. The argument is thus the following: the functions of extractivism form not just a simple political economy but a political *ontology* of a nation-state administered by processes the makes communities exist for and under the terms dictated by the postcolonial reality.

By taking up this broader analysis, one can see the ecological devastation and the remaking of space that underlies extractive processes—what is referred to as the political ecology of extractivism—and that ultimately remains the same across time in spite of changes in political discourse and administrations. Whereas the general public rhetoric espoused by Latin American States in this period is undeniably distinct in the most recent iteration of extractivism, its fundamental functions have remained intact: the restructuring of territories and management of certain bodies carries on in accordance with the global capitalist logics of design.

Examining these logics across time we find that extractivism is a mode that reproduces the state, reifying mechanisms of the state behind the structures of violence that are justified in legal-juridical apparatuses, a topic further explored in Chapter 2. Understanding these logics helps us to then see how the prefix in the recently adopted term "neo-extractivism," used to distinguish contemporary extractivism, has a reductionist sense: much less a fundamental break

[64] Sandro Mezzadra and Verónica Gago, "In the Wake of the Plebeian Revolt: Social Movements,'Progressive'Governments, and the Politics of Autonomy in Latin America," Anthropological Theory 17, no. 4 (2017): 474–96.

in a historical process than it is merely a change in rhetoric.[65] The inextricable link between development and mineral extraction aligns with what the Uruguayan researcher Eduardo Gudynas writes are the theses on extractivism: he argues that neo-extractivism has itself come to be a pillar of progress and development as an increasing number of rents are used to support more social programs and to subsequently quell social unrest.[66] Nevertheless, Gudynas maintains that contemporary extractivism is "heir to the classical ideas of modernity." In all these ways, the good governance model—state-centered development discourse and policies through the auspices of a caretaker state—has been the defining characteristics perpetuating extractivism in this era.

Reading the problem through a *Kichwa* (northern indigenous Andean) lens, Ecuadorian researcher Javier Cuestas-Caza distills the different variants of this so-called good governance discourse. Cuestas-Caza argues that it is the different epistemic communities that promote the distinct thoughts about *Sumaq Kawsay,* which he uses to broadly describe the collective Andean philosophy. Cuestas-Caza argues socialist-statist or neo-development thought has redefined neo-extractivism on its own terms, appropriating and flattening *Sumaq Kawsay* as an Indigenous model for state-development, as is evident in the latest Ecuadorian and Bolivian constitutions, respectively.[67] In this way, *Buen Vivir*—the Hispanicized mistranslation of this Andean philosophy—is promulgated as a genuinely alternative and even autonomous form of

[65] To see how various debates on extractivism have remained fixed to the paradigm of the state see, Steve Ellner, *Latin American Extractivism: Dependency, Resource Nationalism, and Resistance in Broad Perspective* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2020).

[66] Gudynas, "Ten Urgent Theses about Extractivism in Relation to Current South American Progressivism."

[67] Both Ecuador and Bolivia have given jurisprudence to 'Mother Earth' or Pachamama. While initially celebrated, the limitations of expanding ontological perspectives within the state would soon become evident. See Tola, Miriam. "Between Pachamama and mother earth: gender, political ontology and the rights of nature in contemporary Bolivia." Feminist review 118, no. 1 (2018): 25-40.

governance that moves away from the previous structures of neoliberal forms of social progress.[68] What scholars like Cuestas-Caza point to are important fissures created by equivocation and co-optation that are able to scale up into official government policy. *Buen Vivir* and the Good Governance model become recursive practices in the political arena, recreating the binary of legitimacy and illegitimacy, the progressive center and the backwards periphery. All these scholars agree that the renewed rhetoric of dependency keeps extractivism within the sphere of the independent state. At its most critical, neo-extractivism can be seen as presenting a new discursive interjection: its conceptualization is tied to post-development thinking, a critical response to the post-war reorientations of global politics.

Led by South American scholars like the Colombian anthropologist Arturo Escobar and Ecuadorian economist Alberto Acosta, post-development thinking at the turn of the 21st century was motivated by the critical readings of perspectives "from below" that responded to the crisis of governability found at the end of the "lost decade."[69] Ecuadorian economist Alberto Acosta, one of the central figures behind the Montecristo constitution of 2008 that gave *Pachamama* (mother earth) rights in Ecuador, argues the main function of extraction carries into its modern conception.[70] For Acosta—who resigned from his post because of the many contradictions of the Ecuadorian government that he witnessed first-hand—development operates with the same logic as colonial development.[71] As an economist, Acosta has noted the central role the state still plays in sustainability and development. This can be found in the various manifestations of state

[68] Cuestas-Caza, "Sumak Kawsay Is Not Buen Vivir."

[69] Brand, Dietz, and Lang, "Neo-Extractivism in Latin America–One Side of a New Phase of Global Capitalist Dynamics." Since the Chilean coup in 1973, Latin America became one of the early sites of neoliberal policy; deregulation, privatization and concession grants across territories throughout the region were driven by the Washington consensus. This period soon gave way to new forms of extractions, continuing even through the popular rebellions that ushered in the protosocialist turn in the 21st century."

[70] Acosta, "Extractivismo y Neoextractivismo: Dos Caras de la misma maldicion."

[71] Ibid

paternalism across the Andes, such as the appropriation of Indigeneity through a Good Governance model as demonstrated by the Ecuadorian state. While these different forms of governance vary, extractivism remains a hegemony as it remains a central part of the very identity of the state, something that is most evident in the case of Peru.

Compared to its neighboring States, Peru stands as an anomaly, relying on its own genealogy of development discourse. Contrary to the Good Governance model that been taken up by both Bolivia and Ecuador, Peru continues to live in the long shadow of its dirty war, which is a main reason that prevents it from adopting any comparable post-neoliberal discourse like those present in its neighbors'. Nevertheless, it continues to rely upon extractivism, albeit through conventional rhetoric of development and economic notions of progress. Contemporary extractivism continues to seek out and expand into new territories; while driven by new logics of nationalist progress and development, the extractivist regime is still dependent upon the global economy and its vicissitudes.[72] It is for this reason that, while the new Castillo administration has pivoted to a more sensible and responsible relationship towards Indigenous communities, it has nonetheless committed to keeping Peru's position along the global supply chain intact.

Corridors and the Geography of Mining

With a furrowed brow, the defiant spirit housed within Melchora Surco's small frame comes through in an unapologetic tone. Melchora Surco is a member of the association of Defenders of Pacpacco, a community organization in the city of Espinar located in southern Peru. Recounting her fight with the local mine owned by the company Glencore for the reporter Gloria Alvitres, she shares her experiences of a nearly 10-year struggle. Now fragile but no less

[72] Escobar, Encountering Development; Esteva and Sachs, "The Development Dictionary.";Svampa"; Svampa, "Latin America Development, "," 13-32.

committed to defending her *pueblo*, Surco discusses the number of toxins present in her blood and that of her family's. One of the most recognizable figures in a campaign that has been led mostly by women, whose very bodies serve as sites of violence perpetrated by the patriarchal state, Surco embodies a "necro resistance" against state mechanisms of extractivist violence. To present their bodies where they are violated affirms what Diana Taylor has named a "politics of presence": Surco stands defiantly and to resist extractivism's death model, a life-affirming presence that confirms the existence of other worlds. Antapaccay and Coroccohuayco, the copper mines of Espinar in Surco's backyard, are sites where the biopolitical violence of extractivism starkly manifest, opening territorial and ontological fissures. To fully understand these fissures, I attempt a disentanglement of the Peruvian nation-state's biopolitics.

For much of the last decade, Peru has been held up as a model of economic development: its growing GDP and expanding commodity export economy left behind a period of violence not seen in the country in over a century. Between 2011 and 2020, Peru's national GDP grew by an average of over 4% annually, nearly four times the average growth in Latin America. Much of this was driven by the mining sector, which after its privatization in the 1990s provided the country with over a ten-fold increase in investments. Between 1990 and 2007, Peru received US$ 12.35 billion in new mining investments from the US, Canada and the UK.[73] Peru's macro-economic growth would continue until the COVID19 pandemic suspended much of the country's industry, as its high rate of infection made close contact work a high risk. However, the central government moved quickly to prioritize and restart the mining industry. Analyzing how the politics of land or territoriality come to inform the politics of the Peruvian State can help us to understand the responses to COVID and the quick reactivation within a long

[73] Roger Merino Acuña, "The Politics of Extractive Governance: Indigenous Peoples and Socio-Environmental Conflicts," *The Extractive Industries and Society* 2, no. 1 (2015): 85–92.

historical period of neoliberal development. All of this can be attributed to the politics of progress and development which have driven the State's *territorialization* and its post-pandemic recovery.

Most commonly used in international political geography, territorialization describes the process by which spatial configurations take place to accommodate capital flows.[74] As Deleuze and Guattari argued, the destruction and remaking of territory follow the expansive rhythms that capitalism requires to move through and grow.[75] In the global South, but especially in Latin America, this process did not cease with the end of colonization, rather, it fell under the auspices of a new governing class that sought to modernize by developing its internal territories. In Peru, the creole/criollo political community retained the bifurcated onto-spatial geography of the colonial period through its discursive practices and state-making processes of what has most recently been described as a process of internal colonization—a process I argue here and in the next chapter, continues to take place.[76] The ontological basis of this bifurcation is found in the way its internal geopolitics produced similar forms of racialization in the newly established nation-state.

As many scholars have noted, the nationalist aggression in Latin America turned inward, seeking to manage the existence of large populations that fit outside of its national imaginary.[77] Andean and Amazonian communities were racialized alongside the politicization of the nation-

[74] Yang, "Reterritorialization."

[75] Deleuze, Guattari, and Plateaus, *Capitalism and Schizophrenia*.

[76] Casanova, *Sociedad plural, colonialismo interno y desarrollo*.

[77] Ibid.

state's territories, both of which became definitive processes for nation-formation.[78] As scholars studying Peru's state and nation formations have noted, the postcolonial 19th century entrenched an immutable association of race and territoriality, recognizing a particular Andean ontology (*indios*) with underdevelopment.[79] Contending with the large Indigenous population, the Peruvian state's liberal foundation would lead to what the historian Mark Thurner described as the "entangled political discourse" of the 19th century where the state sought to make sense of its various polemics. Following independence in the 19th century, the State of Peru would adopt new terms to refer to the Andean and Amazonian communities, preferring *Indigena* (indigenous) over *indio* (Indian), in what was believed to be a benevolent response to the latter's association with an ontological underdevelopment. Occurring in the republican period of the early 19th century, discourse and new categories of race came alongside the formation of citizenship and the social contract. Andeans, who were more often referred to as *indios*—a colonial nomenclature—had to be transformed into an appropriate or more fitting ontology, undergoing a process of transfirguration. In a similar context, the anthropologist Anders Burman notes the complexity and power in the nomenclature *Indijena* as historically deployed by the State and counter-hegemonic movements across time in the Andes, "They are mutually constitutive and dialectically connected and borrow heavily from each other when it comes to symbols, discourse, and rhetoric repertoire. Moreover, they are neither static nor homogenous in themselves, but rather dynamic, ambiguous, and heterogeneous."[80]

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[78] Radcliffe, Sarah A. "Imaginative Geographies, Postcolonialism, and National Identities: Contemporary Discourses of the Nation in Ecuador." Ecumene 3, no. 1 (1996): 23–42.

[79] Thurner, "Historicizing 'the Postcolonial from Nineteenth Century Peru."

[80] Anders Burman, "'Now We Are Indígenas': Hegemony and Indigeneity in the Bolivian Andes," Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies 9, no. 3 (2014): 247–71.

The correlation between development and national political discourse was most evident in post-independence Peru, where the state redefined its territoriality along the lines of progress, making its modernization project an ontological one as it took in Andean peoples in new political terms. Meaning, that the capture and enclosure of land was as much about redefining its post-independence geography as it was about making Andean/Indigenous peoples into modern subjects. In many ways, the post-independence logics resemble the postcolonial logics, entrenched within the very fabric of the State and the institution of extractivism producing an interrelated processes of racialization and commodification, affirming a historical reterritorialization while constructing a new political discourse. With modern liberalism at its core, the Peruvian State pushed for development or progress "at all costs" as its primary goal.[81] Post-independence modernity can thus be distinguished by the way in which the dynamism of core and peripheral relations that dominated the colonial epoch had been condensed into an internal process. The resultant regime of order would later construct a geography of enclosures across borders, with neo-extractivism making those processes an imperative of the post-independent State.

Today, nearly 1/4 of the country is under mining concessions, with the majority of these territories concentrated along the Andean and Amazonian bioregions. In the southern Andes, new global investments and the upswing of commodity prices has contributed to the reterritorialization of the region at the turn of the 21st century. However, in no other region of Peru has the flow of global capitalism led to its reterritorialization like the "southern mining corridor," the de facto name of a nearly 500-mile-long route that cuts across the southeastern

[81] Arsel, Murat, Barbara Hogenboom, and Lorenzo Pellegrini. "The Extractive Imperative in Latin America." *The Extractive Industries and Society* 3, no. 4 (2016): 880–87. On internal colonization, see Kay, Cristóbal. "Internal Colonialism: Ethnic and Class Relations." In *Latin American Theories of Development and Underdevelopment*, 68–97. Routledge, 2010.

departments of Apurimac, Cusco, and Arequipa. The southern mining corridor has been known as such since 2015, when the Chinese company MMG began transporting minerals from the town of Cotabambas to the port city of Matarni, effectively creating the transit route that is now used by numerous mine operators. Three mining projects serve as the corridor's pillars: the Las Bambas complex in the department of Apurimac, operated by the Chinese company Minerals and Metals Group (MMG); Anatapaccay complex in Espinar (Cusco) operated by the Swiss company Glencore; and Constancia in Chumbivilcas (Cusco) operated by the Canadian company Hudbay.

A significant geoscioeconomic region, nearly 30 percent of the country's copper is produced in the mines along this corridor, with Las Bambas mine in Cotabambas, Apurimac alone producing 2 percent of global copper. I'll briefly describe each in turn.

Las Bambas is the third largest copper mine in Peru, producing over 300,000 tons of copper before operations ceased as a result of the latest community-led stoppage in July of 2022. An open pit mine, it was also the site for extracting smaller quantities of molybdenum, gold, and silver. Like many of the mining projects in the country, this mine was controlled by a number of national and international parties, many of whom hid behind multiple shell companies and subsidiaries. Initiated by the Anglo-Swiss company Glencore, the mine had just been completed in 2014 before it was sold to the Chinese company MMG for over 6 billion dollars. Las Bambas has seldom seen extended periods of uninterrupted mining as numerous communities have come together over the years to halt operations in response to various grievances, most notably the environmental impact the mines have had on the surrounding communities and the lands.

Following the closure of the open pit mine Tintaya, the mining complex of Antapaccay initiated its operations in 2012 with its sister mine, Coroccohuayco, originally scheduled to open

in 2021 near the original site.[82] According to *EJAtlas,* its production "consists of 80,000 tons per day. Its reserves surpass the billion tons of 0.49 % copper with an estimated service life of two decades." The Antapaccay mining project's reported one-billion-dollar revenue in the year 2016, a figure sharply contrasted by the poverty in the surrounding community, where around 70% of the people live below the poverty line. In addition to the *Convenio Marco Espinar-Cusco* or Framework Agreement formulated in 2003, the residents there were recently demanding a subsidy of 1,000 *soles* (approx. $330) to help during the pandemic. This stems from a previous agreement made between the residents of Espinar and the Swiss mining company Glencore, which operates the Antapaccay mine and its new auxiliary project, Coroccohuayco, to commit 3% of profits to fund social and healthcare programs, institutions and infrastructure. In this context, the struggle of Espinar's residents is more than financial, as I will describe in greater detail in the chapters that follow. Their open and explicit demands resist the biopolitics of the mine and the broader extractivist society that has imposed new regimes of exploitation and extraction.[83]

The Constancia mine includes the main mine that began its operations in 2014, and Pampacancha which initiated its mining operations in April of 2021. Copper and molybdenum are the main commodities produced out of its two main deposits. With recent expansion and upgrades, Constancia is expected to produce approximately 102,000 tonnes of copper and 58,000 ounces of gold between 2021 and 2028.[84] Exploration and localized mining had been taking place in the region for decades, when a Japanese investment company brought in small

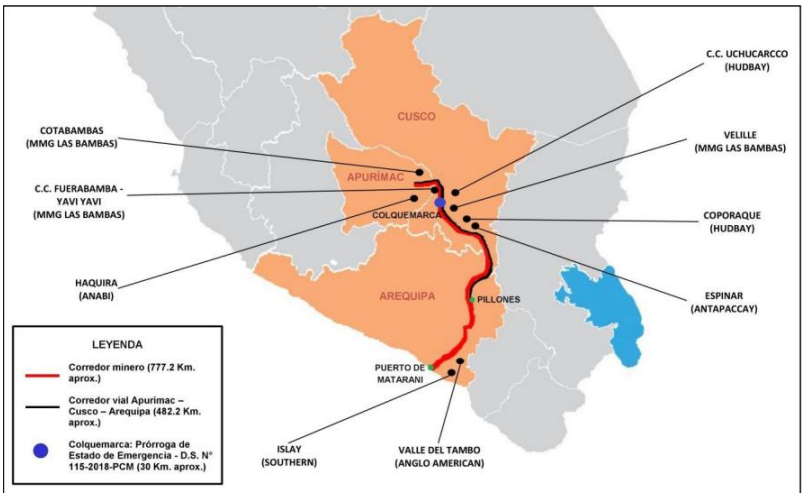
[82] As of this writing the project remains on hold until 2024.

[83] Chapter 3 critical ethnography engages with this in more depth.

[84] International Mining. "Hudbay's Constancia Continuous Improvement Quest Leads to MineSense XRF Trial"

operations in the 1970s. It would not be until 2010 that the planning phases for the new mining complex would pick up after the Canadian company Hudbay Minerals purchased the smaller Norsemont mine that had already began mining Constancia for $523 million dollars.

Together, these mining operations make up a network of extraction along the southeastern part of the country. A part of the global geography of extraction, this southern corridor brings together various communities across this region, creating a secondary geography of sacrificial zones along the way. This can be observed in how 37 communities along the route from Cotabambas in the north of the corridor, out to the port of Matarni in Arequipa, have long been faced with environmental degradation created by the transport of commodities. Hundreds of trucks make their way through its newly paved highways out to the port, where the material awaits to be shipped to national and international refinement plants. In total, about $7 billion dollars of Peru's Gross Domestic Product runs through this region every year, making the southern mining corridor a vital economic artery for the State's economy and its foreign investors that include the U.K. and China.



Source: Ombudsman office of Peru - Conflict Monitoring System

Forming part of what can be described as the extractive assemblage, the southern mining corridor is part of an interconnected regional, national, and global conglomerate that makes up this mining supply chain. Following numerous financial agreements, legislation, and policy changes, the neoliberal regime in Peru allowed for the extractive assemblage to expand and incorporate more territories as extractive zones.

Peru's current constitution dates back to 1993—enacted only a few days before the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came into effect—and was preceded by policy reforms that saw various kinds of subsidies lifted; the removal of many price controls and rules that allowed the *Inti* (then Peruvian currency) to float against the dollar alongside the new constitution; numerous legislative decrees including No. 668, which removed any discrimination of foreign companies and gave investors unrestricted access to all economic sectors.[85] This economic stimulus program completely altered society, creating new cultures of consumption as it opened a new era of neoliberalism in the Andean country. The "fujishock," as it came to be known, included a set of macroeconomic disruptions implemented to combat inflation, the Peruvian variant of global structural adjustments. With the defeat of the Maoist insurrectionist group, Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*), the enactment of the new constitution just a year later became quite symbolic: it signaled an end to one of the last Marxist insurgency groups in Latin America and the subsequent triumph of neoliberal modernity. The austerity measures that followed produced favorable conditions for new foreign investments, paving the way for concessions to be given away to mining companies for extractivist projects.[86]

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[85] Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development. "Local Content Policies In Minerals-Exporting Countries: The Case of Peru."

[86] Bury, Jeffrey. "Mining Mountains: Neoliberalism, Land Tenure, Livelihoods, and the New Peruvian Mining Industry in Cajamarca."

Fujimori's constitution privatized the mining industry, handing over the management of mining projects to Canadian, American, and British companies as global commodity prices were starting to rise. While many of Peru's neighbors were turning to state-centered development, Peru went all in on liberalizing its economy resulting in a bonanza for the mining sector. In the 1980s the mining sector saw a combined average loss of US $100 million per year; between 1990 and 2003, however, Peru received US $12.35 billion in mining investments for exploration, expansion and enhancement of new mines.[87] By 2003, the last state-owned mine was privatized leading to an acceleration in the granting of mining concessions: mining concessions went from covering around 2.3 million hectares in the 1990s to over 24 million hectares by 2011.[88] In 2009, Peru signed free trade agreements with Canada and China, ushering in new investments that facilitated the expansion of new mining projects; all this has led to Peru currently having around 200 mines in operation and 54 projects in the exploration phase.[89]

Along with the growth of new mining projects, the mining corridor in southern Peru has played host to numerous social conflicts over the years, signaling a deep correspondence between state-led development and social unrest.[90] Whereas 20% of conflicts were categorized as socio-environmental by the Ombudsman's office, by 2016 nearly 70% of them could be categorized as such. Since the turn of the new millennium, over 60 protestors have died opposing mining and other extractive projects in the Andean and Amazonian region, with the

[87] Bastida, Ana, Ricardo Sánchez, and Ricardo Labó. *Mining Investment and Policy Developments: Argentina, Chile and Peru*, 2005.

[88] De Echave, José. "La Minería Peruana y Los Escenarios de Transición." Transiciones, 2012, 61.

[89] Proinversion. "Perus Mining and Metal Investment Guide 2019/2020."

[90] Saldaña Cuba, José, and Jorge Portocarrero Salcedo. "The Violence in Laws: The Use of Force and the Criminalization of Socio-Environmental protests in Peru."

majority of them being killed in the last few years.[91] Much of this violence has happened with direct and indirect involvement of the State of Peru, which has used force to expand its juridical reach—a reach that has engendered displacement, dispossession, and personal assaults through its national and regional police forces. Between 2004 and 2016, Peru made use of 23 "state of emergency" declarations in conflict zones, resulting in the criminalization of entire communities who resisted the reterritorialization of their communities.[92] A part of this expansive apparatus, a number of significant decrees and amendments were swiftly passed. Most notable among them is Law 30151, known as the "police impunity" law, which grants police immunity from any violation caused while carrying out legal orders.[93] Security assemblages, including the collaboration between public and private forces and legal decrees, convert mining communities into extractive zones. A form of colonial/modern reterritorialization, state and corporate collusion condemns specific geographies to the logics of extraction, including economic enclosures and dependency, securitization, and social control.[94] The violence perpetuated under "state of emergencies" carries what Walter Benjamin classified as the two kinds of violence carried out by the state: law-preserving and law-making.[95]

The Politics of Contemporary Extractive Zones

Extractivism incites a politic of death or necropolitics—a disjuncture—as it seeks to reorder lifeways that disrupt the balance of life and well-being. Responding to this process and seeking to make sense of this reordering, some of the communities living in these extractive

[91] Article 19, *A Deadly Shade of Green.*

[92] Ibid

[93] Rowlands, "Peru."

[94] Ibid

[95] Benjamin, Walter. *Toward the Critique of Violence: A Critical Edition*.

zones adapt to new social and political orders for survivance.[96] An example of this is found in Las Bambas, where a long-term project of resettlement sought to bring the Indigenous-campesino Fuerabamba community out from their agricultural subsistence into a modern social environment.

Long before MMG acquired the rights to the land and to the Las Bambas mine in 2014, the Anglo-Swiss company Glencore had initiated studies into the social and environmental impact of relocation and dispossession at the height of the commodities boom in the early 2000s. The mine had acquired the land in 2011 and by 2014 had begun the resettlement of the communities of Fuerabamba to the new village of Nueva Fuerabamba. It took about two years to relocate the nearly 500 families and 1,600 members of the Fuerabamba community into independent homes built to resemble what is referred to as the "swiss model," small plots of land with manicured lawns and paved cul-de-sacs. Uprooting the Fuerabamba community from their ancestral lands was a kind of ontological rupture, removing the community from agricultural subsistence and making them dependent upon market-based commodities. This reterritorialization preserves the obfuscation of racial oppression found in the discursivity of *campesinidad*, a category that the State is better able to read and interpret.[97] In other words, reterritorialization undermines or "submerges" knowledges, bringing in land and the ways of being born from it in alignment with the interests of capital and State. For Indigenous communities, land embodies more than the material spatiality, it serves as the place from where communities exist with and among human and non-human being. Highlighting the cosmology

[96] Survivance refers to the unique persistence of Indigenous ways of being in spite of the various interlocking systems of violence that have acted upon them. See Vizenor, Gerald. 2008. *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*. U of Nebraska Press.

[97] Ibid

of her own Indigenous Nishnaabeg community, the scholar Leanne Simpson describes land for Indigenous peoples as a world-making space, the site from where knowledge is created and cultivated.[98] Given that Indigenous ontologies are deeply rooted in land, the commodification of minerals in Cotabambas where Las Bambas mine is located requires the displacement and ultimate severing of Indigenous peoples from their land. In Peru, contemporary reterritorialization follows the historical logics established in the structural event of colonialism, one that has been carried out discursively as well as materially into the present day.

The seemingly contradictory approaches to dealing with the violence of mining and the State actually speak to the complex ways *campesino* communities negotiate their existence with mining in places like Espinar, ultimately complicating the fixed concepts of Indigeneity and *campesinidad*.[99] Less a case of contradiction, the engagements of Indigenous and *campesino* communities with the state are the product of complex negotiations, where the selective approaches to the state become contingent upon a variety of factors. The anthropologist Charles Hale refers to this process as "use-refuse" politics – where political actors enter and exit the political arena at their convenience, "playing the game" so to speak, to advance broader cultural projects of recovery and preservation.[100] Some do so by taking the buyouts or resettlement plans offered by mining corporations.

The Making of Peru's Extractive Modernity

[98] Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. "Land as Pedagogy: Nishnaabeg Intelligence and Rebellious Transformation."

[99] Vindal Ødegaard and Rivera Andía, *Indigenous Life Projects and Extractivism*.

[100] Hale, "Using and Refusing the Law." Anthropologist Charles Hale has read these engagements in Guatemala in similar fashion, observing how indigenous communities enter and exit the political arena with the state, a "use and refuse" relationship to the benefit of the people.

Development in Peru is enabled by the binary of urban (developed) center and the untamed rural periphery that was originally imagined in the colonial period. As unsettled territories, these peripheral territories are transformed into zones whose only purpose is to serve extractive regimes, areas relegated to a specific geography of social death. Such an epistemic divide has come to signify, indeed sharpen, differences between the modernity of the occident and all else.[101] The historical taxonomies of race and class in colonial Peru are fungible identities in this regard, shifting and changing in accordance with the commodification of earth elements and minerals. Thus, understanding extractivism as an imperative means recognizing an always already racial project preserving the colonial/epistemic divide in Peru. The Uruguayan journalist Raul Zibechi has documented the racialized violence of contemporary extractivist regimes in these zones being conducted on the same historically subjugated bodies of the nation-state and its predecessors. Zibechi goes further, holding mining and extractivism as the defining feature of neo-colonialism, quite distinct from historical forms of European accumulation.[102] Zibechi articulates the *raison d'etre* for extractivism's racialization: absent a proletarian class, the expropriation in the periphery of Latin American extractivist states is devoid of a legitimate class of "free proletariats," relying instead on racial retrenchment and the making of "*indios permitidos*," or more perversely, faux mestizos whose politics of being shape Peru's multicultural society.[103] The contemporary racial politics of the Peruvian state can be traced back to the formative events of the colonial period that shaped geographies in accordance with the empire's desire to envelop

[101] Santos, "Beyond Abyssal Thinking."

[102] Zibechi, "From Social Movements to 'Other' Societies in Movement–Part 1."

[103] For more on the interplay between culture and racial politics in the Andes, see Sanjinés, *Mestizaje Upside-Down.* A more specific historical contextualization is presented in the following chapter which pulls apart how these elements come together in the constructed colonial notions within the imagined geography of Peru Profundo in the next chapter.

what it designated as *tierra nullius*. Substantiating the arguments put forth by scholars such as Paul Drinot, this genealogy shows that the biopolitics of Peru stem not from governmentality but rather a sovereign identity marked by postcoloniality.[104]

As I've argued, the interconnected processes in the colonial period—racialization, territorialization and commodification—were forms of biopower by which the expansive Euro modernity came to recognize and know various territories and subjects, what would later inform Peru's own statecraft. What is today the southern mining corridor makes up a part of a larger historical geography that was first shaped by the chemical element of mercury, an important component of the mining process. An amalgamate, mercury has been the main chemical element used to separate mineral from ore since the 17th century. Although less present in the amalgamation process today, mercury's commodification occurred through colonial and racial orderings of the past, preserved in geographies that continue to inform the contemporary extractive zones in Peru.

As with other places in the Global South, the inaugural image of order for the territory that would become Peru was marked by the specific social, cultural and political contexts of the Spanish conquest. Colonialism laid the foundation of a structure with its particular axiological elements that allowed the hegemonic society to see and interpret its surroundings, or "make known" that which was unfamiliar.[105] Land—captured, parceled, and identified— would become the pillar on which the image of order was put into place. As was typical in the incorporation of offshore colonies, the conquest of Peru was carried out through nomenclatures and classification, encapsulated in the official documented geographies of the crown. Beginning in

[104] Paulo Drinot, "Foucault in the Land of the Incas: Sovereignty and Governmentality in Neoliberal Peru," in *Peru in Theory* (Springer, 2014), 167–89.

[105] Naylor et al., "Interventions."

1574, a series of administrative documents sought to capture the local features in Peru: from rivers to mountain ranges, coastal boundaries and everything within them. Preempting the scientific revolution, these geographies relied on important taxonomies that described and labeled towns, flora, fauna, cultures and other features of the colony's territories. Known as the *Relaciones Geográficas,* this documentation was commissioned through a series of decrees by Kings Carlos V and Felipe II, who sought to better understand and administer the newly acquired territories and their subjects.[106] The lands that would become known as the territories of the Viceregency of Peru did so in relation to their use-value: through the commodification of raw materials and the racialization of peoples within them—those who would ultimately become *indios*.

The transfiguration of Andean populations into *indios* occurred alongside the mapping and territorialization of land, an interpellation of the colonial society that condemned Indigenous peoples to a subordinate position within the social and racial caste that was taking hold across the new territories.[107] In Peru, the reforms of Francisco de Toledo, Peru's fifth vice royal who governed from 1569-1581, were central for the transformation of the Andean society into a venerable extractive colony. As the *Relaciones Geográficas* were cataloging Peru's territory, de Toledo condemned its Andean population to what was known as *la republica de los indios* or the Indian republic, administrative zones separate from those of the criollo colonists whose associative geographies were mainly found in the coastal cities.[108] Administrative geographies were organized through colonial discourses, situating racialized communities "in place," as native

[106] Cline, "The Relaciones Geográficas of the Spanish Indies, 1577-1586." Orlove, "Putting Race in Its Place."

[107] Hill, Gord. *500 Years of Indigenous Resistance*.

[108] Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided*.

Andean populations became known along with the peripheral geographies of the newly conquered territories. The subsoil would also became known, in a kind of "vertical reterritorialization" when rich mineral deposits and veins were mapped, disrupting the "integral territory" of Indigenous peoples who themselves relied on more than the horizontal and material space.[109] This reterritorialization would later be preserved in modern Peruvian law, as property rights and individual land titling would not grant *ad coelum* or rights to the subsoil to its citizens, essentially condemning the entire land within its territorial boundaries into potential extractive zones.[110]

One of the first regions to be transformed into an extractive zone through colonial orderings of land and labor was the surrounding area of what would be christened as the Santa Barbara mine in 1564. Its rich deposit of quicksilver led to the founding of the town of Huancavelica in 1571 by the vice royal Francisco de Toledo.[111] By this time mercury had already replaced firewood as the central smelting element used to extract silver from ore, making mercury deposits just as important to the colonial economy as the mineral ones. [112] The rich mercury deposits in Huancavelica soon converted the region into an extractive zone, remaking its locality to benefit the mining of mercury. The demand for mercury would make de Toledo reinstate the Incan *mit'a*, a system of civic service used throughout the empire. Unlike the Incan

[109] Niederberger, Thomas. "Were There Nonhumans in Bagua?"

[110] Julio C. Postigo, Mariana Montoya, and Kenneth R. Young, "9. Natural Resources in the Subsoil and Social Conflicts on the Surface: Perspectives on Peru's Subsurface Political Ecology," in *Subterranean Struggles* (University of Texas Press, 2021), 223–40.

[111] Huancavelica is located in the province of the same name west of the province of Apurimac where Espinar is located.

[112] In 1555 Mexico, a Seville man, Bartolomé de Medina had discovered a new amaglamation process that included mercury to extract silver from mineral poor ores. Mercury not only facilitated the smelting process by accelerating of extracting silver from ore, but it also allowed for much more silver to be extracted from the relatively low percentage in the ores that were mined from the depths of the mines.

system however, the Spanish *mita* was reimagined as a system of forced labor for the purposes of developing Indian capital in the newly established extractive zones. This new system extended Huancavelica's extractive zone out to a 223 km radius from the mining center as it required those racialized as *indios* between the age of 18-50 to work in hazardous conditions at the Santa Barbara mine.[113] High death rates called for a continual flow of human capital, much of it arriving through forced relocation that would define the early colonial period. The system of forced relocation would make Huancavelica the second largest forced labor site after the silver mines in Potosi in what is today Bolivia.

A foundational extractive zone of the new colonial geography, it can be argued the Santa Barbara and the broader Huancavelica mine was arguably the impetus for the global capitalist economy in the 17th century.[114] Racialized from its onset, the mine was the manifestation of colonial desires as the process of extraction interpellated the land, its inhabitants, and the minerals in its subsoil. Through colonial orderings, the inhabitants of these territories appear as a racialized quasi-enslaved source of labor, condemned to the reestablished *mita* system. Huancavelica's reterritorialization was thus as much racial as it was geological: the reintroduction of the *mita* was organized under the auspices of the viceroyalty, subsuming the Andean population beneath the colonial/global order or what the scholar Shona N. Jackson refers to as the "impoverished laboring underclass within globalization."[115]

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[113] Ibid

[114] Whitaker, *The Huancavelica Mercury Mine*.

[115] In Creole Indigeneity, Jackson demonstrates how the creole political class in Guyana was transformed as both native and historical subject behind the different laboring processes of enslaved Africans and subjugated Indigenous populations. Rather than eliminate the Indigenous population, Jackson argues that the production from Indigenous peoples' forced labor reproduced the political subjectivity and social and cultural being of the creole class. Sharing a comparable racial geography to Guyana's, Peru's colonial history created a similar dialectic between its ruling and subjugated classes. Jackson, "Humanity beyond the Regime of Labor."

The making of Huancavelica's extractive zone was one of many onto-political transformations to take place in this temporality.[116] Francisco de Toledo's reforms in the late 16th century represented the crown's own image of order imposed on its territories. Most notably, de Toledo presided over the *reducciones* in 1568, a new system of colonial administration that uprooted millions of Andeans and relocated them to designated areas or reductions. Reductions made it easier for the Viceregency to govern the newly conquered territories, overseeing social and cultural customs, taxation, and serve as the source of human capital that replenished the *mita*.[117] Mining's centrality to the making of Peruvian society is captured in the following ordinance expressed by de Toledo in 1571:

> Notorious is that in these kingdoms of Peru there is no other farming or contracting that matters to the perpetuity and conservation of them if it is not the work of the mines, through which they have been preserved until now in the prosperity that everyone has seen because, without the gold and silver that comes from them, they cannot have trade with Spain or with any other kingdom because everything that grows in them and is able to grow there cannot be carried to other parts without exuberant costs; this being the reason why they were populated, if there were a notable decrease in population, such as the there began to be with regards to rich metals, there would also be in diminishing evangelicalism and in turn justice because His Majesty would be unable to pay the stipends and salaries of the people who understand it, likewise, the almojarifazgos (maritime tax) would cease and customs would be lowered so that, in general, of all and particular of each one, there would be notable bankruptcy and diminution [my translation].[118]

A few years into the *reducciones,* unofficial inquiries were already being made to measure the impact this system had on the Indian masses, including concerns with regards to depopulation as well as the long-term viability of such a system. Although these debates would not reach the

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[116] By temporality I mean the role that time plays. The run of the 16th century, as many decolonial scholars have noted, situates a long duree and rupture from the cyclical and old world to a new eurocentric *gnosis.*

[117] Salles, Estela Cristina, and Héctor Omar Noejovich. "Las Lecciones de La Historia:"

[118] De Toledo, Francisco, Guillermo Lohmann Villena, and María Justina Sarabia Viejo. *Francisco de Toledo: Disposiciones Gubernativas Para El Virreinato Del Perú 1569-1574*. Escuela de estudios hispano-americanos, 1986.

upper and official levels of intellectual debates by the turn of the 16th century, counter arguments presented by those on the ground illuminate how mining and extractive labor was to be used to remake Andeans through their forced conscription to mining. In 1596, Pedro Camargo a Huancavelican miner, wrote to the Phillip III, then King of Spain, describing how it was that mining affected the very being of the Indigenous peoples:

> . . .so that, with such an abundance of mercury and so many silver mines, the Indians. . . might be occupied in working them, for given that they are barbarous people and without any knowledge of God in their lands they devote themselves to nothing but idolatry and drunkenness and other despicable vices. . . And so, Majesty, the sending of these people to work in the mines appears to me to be a service to God and to your Majesty, and in the interests of the natives themselves, for in the mines they receive religious instruction and are made to attend mass and associate with Spaniards whereby they become *ladinos* [Hispanicised] and learn good customs. . . and have no opportunity to practice the idolatries of their homelands because they are outside those places where they practice them[119] . . .

Social Death and Racialization in Extractive Zones

By the 16th century, the term *indio* was already inscribed with a particular element of subjugation. It was by this point, to borrow from the Jamaican theorist Orlando Patterson, that the term became an "idiom of power," a parameter-making language of control and beingness. *Indio* captured the colonial ontology or the *raison d'être* that the dominant Peruvian social class of the criollo saw as inherent in the Andean peoples—an incomplete or underdeveloped humanity. Andeans were of course not the only peoples to undergo this racialization process during the 16th century. Exploring the central colonial ontology of slavery, Patterson provides a comparable reading of enslavement as a kind of "conditional existence."[120] For Patterson, enslavement is in

[119] Scott, Heidi V. "Contested Territories: Arenas of Geographical Knowledge in Early Colonial Peru." Journal of Historical Geography 29, no. 2 (2003): 166–88.

[120] Ibid.

essence a permissible life granted to the conquered or captured subject. Whereas the alternative would have been physical elimination, enslavement allowed for life, albeit under new circumstances or social conditions.[121] What he would go on to call "social death" describes the permanent condition of the enslaved, an ontology formed in the racializing geography of the Middle Passage. It is this racial geography that produced the new colonial semiotics that would later form the impetus for what Sylvia Wynter would describe as *Man2*.

Bringing attention to the shift of the essence of the conceptual Human from the religious to the secular, Wynter grounds *Man2* in a modernity that redefines the Human as constituted through its difference to *an* other (a process detailed in Chapter 2). In this process, social death was interred within the racial markers that modernity created and imposed elsewhere, specifically Blackness. How does this relate to postcolonial Andean ontology and broaden the worldmaking geography that was the Middle Passage, bringing Andean extractive zones in line with the broader project of modernity? Just as social death was interred within the concept of the slave—an aspect that would later be racialized—a similar process was undertaken in the racialization of the Andean.[122] The racialization of the Andean into *lo indio (an Indian)* is, like the racialization of the slave, an ontological formulation and a response to modernity and global politics.[123] In

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[121] Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study, with a New Preface* (Harvard University Press, 2018).

[122] The Bolivian thinker Reinaga Fausto describes the ontology of the indio in the poetics found in his most celebrated work, La Revolucion India (The Indian Revolution). In it, Fausto proposes a revolutionary project of reclaiming lo indio (the essence of being Indian, or indianeity), based upon a rupture (pachakutic in Andean cosmogeny) from the historical perception, an ontological shift that can be compared to that of negritude from the early 20th century. According to Fausto, this move is imperative being that he finds an imprint of subjugation in the indio which follows Andean peoples' way of being, even when they are "welcomed" into broader groups in solidarity: 'Today, our republican white-mestizo oppressors have baptized and disguised us [Indigenous peoples] as "campesinos." Our "obligation" they say, is to protect social order that has been established by them and while working like beast for them; that is why they speak from the side of their mouths, "go out there my campesino brethren" …and quickly turn around to cackle and sarcastically state: You, a campesino? What an ingenuous animal you are, can't you see?!' [my translation]

[123] Mary Weismantel and Stephen F. Eisenman, "Race in the Andes: Global Movements and Popular

similar yet distinct ways that social death was inscribed onto Blackness, colonialism inscribed a unique ontology of non-being onto the *indio*.[124]

The racialized idioms of power of slavery and the name of the *indio* were not solely subject-based but also included corresponding geographies and co-constituted sites found beneath modernity. As Chapter 2 will demonstrate in greater detail, extractive zones have made up an important node of the global environmental change and part of the new geographies of modernity. Decentering the centrality of Europe's territoriality with regards to the making of the modern world, critical scholars have examined the ways in which the slave economy fundamentally enabled the global economy.

Conceptualizing a variety of ecological epochs to identify the era marking the specific dynamics that have had the most profound impact on the world, Donna Haraway placed the emergence of capitalism as the most transformative epoch of our current time. Among other landscapes, Haraway has centered the making of the plantation, or plantationocene, as the epochal marker for our contemporary socioeconomic crisis.[125] Haraway's argument is premised on the ways in which the making of the plantation, through its clearings and homogenization, was induced by the "historical relocations of the substances of living and dying around the Earth as a necessary prerequisite to their extraction."[126] This plantationocene came about through the

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Ontologies," Bulletin of Latin American Research 17, no. 2 (1998): 121–42.

[124] This is not to mention that the term Indian is from its inception a misnomer for this region is nowhere near the subcontinent of India.

[125] Donna Haraway, "Anthropocene, Capitalocene, Plantationocene, Chthulucene: Making Kin," *Environmental Humanities* 6, no. 1 (2015): 159–65.

[126] Ibid.

forging of the Black Atlantic, behind the establishment of slave ports and the triangular trade. It became an area of ontological remaking where enslaved Africans simultaneously became Black, cargo, and capital. Becoming cargo through the denial of one's humanity, denoted the *fungibility* of Blackness: the exchange that came from converting the autonomous subject to a commodified object that was essential for the emergence of capitalism.[127]

Contemporaneously, while the Portuguese were setting up the shipping routes for the Atlantic Slave Trade, de Toledo's reforms were inscribing a similar fungibility in Andeans through the making of extractive zones: mineral and element deposits, and *indios* as malleable labor were folded together as assets of the extractive regime. Through this fungibility, Andeans became *indios,* forcibly relocated and brought into the commodified sphere of the new extractive zones. Commensurate with the creation of the Black Atlantic and other geographies shaped by the ontological processes that undergirded modernity, the making of Andean extractive zones became the impetus for the racialization of Andeans that would later extend into the republican State.[128] Like the plantation, the formation of mining-based extractive zones of the New World were a consequence of global restructuring, part of part of what I call modernity's racialscapes." Francisco de Toledo's reforms created a structural mode of race-thinking where *reducciones*

[127] Winnubst, Shannon. "The Many Lives of Fungibility: Anti-Blackness in Neoliberal Times."

[128] Locating continuities in a process like racialization has become a vexed endeavor given that they are temporally conceptualized. Hochman, Adam. "Racialization: A Defense of the Concept." Ethnic and Racial Studies 42, no. 8 (2019): 1245–62. For the social sciences, it is imperative that we ascertain and critically assess concepts within their temporal, geopolitical, and social context as their meanings evolve with time. Social orderings based on a constructed idea of race, what is referred to racialization, has a long and complex history. Recognizing this complex history, my use of the term racialization is deployed as the medium by which to understand the way race comes to structure social relations and is used to "know" the other. My analysis draws from the work of scholars David Theo Goldberg and Philomena Essed who define racialization as processes that 'suggest the ways in which racial conceptions and structural conditions order lives and delimit human possibilities. Essed, Philomena, and David Theo Goldberg. "Race Critical Theories: Text and Context," 2001.'

reordered the lives of Andeans.[129] Similar to the fungibility in the Atlantic scene of racial commodification, the racialization that turned Andeans into Indians condemned them to a violent dialectical relationship with the protostates. Places like Huancavelica in the central Peruvian Andes, were critical sites invariably connected to the Black Atlantic in important ways, not least because these zones enabled the commodification of elements like quicksilver that were critical in shifting the center of the global political economy from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic.

From the northern Anglo-settler colonial projects to the colonial projects of the Iberian powers, these processes were the ways in which the post-discovery modernities contended with various paradoxes. Early 19th century intellectual debates in the nascent countries across the western hemisphere confronted the reality of establishing rights alongside the fundamental state-making process of displacement and dispossession. It is at this time that the presence of the *indio* becomes a 'problem': how to justify occupation where communities are currently living? The "Indian" becomes a concern from the moment the Andeans were named as such, in other words, it was a recursive conundrum. The Indian nomenclature thus reproduced the deep entanglement of political and economic life, while at the same time inscribing a particular power in the settler/criollo that allowed it to read what was objectively a foreign occupation a legitimate social reality. This recursive dispossession simultaneously disempowers the subjugated being as it empowers the dominant subject. Describing a related colonial process in Australia, Robert Nichols describes recursivity as "the mechanism and means by which property is generated: hence its recursivity."[130]

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[129] Malik, Kenan. *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 1996.

[130] Robert Nichols, *Theft Is Property!: Dispossession and Critical Theory* (Duke University Press, 2020).

The recursivity that undergirded Spanish conquest can be traced back to the early 16th century. Setting up the intellectual foundations for de Toledo's reforms were the theories of the Spanish philosopher Francisco de Vitoria. In a series of texts entitled *De Indis et de ivre belli relectiones* (1532), de Vitoria justified the taking of native land and the subjugation of its inhabitants by the colonial columns through the theory of "just war."[131] De Vitoria would later present his arguments for the council commissioned by Holy Roman Emperor Charles V in the city of Valladolid to discuss the complex tensions of the ongoing conquest.[132] In these eurocentric philosophical debates, the crown would establish what Foucault called the realms of knowledge, the parameters and definitions by which the other was read through.[133] Known collectively as the Valladolid debates, theologians and philosophers debated the morality of the conquest of the Americas, contending with the complex set of tensions born from its conquest: the accumulation of wealth based upon the dispossession and elimination of the land's Indigenous peoples. These set of tensions and inquiries regarding the ethics of dispossession through violent accumulation are at the core of what came to be known as the "Indian Problem."[134] As such, it can be said that the Indian problem emerged along with the problem of the land, both similarly depicted in official colonial geographies as underdeveloped, what would

[131] Merino, Roger. "What Is' Post'in Post-Neoliberal Political Economy?"

[132] Santana, Alejandro. "'The Indian Problem': Conquest and the Valladolid Debate."

[133] As with other racialized groups, sociological characteristics were projected onto them by dominant groups to substantiate the political order of that particular time. Gilbert, Jérémie. "Indigenous Peoples' Land Rights under International Law: From Victims to Actors."

[134] As the Jamaican philosopher Sylvia Wynter and other decolonial scholars have argued, the category of the human and natural law contains within them the gendered and ontological violence that runs through colonialism and the renaissance Wynter, Sylvia. "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom:"

be interpreted as sites devoid of any practical utility.[135] This spatial-ontological association ultimately ascribed particular epistemological and predetermined qualities to *Indian*eity—docility, wild, insurrectionist—which were deeply associated with peripheral territories that inherently held similar characteristics of being "unused."[136]

Extractive zones reinforce the colonial dialectic, carrying within them the afterlives of colonialism that can be observed in the violent regimes imposed upon certain racially marked bodies. Across the Andes, these racialized regimes are carried out to different and varying degrees. Ecuador, a state that has since the first decade of the 2000s described itself as a plurinational state, has confronted difficult negotiations in extractive projects, as it seeks to strengthen its extractive economies while claiming to maintain a post-neoliberal society. To the south, the Bolivian State's racialization has changed significantly since the election of Evo Morales in 2006, contributing to repositioned Indigeneities that have come to the fore in old and renewed zones of extraction. Indigenous critics of the government have pointed to state-development projects as a continuation of neoliberal policies, postulating that these policies run counter to Aymara and other indigenous cosmologies regarding territoriality. Many argue that these policies are a reflection of how the invocation of Indigeneity by the state is a mere facade, used to promulgate and advance neoliberal projects.[137] Contemporary multicultural discourses obfuscate this racialization, reifying difference by associating mining with development and progress. In places like Peru, the state is able to maintain this historical subjugation through its multicultural and postmodern discursive regime that obscures the racialized violence of

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[135] Himley, Matthew. "Extractivist Geographies: Mining and Development in Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth-Century Peru."

[136] Bhandar, Brenna. *Colonial Lives of Property: Law, Land, and Racial Regimes of Ownership*.

[137] Weinberg, "Indigenous Anarchist Critique of Bolivia's 'Indigenous State.'"

extractive mining.[138] In this subjugation, a variety of binaries are constituted within the state: indigenous-mestizo developed-underdeveloped and urban-rural and become deeply entrenched in all aspects of life.

Instead of recognizing the ontological difference that informs some of the resistance to mining projects in the Andes, the modern state has adopted a project of multiculturalism that has come to serve as a subterfuge for the inherent anti-Indigenous and anti-Black logic of racial capitalist designs that inform Peru. Thus, the national project of integration and mestizaje that Peru promotes ends up being stronger than its parts—the recognition of racial difference. It is through the racial retrenchment of multiculturalism's political economies of development that the state is able to confront resistance through what the scholar Alexander Dunlap refers to as "counterinsurgency," the tactics used in confrontations with Indigenous and campesino protesters standing in between extractivist projects and the state.[139] Intensifying private-public partnerships in Peru have placed corporate interests front and center, serving as drivers for an engineered "social war" in order to open new pathways for reterritorialization in Peru. As Dunlap elaborates,

> "The state is the framework and structure that facilitates the ongoing systematic conquest of natural resources, and while 'politics is the continuation of war by other means,' we can say business is a type of warfare by every means to captivate docile bodies and capture fertile lands to maximize shareholder value, maintain legitimacy and, consequently, affirming the path of rapid biodiversity loss, ecological and climate crises."[140]

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[138] Kevin Bruyneel, *Settler Memory: The Disavowal of Indigeneity and the Politics of Race in the United States*. Bruyneel's work exploring the production, enunciation and selective historical discourses that serves the interests of settler states, particularly the United States, is here useful for thinking about how Peru similarly constructs its own by effacing the necropolitical realities of campesino and Indigenous communities under extractivism.

[139] See note 58 above.

[140] Dunlap, "'Agro Sí, Mina NO!'The Tía Maria Copper Mine, State Terrorism and Social War by Every Means in the Tambo Valley, Peru, 15.

The breakdown of the roles of the respective state and business entities in clearing a compliant terrain that Dunlap poignantly describes here captures how the neoliberal state serves as a shell, a vessel for business interests deployed as a legitimizing arbitrator guided by the business interests of global markets.

Ruth Wilson Gilmore and Craig Gilmore have shown how a state can both be present and absent (anti-state state), helping us to further elaborate on the State of Peru's rule in these regions.[141] Ruth Wilson Gilmore and Craig Gilmore's concept of "indefensible spaces" describing the necessary violence perpetuated by prisons and jails in the United States is useful for my reading of the way the racialized states of Latin America carry out similar indefensible repression in the name of development.[142] According to Ruth Wilson Gilmore and Craig Gilmore, the anti-State State emerges as it simultaneously steps back social programs while stepping in new cultures of policing and control behind discourses of security and stability. As it increases mining concessions, the Peruvian State steps back in its role as arbiter of the social contract while militarizing extractive zones alongside private security forces. Therefore, it can be argued that the state is very much present contrary to the misreading of an "absent" state in the era of neoliberalism. In extractive zones such as Espinar, the state actively disengages from its de facto role as the arbiter in civil society, while maintaining a strong presence through policing and in other collaborations with mining companies. This era has thus 'rationalized violence', as the scholar Jodi Melamed puts it, upholding the racialized violence of the past behind new discourses of progress and development.

[141] Gilmore and Gilmore, "Restating the Obvious."

[142] Dunlap, "'Agro Sí, Mina NO!'The Tía Maria Copper Mine, State Terrorism and Social War by Every Means in the Tambo Valley, Peru."

Like Peru, many of the other Andean countries share a similar political class who constructed its own unique historical imaginary. However, the geopolitics of Peru are structured in such a way that the capital of Lima and its creole culture still espouses much of the country's social, economic, and political power. *Criollismo* in Peru, distinguished from mestizaje, is less a negotiation among different ontologies as it is a distancing from Indigeneity through the cultivation of a separate identity whose axiologies are associated with development and progress. Entrenched within modernity and development, the ontology of *criollismo* leads the State to prioritize revitalization and growth at all costs, specifically through the modes of monoculture and transfigurations. It is these monocultures that collapse heterogeneity into manageable categories and enclosures, setting up the boundaries of capitalist modernity; transfigurations occur through material power, discursive, or both, powers that maybe equally violent. These processes of transfiguration and monoculture rely on what Achille Mbembe described as necropower, the systems and structures of power that condemn certain spaces and people to zones of social death.[143]

To conclude, extractivism's necropower is found in its three processes: racialization, reterritorialization and commodification that the state continues to rely upon. This chapter has examined the way in which the making of the first extractive zone in the Viceregency—Huancavelica—contributed to new ontological formations. Like the fungible process which took place in the making of the Black Atlantic, extractive zones remade Andeans into the structurally subjugated class of Indigenous. Indigeneity became a dependent ontology tied to underdevelopment. De Toledo's reforms, most notably the creation of the *reducciones* or reductions and the *republic of the Indians,* fixed these ontologies to specific sites and peripheral

[143] Misra, Amalendu. "Necropower." In *Towards a Philosophy of Narco Violence in Mexico*, edited by Amalendu Misra, 13–46. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-52654-0_2.

zones. Two other interrelated transfigurations came about through extractivism. Behind the *reducciones* and new geographies, the Viceregency converted the land into new territories for administrative and extractive purposes. This reterritorialization allowed for the free flow of capital, carving out the necessary geographies: trade routes and the mapping of mining deposits, trade routes, ports, and other important sites. These geographies substantiated the new discursive power of the Viceregency across newly conquered territories, remaking the land as well as its inhabitants as can be read in this colonial description of an Andean town where Indigenous peoples are effectively reduced to commodity forms:

> The income and livelihood of the citizens is the Indians of the repartimientos, agriculture of many kinds, all types of livestock, wheat, barley, maize and much cheesemaking, and three sugar mills, and wool and cotton cloth, tight woolen cloth, blankets, coarsewoolen cloth, sackcloth, sandals, rigging, soft leather, saddles, white wool thread[144]

Examining extractivism, its clear to see how racialization becomes interconnected with the processes of reterritorialization and commodification. The transfiguration that took place in the making of extractive zones created the necessary elements the ordered modernity. Earth elements like mercury and minerals like gold, silver, and copper, were made into new commodities to be placed within the emergent global markets. Their commodification was made possible through the forced labor of Andean—now—Indigenous peoples, creating the dialectical relationship between extractivism and the subjugation of Indigeneity. The criollo class of Peru's subsequent modernity depended upon this labor for the reproduction of its own subjectivity. As this chapter has demonstrated, the contentious terrains of extractive zones make visible the specific forms of violence that are often rationalized by discourses of development.[145]

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[144] Scott, Heidi V. "Contested Territories: Arenas of Geographical Knowledge in Early Colonial Peru." *Journal of Historical Geography* 29, no. 2 (2003): 166–88.

[145] Melamed, *Represent and Destroy.*

In the Andes, the shadow of colonial logics continue to inform development in the management of racialized and gendered bodies to conform to its particular social body and criollo-based politics.[146] As the new modernity settled and expanded throughout the region during the early formation of the republican state in the late 19th century, cultures of *criollismo* would later spread to define the identity of the Peruvian State as it looked to incorporate the Indigenous periphery—these were the intimacies of modernity extending into the periphery of the Peruvian State.[147] These racial capitalist formations can be observed in the re-territoriality that mining carries out, prioritizing capital over certain bodies behind modernist discourses of "improvement."[148] It is this re-territoriality that the State used to respond to the ethnocentric inquiry of the "Indian problem" at the turn of the 20th century, tucking racialized violence under discourses of development.[149] I examine this discourse further in the next chapter through the political and social imaginary the imaginary of *Peru Porfundo*.

In the following chapter, I explore the interplay between criollo modernity and the notion of *Peru Profundo* as mutually reinforcing and ultimately violent elements of the Peruvian nation-state. Building on this chapter's examination of extractivism as a meta process that manages life and

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[146] Burman, "Against the Episteme of Domination and the Coloniality of Reality."

[147] The term intimacies is here borrowed from the scholar Lisa Lowe who used it to describe how Asia, Africa, Europe, and Asia were brought together to advance racial capitalist modernity in the late 19th century. See Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents*.

[148] These ideas of improvement are premised on terrains constructed by imaginative geographies, a notion developed by Edward Said to mean the representation of certain people and places through the desires, fantasies, and fears in the observation of subject being. The notion of imaginative geography is deployed as an analytical framework in Chapter 2.

[149] Violence is important here, particularly because it can serve as "...both a category of analysis and an intensive declaration of difference" as the scholar Arturo Arias posits while analyzing territories still permeated by the colonialities that defined their spatial formation. Arias, "Violence and Coloniality in Latin America." The concept violentología is an interdisciplinary field of study that emerges from the Colombian reality that examines the role 20th century violence had within society. Through this category of analysis, violence in extractive societies is not just relegated to "states of exception" but expands to all facets of society and becomes a fundamental process that reconstructs and seeks to continuously remake the underdeveloped nation-state. The concept of state of exception comes from the philosopher Giorgio Agamben, who explores the suspension of rights and extension of violence in areas deemed extraordinary.

death, the next chapter brings out *Peru Profundo* as an imagined geography that demarcates an epistemological divide, one that undergirds Peruvian modernity and is ultimately outlined by the processes of extractivism. At the same time, I expropriate a new hermeneutic of *Profundidad* as a way of recognizing Indigenous-Campesino difference not in an objectified way in relation to *criollismo* but as an epistemologically distinct space. Meaning, while I engage with the role *Profundidad* has played as a historical imaginary in the cultivation of Peru's modern normativities, I simultaneously deploy it as a hermeneutics and analytical frame to read what lies beyond its "epistemic abyss," to borrow a term from the scholar Boaventura de Sousa Santos.

Chapter 2: Into the Deep: The Politics of Peru Profundo

In quenching the ground with the Andean quaff chicha, the community of Huancuri gave the re-occupation of Fuerabamba a divine significance. It was mid-April in 2022 and the rainy season was coming to an end as over one hundred Indigenous campesinos congregated on the edge of the open pit of the Las Bambas mine in the Cotabmabas province of southwestern Peru.

Eight years prior, a few dozen families from this same Huancuri community began their relocation to a town 15 miles from their original territory to a new one that came to be christened, Nueva Fuerabamba. The relocation came about after years of deliberations and persuasion from MMG, the transnational parent company of Las Bambas. According to their website, the new settlement "aimed to [create] opportunities for all the people involved and helping improve their quality of live in terms of basic needs, access to social services, and employment opportunities, among others."[150] An intentional modern community, Nueva Fuerabamba boasts numerous contemporary designs and amenities: concentrated single-family dwellings dissected by newly paved cul de sacs and manicured lawns that stand out beneath the Andean cordillera. Integrated into a modern community, families at Nueva Fuerabamba no longer rely on the land for resources such as water, instead, each house pays for their running water and electricity. The transactional payments for utilities are not an issue in themselves as the company provided each family with financial payouts and guaranteed every adult member a job at the mine for as long as it is in operation. These and other promises were made—and kept—prior to the relocation of the communities far away from MMG's expansive project.

[150] "Nueva Fuerabamba." Accessed August 14, 2022. https://www.lasbambas.com/nueva-fuerabamba-en.

Settlement of Nueva Fuerabamba. Screenshot from https://wemineforprogress.com/

Once relocated, community members, abandoned with a simple one-time payout from the company for subsistence, began to feel the deep impact of isolation. Despite experiencing the kind of material wealth unseen in the cordillera, the new accommodations led to many community members suffering from mental health problems, contributing to a spike in suicides in the area. Residents understand that no amount of compensation can undo the harm produced by their uprooting and relocation, a sentiment the president of Fuerbamba, Edison Vargas, expressed in May of 2022 while speaking to a reporter about the goal of the occupation: 'We're going to keep fighting until Las Bambas shuts down and gets out of here for good.' Having been fully relocated only three years earlier, the people of Fuerabamba now shunned the 1.3-billion-dollar project of Nueva Fuerabamba, returning to their ancestral lands to demand them back in April of 2022. Although Nueva Fuerbamba was only able to proceed following a formal consultation process, many in the community felt the process was deceptive and coercive, reflecting what policy analysts like Roger Merino see as the inherent coloniality of prior

consultation statutes. MMG would ultimately fail at expelling the Huancari community within the two-week window that Peruvian civil code allowed before having removals go through the court system. On June 25th, MMG was left with no choice but to suspend its operations in Las Bambas, one of the world's largest copper mines. By this time, community members had been camped outside Las Bambas for nearly two months, having already forced the suspension of its operations on numerous occasions. Those who went along with the relocation ultimately realized their integration into Nueva Fuerabamba produced an ontological rupture from their communal lands or *ayllus*. Where community members had previously relied on subsistence through the grazing of animals, use of cow dung, and the cultivation of crops, they were now forced into a dependent existence with the modern state.

The relocation of communities, as was done in Fuerabamba, is part of extractivism's statecraft and the way the state remakes interior territories by designing permissible ways of being Indigenous. As I argued in Chapter 1, extractivism was centripetal to the state, brinigng together racialization, territorialization and commodification, further entrenched through law. This chapter focuses on the historical and colonial processes that constructed the territories' interior into a politicized and imagined hinterland, examining this imaginative geography and the role it has played in the making of the Peruvian State. Chapter 2 shows that this geography relies on a set of colonial logics that began with the making of the republica de los indios and culminated in the construction of Peru Profundo. As we will see, Perou Profundo is both an anthropological category of state peripheralization and able to capture the elements of resistance from below that draw from historical undercurrents of alterity.

Fuerabamba's contentious geography—including Las Bambas and the new town of Nueva Fuerbamba—is a vivid representation of the management of Latin American modernity's endemic Indian "problem." A fundamental social ordering of the colonial period, the

management of Andeans as Indigenous people— who would later be classified as *campesinos* under the Peruvian State— was a discursive tool of a kind of proto-statecraft, marking the early delineations of permissible spatialities and subjectivities of modernity. Spanish colonialism's epistemological divide is most clearly seen in the myriad of decrees of the 16th century, collectively known as the *Law of the Indies*, that contributed to the separation of knowledge systems in the territories. These laws led the Peruvian viceregency, under the leadership of Francisco de Toledo, to establish the *republica de los Indios,* a separate administrative society for its Andean subjects. A key element for the construction of this separate republic was the colonial administrative institution of the *reducciones*, the resettlement of Andean peoples into urban towns. Alongside other administrative maneuvers, including state sanctioned geographical descriptions, the reductions forcibly relocated Andeans into more manageable localities. The modes of permissible living that the modern state seeks out today in places like Nueva Fuerabamba are the contemporary enactments of these older colonial logics. The modernizing process of regions like Fuerabamba and Huancuri is described as "an opportunity for development" but is rather a continuation of colonial power (colonialities) to capture and mold new administrative spheres of influence. Just as the colonial resettlements had done during the viceregency, the relocation of Huancuri peoples to Nueva Fuerabamba are a way for the state to fix a people in place, a prerequisite of modernization and state formation.

James C. Scott describes how socio-economic organization is much more than a simple political question for statecraft—it is quite existential: "The aspiration to such uniformity and order alerts us to the fact that modern statecraft is largely a project of internal colonization, often glossed, as it is in its imperial rhetoric, as a 'civilizing mission'."[151] Scott argues that the modern state's technical incorporations and bureaucratic schemes mask a violent process of

[151] Scott, James C. *Seeing like a State*. Yale university Press, 2008.

domination, constructing enclosures and systematization to better register and monitor those within the territories it claims. In a country like Peru, where in 2022 nearly 70 percent of its workforce could be found outside of the formal economy, this kind of formalization is desired by the state, mobilizing its various elements of power in the name of "order." Given that modern states require a manageable populace and the securitization of enclosures and private property, the historical transhumance of Andean communities like that of the Huancuri in Fuerabamba disrupts and undermines the order the Peruvian State desperately requires for its legitimacy. Scott continues: "The utopian, immanent, and continually frustrated goal of the modern state is to reduce the chaotic, disorderly, constantly changing social reality beneath it to something more closely resembling the administrative grid of its observations."[152] A historical and imagined geography of the State, *Peru Profundo* achieves and carries on this reduction for modern Peru as it allows it to manage the chaotic imagined hinterland and inform its approaches to development.

For much of Peru's history, *Peru Profundo* (Deep Peru) has conjured up a specific imaginary, one that has been deployed within the public political discourse in selective ways throughout time. Although not coined until the mid-20th century by the renowned Peruvian historian Jorge Basadre, I appropriate the notion of *Peru Profundo* to name this meta-geography as a way of capturing the State's historical narrative constructed against Andean ways of knowing and being. While there has been much research on the impact and role of the reductions in shaping the lives of Andean peoples in colonial society,[153] the ways in which the modern administrative

[152] Ibid

[153] Saito, Akira, and Claudia Rosas Lauro. 2017. "Reducciones: La Concentración Forzada de Las Poblaciones Indígenas En El Virreinato Del Perú."

practices of the state have been determined by this colonial process has been understudied.[154] I address this lacuna through an examination of the interplay between place, discourse, and power across time. The first part of this chapter offers an analysis of Peru's constitutive body politic and peripheral geography as it has historically been interpreted by liberalism and republican thinking. It begins with a brief theorization on hinterlands and the ways in which they come to substantiate the State before turning to Peru's own—*Peru Profundo*. As a concept, *Peru Profundo* captures many of the dynamics commonly seen in the historical imaginaries of the hinterlands or internal territories in countries across the world. Through Basadre's conceptualization, we can see how the liberal criollo class, rather than produce a rupture from the viceregency, perpetuated many of its colonialities, particularly in the way they used the peripheral and marginal spaces of its newly established national territory to construct its subjectivity. With the colonial remaking of territory and the shift in race-thinking in the Andes co-constituted in extractive zones, *Peru Profundo* serves as inextricable linkage between ontology and place.

Peru Profundo has most recently been associated with the critical analysis of the public intellectual and author Mario Vargas Llosa. At the turn of the 20th century, Llosa recovered the term to serve as an anthropological frame to critique what he understood as the underdeveloped region of the pre-modern hinterland during the dirty war. Used to critique the disassociated zones of the periphery, I redeploy the term as a hermeneutic by examining the ways in which Llosa inadvertently captures the deep racial retrenchment that is embedded within the nation-state discourse. In other words, the imaginary of *Peru Profundo* captures the region from and against which formal Peruvian space is constructed. In this way, *Peru Profundo* can be appropriated and inverted to serve as a methodological tool to counter-read State discourse. In

[154] Until recently, Andeanists have remained within the field of history and anthropology. However, new hemispheric frameworks and critical decolonial work has introduced new approaches. See for example

other words, *profundidad* or depth, serves as the hermeneutic to capture the spatial realm from which we can begin to theorize with other knowledges and read back the state. This work builds upon the 'ontological turn' of the last couple of decades within anthropology and its cognate fields, to not simply understand the subject on their own terms but recognize other worlds in which these terms are formulated. The purpose here is to examine the ways in which the Peruvian State makes visible and in other ways comes to *invisibilize* Indigeneity.

The chapter proceeds in two main parts anchored by the following questions: *What role does Peru's hinterland, known as Peru Profundo, play in the making of its modernity? How can an inversion of this imagined geography expose the submerged knowledges present in resistance ordering state processes associated with extractivism?* These questions revisit imaginary geographies, examining their role in the making of the nation-state.[155] To examine how this process takes place and answer the questions I pose, two methodological moves are taken up here: a counter-reading and analysis of what has been left out or relegated to *Peru Profundo*, an effect of contentious politics. This allows me to trace the ways in which the imagined geographies—that first informed the reductions—are not only constituted by discursive changes but also come to embed an ontological design into a meta-geography that runs along the formation of the Peruvian State.[156]

The second part of this chapter presents a different reading of *Peru Profundo.* What is conventionally perceived as contentious politics in critical political science, Indigenous and place-based resistance are instead presented as the enunciations of a submerged body politic in extractive zones. Developing *Peru Profundo* as a hermeneutics is the central methodology that comes about by "reading back" the historical repository of subjugated knowledges and

[155] Radcliffe, Sarah A. "Imaginative Geographies, Postcolonialism, and National Identities: Contemporary Discourses of the Nation in Ecuador." Ecumene 3, no. 1 (1996): 23–42.

[156] Méndez, Cecilia. "Incas Sí, Indios No: Notes on Peruvian Creole Nationalism and Its Contemporary Crisis." Journal of Latin American Studies 28, no. 1 (1996): 197–225.

examining how it can instead be read as a *counter imaginative geography*.[157] Complementing this hermeneutics is a study of resistance within the context of enunciation and counter-discursive expression of Andean peoples. Finally, this chapter concludes by presenting the idea of *Abiayala*, a Guna term that has proliferated across socio-political spaces in the continent as another kind of imagined community that captures the multiple yet interconnected sites of being otherwise.

In relegating difference to an imagined and marginal geography, Peru creates a fog over the postcolonial reterritorialization. This fog, constituted by discursive and other kinds of coercive power, obscures clear racial drivers, subsuming them within cultural politics that prevents them from being no more than secondary issues. As I discussed in Chapter 1, the origins of this fog can be traced back to shifting legal terminology and the period of high racialization during the viceregency and de Toledo's reforms in the late 16th century. Here I argue that racial logics of development and progress, what is referred to as coloniality, define the social and political imaginary of the postcolonial independent state, and in turn the mechanisms of state development. One notable way was in the state's transfiguration carried out by supplanting "Indigena" with "campesino" in State discourse.[158] Modern discursive changes such as these would later feed into the subterfuge of neoliberalism, where new racial regimes would depoliticize the struggles of Indigenous communities. As the writer Yanis Iqba states, "by normatively linking the weakening of procedures to the positively framed notion of 'economic reactivation,' the administration [Peruvian government] is culturally colonizing the indigenous people through a rationalized-economic ideology."[159] In defending extractivist projects simply as

[157] Given that Indigenous peoples presented an issue for the newly established states across the hemisphere, either as a question of assimilation or removal as was the case in anglo-settler societies, this reading can be extended hemispherically as well.

[158] Mayer, "Ugly Stories of the Peruvian Agrarian Reform."

[159] Iqbal, "Extractivism and Exploitation in Peru - The Bullet."

apolitical economic revitalization, the State continues to perpetuate the structural erasure of Indigeneity as it looks to subsume their ontologies within the regimes of mestizaje and *criollismo* across Andean territories.

Outlining a Meta-geography

The construction of extractive zones in the Viceregency of Peru inscribed certain ontological elements that shaped the social and political dynamics in the region, as discussed in Chapter 1. As the new administrative process began to take hold in the newly conquered territories, so too would a new metageography. The conquest should be understood as more nominal than anything else, as the crown relied more on the discursive power of its metageography than on direct and absolute control of the territories it claimed for itself.[160] So long as the crown could count on a manageable web of extractive zones set up as satellites connected to the export-oriented coastal cities, semi-autonomous entities were permitted to exist on the margins or interior of the dominant social order. Toledo's reductions had consolidated the Andean territories into corporate entities governed by the subordinate service class of the period that had grown out of medieval social organization.[161] These corporate entities constituted what was known as the *republic of the indians* establishing the late 16th century metageography that enabled the restructuring of society and initiated an era of official systematization under the auspices of the crown.[162] Toledo's *reducciones* carried out a radical and transformative biopower, propelling the colonialities present in the contemporary relationship between the State and Andean

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[160] The extent of the "incomplete" conquest is detailed in Weber. Weber, David J. Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment. Yale University Press, 2008.

[161] Wilson, Fiona. "Indians and Mestizos: Identity and Urban Popular Culture in Andean Peru." Journal of Southern African Studies 26, no. 2 (June 1, 2000): 239–53. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070050010093.

[162] Domínguez Faura, Nicanor. "La Conformación de La Imagen Del Espacio Andino: Geografía e Historia En El Perú Colonial (1530-1820). Crónica Bibliográfica." *Revista Andina* 21 (1993): 201–37.

peoples.[163] By their very structure, the reductions functioned as a processes of ontological design: the designation of spatial areas for forced relocation that became a system for the order and management of certain populations and their ways of being, seen, for example, in the transformation of Huancavelica into a zone of/for extraction that chapter one covered.[164]

The administration and management of life, what Foucault called *biopower*, became an essential part of the state in the 18th century.[165] According to Foucault, the biopower of states that emerges in this period does not supplant its original judiciary power of taking life, rather it extends it, working in tandem to manage certain ways of being (letting die).[166] Foucault's biopower, defined by the way the judiciary grew into the economic sphere of nation-states in the 18th and 19th century and would later be normalized into law, is best exemplified in what is known as the tenurial revolution.[167] Referring to the land reform statutes that radically transformed landholdings in the 19th century.[168] It is this connection to Europe and its emergent liberal ideology, the collective set of principles associated with individualism and economic prosperity, that made the tenurial revolution a process of ontological design. This ontological

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[163] Several studies have made note of this since the previous generation Andeanists, notably in Rasnake, Roger Neil. *Domination and Cultural Resistance: Authority and Power among an Andean People*. Duke University Press, 1988. and Wachtel, Nathan. "Note Sur Le Problème Des Identités Collectives Dans Les Andes Méridionales." *L'Homme*, 1992, 39–52.

[164] Scientists Terry Winograd and Fernando Flores first named 'ontological design' in 1986 to describe the the way new technologies come to design us. As grand social constructs associated with territories, metageographies similarly serve as tools of ontological design. Winograd, Terry, Fernando Flores, and Fernando F. Flores. Understanding Computers and Cognition: A New Foundation for Design. Intellect Books, 1986.

[165] Foucault, Michel, Arnold I. Davidson, and Graham Burchell. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-1979*. Springer, 2008.

[166] Ewald, François. "Norms, Discipline, and the Law." *Representations* 30 (1990): 138–61.

[167] Boast, R. P. "The Ideology of Tenurial Revolution: The Pacific Rim 1850-1950." Law & History 1, no. 1 (2014): 137–57.

[168] the tenurial revolution was carried out in the postcolonial societies who all trace their legal systems back to Europe. This took place across countries with different legal systems, either rooted in Common or Roman law.

design is evident in the transition from the customary laws that previously served as de facto governance to the normalization of liberalism as the legal structure governing lands that took place throughout the late 18th century and later extended to all of the Pacific Rim in the 19th century.[169] Richard Boast argues that the customary tenures in Indigenous territories that preceded the revolution were envisioned by emergent nation-states as something that "belonged to an earlier and archaic world and needed to be swept away in order to encourage prosperity and progress. This vision was, in short, an ideology – an ideology manufactured originally in Europe, and which by 1873 was affecting the lives of people on opposite sides of the Pacific Ocean."[170]

Although Toledo's reductions consolidated dispersed Andean peoples into administrative zones, they nonetheless still existed as semi-autonomous and manageable corporate entities.[171] Much of the reductions were organized and managed by Jesuits, who by the mid-17th century would become an impediment for the expanding local economy that sought to privatize land and free it from its bondage of collective holding. Responding in part to the growing dissatisfaction with stagnant economic growth in the viceregencies, the Spanish crown began a process of secularization that coincided with the rising industrial political economy.[172] This process would be formalized in 1767 when Spanish King Carlos III signed an order to expel the Jesuits from all of his territories.[173] Part of the reforms implemented by the House of Bourbon at

[169] Jackson, R. Liberals, *The Church, and Indian Peasants: Corporate Lands and the Challenge of Reform in Nineteenth-Century Spanish America.* University of New Mexico Press, 1997.

[170] Ibid

[171] Spalding, Karen. "De Indio a Campesino: Cambios En La Estructura Social Del Perú Colonial," 1974.

[172] Pearce, Adrian. The Origins of Bourbon Reform in Spanish South America, 1700-1763. Springer, 2014.

[173] Ibid.

the time was meant to open trade and reinvigorate Spanish colonial societies in the 18th century, the anti-clerical movement not only produced a secularized economic order but had in turn remade Andean social and economic relations.[174] Much has been written about the ways the Bourbon reforms and the subsequent secularization broke from the previous social order, with the crown and church becoming embroiled in an ostensible civil war.[175] By any serious measure, the reforms and the accompanying anti-clerical movement had undoubtedly produced a new kind of governmentality—as Foucault would define it—across the viceregencies. Although producing a new governing model that would hold into the post-independence period, I argue that this secularization never broke from the original metageography of the *republica de los indio.* Introduced in the previous chapter, colonialism cemented a particular metageography of the so-called new world that first led to the creation of the *republic of the indies,* the separate region comprised of Andean corporate entities under imperial rule. Toledo's goal of the reduction that first turned the indians "into men and then into Christians," captures the ontological design while also illuminating the underlying narrative of its metageography.[176] Moreover, it shows the immutable relationship of western teleology and modernity's juridicopower.[177]

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[174] Numerous changes brought about drastic changes to the tax code, tariffs, land management led to what many historians to refer to the period of the late 18th century up until its official independence from Spain as the long epoch. Walker, Charles F. "2 The Tupac Amaru Rebellion: Protonationalism and Inca Revivalism." In *Smoldering Ashes*, 16–55. Duke University Press, 1999.

[175] See, for example, Kuethe, Allan J., and Kenneth J. Andrien. *The Spanish Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century: War and the Bourbon Reforms, 1713–1796*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.

[176] This can be found in Bartolomé Hernández's letter to Juan de Ovando, from Lima, April 19, 1572. Bartolomé was Toledo's Jesuit confidant. Egaña, Antonio, Enrique Fernández García, and Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu. Monumenta Peruana:(1600-1602). apud" Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu", 1981.

[177] This is observed during the philosophical debates during the 16th century on the morality of invasion and conquest of what was then known as the West Indies. Spanish philosopher, Francisco de Vitoria defense of the sovereignty of Indian peoples of the new world was premised on their proximity, they nevertheless argued this point on the premise that they had indeed produced societies which could be considered "civilized."

Derivatives of Roman Law, the judicial powers of the viceregencies were tasked with bestowing upon the new territories a structure of what they defined as civility (*civitas* n Latin), of which the *urbs* or urbanization was the precondition.[178] Interchangeable superstructures of modernity, urbanization and civility became central tenets of liberalism's normalization which conceived of society in terms of the securitization of the urban enclosures in order to provide for commerce.[179] The numerous revolutions of the subsequent modernity never interrupted the metageography that equated civility with urbanized spaces, making them nominal by this very significant measure.[180] Postcolonial modernities have since preserved this metageography that houses the dialectic of the imagined *other* and the human, enabling the passage of what Sylvia Wynter describes as the two *phases* of being human. For Wynter, the making and conceptualization of the human that have taken place since the period of global colonization had two main phases marked by differences in their political mode of being.[181] Conquest forged the first ontology, defining the fully actualized being through an immutable Christian humanism. Initiated by the Bourbon reforms, this secularization drove the creation of what Wynter categorizes as 'Man2.' While breaking from the earlier mode of being defined by the religious, it nevertheless retained its dependency on a constitutive *other*. No longer explicitly distinguished by the religious markers of "barbarous" or "heathen," secularization subsumes these descriptors within its newly established political concepts. In this way, we can thus read the distinction of

[178] Kagan, Richard L., Fernando Marias, and Fernando Marías Franco. Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793. Yale University Press, 2000.

[179] Bhambra, Gurminder K., and John Holmwood. Colonialism and Modern Social Theory. John Wiley & Sons, 2021.

[180] Horne, Gerald. The Apocalypse of Settler Colonialism: The Roots of Slavery, White Supremacy, and Capitalism in 17th Century North America and the Caribbean. NYU Press, 2018.

[181] Thomas, Greg. "Sex/Sexuality & Sylvia Wynter'S" Beyond...": Anti-Colonial Ideas in" Black Radical Tradition"." Journal of West Indian Literature 10, no. 1/2 (2001): 92–118.

Toledo's interconnected accretion of the "first human than Christian" as no longer necessary, as the Human has now incorporated the ecclesiastical into its essence. Here is Wynter:

> The creation of this secular slot of Otherness as a replacement for the theocentric slot of Otherness in which non-European peoples had been classified in religious terms as Enemies-of-Christ, pagan-idolators, thereby incorporating them into the theological system of legitimacy - which, as set out in the papal bulls from the 1455 Romanus Pontifex onwards, had provided the framework in whose terms their ostensibly "lands of no one/terra nullius" had been seeable as justly expropriable, and they themselves justly enslavable as such pre-classified populations - was taking place, however, in the wider context of the overall sociopolitical and cultural transformation that had been set in motion in Western Europe from the Renaissance onwards, one correlated with the challenge of the then ascendant modern European monarchical state to the centralizing post-Gregorian hegemony of the Church.[182]

In this statement, Wynter outlines her central thesis on the creation of the "new human" that occurred with the secularization of Europe's modern monarchical State, the House of Bourbon. Secularization, according to Wynter, does not undo the concrete relation that had been established during colonization between the self (the human) and what would become the other— the indian.[183] Rather, this concrete relation mutates, preserving the Hegelian dialectic between the self and other in what Wynter categorizes as the epoch of *Man*.[2] The mutation of the religious human into a new secularized entity was enshrined in the discourse and biopower of the constitutional republics of the new world, transposed into its modern progenies.

Although distinguished by their social and cultural regional particularities, 18th century independence movements all shared an appeal to the values of Spanish Enlightenment that would only begin to develop its own political consciousness after independence was won. In pursuing a unique sense of self, the criollo social class of the New World took up a formative

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[182] Wynter, Sylvia. "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, after Man, Its Overrepresentation—An Argument." CR: The New Centennial Review 3, no. 3 (2003): 257–337.

[183] Wynter, Sylvia. "Ethno or Socio Poetics." Alcheringa: Ethnopoetics 2, no. 2 (1976): 78–94.

consciousness-making project for political autonomy. This led to a reproduction of the historical logics of colonialism, particularly that of an imagined culture and tradition, that while reflecting a unique "patria," was never separate from the "civilized" Spanish kingdom of the so-called Old World and its geographies.[184] Just as the native populations of Guyana became an underclass of its modernity through their association with the underdeveloped hinterland, similar co-constituted subjectivities emerged in Peru throughout its own modernity. Peru's colonial history similarly mutated into the dialectic between the creole/criollo subjectivity, and everything else preserved in an external relation to it.[185] Sharing the predominant social Darwinist worldview that informed many of the liberal architects of the republican era, Peru's nation builders connected the nascent country's comparative underdevelopment to its high population of Andeans.[186]

Criollismo came to embody a subjectivity defined by liberalism and its corresponding principles and values of property and individualism. As a result, criollo subjectivity relied upon a metageography that came to serve as a colonial alibi for the ontologies that were forged in the *reducciones*. Just as the category of the human was a consequence of the mutation that occurred through its secularization as Wynter theorized, so too did the discursive geographies of the colonial period or metageographies carry out their own mutation. This latter mutation can be read in the nebulous and imagined geography of *Peru Profundo,* which holds together the racial

[184] McFarlane, Anthony. "Identity, Enlightenment and Political Dissent in Late Colonial Spanish America." Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 8 (1998): 309–35.

[185] Sometimes creole, although this has been contextualized to the specific Caribbean region as well as distinguishing a distinct ontology.

[186] Thurner, Mark. "Historicizing 'the Postcolonial from Nineteenth Century Peru." Journal of Historical Sociology 9, no. 1 (1996): 1–18.

regime that transformed Andeans into Indigenous peoples.[187] Although the term would not be coined until the 20th century by the Peruvian historian Jorge Basadre, comparative discourses on development and geography demonstrate that a unique hinterland has been a permanent fixture, first as the viceregency's imagined geography and later as part of metageography for the nation-state and its historical subject, the criollo. The longue durée of Peruvian republicanism came to depend on many colonial elements that were ultimately collapsed into the social imaginaries of its interior territories. Less a product of a singular imagined community, the idea of Peru as a country is reified through racialized discursive politics (*Criollo*) and imaginative geographies that continuously legitimized violence against those that interrupt this interplay.[188] Working in conjunction with the material processes that make extractive zones, the discursive power of *Peru Profondo* defined the long durée of republicanism and its postcolonial geographies. This is because liberalism's key philosophical foundations relied on the illusion of inclusion and equality while engaging a virulent exclusionary politics of anti-Blackness and dispossession.[189] While there has been much work on the complicated history of state-building and the vexed politics of nation building in Peru, it is not until recently that these complex dialectical relationships among the State's postcolonial subjectivities and geographies has been explored.[190]

Rooted in the colonial encounters and subsequent settlements of the region, *Criollo* subjectivity (*criollismo*) was marked by and embodied the entanglements of geography and subject-making in the nation-state. Peruvian historian, Luis Gómez Acuña, traces the different

[187] For Foucault, race became a central mechanism of control and biopower for modern societies. See Stoler, Ann Laura. *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things.* Duke University Press, 1995.

[188] Orlove, "Putting Race in Its Place."

[189] Otero, "The" Indian Question" in Latin America."

[190] As noted in the previous chapter through the work of Shona Jackson, historical and colonial discourses were inscribed onto particular subjectivities that served the interests of the dominant classes.

conceptualizations of *Criollo* across Peruvian history to different epochs.[191] Originating in the viceregency, the *Criollo* came to represent national identity in the post-independence period. Later on, the *Criollo* would be used to differentiate itself from that which was foreign to the national project, including the Andean. Associating the periphery—in relation to the coast—as a foreign geography outside of the national project further entrenched the binary of development and underdevelopment. It also ascribed a "developed" *Criollo* subjectivity to the coastal regions as opposed to the "undeveloped" hinterlands of the Andes. It was at this time that the "Indian" surfaced as an epistemic category, causing a perceived onto-epistemological disruption in that they were seen to embody the presence of a people outside of the teleological European worldview.

The *Criollo*, a Spanish descendent living in the colonial territories, would go through a process of Indigenization during the revolutionary epoch of the 19th century in Peru. Replacing the original inhabitants as the historical agent of the Andean states and defining the body politic of the new states, the *Criollo* subjectivity became Peru's body politic, defining the liberal foundations within its jurisprudence. Since the formation of the republican state, a unique set of cultural practices and norms coalesced to define the institutionalized logics informing the social politic of the Peruvian nation-state. These sets of norms and practices are not autochthonous but have been transposed onto the emergent nation-state project by its main protagonist, the *Criollo*. A chronotype and historical agent across the republican history of Latin America, the *Criollo* has embodied modernity in the Andean region.[192] As a historical agent, the *Criollo* was the political republican subject in the traditional sense, the descendent of Spanish settlers who began to form a class of their own in the new colonies. Given the postcolonial paradigms that emerged

[191] Acuña, "Lo Criollo En El Perú Republicano."
[192] Méndez, *Incas Sí, Indios No.*

in the 20th century, the *Criollo*, at the expense of other excluded subjects – such as the multitude of nations that existed on the continent and subsequent subjects of the colonial period – came to be read as the definitive postcolonial figure, a fixture that would later produce the perturbations in developing subaltern and postcolonial analytics in Latin America.

The paradox of justifying nation-building upon pre-existing ones eventually turned into an existential problem for administrative regions like the viceregency of Peru in the late colonial period, where the "Indian question" informed wide-ranging debates on the status and role of Indigenous peoples in the emergent societies.[193]

Theorizing Peru's Hinterland

Defining the discursive power of orientalism, Edward Said described it as a project which "not only creates but also maintains; it is, rather than expresses, a certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world."[194] In his opus *Orientalism,* Said would go on to describe how the West came to know itself through the encounter with the *other*, an amorphous entity of which the self (the West) was able to project and manifest its own interpretations. This two-way process of orientalism extended into the early encounters with the New World, observed in the descriptors and early nomenclatures of conquest, where *moros* (moors) and *turcos* (turks) were terms used to describe the Indigenous leaders and settlements in the Western hemisphere. The most explicit example of this orientalization can be found in the name, West Indies, a label which houses an obvious orientalist epistemology that prefigures the metageogrpahy of modernity.

[193] Stavenhagen, "Indigenous Peoples and the State in Latin America."

[194] Said, Edward. "Introduction to Orientalism," 1978.

The nascent nationalist movements that emerged across the Spanish territories in 18th century sought to simultaneously create an independent political class while preserving the unique cultural ethnic features of their criollo subjectivity. Referring to these unique nationalist movements as "creole pioneers," Benedict Anderson made note of the historical conditions that expedited the inherent slow process by which nationalist formations usually occur.[195] Anderson argued that the conventional preconditions for nationhood that were later seen in Europe, such as separate languages from the metropoles and lower class mobilizations, were not present in the Americas.[196] Instead, creole classes across the Americas, from the anglo to the hispanic diasporas, developed a complex often contradictory sense of identity.[197] They would at times, when convenient, pronounce a universal national project, such as General San Martín did in 1821 when he decreed that all those under the jurisdiction of the newly founded Peruvian State would become citizens, including the "aborigines."[198] However, *de jure* political projects, such as the liberal notions of citizenship and tenure, enforced a fundamental biopower for the state and the criollo political class. Citing anthropologist Victor Turner, Anderson noted that one of the most significant features of building nationhood in these pioneering societies was the way in which they were able to forge new meanings in their respective geographies. Criollos in the viceregencies were able to rely on the meanings that came to be associated and ascribed to sites and places from which the metropoles were far removed, this in turn provided the criollo class with legitimate, political and most importantly, independent power. Amplifying and extending

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[195] White, Ed. "Early American Nations as Imagined Communities." *American Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (2004): 49–81.

[196] Anderson, Benedict. "Creole Pioneers." In *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso books, 2006.

[197] Ibid

[198] Lynch, John. *The Spanish American Revolutions, 1808-1826*. London: Weidenfeld and nicolson, 1973.

Anderson's analysis of meaning-making sites, I argue here that colonial imagined geographies themselves played a significant role in creating meaning for the new nation-state. Specifically, it was the criollo subjectivity of Peru that was extended and graphed onto the internal territories of the new nation-state, developing a self-serving imaginative geography that still informs dominant discourses and narratives.

Not until recently has a postcolonial condition been seriously considered in the study of state-making geographies.[199] Influenced by the decolonial turn in the social sciences at the turn of the 20th century, postcolonial and decolonial approaches to geography have contended with the colonialities present in modern relationships between space, knowledge, and power. Recently, subaltern and postcolonial analysis has turned "inward" to examine the relationship and arrangement of specific sites within the borders of postcolonial societies.[200] Most notably, it has been the work of anarcho-feminists, anarcho-*Indijenas*, and Indigenous theorists who have opened up critical interventions and critiques of the postcolonial condition as they have named the ongoing patriarchalization and internal colonization that is often obfuscated behind nationalist narratives.[201] More than pluricultural interventions, these critiques call out the very function of the state as carrying forth the colonial logics and conditions that first recognized and arranged territorial spaces.

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[199] De Leeuw, Sarah, and Sarah Hunt. "Unsettling Decolonizing Geographies." Geography Compass 12, no. 7 (2018): e12376.

[200] Radcliffe, Sarah A. "Imaginative Geographies, Postcolonialism, and National Identities: Contemporary Discourses of the Nation in Ecuador." *Ecumene* 3, no. 1 (1996): 23–42. Subaltern approaches, however, have not been without their controversies, particularly for Latin America. See for example the controversies surrounding the short-lived subaltern is a reflection of this fact, failing to achieve a consensus on the subaltern proper.

[201] *Cuerpo, Territorios y Feminismos – Bajo Tierra Ediciones*. Bajo Tierras Ediciones, 2022. http://bajotierraediciones.com/product/cuerpo-territorios-y-feminismos-2/.

Peru is a case in point. The landscape transformations that criollo subjectivities led to had profound biopolitical consequences that continue to shape the interior territories of the country.[202] Post-independence Peru broke from the conventional colonial imaginings of territory and instead adopted unique ways of knowing its new territories that are typical of nation-building societies. Whereas the previous colonial power had been explicitly displayed in the colonial geography with imperial Europe as the metropole, it was now cut off at the national border.[203] In effect, it turned its gaze inward, as the metropole shifted from the imperial Europe to the seat of its viceregency—Lima. This was consequence of the need to reorient the geographies that informed the power and knowledge of *criollismo,* the dominant and social political class of newly independent Peru. A correlated mutation to Wynter's study of the human, the perceptions or "knowing" of the country's interior mutated from open divine providence—made evident in Toledo's dictum—to one concerned with creation of a republic (*civitas* in Latin). As its new reference point, the capital Lima constructed a "knowable pattern" to order and substantiate the emergent nation-state of Peru.[204]

Much of where nation-states derive their meanings that substantiate nationalism comes from the ability to develop what the historian Nicola Miller calls a *useable past,* a historical period that grants legitimacy to the contemporary discourses that underpin the national project.[205] For the emergent Latin American republics, many drew on the local Indigenous civilizations, constructing or exaggerating a pantheon of which the political class could claim the current state

[202] As the scholar Irene Silverblatt reminds us, although historically relegated to its own area studies outside of settler-colonial paradigms, Peru's self-producing practices fall within frameworks of colonial formations. Silverblatt, "Haunting the Modern Andean State. Colonial Legacies of Race and Civilization."

[203] This of course does not imply that the external or world system was done away with. Rather, the concentric relations and scales of power were reinforced.

[204] Sharp, Joanne. *Geographies of Postcolonialism.* Sage, 2008.

[205] Ibid.

descended.[206] Replete with negotiations, selective and conditional appropriations, the process and applicability of a useable past has been quite difficult for many countries, especially for those with large Indigenous cultures like Peru. Less reliant on a useable path and the imagined national mestizo project, the Peruvian nation-building project instead relied upon its liberal discursive power to efface Indigeneity, at least in the political sense. This can be observed in the decrees of the 19th century: three years after San Martín made his proclamation declaring everyone within the independent borders as Peruvian and "full citizens," then president Simón Bolívar removed the remnants of the reduction's classification of Indigenous communities as corporate entities.[207] The simultaneous reclassification of ontologies and territorial transformation is an expression of liberalism's deep biopolitical process, one that begins to amend its landscape and historical narrative.[208]

The main predicament with nation or republic-building is not only the recovery of a useable past but also specific territories of use for the state. States by their very nature require the control of clearly defined enclosures on which to exert their power, the only way by which the state can come to *know* space. Examining the evolution of territory, the geographer Stuart Elden concludes that, "Territory can be understood as the political counterpart to this notion of calculating space and can therefore be thought of as the extension of the *state's power* [emphasis my own]."[209] Understanding the nature and root of a States' power thus serves to explain its territorialization and vice versa. The founding history of the particular nation-state as it pertains

[206] Most notably, the capital of Mexico--its own name deriving from the Nahuatl—is built on the ruin of Tenochtitlan and was used by many of the successive mestizo governments since.

[207] Delran, Guido. *Historia Rural Del Perú*. 4. Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1981.

[208] Smith, Richard Chase. "Liberal Ideology and Indigenous Communities in Post-Independence Peru." Journal of International Affairs, 1982, 73–82.

[209] Elden, Stuart. *The Birth of Territory*. University of Chicago Press, 2013.

to amending and making territories known, defines the nature of a State's power.[210] Following the call by the scholar Scott Morgensen to denaturalize the biopower found in the white settler societies and extending Anderson's previous analysis, I use settlement here to categorize the two main ways by which States get to know their territories.[211] The reading and interpretation of the interior spaces of non-settler States, as those in Europe, served a different purpose than that which emerged from settler societies. While both sought to make sense of the vast depopulated spaces of their interior, one seeks to identify its essence while the other seeks to subdue, control, and tame it. Contending with more homogeneous populations who shared linguistic and cultural traditions with the metropole, the most difficult impediment for nation-building in the settler societies was their dynamic socio-economic conditions.

In part a response to the rise of Romanticism in the period, the 19th century turned to interpret interior territories as it sought to find the meaning of nationalism following an era of conflict. German philosopher Johann Gottfried, an influential figure in European nationalism, found the significance of landscape and territoriality in shaping subjectivity and sense of identity known for writing that geography comprised an essential part of the human economy.[212] In France, the turn to identify the true essence of the "nation" would also be pushed along by what came to be known as the *Dreyfus affair*, a military trial that divided the republic at the end of the 19th century.[213] Responding to the scandal surrounding the public trial of Jewish French army captain Alfred Dreyfus accused of espionage, many writers, philosophers, and general

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[210] Roberts, "History and Memory."

[211] Morgensen, Scott Lauria. "The Biopolitics of Settler Colonialism: Right Here, Right Now." Settler Colonial Studies 1, no. 1 (January 1, 2011): 52–76. https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2011.10648801.

[212] Kohn, Hans. "I. Nationalism." In *Before America Decides*, 13–26. Harvard University Press, 2013.

[213] Stuart, Robert. *Marxism and National Identity: Socialism, Nationalism, and National Socialism during the French Fin de Siècle*. State University of New York Press, 2006.

intelligentsia of the time sought to locate and identify the national essence of France to give validity to their writing and reporting. This would ultimately lead to a movement to seek out the essence of its sparsely populated countryside, *La France profonde* or Deep France.

Attention pivoted to the countryside (*pagas* in Latin) of France, a site that would move from the peripheral void into the main social imaginary of the new republic. As the republic of France sought to make new meanings through discursive and historical narratives, its territories would come to play an important role in this endeavor, although not without contention. In defining the essence of the countryside, the intelligentsia distinguished between the *pays légal*, the formal, institutional and bureaucratic country and the *pays réel*, the essence of its people. The goal was to find the new republic's integrity, deploying it to substantiate and advocate for the proper direction the nation-state would take. Theorizing through the true identity of its people, Charles Maurras, a far-right politician who was associated with the monarchist party *Action Française*, is credited with engendering this political bifurcation. A nationalist, Maurras believed in the centrality of social hierarchies as critical to order, finding liberalism to be its antithesis.[214] For Maurras and his ensuing *nationalisme,* the essence of the "real" country was catholic, xenophobic, and antisemitic, and it was at the risk of national integrity that the State came to reject this.[215] Since then, various writers and thinkers have sought to define *La France profonde* or deep France, as it became a project to determine the "authentic" character of the people. While not a monarchist, close ally and republican Maurice Barrès similarly associated the countryside with an essential conservatism. Contrasting the reading of a reactionary essence of *France profonde* was Charles Péguy, a contemporary essayist and anti-modernist thinker, found a Catholicism infused

[214] Sutton, Michael. *Nationalism, Positivism and Catholicism: The Politics of Charles Maurras and French Catholics* 1890-1914. Cambridge University Press, 2002.

[215] Ibid

with premodern qualities and mysticism.[216] Eventually transforming into a framework to define the nationalist movements that followed the republican era at the end of the 19th century, the desire to locate and speak for a country's essence would be imported as a framework for other intellectual classes to deploy in their respective countries—including Peru.

Peru Profundo

Similar to the debates in France, the essence of Peru's depth (*lo profundo* in Spanish) has been contested since the concept first entered Peruvian lexicon in the mid-20th century. Yet although *profundidad* is not named until the 20th century, a speculative geography has long accompanied the discursive power of the political classes. In his research on the late 19th century Andean rebellion in the northern coastal region of Huaraz, the historian and anthropologist Mark Thurner describes a tenuous relationship between the Andean populations and the State.[217] Looking to forge a new liberal republic, Thurner describes how the criollo political class contended with the invariable contradictions of building a liberal society while maintaining a proto-caste structure, permitting *de facto* autonomy in the countryside. Through this subaltern reading of Peruvian geography, Thurner traces a pervasive colonial imaginary that never leaves the side of Peruvian historiography and its main actors.[218] A consequence of the inherent contradiction of nation-building on settled lands, the Peruvian nation-state becomes anchored in an endless pursuit of reordering its founding mythology, seeking to interpret its spatial and

[216] Latour, Bruno, and Tim Howles. "Charles Péguy: Time, Space, and Le Monde Moderne." *New Literary History* 46, no. 1 (2015): 41–62.

[217] Thurner, Mark. *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru*. Duke University Press, 1997.

[218] Thurner, Mark. "The Founding Abyss of Colonial History: Or 'the Origin and Principle of the Name of Peru.'" History and Theory 48, no. 1 (2009): 44–62.

ontological depth in relation to its historical and social subject of the criollo.[219] Describing the imaginary of Peru itself as the 'founding void or abyss of [global] colonial history," Thurner here draws in the work of the Mexican philosopher Edmundo O'Gormon, from whom he borrows the idea of locating the theme of historiography, describing the historiography of America as one that is

> constitutive of its "being" points to the abyss of the historical subject, that is, to the immediate nonbeing of things and events that is filled and refilled by the loving meanings attached to the proper names that, in turn, lend meaning to those events and so make them into proper beings or subjects of history.[220]

I am arguing that Peru holds a comparable historiography, where its own internal abyss is found at the edge of where the line between the subjective or *real* Peru and the objective or *other* Peru is in effect what creates the *two* Perus.

Peru Profundo, or deep Peru, has historically been just as much a reference to the physical geography as it has been to the onto-spatial dimensions within the territorial margins of this South American State. The term is deployed in various arenas, from the political to the economic, used widely across social rhetoric and political discourse, it was conceptualized in the early 20th century by the Peruvian historian Jorge Basadre to refer to a civil society outside of private industry and the political sphere. *Peru Profundo*'s resurgence in the contemporary lexicon runs through the reactionary author Mario Vargas Llosa's recovery and redeployment of the term as an anthropological hermeneutic tool. Llosa, an ardent defender of liberalism and development, used the term *Peru Profundo* to not only describe the geographically disjointed periphery from the developed center, but to now name the gap in the teleological timeline of the

[219] Founding myths are particularly important for the societies built on dispossession, inventing stories and belief to justify their divine duty of possession. See Grandin's work for a comparable look at how the US continues to push the edges of its manifest destiny. Grandin, Greg. *The End of the Myth: From the Frontier to the Border Wall in the Mind of America*. Henry Holt and Company, 2019.

[220] Ibid

Peruvian State. Most notably, Llosa perceived this teleological gap as the epistemological abyss at the margins of Peruvian society, what he would argue resulted in the catalyst for the Maoist insurrection of the late 20th century.[221] In a special report on the killing of eight journalists in the Peruvian village of Uchuraccay during the dirty war between the Maoist insurrectionist group Shining Path and the Peruvian State, Llosa argued that it was the local Indigenous Uchuraccay community's aversion to development and modernity—a consequence of its co-constituted social and geographic marginalization—that led them to commit these crimes. Llosa's position in relation to the "other" is informed by his criollo subjectivity producing a personal equivocation similar to the one carried out by the overall national project, interpreting this tragedy through his own epistemological framing. Llosa's equivocation in many ways reflected the dominant State narrative about the case at the time.

In *Cruel Modernity,* the literary critic Jean Franco challenges Vargas Llosa's *Criollo*-centric worldview. Revisiting Vargas Llosa's journalism in his report on the events in the village of Uchuraccay, Franco ultimately argues that seeing the Indigenous communities as incompatible with modernity is a discriminatory consequence of cultural equivocation.[222] Franco's critical literary analysis of Vargas Llosa's assessment of the dirty war exposes the way in which a historical criollo narrative informs the "violentologies" of Peru's modernity through the construction of a binary between criollo (an ontology connected to development) and Indigenous (a primitivized ontology).[223] Franco's critique of this criollo worldview is juxtaposed with her own sympathetic intervention, where she makes sure to retain a place for the

[221] Franco, Jean. "'Alien to Modernity': The Rationalization of Discrimination."

[222] Franco, Jean. *Cruel Modernity*. Duke University Press, 2013.

[223] Violentology, or the study of how violence permeates society in various ways, comes out of Colombia and the study of the long internal conflict's impact on civil society.

community members of Uchuraccay within Peruvian modernity, seeing their Indigeneity as another misunderstood culture that can, with sincere and considerate engagements, become part of the Peruvian cultural tapestry.[224] Although Franco pushes back against the essentialization carried out by Vargas Llosa, particularly in her recovery of the modernist practices she finds in the community of Uchuraccay (their use of radios and demand for institutionalized education), she ultimately ends up effacing Indigeneity in her altruistic reading of it as cultural difference. As a derivative and management tool of liberalism, it is important to note the ways in which multiculturalism can reproduce modern equivocation through the obfuscation of Andean epistemology by deploying a sympathetic interpretation of Indigenous ways of being in Uchuraccay as mere cultural difference. Although critical of Llosa's reading of Andean*eity*, Franco retains an essentializing gaze and reading of Peru's hinterland like the one expressed by Pagay of France.

Breaking from this reading, my use of *profundidad* or depth starts with appropriating the idea of depth from the historical role it played in defining Peru's imaginative geography and instead "reads back" the State.[225] This inversion pulls out the formative racial politics of the

[224] Ibid.

[225] The Peruvian historian Cecilia Méndez presents a comparable methodology in her own kind of counter-reading when examining the region of Huanta of which the city of Uchuraccay sits and its role in state-making through the contribution of peasants. In The Plebeian Republic: The Huanta Rebellion and the Making of the Peruvian State, 1820–1850, Méndez explores the way in which this central Andean region, playing host to numerous contentious social and political events over the republican period, held a unique role in the social imaginary of the republican state that sought to construct itself against it. An important node in the historical process, Méndez presents a complex picture where peasants traverse the teleology of state development, presenting a counternarrative that gives peasant Indigenous communities more agency with regards to the historical process of state formation. Méndez, The Plebeian Republic. Méndez found that many of the Indigenous communities of the areas negotiated their relationships to numerous foreign paternal forms of governance, later refusing to be condensed into the broader project of the emergent civil society in the newly independent Peruvian republic. Ibid. By disrupting the teleology of republicanism and independence argues Méndez, the political clashes across different epochs served to imagine this geography as anachronistic and backwards, identifying the periphery with a rebellious nature. According to the state's interpretation or political hermeneutic regarding Indigenous peoples, Huanta and other places like it were placed on the plane of underdevelopment due to its perceived ontological association with rebellion and resistance. Insurrectionist Indios and campesinos were seen as just that, ascribed a particular ontology unable to fully assimilate into the republican project, despite their contributions to early forms of governance.

State, specifically *criollismo* and its ontological connection to development, a processes that entrenches the spatial depth in the geography of the periphery by condemning that which is not criollo as ontologically underdeveloped.[226] Of the two nominal Perus housed within the State, the *primary* Peru is a postcolonial space of the criollo subjectivity while the other one is seen as the negation of the criollo. In this reading, the idea of *Peru Profundo* is less about finding a discursive meaning and essence as it is in the idea of *France profonde.* Rather, the reification of *Peru Profundo* serves as a tool that enables the historical colonial processes to move into the ordering logics of the contemporary State. Extractive zones like those in Espinar, are constructed through these periphery-shaping discourses, where Indigenous-campesino territories are turned over to mining concessions. The state's recognition of the Andean and Amazonian peripheries as *Profundidad* or depth within the social imaginary implicates it into a project of development designed by a criollo culture that has in many ways come to stand in for the historical expansion of the *civitas*.

Peru Profundo's ordering logic can be founding in the normative rhetoric that it engenders. Take for instance, the message conveyed in the op-ed written in the Peruvian paper *El Comercio* in 2007, where the then President of Peru, Alan Garcia, anticipated the bloody confrontation in the region of Bagua in the Amazon: "So there are many unused resources that aren't tradeable, don't receive investment, and don't generate employment. And all that because of the taboo of left-behind ideologies, because of idleness, indolence, and the law of the dog in the manger who

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Rogin, "Liberal Society and the Indian Question." Méndez's recovery of the lost historical record of Indigenous peasants as central figures in local and regional politics attempts to presents a counternarrative to the dominant view that sees these communities as posing persistent ruptures in the state's discursive and ontological identity. The trouble with finding a place for the region of Huanta and what its rebellions represented within the historical narrative of the Peruvian republic is in many ways indicative of the broader issue of finding a place for Indigenous peoples. As Méndez's research highlights, Huanta is situated well within the Indigenous periphery or Peru Profundo.

[226] Méndez, *Incas Sí, Indios No.*

prays: 'If I don't do it, let nobody do it.'" Garcia's use of the discursive Indian problem is encapsulated in the imagery of the "dog in the manger," serving as a neoliberal slogan used to grant the State legitimacy in advancing development projects.[227] Garcia's slogan illustrates the Indian problem as the impediment to development, blaming the illogical enunciations of Indigeneity and what it perceived to be as a lack of concern for the State's development, a moral and civil obligation of its citizenry. Two projects are simultaneously achieved through this discursive exercise. First, by evoking the proper way of understanding the hinterland, Garcia is able to outline and define the dimensions of development in arguing for the necessity of the resources left unused in the Amazon. Second, Garcia reproduces the state's legitimacy by constructing a binary between the irrational opposition of Indigenous peoples and the logical development of the state, consequently justifying its access into these peripheral zones.[228] Less than two years after Garcia's statement, a fierce standoff between the Shawi people of the Bagua province in Peru and the military ended with 33 people killed. Analyzing Garcia's discourse within its current moment finds a neoliberal reframing of the historical Indian problem come into focus. The Baguazo, as it was known, was a violent state response to a subjugated knowledge that it interpreted as a threat to the state's existence. It has enabled more than the simple material removal of precious metals and minerals —becoming a recursive colonial practice that reproduces the imagined geography of *Peru Profundo* in its management of territory and bodies.

This imposed ontological definition can be observed in the ways in which the government has sought to bring in the periphery under the terms of modernity, leading it to

[227] Larsen, "'The Dog in the Manger.'"

[228] de Jong and Humphreys, "A Failed Social Licence: License to Operate for the Neoliberal Modernization of Amazonian Resource Use."

respond in a reactionary manner when those terms are refused. This serves to explain the state's violent responses to campesino protests, where protestors are often described in punitive and paternalistic ways. The killings and disappearances of community leaders, protestors, water and land protectors and others confronting the different kinds of extractive projects across the peripheral regions in Peru as well as numerous Latin American States are contemporary enunciations of this interplay. Located in the imagined geographies of the state, the existence of peasant, Indigenous, and afro-descendent communities in the peripheral zones where extractivism takes place renders their violent realities as exceptional cases; in the margins, death is treated differently, where land, territory, and bodies are organized to the benefit of racial capitalist development in sacrificial zones.[229] This spatial reordering is a racialized process that occurs alongside the teleology of development adopted by countries like Peru.[230] The material transformation of land and bodies is part of the colonial process not just in Peru but all across the Western hemisphere. This is because conquest and settlement produces what the scholar Tiffany Lethabo King refers to as the "settler-conquistador," the discourse-forming subject of Western thought and reason.[231] In the deconstruction of this criollo discursivity one finds an interplay of territory, temporalities and subjectivity, a triadic formation that grounds Peru's

[229] Scott and Smith, "'Sacrifice Zones' in the Green Energy Economy."

[230] Exploring uranium and coal mining sites on Diné lands in the United States southwest, environmental scholar Traci Voyles, in dialogue with other scholars such as Valerie Kuletz, found a discursive logic of development informing what she refers to as 'wastelanding' or the remaking and conversion of Indigenous territories as marginal, empty, destitute—wastelands—through discursive practices and extractive forms of mining. Voyles, Wastelanding. In the process of wastelanding, territories were delineated for the extraction of raw materials, a necessary process of constructing the imaginative geography of the peripheral southwestern region of the United States. Like in the American southwest, the process of remaking territories in Peru is only possible through onto-spatial inquires that question the relationship between land and the nation-state, inquiries that are conducted without acknowledgement and much less the prior consultation of its original inhabitants.

[231] King, *The Black Shoals.*

sovereignty and its constituting polity.[232] Reactivated through extractivism, *deep Peru* is the geographical partition that informs and substantiates the very historical narrative and contemporary discourse of modernity demarcating the territorial boundaries of extraction marking the edges of criollo ontology.

Norman Fairclough, a linguist who coined the term critical discourse analysis or CDA, describes its basic tenets as relational, dialectic, and transdisciplinary.[233] CDA serves as a tool for social critique, a way to locate and trace where power transfers across social relations. Fairclough, as well as other critical scholars engaging with the power of discourse extend the analysis of discourse beyond *itself*, analyzing it within and among social relations. In other words, CDA is concerned with the way in which discourse enables particular ideologies that structure encounters between different social and political entities in a given society. Taking up CDA, we can see how the Indian in the social imaginary of liberalism became a perpetual problem for its discursive power as it perturbed the liberal ideological principles looking to establish a footing in the *terra nullius*, forcing republican thinkers, including the early framers of Peru, to contend with

[232] It is important to note that while I evoke a comparable process of discursivity and violence, I am not seeking to transpose the analytics used in the US southwest to Latin America but rather to pull out connectors and relational processes in these two settler-colonial regions. While the process of wastelanding in the US render Indigenous communities invisible, the reality in Latin America must be distinguished within its unique historical colonial process, a recovery that has only recently been taken up following encounters between analytical frameworks of Indigeneity that had until recently been fixed to their respective regions. Speed, Shannon. "Structures of Settler Capitalism in Abya Yala." American Quarterly 69, no. 4 (2017): 783–90. The recovery is much less for the communities in struggle as it is for those who study and organize around them. This postcolonial gesture is more commonly seen in cultural studies, where the goal was to recover that which has been written out of the official record. While the historical processes of anglophone and hispanophone settlement are marked by distinguishable characteristics, specifically in how they the social politics in their respective regions, the justification here is in both contending with how to properly manage Indigenous realities—both producing reconfigurations of Indigeneity as it related to the state. Conventional studies of colonial state-making are rarely comparative, a condition of the predominance of area studies. For more on the complexities of the hispanophone projects of racial politics, see the work of Bolivian Scholar Javier Sanjinés Mestizaje Upside-Down, as well as Peruvian scholar Marisol de La Cadena Cadena, Indigenous Mestizos. Sanjinés, Mestizaje Upside-Down. More than simply 'reading back,' this process of recovering and appropriating the imagined geographies of colonialism is a way of reflecting back Prospero's gaze. In postcolonial studies, Prospero, the main character in Shakespeare's The Tempest, is taken as the embodiment for colonialism and its cruel benevolent nature. Wilkes, "The Tempest and the Discourse of Colonialism."

[233] Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse.*

what they understood to be anachronisms in relation to their worldviews.[234] Even for the progressive and radical currents of liberalism, debates surrounding the status of Indian peoples were sites of contestation for prominent Peruvian intellectuals as can be seen with the anarchist and Marxist thinkers of Peru in Jose Carlos Mariategui and Manuel González Prada respectively.[235] Writing from the early 20th century, Mariátegui connects the management of Indigenous peoples to the actualization of the legal doctrine, that of individual rights and humanist traditions of the enlightenment.[236] Capturing the essence of this period and the debates of Indigenous liberation, Jose Carlos Mariátegui states,

> The tendency to consider the Indian problem as a moral one embodies a liberal, humanitarian, enlightened nineteenth-century attitude that in the political sphere of the Western world inspires and motivates the "leagues of human rights." The anti-slavery conferences and societies in Europe that have denounced more or less futilely the crimes of the colonizing nations are born of this tendency, which always has trusted too much in its appeals to the conscience of civilization.[237]

The Indian problem in liberalism can be read as an ideological discourse motivating the policies that continue to shape social relations between Indigenous communities and modernity, a problem not just limited to Peru but to the whole hemisphere. Drawing from the historical debates of liberal thinkers in the United States, political scientists like Michael Paul Rogin have argued that Indigeneity was inherently incompatible with liberalism. In "Liberal Society and the

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[234] Since the colonial columns first established their legitimacy through what Nelson Maldonado-Torres refers to as the *ergo conquerero*, the conqueror-knower, their heliocentric worldview had to contend with Indigenous peoples. Therefore, the Indian Problem is the first articulation of European equivocation that in itself becames an ideological expression, conveyed through the management of territory and bodies.

[235] Both of these notable theorists in anarchist (Prada) and marxist thought (Mariátegui), were early proponents of IndianismIndigenismo, as they drew from Andean practices to formulate their respective critiques of the republican state. With regards to Prada's work, see *Free Pages and Other Essays: Anarchist Musings*, for Mariátegui, *Siete Ensayos*.

[236] For more on the way in which international legal doctrine serves the interest of colonialism and its derivative notions of sovereignty, the work of legal academic Azeezah Kanji and Robinson, *The White Possessive*.

[237] Mariátegui, "2. The Problem of the Indian."

Indian Question," Rogin argues the values of individualism and private property that undergird liberalism contrast with those of Indigenous communities who typically relied on collectivist and usufruct-like relationships to the land. Rogin argues the Indian problem arises out of two competing worldviews. In one, the European structure of liberal modernity, is predicated upon individualism, private property, and the separation of man from nature. Propelled by the ideological principles of Hobbes, Locke, and Weber, liberalism comes into conflict with societies it perceives to be out of line with the teleology of human development; it effaces other societies ultimately relying on the necropolitics of cultural extermination as the only viable futures for these communities. These ideologies, according to Rogin and most notably to Indigenous philosophies, are in contrast to an Indigeneity that is more often predicated on communality and a deeper integration of the human and non-human world.[238] Whether or not these characteristics define all forms of Indigeneity is not of concern, for it is the modern state that has interpellated the realities of Andean peoples and that has ultimately come to define the [progressive] limitations imposed upon Indigenous/native ontologies.[239] Later on, liberalism would become a form of rationalizing violence and dispossession through the discourse of development, a teleological process carried forth in the statecraft of extractivism.[240] A deeper negation of that which was already present, occurs in the construction of new discourses marked by what is made known and what is not, what scholar Manu Vimalassery refers to as the process of "colonial unknowing," the selective process and reactionary epistemology colonial sovereigns use to

[238] Cajete, "Philosophy of Native Science."

[239] Francis Walker, the American statistician, captures this succinctly in his description of the Indian problem as an existential one. Walker, Francis Amasa. *The Indian Question*. Boston: JR Osgood, 1874.

[240] Esteva and Escobar, "Post-Development@ 25."

produce legitimacy and sovereignty on stolen land.[241] The discourse of the "Indian problem" has historically animated the methods of extractivism and the way it has shaped its geography. The neoliberal development model promoted by the State and captured in President Garcia's denunciation of Amazonian ways of being, read the Awajun philosophy of *tajimat pujut* (life in abundance: a concept of Amazonian communality and autonomous life) as a problematic existence that stood in the way of development and market rationalities. For modern development to progress, this was a problem that needed to be overcome because they wanted the land for use and they wanted the people for use, labour. If they didn't need them, it wouldn't have mattered so much.

What can a counter-reading of the Indian problem then tell us about the Peruvian State? More so, what can a sociology of absences, that is, an analysis of that which has been silenced, ignored, or appropriated by the State, present about new understandings of power and resistance?[242] Answering these questions is a way of "reading back" the State. It would require a critical discursive analysis of power while taking up a different standpoint than one that speaks for the other, such as was done by Llosa's description of the episode of violence that was carried out in the village of Uchuraccay. A different standpoint would recognize that Amazonian cosmologies are informed by a pluriversal existence of co-dependent-independence, quite distinct from the monocultural model of market rationality. As Gil Inoach Shawit, former president of the Interethnic Development Association of the Peruvian Amazon (AIDESEP) notes, "*tajimat pujut* values people from their place in the local environment, every awajun person was dependent upon the environment; at the same time they were independent, able to

[241] Vimalassery, Pegues, and Goldstein, "Introduction."

[242] As conscious as this methodology may be, constructing a sociology of the absence may reproduce equivocation and prevent dialogical encounters with what is already known.

act as they wished with great responsibility in accordance to their own knowledges and intelligence."[243]

An appropriation and inversion of *Peru Profundo,* Peru's historical and social imaginary, inadvertently presents this sort of counter reading. It captures the real meaning of what the abyss comes to signify for the State—subversive practices and enunciations of other ways of being outside of liberal ethics. Thus, a re-appropriation of *Peru Profundo* as a hermeneutic to read Indigenous alterity, not in relation to the state but on its own terms, illuminates a process with similar characteristics to that of the continental project of *Abiayala*. Taking *profundidad* a bit further, the remainder of this chapter reorients *profundidad* to recognize episodes of Indigenous and place-based resistance as subversive practices and expressions of other ways of being outside of dominant ethics.

Towards a Methodology of Depth

> It was ten years ago, more or less, that there was disaffection among these Indians of this land.... [M]ost of them had fallen into the greatest apostasies, separating themselves from the Catholic faith that they had received and returning to the idolatry that they committed in the time of their infidelity (Spanish priest Cristobal de Molina preaching in Quechua in 1571).[244]

Running between November 4, 2020 and May 18, 2021, the Place of Memory, Tolerance and Social Inclusion Museum (*Lugar de la Memoria, la Tolerancia y la Inclusión Social*) in Lima, Peru, put on the *Túpac Amaru y Micaela Bastidas: Memoria, símbolos y misterioso* (Memory, Symbols, and Mystery) exhibition.[245] Curating various creative expressions of the largest Indigenous uprising in continental history, the exhibition was set up to coincide with the bicentennial celebration of Peru's independence. The exhibition's purpose was to "depict the authentic profiles, myths and

[243] My translation Inoach, "Entre La Dependencia y La Libertad Siempre Awajun." P.237

[244]De Molina and Albornoz, *Fábulas y Mitos de Los Incas.*

[245] "Túpac Amaru y Micaela Bastidas: Memoria, Símbolos y Misterios | LUM."

mysteries of the multiple representations [of the rebellion] all the while capturing the intrigue it has engendered across the centuries" [my translation].[246] The exhibition was set up as a compilation of different forms, iterations, and contours of memory Bastides and Amaru's rebellion engendered across Peru's different societies. It is an attempt at capture sentiments and develop a discourse through the medium of curation, developing a new kind of language.[247]

Just as with the state, insurrections and rebellions often rely on symbolisms, memories, and useable pasts to construct collective imaginaries and shared struggles. Bastides and Amaru's rebellion began in 1780 with a pronunciation of violence that was carried out in the public execution of the *corrigidor* (the royal tax collector) Don Antonio de Arriaga. Arriaga's execution was a spectacular disruption of the colonial social order. While the rebellion and insurrection are difficult to compartmentalize, having had different phases composed of different actors, goals, and targets, it can nonetheless be interpreted as a collective expression of refusal.

The execution, carried out by Arriaga's slave, Antonio Oblitas, who would later become a rebel leader of the insurrection, upended the social order of the time. The execution was a public defiance of the colonial order: a rejection of the Hispanic social order, a rebellious act that violated the social, racial, and cultural norms of the Viceregency as it was carried out by colonial subjects. Writing about the rebellion, the notable historian Charles Walker describes the insurrection as unfixed in its meaning, evoking a transtemporal symbolism that has since been taken as the enunciation of a uniquely Andean "paradigm."[248] Distilling this paradigm of Andean-based rebellions of which the Tupac Amaru is its most visible expression, lends to a reading of *profundidad*.

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[246] Ibid

[247] O'Neill, "The Curatorial Turn."

[248] Walker*, The Tupac Amaru Rebellion*

Recently, scholars like Macarena Gómez-Barris have begun to read this paradigm as an accretion of struggles emanating from a shared historical memory and worldview particular to its place.[249] What has come to be increasingly referred to as the "Andean Radical Tradition" captures the fluid, unfixed, yet shared model of rebellion, disorder, and general uprisings in the Andean landscape in response to the historical terms of order and development. Where these historical processes—from the liberal ordering of the republican state to the contemporary processes of development including its multicultural variant—often depict resistance as a reactionary impulse, they are in fact profound expressions of an otherwise form of being. Surveying the historical modes and movements of resistance to colonial oppression, Geo Maher juxtaposes Hegel's *Cunning of Reason* with what he reads as a kind of "decolonial cunning." For Maher, the decolonial cunning that informs anti-colonial movements or "eruptions," are not animated by an invisible reason elevated above quotidian actions but derive from an inherent opposition to the oppressive norm: "Decolonial cunning is consequently not itself a universal concept but one that *approaches* the universal in a specific way: as a shared constellation of particular needs, desires, and struggles."[250] Although evoking a dialectical analysis, Maher's study of anti-colonial struggles captures the pluriversal practices as producing a generative mode of being, such as those depicted in Cristobal de Molina's account of *Taki Onqoy* quoted in the epigraph above.

Barely a generation into the colonial encounter that began in the northern shores of the South American continent, a massive spiritual movement swept across the nascent viceregency of Spain. *Taki Onqoy* or the "disease of dance" as it has been loosely translated to, swept through

[249] Gómez-Barris, Macarena. "Mapuche Mnemonics: Reversing the Colonial Gaze through New Visualities of Extractive Capitalism." *Radical History Review* 2016, no. 124 (2016): 90–101.

[250] Maher, Geo. *Anticolonial Eruptions: Racial Hubris and the Cunning of Resistance*. Vol. 15. Univ of California Press, 2022.

the Andean region, luring Andeans into what has been described as ceremonial dances, chants, and trance-induced performances.[251] *Taki Onqoy's* ceremonial performances and civic disobedience marked a visual and public display of refusal during the accentuation of the colonial order at the time, becoming a literal expression of a new millenarian reality. The clear defiance and embodied refusal to the colonial order in the disruptive acts of *Taki Onqoy* is indicative of subversive worldview that remained present beneath the colonial order. Cristobal de Molina's account reflects the racial and colonial hubris shared by the colonial administrators who by this time had expected the conquered to accept their subjugation in the name of Christian civility. Much like the spectacular display of violence initiated by Micaela Bastidas and Tupac Amaru, the central operative mode of performance was itself the enunciation of difference and alterity in periods where new social orders were begin imposed. In many ways, these two movements came to signify a *Pachakutik,* the Quechua concept for world/social upheaval, a transformative gesture meant to upend the present world and produce another worlding process. According to the Bolivian philosopher, Graciela Mazorco Irureta, *Pachakutik* is the

> coexistence and repositioning of constructive and destructive energies that makes individual self-determination possible. This re-evolutionary process moves towards an integral human condition, just as the resurgence of ancestral millenarian movements of social-cultural-civilizations outside of the Eurocentric paradigms" [my translation].[252]

Basing the model of my temporal framing and method on the Andean-Aymara gestures that sees the future behind the ego and the past ahead of it, I recover *Abiayala* from historical movements such as *Taki Onqoy* and the Bastidas/Amaru Rebellion.[253] These acts, as collective

[251] Millones, "Mesianismo En América Hispana."
[252] Mazorco Irureta, "La Descolonización En Tiempos Del Pachakutik."

[253] Núñez and Sweetser, "With the Future behind Them."

moves of resistance and refusal, come to enunciate a differentiated existence, driven by an alterity in relation to the dominant social order. That these sentiments survived the imposition of colonial and hegemonic orders speaks to an entrenched act of resistance throughout the Andean region and presents a deeper interpretation of what Charles Walker described as a paradigm. Instead, I attempt here to fix these paradigms loosely, placing them within the Andean Radical tradition as articulated by Gomez-Baris while finding resonance with the concept of *AbiaYala.* The self-evident paradigmatic characteristics Walker sees in the Bastidas and Amaru rebellion is found in the fact that it remains active in the historical memories of the State as well as the societies within it.[254] These historical memories are some of the "authentic profiles" the Tupac Amaru exhibition at LUM attempted to capture in its curation.

Abiya yala or sometimes *AbiaYala*, has become a ubiquitous term found across social and political movements throughout Latin America since the 21st century. Meaning "land of maturity" in the Guna people's language of present-day Panama, *Abiayala* stands for the present historical stage and dimension in Guna cosmology.[255] Today, the idea of *Abiayala* still carries on as paradigmatic notion, a historical stage increasingly defined by a decolonial and autonomous turn in the region. Much of this is a consequence of the historical moment when the idea of *Abiayala* began to transit across the continent, reaching different Indigenous and campesino movements by the end of the 20th century just as the radical imagination of state-centered revolution had reached its apogee. An encounter between a Bolivian-Aymara leader Takir Mamani and the *Saylas* or Guna authorities on the island of Ustupu off the coast of Panama, became the impetus for its proliferation. It was there that the Saylas entrusted Mamani with

[254] This can be seen in insurgent groups such as the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement or MRTA (Spanish Acroynm), the Katarista movement in Bolivia or the Tupamaros in Uruguay.

[255] Keme and Coon, "For Abiayala to Live, the Americas Must Die."

sharing the concept with other Indigenous movements, leading to a pan-Indigenous project. An Indigenous response to capitalist modernity, this continental idea or paradigm brought together shared philosophies of relationality across the continent.[256] *Abiayala* evolved into an idea that captured the political expressions, modes of being, and embodied practices that the conventional political models failed to properly recognize. Like the Andean Radical Tradition and "decolonial cunning," the idea of *Abiayala* here captures the diverse approaches, gestures, and movements informed by an accretion of place-based struggles that are not simply responding to violence but preserving and engendering other modes of being.

The linguist and Kichwa educator Armando Muluyema, describes the enunciation of Indigenous peoples of Latin America as one that emerges from a particular place of difference, against or beneath modernity.[257] These enunciations take place in everyday struggles, in the refusal of rural Andean communities to be converted into extractive zones; in Amazonian communities blocking roads and passage ways until the state engages with the law of prior consultation. These expressions are of a being otherwise whose movements are fugitive in nature.

Locating Abiyala

> Hugo's life needs no explanation. It explains, with the splendor of an exemplary path of development, the meaning of sumac kawsay (good living): to give oneself without wavering, alongside the humble and the poor, to the creation of that other world that we yearn for and that his vigorous path prefigures.[258]

In January 1994, the enigmatic Peruvian campesino organizer, Hugo Blanco, found himself in Mexico. Nearly 3,000 miles away from his homeland, Blanco had arrived at the

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[256] Quillaguamán Sánchez, Eduardo. "El Abya Yala."

[257] Muyolema, "Interculturalidad, Sumak Kawsay y Diálogo de Saberes."

[258] Note by the militant journalist Raul Zibechi in the epilogue to Blanco, *We the Indians.*

Mesoamerican continent a few years earlier. He was forced to leave after the Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori began to consolidate power, labeling critics of his government as enemies of the State. This included Blanco, whose political journey from campesino organizer in the southern Peruvian region of Cusco had seemingly reached its apex as he settled into his new position as a progressive congressman, the typical arc seen in historical figures who lived long after the tumultuous period of revolutionary struggle in the 1960s. Blanco's political journey however would not end there. Part of the global left movement as a former Trotskyist, Blanco long considered the historical struggle for Indigenous liberation in Peru through the prism of state power, a lineage that included the *Indigenismo* of the early 20th century. Up until this point, Blanco's historical view and revolutionary principles were very much informed by a materialist understanding, as the intrinsic relationship between land and labor could only be ruptured through struggle and ultimately state capture.[259] Although Blanco had always harbored a collectivist mindset, accompanying *campesino* communities as an equal instead of as the independent vanguard, it was not until the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas that he would develop a renewed political gesture—one that recovered what modernity had relegated to the past—and similarly develop a neoindigenous politic.[260]

The notion of Andean resistance is taken up across various disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, including history, where scholars such as Charles Walker and Gerardo Renique situate the long durée of statecraft alongside Indigenous rebellions in Peru.[261] Resistance is here understood not simply as an event but also as a mode of study, pulling some

[259] Blanco, *Land or Death*.

[260] Ward, "An Interview with Hugo Blanco Galdos."

[261] Walker, Smoldering Ashes.;Rénique, "Law of the Jungle in Peru."

methodologies form critical discursive analysis, Native Studies and Black Studies.[262] My use of resistance is then an analytical mode itself, not a process of study but a process to study back the State and better read the *otherwise*.[263] Within the area of critical Native and Black studies, *otherwise* politics are the ways of organizing and relating, ways of being that lie outside the normative and dominant structure, that which seeks to escape containment within a dominant social order.[264]

For an example we can look at the Zapatistas, who stand outside the teleology of formal leftist politics that center dialectic struggle and progress.[265] The Zapatistas, and the broader neo-Indigenous turn in Latin America speaks not to a revolutionary politic in the linear sense of historical materialism but rather a recovery of communal and relational practices as transformative politics. Resurgent Indigeneity can therefore be understood as a recovery of submerged political paradigms, those that have been pushed away by master narratives and paternalistic moves by the state and similar structures of power. Today, the idea of *Abiayala* serves as an elusive politic that brings these submerged politics to the surface. *Abiayala*'s submerged politics surface in the embodied politics of social actors such as Hugo Blanco, and historical upheavals. Like the historical memory of the Bastides/Amaru rebellion, Blanco's movements are elusive and fugitive, escaping numerous attempts by the State to capture, contain, and destroy his ideas as well as his body; his political path refused to commit to a fixed historical struggle, creating a prefigurative political thought gesturing to that which has been

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[262] The purpose in developing this interdisciplinary field is to avoid the reproduction of colonial violence in the formulaic nature of the disciplines, a process that enables and extends the liberal processes of globalization. On disciplinary knowledge and the reproduction of euro-centric humanness see Gagne, "On the Obsolescence of the Disciplines." On critical approaches to globalization studies, see the reader Robinson, *Critical Globalization Studies*.

[263] Here I am taking up a transgressive position in thinking resistance beyond the most critical term in my field (Global Studies) of contention, to argue that resistance is not necessarily always concerned with 'power over.' For more on this see Sitrin, "Rethinking Social Movements with Societies in Movement."

[264] King, Navarro, and Smith, "Beyond Incommensurability."

[265] Holloway, "Zapatismo and the Social Sciences."

reduced to the past (Andean Cosmologies)—as much by the State and historical materialists—as a way of articulating a new language of struggle. Blanco's politics of presence are the enactment of the *Peru Profundo* that the Peruvian State had feared even before its independence, a fear that ultimately forced the criollo class to rush towards independence following the Bastides/Amaru rebellion.

Another way of thinking about the elusive nature of the submerged politics of *Peru Profundo* is as a kind of infrapolitics. The concept of infrapolitics is attributed to James C. Scott who deploys it to capture the kinds of movements and acts of subjugated groups that do not quite fit within the realm of the political, as much for *how* they make their resistance known as well as the demands that they make upon power.[266] Most recently, the cultural theorist Alberto Moreiras took up the term from a Latin American perspective:

> There is a case to be made that infrapolitics, as we think of it or as we let it think us, is neither an analytic tool nor a form of critique, neither a method nor an act or an operation, that infrapolitics happens, always and everywhere, and that its happening beckons to us and seems to call for a transformation of the gaze, for some kind of passage to some strange and unthematizable otherwise of politics that is also, it must be, an otherwise than politics.[267]

Like the Bastidas/Amaru rebellion, Blanco's political campaign shifted into what scholars Andrej Grubačić and Denis O'Hearn would refer to as "structural exile," moves out of a dominant apparatus all the while remaining territorially fixed.[268] Yet, even the critical framework of so-called exilic societies may be insufficient to properly understand the kind of politic that have always remained elusive to dominant social orders. The violence the State imposes is an attempt at an ontological recalibration of the distortions brought about by the

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[266] Scott, "The Infrapolitics of Subordinate Groups."

[267] Moreiras, *Infrapolitics.*

[268] Grubacic and O'Hearn, *Living at the Edges of Capitalism.*

elements of refusal expressed by the subjugated Indigenous, Black, and queer bodies that refuse to accept the social-political terms of state-making processes in Peru.

Inverting the historical narrative of *Peru Profundo* exposes the different kind of relationships that animate the otherwise politics or infrapolitics beneath the normative discourses of the Peruvian State. As a heuristic tool, *Abiayala* provides a different kind of reading and interpretation of resistance—movements and gestures, that while not speaking to the terms of the State and particulars of its political framing, nevertheless maintain a worlding processes. According to the first-nation scholar George Manuel, Indigenous peoples have always occupied a unique place within the modern state, existing within but not of the broader State organism, enacting another world beneath the historical attempts to accentuate modernity.[269] That many communities continue to resist on their terms and produce discourses of alterity, speaks to the presence of another world, a *Fourth World* as Manuel calls it, one that extends beyond the projects of decolonization through different relationships to land.[270] Turning *Peru Profundo* into another heuristic tool seeks to capture the unique particularities of the otherwise found within the Peruvian State, where anti-extractivist protests are read as part of historical gestures resisting the siege of the State as well as speaking to broader politics of *Abiayala*.[271] The inability of the

[269] Coexistence, between independent yet relational organic entities, is understood quite well in the world of biology. Recent findings in the study of the human body for example, have found it to harbor hundreds of viruses, cohabitating within a dynamic environment. This coexistence carries on with little impact to our holistic wellbeing, as the viruses maintain a generative environment in "our" bodies that are nearly three parts comprised of viruses. see Pride, "Viruses Can Help Us as Well as Harm Us - Scientific American."

[270] Manuel and Posluns, *The Fourth World.*

[271] Previously obscured by notions of sovereignty and state-centered politics, social movements and Indigenous-led rebellions would unravel some of these fixtures of state-centered politics. Much of this can be attributed to the fissures and social upheaval (or pachakuti, to borrow an Andean term) brought about at the end of the 20th century by the visible resurgence of indigenous movements that were often defined by their millenarian tendencies. These contradictions lead to new critical orientations beyond postmodernism for the deconstruction of Latin American modernity in order to recognize the presence of various interdependent realities. It is this array of complexities that leads the Argentinian sociologist Maristella Svampa to argue that the turn of the 21st century in Latin America can be read through four main axes: the advances made by Indigenous peoples; a return to questions about dependency; a defiant regionalism; and the questioning of development hegemony behind expansive

Peruvian State to properly capture and place the Bastidas/Amaru rebellion within the historical narrative of the State, speaks to the way in which these and other movements preserve separate terms of engagement than those of the State. While they may engage in negotiations with the State, they nonetheless retain autonomous elements as their movements go beyond contention, rethinking power altogether.

As this chapter has demonstrated, this process is ontological given that the *Criollo* defines this social politic, reproducing itself in the imagined geography and extractive zones co-constituted through extractive mineral mining on the periphery of the Peruvian State, or *Peru Profundo;* it seeks to push out or condemn other ways of being to zones of obscurity or depth. The critical discursive analysis of *Peru Profundo* carried out here pulls out its real meaning and purpose, locating its discursive power in the way that it entrenches logics of *criollismo* through the imagined geographies that it constructs. As a heuristic device used to explore oppositional movements, *Peru Profundo* opens up a deeper reading across times, recognizing the submerged politics as always present. It moves away from teleology, fixing our analysis to a forward moving future and instead takes up an Andean gesture towards the past as a way of understanding what lies ahead.[272] The continental notion of *Abiayala* situates this project within a broader context, placing it alongside other defiant practices of self-actualization and preservation. By understanding *Abiayala* as a kind of 'Fourth World' paradigm, one is able to the step outside the

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extractivism. Interrelated and at times co-dependent, these axes undergird conjunctions in the region that have opened up spaces within Latin American critical thought and practice, serving as wedges to read beyond modern political frames. Most commonly, these new analytics at the turn of the century have come to be broadly categorized as 'post-modern politics.' Yet, this framing retains a sense of continuity that does not properly disengage with the modern. For an example of what this disengagement looks like, we can turn to the unique junctures brought about between Indigenous and Black critical thought in the paradigms of Amefrica and Abya Yala, the latter of which will be further discussed in Chapter two. Aguilar, *Rhythms of the Pachakuti.* Svampa, "Cuatro Claves Para Leer América Latina."

[272] Arias, *La Chakana Del Corazonar Desde Las Espiritualidades y Las Sabidurías Insurgentes de Abya Yala.*

paradigm of state-centered politics and instead take up another kind of interpretation beyond its fixed temporal and ontological scales. In this way we can pry open the underside of the State, moving outside the dominant prism of methodological statism to uncover other ways of being beyond its predeterminate politics. As such, *Abiayala* illustrates a kind of archipelago of resistance, one that is constructed in practice and enunciations, in a similar yet different topography than that of the State. Elusive to the modern State, the archipelago of *Abiayala* has very vivid pronouncements in different modes of resistance in extractive zones and beyond.[273]

To approach these otherwise politics, this traced the historical discourse of the "Indian Problem" and the way it reproduced an ontological distance between the criollo social politic of the State and the racialized Indigenous communities in its peripheral spaces. The ontological distance between the *Criollo* social politic and the Indigenous periphery, captured in the imaginary of *Peru Profundo*, permitted the application of reactionary and structural violence against different modes of defiance. Inverting this reading as a kind of heuristic, the second half of this chapter read resistance as an enactment of Indigenous and campesino ways of being, particularly in the space of *Peru Profundo,* tracing a long history of struggle or radical tradition against the imposition of the modern order. The next chapter reads this radical tradition in contemporary anti-mining resistance in Espinar, in the department of Cusco. *Peru Profundo*

[273] Given its copious deployment over the last couple of decades, any use of resistance as an analytical concept must clearly define its parameters and context.[273] First, a turn to the rationality for exploring resistance. Resistance, in the most commonly used Foucaldian sense, is an action that is responding to and directed against a form a kind of power over. Reading resistance further, I argue here that resistance is a form of prefigurative politics, one that clearly expresses a disagreement with the terms of order set in place. Therefore, the enactment of resistance can serve as a good concept to analyze structures of power and dominance, what are both the true nature of polity. Heeding the call made by scholars Hollander and Einwohner regarding the exhaustive use and reductionism of resistance as an analytical concept, I proceed with a clear conceptualization of resistance within the context of Peruvian state-making. Robinson, *The Terms of Order.* Cedric Robinson's main thesis seemingly plays out in the Peruvian reality, where four presidents have come to power in five years, and yet the political regime remained intact. Sørensen, "Constructive Resistance – Conceptualising and Mapping the Terrain – Journal of Resistance Studies."

provides the framework for understanding these protests as more than simple enunciations of difference but instead as generative practices of alterity and modes of being.

Chapter 3: Beyond Contention: Scenes of Extractivism and Resistance in Espinar's Extractive Zone

Less than 24 hours after it was initiated, the April 20th *paro* or strike was called off. By this point in 2022, the region of Espinar had seen numerous work stoppages and road blockades. Left with little political recourse over the years, Espinar's residents have turned to stoppages as a mode of carrying out an embodied politic, where the occupation of roads are gestures of political defiance, an enactment of refusal to submit to the dictates of extractive capitalism. For nearly 40 years, the communities in this region of Espinar have been resisting the expansion of copper-mining that has caused extensive contamination in the area.[274] In response, local leaders have called for impromptu occupations/*paros* to address failed prior agreements and promises, in addition to the direct abuses many have sustained at the hands of mining operators and local police officers. According to community leaders and regional organizers, the main reason for the mobilization has been the contamination that communities understand to be a violation of their collective rights. Describing the reason for so many periodic stoppages that April, Professor Augusto Idme Ramos, Secretary General of the SUTEP labor union in Cusco, stated: "They [power brokers] have constantly deceived us with their false promises," adding that the pattern of deception "is why we have initiated the 48-hour strike/blockade, to guarantee a meeting with the council of ministers."

While the state may at times respond to these grievances, it does so on its own terms,

[274] Leslie Custodio, "'How Are We Going to Live?': The Impact of Mining on Communities in Peru," accessed January 6, 2023, https://dialogochino.net/en/extractive-industries/61618-peru-mining-corridor-impact-on-communities-copper/.

determining the metrics for compensations, conditions for dialogues and the parameters of restitution. Similarly, the tools, methods and approaches used by researchers continue to reify many of these dynamics, misinterpreting the politics of resistance. This chapter focuses on the political scene and the political actors in Espinar with the aim of moving beyond the limitations of the paradigm of the political to understand communities on their own terms. It does so by looking at resistance as more than politically grounded, locating it also in epistemology and ontology. In other words, the resistive practices taken up in this chapter are investigated to understand their epistemological and ontological roots. I cross-examine Espinar's various lifeworlds to juxtapose and deconstruct them across various mediums, including photography and ethnography. In taking up this transmethodological approach, which I described in the Introduction, I aim to demonstrate how anti-extractivist movements are expressing alternative notions of power cultivated in an always already contentious terrain. Such an approach takes seriously the recognition of other ways of being.

The April 2022 *paro* (stoppage) was originally called for by five of the eleven communities that make up the province of Espinar. The call for an indefinite strike was put in place in order to force the national Peruvian government into direct talks with the communities most affected by mining. Once again however, the government stalled, delaying talks before sending secondary representatives or delegates to Espinar and demanding the community members travel to Cusco if not Lima, the historical political and economic metropole, for renewed dialogues and community consultation. On a call discussing the ongoing terms of engagement, Elsa Merma, director of the Association of the Defenders of K'ana Culture and Territory, stated that the terms of negotiation, including the setting on which it takes place, are vital as it is their community that makes up the site of contention and therefore must play host to all those who

have a role in it.[275]

Resistance to mining in the region of Espinar signifies much more than simple opposition and public appeals for rights and dignity, as these movements draw from an Andean-Indigenous form of cultural and political difference. This chapter juxtaposes two distinct epistemologies as they relate to territory: the K'ana community—which Merma's intervention represents—and the State, represented in the dominant politics of extractivism. To be "K'ana" is an active ethnicity in constant movement, as José Carlos Banda defined it.[276] Examining the enunciation of what it means to be K'ana, Banda locates three "semantic camps" that while fluid currents, come to define what it means to be K'ana: rebellious, strong/resilient, and the valuing of nature and territory.[277] Of these three camps, it is the notion of value in which the ontological difference between the State and the K'ana is found and what this chapter hopes to highlight. More so, it is here—in what can also be considered axiological difference—that the roots of contention lie: whereas the Peruvian State engenders and protects developmental logics as part of its statecraft, the K'ana seek to engender a differentiated way of being that rests on an immutable spatio-ontology set by complementarity. Here, I read what Merma puts forth—representing K'ana politics—as a different set of political terms and practices than that of the State. Whereas the State seeks to establish and preserve its terrain by outlining the parameters of the political, Merma and other community leaders' defiant stance on holding talks on their lands enunciates a politic of refusal as it articulates a different paradigm of engagement.

By the end of January 2020, The World Health Organization (WHO) declared the

[275] Interview with Elsa Merma, Whatsapp, September 27, 2022

[276] Banda, José Carlos. "'Siempre de Pie, Nunca de Rodillas': Construcción, Enunciación y Reproducción de La Identidad K\' Ana En Espinar, Cusco," 2019.

[277] Ibid

COVID19 outbreak a public health emergency. Five months later, Peru would hold the world's highest per-capita death rate. As many scholars have noted, the COVID19 pandemic, like many other viral outbreaks, exacerbated the entrenched structural inequalities and asymmetrical social relations present in society.[278] As of March of 2023, Peru still had the highest per-capita death rate in the world, with 665 deaths per 100,000 people—around 50% more than the second highest country.[279] The pandemic was particularly devastating for Indigenous communities, both in rural communities and in the cities. In Peru, Indigenous and campesino people make up a large percentage of the informal economy, which makes up about 70 percent of country's workforce. Whereas mining projects have been historically placed in the hinterland of Peru, the longstanding contamination of food and water sources in these regions, combined with an ill-prepared health system, have made Indigenous and campesino communities especially susceptible to the virus.

In May of 2020, as the coronavirus was surging in Peru, the government of then President Martin Vizcarra declared mining an essential industry in an attempt to hold off its operational downsizing to 80 percent of pre-pandemic levels. Having lost an average of 25% of its revenue since the start of the pandemic, the State scrambled to prioritize the reopening of the mining industry, a vital component of its revenues. Despite the country having not yet systematized COVID-19 testing, and still modifying its quarantine measures, it initiated the *reactivaccion*, an economic program that prioritized the restarting of the mining industry. Under new legislative measures, the State began to reactivate mining operations, mobilizing private and

[278] Terry, Cristian. "# I Stay Home (If I Can): COVID-19 and Social Inequality in Peru: A View from Auto-Ethnography." In Understanding Post-COVID-19 Social and Cultural Realities: Global Context, 137–50. Springer, 2022.

[279] Johns Hopkins Coronavirus Resource Center. "Mortality Analyses." Accessed February 27, 2023. https://coronavirus.jhu.edu/data/mortality.

public police forces to secure its operations and control public dissent. By mid-August of 2020, the country's mining operations had returned to pre-pandemic levels.

The rush to reopen the mining sector can be explained in part by its economy: 60% of Peru's exports are mineral and over 10% of its GDP comes from extractive mining. It is behind the rhetoric of a "hard hit" mining sector that the State has appealed to the public and justified the defense of the industry. Although the State justified its preoccupation with mining out of concern for its supposed crash, the reality tells another story: mining companies generated at least $21 billion dollars in Peru during the first two years of the pandemic, a record windfall according to a recent study led by the economist José de Echave.[280] However, the profit from mining is mainly held in the portfolios of private industry and their public partners, as mining only employs about 1 percent of the country's workers across dozens of mines throughout the three major bioregions of the country (Coastal desert, Central Andean mountain range and the Amazonian territory).

How to explain the quick reactivation of the mining sector in Peru? Should we treat it as an example of the state's cynicism, the way it manipulates public discourse to the general demands of civil society while still remaining committed to the interests of much smaller political communities and interests?[281] Drawing from the work Peter Sloterdijk, Roger Merino critiques the cynical reasoning of the Peruvian State for the way it reinforces constraints on vulnerable populations, particularly the historically subjugated Indigenous and Black populations.[282] While some scholars would categorize this kind of analysis as part of a pessimistic

[280] "De Echave: 'El sector minero ha estado en una bonanza económica impresionante, nunca antes vista.'" Accessed February 27, 2023. https://redaccion.lamula.pe/2022/08/09/mineria-peru-bonanza-economica-pedro-castillo-jose-de-echave/redaccionmulera/.

[281] Sloterdijk, "Critique of Cynical Reason."

[282] Merino, "The Cynical State."

zeitgeist that has now become prominent in political science,[283] Merino's analysis of the cynical State remains optimistic, arguing that the inclusion of plurinational Indigenous politics can overcome the State's cynicism and ultimately implement a more equitable form of governance. Presenting a possibility for change, Merino's argument is in actuality less cynical in its approach than in it is in its description of governance in Peru. Although it is important to recognize the role that cynical politics play in the reactivation of mining, I argue that the politics of the *reactivaccion* phase in Peru showcases the ways in which Statecraft is predicated on a model of extraction, where business interests are equated with public good at the expense of historically marginalized community.

Understanding the politics of the *reactivaccion* in this way, we can see how contemporary modes of violence in the region are the result of neoliberal/forces of globalization, including structural neglect and culture-based exploitation.[284] Since the start of mining production in the region in the late 1980s, the community surrounding the Antapaccay mine has suffered detrimental health impacts, including pulmonary diseases and other physical ailments as a result of toxins in the bodies of human and non-humans alike. A 2010 study by the National Institute of Health in Peru (CENSOPAS) found 332 out of 506 residents who had their blood tested were found to have arsenic along with other heavy medals including mercury and lead, the traceable legacy of colonialism in the region.[285] In 2021, the human rights organization Amnesty International published a report in which 115 of the 150 water samples it had taken in the area

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[283] Stevens and Michelsen, *Pessimism in International Relations*.

[284] The Zapatistas have termed this the Fourth World War. Marcos, Subcomandante. "The Fourth World War Has Begun." *Le Monde diplomatique*, September 1, 1997. https://mondediplo.com/1997/09/marcos.

[285] "CENSOPAS: Población de Espinar es saludable y longeva | Lampadia." Accessed May 4, 2022. https://www.lampadia.com/analisis/mineria/censopas-poblacion-de-espinar-es-saludable-y-longeva/.

contained toxic substances at a level that was unsafe for human consumption.[286] Despite these extensive reports, the government continues to refuse to adequately address the concerns of the community, continuing to grant licensing, tax breaks and expedited concessions, all of which has led over one-third of the region of Espinar to come under mining concessions. Since 2010, Peru has seen a record $60 billion investment in mining, with over $50 billion worth of projects in the exploration phase as of 2022.[287]

On the surface, the roots of contention here seem obvious: the Peruvian State presents one form of a hegemonic political project predicated on a neoliberal order in compliance with regional and global extractive geographies.[288] This political order seemingly clashes with another: a community opposed to, if not mining, then the contamination of their bodies along with their non-human relatives including the land and water. In this scenario, the concept of contention only captures the superficial, meaning that it only extends as far as the dialogical plane allows it. Examined earlier, the current framing and epistemological dimensions that makes up the dialogical plane on which contention is held. Therefore, as the political theorist Jane Bennett has demonstrated, it is critical to recognize the ways in which the political domain is constructed by things, or other-than-human subjects as Indigenous communities refer to the various kinds of subjects in their social ecologies.[289] Moving away from the state-centrism rooted in the discipline of political science, transmethodology here serves as a method to rethink the political as a necessary process in order to properly understand how contention congeals in the territories of

[286] Amnesty International. "Peru: Failed State of Health: Health Emergency in Indigenous Peoples of Espinar, Peru." Accessed October 11, 2022. https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/amr46/3829/2021/en/.

[287] "Peru's Mining & Metals Investment Guide 2022/2023." Accessed October 11, 2022. https://www.ey.com/es_pe/mining-metals/mining-metals-investment-guide.

[288] Dunlap, Alexander. "The Politics of Ecocide, Genocide and Megaprojects: Interrogating Natural Resource Extraction, Identity and the Normalization of Erasure." Journal of Genocide Research 23, no. 2 (April 3, 2021): 212–35. https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2020.1754051.

[289] Bennett, Jane. *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. Duke University Press, 2010.

Espinar.[290] It also offers a different way of understanding how Indigeneity is constituted and related to the political: Indigeneity, both in terms of the discipline of study and as a mode of being, recognizes an expansive ecology grounded in a deep relationship with land. For the K'ana community, this relationality is fluid enunciation as described by Banda, relying on amorphous historical memories throughout time that has allowed them to produce a unique mode of survivance.[291]

Scenes of Extraction: Examining Other Lifeworlds

For the renowned Brazilian photographer Sebastião Salgado, photography was much more than a way to document the social and natural world; it had the ability to present a counter history. With the proliferation of the image as a result of global media infrastructure, distributive circuits have allowed photography to become a repertoire for communities in the margins, literally capturing their unique spatial formations in the image. Critical for its circulation is the collaborative practices that some forms of research can open.[292] Dislocated from their context of production, photographs can and do convey a multitude of stories. They can evoke various feelings, becoming affective triggers. To read an image is to carry out a process that draws on experiences, sentiments, history, and other personal markers. Yet, as Susan Sontag reminds us, they can also dismiss the political, simply reaffirming beliefs and the abhorrence to distortions or violations of the established truths and sanctities. Images on their own will not convey a ubiquitous narrative, making the analytical element just as significant as the narrative for the

[290] Brenner, Neil. "Beyond State-Centrism? Space, Territoriality, and Geographical Scale in Globalization Studies." In Theory and Methods, 313–36. Routledge, 2017.

[291] Málaga Sabogal, Ximena, and María Eugenia Ulfe. "Ethnicity Claims and Prior Consultation in the Peruvian Andes." In *Resource Booms and Institutional Pathways*, 153–73. Springer, 2017.

[292] Johanna Leinius, "Postcolonial Feminist Ethics and the Politics of Research Collaborations across North-South Divides," *Beyond the Master's Tools*, 2020, 71–91.

repertoire of study.

Alessandro Cinque is an Italian photographer who has been working in Peru since 2017, making the Andes his main region of documentation since 2020. It was in 2020 that Cinque was finalizing his latest project titled *Peru: A Toxic State,* a photographic journal reporting on the impact of mining on the region's landscapes. The report consists of twenty photographs of mining sites from across the central Andes of Peru. Carried out in collaboration with local journalists and community organizers, his black and white images do more than simply capture the unique Andean landscapes that are commonly depicted in travel blogs and magazines. The images weave together the different elements and genres that are often kept apart, bringing the natural landscape together with the *runa* or people. Since he started documenting the central Andean region in 2017, Cinque has sought out Andean particularities. He has done so by making sure to include the human and non-human elements in all his photography, either through their explicit and embodied presence or through the impact their actions have had on the environment. In this way, Cinque politicizes the photograph, moving out of the self-affirming process the theorist Susan Sontag argues is the common way photographs depicting conflicts are often consumed.[293] Cinque's scenes of extractive mining bring the viewer into the historical process of reterritorialization taking place on K'ana culture and territory as he captures the rupture of the *ayllu*, the convivial space of human and non-human beings. Cinque's optical choice to keep these photos in black and white helps to convey the deep symbiotic relations found in the altiplano (Andean Plateau) of the southern Andean region by minimizing contrast, invoking a sense of conviviality.

[293] Sontag, Susan. "Looking at War | The New Yorker." Accessed May 17, 2022. https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2002/12/09/looking-at-war.

I first reached out to Cinque over email in early 2020, just as I was making final preparations to start my fieldwork in the region of Espinar. A few months prior I had come across his striking images documenting the devastating environmental and health impacts of mining in the surrounding communities. Cinque has been documenting the interruption of landscape and lifeways across the world from Kurdish smugglers in Iran, to Sufi leaders in Dakar and he has long sought out to accompany various communities on the margins of global capitalism. His latest project in Peru took him across 10,000 kilometers and 35 mining communities along the mining corridor to document the impact of mineral mining in the region. When we first began our correspondence, he shared that he was in the process of consolidating his photojournalism into a project titled *Peru: A Toxic State.*

Cigarette in hand, with a cannon DSLR camera around his neck and leaning to one side, Cinque's posture was the kind that I had imagined a seasoned photographer would hold. His persona stood out at that moment more than ever, as the city of Cusco had been depopulated of the typical tourists who often outnumber the locals. We sat and chatted a bit, introducing ourselves and getting to know each other's work. I inquired about his ongoing photojournalism, its reception, and the collaborative project in which he was engaged. One of the most notable things he shared with me was the critical reception he received from state and local officials about the title of his project. Many of them were not fond of his use of the term toxic in its title, as it associated the country—as they saw themselves as representatives of the state—with some sort of defect. Cinque indicated that the title was a deliberate and conscious choice, meant to demonstrate both the pollution of the soil and waters as well as the state of political affairs in the country. For Cinque, the title conveys a double meaning: one reading of the term "state" can refer to Peru in the Weberian sense, describing the nation-state with its centralized power garnered through sovereignty and legitimacy. The other reading can be interpreted in the

ontological sense, reading toxicity as the state of being for Peruvian society. Both readings conveyed a failed state or state of failure.

Cinque and I went on to discuss the climate in which our respective projects were taking place. Pedro Castillo had just been elected to office. A regional schoolteacher from the northern city of Cajamarca and representing the newly established Peru Libre—and nominally socialist—party, Castillo's election highlighted the stark and lingering cultural divide in the country. The closely contested electoral campaign was replete with red baiting rhetoric that often gave way to vitriolic anti-campesino/Indigenous sentiments. The losing presidential candidate was Keiko Fujimori, the daughter of the imprisoned former leader of the country. Running in her third election, her campaign embodied criollo Peru—a campaign run from its large base in the capital Lima, espousing cultural-driven politics around a nationalistic campaign denouncing "rural ideologies" and their communist ideals.[294] The election placed the contrast between the "two Perus" in stark relief: one was the ethno-national project of modern Peru, encapsulated by the social politics of *criollismo;* the other was everything *criollismo* was not—rural, Amazonian, and Andean, all representing ways of being that upset the criollo modernity of the State.

For Cinque, this political and cultural contrast in the country could be observed through his camera lens while traveling throughout the mining corridor. We discussed how these two Perus—one represented by Castillo and the other by Keiko—could be observed in the ways in which regions were reterritorialized; in one, mining extraction had left a significant imprint upon the landscapes and people, while the other benefits from a disproportionate allocation of its rents. Cinque and I also shared summaries of our field notes and discussed some of the community partners and organizations with whom we came in contact. Before we parted, we

[294] Guzmán Zamora and Díaz, "Elecciones En Perú."

discussed how best to build on each other's work. And from that first long conversation, this collaborative photography project was born.

Peru: A Toxic State opens with an image titled *Nino Andino* (Figure 1), inviting the reader into the *pacha*, the Quechua concept that refers both to the spatio/temporal dimensions of a given environment—the present moment—where Andean deities, human, and nature are engaged in deep relations.[295] In the opening photograph, Cinque captures more than the conventional apolitical and ahistorical narrative of climate catastrophe presented by the dominant narrative of the Anthropocene. Whereas scenes from the Anthropocene typically depict devastated environments as a consequence of human intervention, Cinque's image of the young Andean boy highlights another kind of relation with the environment.

Figure 1

[295] Tirso Gonzales and Maria Gonzalez, "From Colonial Encounter to Decolonizing Encounters. Culture and Nature Seen from the Andean Cosmovision of Ever: The Nurturance of Life as a Whole," Nature and Culture: Rebuilding Lost Connections, 2010, 83–102.

Extractivism does not simply redesign the terra forms of K'ana land, but along with it the very elements of its culture. As Susana Pila, a K'ana member of the Association of Environmental Monitors of Espinar explained, K'ana culture and territory are immutable, as land is indispensable to who they are as a culture:

> For example, speaking as a mother, I see the impact of mercury has had on my children and other children in the community. Therefore, we're concerned with the deep and long-term impacts of this mine. On the other end, the mine never wants to hear anything about this. It is for this reason that now our people are increasingly demanding that the mine leaves the region. We are now saying that we would be better without this contamination.[296]

Reading Susana Pila's words alongside Cinque's photographs pulls out what Deleuze described as the fold, the point of inflection where things change and evolve when something external is introduced.[297] For the Andes however, this kind of becoming does not happen in the classical dialectical form where a culture is entirely transformed through the reterritorialization that is taking place. In the Andean world, the process of becoming is experienced as a cyclical and generative process, never consumed by the fold. Equilibrium is important here, the way of restoring balance and order is based upon a complementary duality.[298] The work of the Association of Environmental Monitors of Espinar (AVAME Spanish acronym) dwells in such a notion, seeking to restore ecological balance in Espinar through the work they are carrying out. In partnership with the NGO *Derechos Humanos Sin Fronteras* (Human Rights without Borders), AVAME has been monitoring contamination in and around the mines of Antacappay in Espinar

[296] Interview with Susana Pila, Whatsapp, September 24, 2022.

[297] Deleuze, Gilles. *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque*. U of Minnesota Press, 1993.

[298] Walshe, Rory, and Alejandro Argumedo. "Ayni, Ayllu, Yanantin and Chanincha: The Cultural Values Enabling Adaptation to Climate Change in Communities of the Potato Park, in the Peruvian Andes." GAIA - Ecological Perspectives for Science and Society 25, no. 3 (January 1, 2016): 166–73. https://doi.org/10.14512/gaia.25.3.7.

since 2013. Composed of community members working alongside environmentalists, anthropologists, and other advocates, the community members are trained in monitoring PH, alkaline, and other important levels in the water to determine the state of the rivers and lakes. Susana Pila, a member of this association, is literally tracking the equilibrium of the water's health through her direct participation in AVAME.[299]

Cinque's contrasting scenes help to distinguish between different human experiences, lending itself instead to other readings of this epoch. Cinque's style refuses to be folded into the narrative of the Anthropocene, the scientific designation of the current epoch that sees human impact as its definitive character. Rather, Cinque's photographs draw the viewer in to make note of a specific project responsible for the devastation to the region of Espinar. By looking at mineral extraction as something alien to the ecologies of the Andes, Cinque speaks to what Jason Moore has called the "capitalocene," the geological epoch defined by capitalist development.

There are few places where capitalist development is more openly displayed than in the open-pit mining process central to mineral extraction.

[299] Being aware of this equilibrium prevents these photographs from fitting into the ego of the western gaze, where one is then able to recognize how communities produce another kind of becoming in Espinar. This way of reading the photographs prevents a predetermined methodology from taking hold and instead invokes the uniquely Latin American ontological mode of *sentipensar*, a way of being present that rationalizes through the affective—to think-feel—in a way that brings out elements of Andean interculturality.

Figure 2

Open-pit mining is a process by which mining companies remove entire mountain tops with explosives to access ore deposits deep within the mountains. Cinque's second image is an ariel photograph of an unnamed mine in Espinar, one of the largest mining complexes in Peru. (Figure 2) The drone image gives the viewer an expansive survey of the complex, with the rings of the open pit spiraling downward from the edges of the photograph. For those familiar with Peruvian archeology, the spiraling roads that outline the pit may remind them of the sites in Moray and Mara. In these sites, ancient spiraling earth designs are built into the landscape, seamlessly integrating systems of irrigation and agriculture.

Mountain top removal is labor intensive, a process of terraforming as millions of tons of earth are removed only for a fraction of it to eventually turn into commodities. Upon removal, the process of extracting mineral from ore goes through several stages. For example, for the 160,000 tons of copper the Tintaya mining complex produces a year, it leaves behind at least a

hundred times that amount in terms of waste. At the base of the mountains, leach pads cover large craters ready to receive truckloads of earth. A leaching solvent, composed of cyanide and other acids is then spread over the earth where the cyanide bonds with the metals. The new denser bonds then fall and collect at the bottom of the leach pads and are later collected by workers at the expansive mining site. Contaminated by the leaching solvent, mining brings Espinar's waters into a new fold, as the contamination takes away their life-giving forces and brings them into new kinds of capitalist fetishization. Losing its relationality as a life-giving source according to Andean cosmogeny—as a deity and relative—market logics preserve water's ontology within itself only; later on, this site is converted into a node of the extractive geography.[300]

Cyanide, the leaching solvent's main chemical component, is a well-known poison that deprives cells from taking in oxygen. Although a natural poison for humans, to the mining company cyanide is a vital chemical component necessary for the commodification of copper. The introduction of cyanide into Indigenous lifeworlds interrupts their social ecologies. In the Andes, the most prominent social ecology is the *ayllu* which sees the human and non-human as integral parts of a whole. This holistic cosmogeny is shared across Indigenous communities throughout the hemisphere, where relationality, conviviality, and social ecology hold up life. As in many other Indigenous communities around the world, non-human filiations constitute the communities rooted in place; in the Andes, water is not simply an element but a being and ancestor.

Examined another way, cyanide produces a different kind of sacrifice than the one that is typically present in Andean cosmogeny, where rituals involving the sacrifice of llamas and other

[300] Taussig, Michael T. *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America*. Univ of North Carolina Press, 2010.

important animals are carried out as offerings for safeguarding and protection from the gods. Instead, the land itself is sacrificed, creating what Steve Lerner calls sacrifice zones. Whereas sacrifice in the Andean cosmogeny serves as a mode of reintegration, in sacrifice zones it is carried out to satisfy the fetishization the market requires. In Espinar, the inevitable runoff and contamination of the waterways engineers the sacrifice required in commodity fetishism of minerals such as copper, the main mineral extracted in Espinar.[301] Once a discursive colonial myth about Indigeneity, territorial sacrifices are engineered as necessary mechanism of necropower in the name modernity. As Peter Grose has noted, the sacrifice of places like Espinar and entities like the water and *apus* (mountains) is conducted under the auspices of a different kind of social synthesis than those found in the Andes.[302] Although ritual sacrifices were also carried out by Andean people, they were conducted as a function of deindividualizing the exchange process, transposing the personal into the relationship of exchange.[303] As Gose elaborates, a social synthesis is made through the sacrifice itself which creates a mediating object obsolete (the commodity) and is instead centered on building an equal social space in the Andes.[304] By turning the region of Espinar into a sacrifice zone, extractivism allows for the externalization of the sacrificial function required of commodity fetishism. Espinar, through its contamination and reterritorialization, is given up so that markets in the North so that they may benefit from the commodification of the natural elements like copper, gold, and zinc. Through this process, Espinar is brought into the global geography of market capitalism, albeit as a sacrificial zone. As such, geographies of extractivism synthesize a fractured network of

[301] Gose, Peter. "Sacrifice and the Commodity Form in the Andes." Man, 1986, 296–310.

[302] Ibid.

[303] Ibid.

[304] Ibid.

individualized yet interdependent spatialities all contributing to the fetishism of minerals and other earth elements. In 2011 FutureBrand made use of the spiral in the country logo it designed to promote Peruvian tourism. Like Xtrasta-Glencore, which owns Tintaya, FutureBrand is a UK-based firm and similarly profiting from changed landscapes.

Figure 3

Yaku, quechua for water, is a life force for Andean peoples. It is one part of the *pacha* or the whole in Andean cosmology. According to the Andean cosmovision, *yaku* is an organ, a life-giving force on its own, which is why it is it given the suffix -*mama* signifying world or whole.[305] As a living being, *yaku* depends on its relationship with other worlds of the *ayllu*, including the *Pachamama* (mother cosmos), *runa* (people), *apus* (mountains) and various other plants and foods. The complimentary relation among these worlds has been vital to the reproduction of life in the

[305] PRATEC, PRATEC. Sumaq_Kausay_Vivir_bonito.Pdf. Accessed May 12, 2022. https://americalatinagenera.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Sumaq_Kausay_Vivir_bonito.pdf.

Andes. Naturally scarce in the high Andean plateau, Andean societies long developed sophisticated canals and water systems to bring *yaku* into the *ayllu* communities. When the Spanish first arrived at the region, they encountered water infrastructures that carried water into deep corners of the Incan empire. Among one of the great achievements of Andean ingenuity is the concept of water planting and harvesting.

Cinque's first image depicting *yaku* is very powerful (Figure 3). The viewer is directly confronted with the force of *yaku* as a stream dissecting the image, flowing from the top of the picture down to the bottom foreground of the photo. *Yaku* is vibrant and animated; clear waves are seen crashing up against the walls of the narrow channel that contains this important life source. The centrality of *yaku* in the image promotes a sense of synesthesia as the angry rush of water pounds against the walls of the canal, heightening the viewer's sense of hearing. Like an angry deity, *yaku* rushes down the canal forcing the reader to refocus their gaze and move towards the top of the image. *Qochas*, still in practice today, are the name for an ancestral mode of water cultivation in the Andes. Water planting and harvesting is a kind of irrigation system that seeks to establish a system by which water can be collected (planted), diverted (harvested), and later utilized by the human and non-human beings further down from the sources of water. This process is incredibly valuable for communities who do not get persistent rains, as in the high Andean altitude, where regions above 3,000 meters only see rainfall for about three months of the year. These ancient forms of water cultivation are a way of sowing water that relies on an integral relation with the local environment. Designed as part of the *pacha*, this system of water cultivation is integrated into the ecosystem of a region, providing this vital and scarce life source to the food staples of the region.[306] The *qocha* or reservoir is used to store rainwater and reduce

[306] Sparavigna, Amelia Carolina. "Qochas on Andean Highlands." ArXiv Preprint ArXiv:1104.4748, 2011.

the water runoff that would otherwise harm the soil's fertility. This controlled system allows for an increased filtration below ground (the harvesting process) that delays the movement of water, allowing for the groundwater to be replenished and reach communities downstream for agricultural activities and consumption. Cinque's image captures the element of *sentipensar*—the thinking-feeling—many *comuneros* (commoners as they call themselves) have with water/*yaku* in the region. As Rosita told me:

> we, the community, feel/experience the contamination. I for example, at the foothills, interact with the water every day, feeding our animals. We see them suffer; still births are increasingly induced. And so, as a commoner (*comunera*), I would like to know why, and if my water is contaminated with heavy metals; this is why I participate in the monitoring process.[307]

Following the flow of *yaku* in reverse, the viewer comes across an Andean woman standing near the apparent water source. Wearing a *pollera* or *melkkhay* (Andean dress) and her hair in a *trenza*, the woman seems to be in a state of despair, covering her face with her hat as she stands over the channel of water. Because of her position in the photograph, she ends up being a coproducer of the image as well. The channel of water that dissects the photograph reflects the bifurcation of worlds. An Andean world is turned over, ruptured by the poisoning of *yaku* as a result of mining runoff.[308] Water is used at various stages and areas of mining, mainly in three main ways: raw use, compliant and non-compliant or contaminated water. Because extractivism is a water-intensive process, today the largest human-made reservoirs in the Andes are no longer *qochas* but the tailing dams maintained by mining companies.

The woman is a resident of the area of Ayaviri, a community that has been devastated by mining runoff that has poisoned much of its potable water. Residents of this region now rely on

[307] Interview with Rosita, Whatsapp, December 8, 2022.

[308] Ishizawa Oba, Jorge, and Grimaldo Rengifo. "Diálogo de Saberes. Una Aproximación Epistemológica." PRATEC Lima, 2012.

expensive water trucks that come into the region to supply the community with drinking water. With the dependency on imported water, mining projects have ruptured the *pacha* of this Andean world, segregated *yaku* from the *ayllu* or community and produced a contingent relationship for communities. These communities are no longer self-sufficient, as they are forced to rely on the State and private corporations to work, eat, and drink. Globalization and mining have made Andean communities like Ayaviri in Espinar dependent upon market-based water supplies, a unique glocalization where *yaku* is transformed into Cielo water. The Andean communities that had previously relied on sophisticated systems of water planting and harvesting such as the *qocha*, are now caught between water scarcity and over-priced water.

Tailing dams contain the byproduct leftover from the mining process or tailing. This non-compliant water (a euphemism for toxic water) contains earth material that was attached to the mineral ore (gange). Much of this tailing is comprised of crushed rocks and processing fluids from mining, which includes the material that has come into contact with toxins such as cyanide. Tailing is kept in large pools where dams made from earth embankments are set up to prevent the runoff. Although they require regular monitoring, these permanent dams are seen by mining companies as the best way to manage the byproducts from extraction. Today there are around 18,000 tailing dams around the globe 3,500 of which are active and undergoing regular maintenance. Recent studies have found that just over 10 percent of tailing dams fail, leading to serious contaminations of the surrounding communities.[309]

Extractive mining shifts the politics of water from one of sustainability to contamination and containment. Water is seen as a commodity as opposed to a relational sphere of life. This severs the relationality of *buen vivir*, the Andean concept associated with a balanced life, bringing

[309] "Peru Mining 2021 - Environmental and Tailings Management." Accessed May 12, 2022. https://projects.gbreports.com/peru-mining-2021/environmental-and-tailings-management/.

the politics of water in-tune with the development logics more often seen in urbanized territories. Manuel Patana Quispe, of the Nuñuni Ticani community in the southern Andean region of Puno, puts the politics of water this way:

> In the countryside, the *buen vivir* is intact, with regards to drinking, in the *ayllus* we go to the springs, whereas in the city the water is provided with chemical products, in addition the water is stored in closed tanks, the water is not alive but dead, as if it had no life, in the field the water receives the sun and the air—that is the water we drink. [my translation][310]

Cinque's image of the Ayaviri woman next to the canal leading *yaku* down the slope captures the water politics of the Andes. Cinque's accompanying caption describes the contamination of the water sources in these communities, where the ground and water have absorbed the toxins that have leaked out of the leach pads of the tailing dams. Like a trail leading into the other Peru, Cinque brings together two worlds of Andean water politics in this image: the world of *yaku*, a relational one connected to the *pacha*, and the private-public mining world associated with the State of Peru. Two Perus are solemnly captured here, as the view departs from *Peru Profundo* in the first image of the Andean boy and enters the other, the one of development and sequestered dead water.

Mujeres K'ana: The Feminist Politics of Resistance

In Latin America, images of traditionally dressed women defying curfews in standoffs against local police have proliferated in the ecological justice movement literature. Espinar and the Andes more broadly are no different, with women in traditional *polleras* (Andean skirts) found in the frontlines of these struggles. This is not incidental. From internal conflicts to social movements to localized and national resistance, women have embodied resistance.[311] It should come as no surprise then why Peru's most violent episode of gender-based oppression since the

[310]Ishizawa Oba, Jorge, and Grimaldo Rengifo. "Diálogo de Saberes. Una Aproximación Epistemológica." PRATEC Lima, 2012.

[311] Lugones, María. "Toward a Decolonial Feminism." Hypatia 25, no. 4 (2010): 742–59.

colonial era was carried out in the 1990s, alongside the expansion of mining concessions and the establishment of its neoliberal constitution.[312] Conveying this deep sentiment for land, Susan Pila ends our interview by asking, "what will be of our future generations? Our children? We are mothers here defending our communities. We want transparency and honesty, and for the mines to keep their promises and be held accountable."[313]

Defiance and resistance have been defining characteristics of the historical struggles of Andean womanhood, whose very presence stands against the necropolitics of extractive zones. Melchora Surco, presented in chapter one, became the face of Andean resistance to the environmental devastation in the region of Espinar. Melchora's defiance, expressed in her vocal resistance to the mines have made her a target of harassment and taunts by security forces. Like others resisting the necropolitics of extractive zones, such as Máxima Acuña in the northern region of Cajamarca, these Andean women represent the embodied resistance and pedagogy of womanhood. As such, we can understand the politics of presence of women in the region as one rooted in defiance. Politics of presence is defined by an Andean cosmology that is embodied through complementarity; an elemental philosophy of life captured in the Quechua concept of *yanantin.* A complimentary duality between two poles, *yanantin* seeks to rebuild an equilibrium between separate things.[314] More often than not, this equilibrium is managed by women, who contend not only with externally imposed forms of patriarchy but also those from within their territories striving to maintain these horizontal structures. Thus, Andean womanhood has a decolonial enunciation where anti-mining resistance is also part of struggles against gendered

[312] Flores Villalobos, Marieliv. "The Stories of the Forced Sterilizations in Peru: The Power of Women's Voices." PhD Thesis, Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa, 2019.

[313] Ibid.

[314] Webb, Hillary S. Yanantin and Masintin in the *Andean World: Complementary Dualism in Modern Peru.* UNM Press, 2012.

violence as well. Anti-mining resistance is not only about preserving the land, but also about recovering bodily autonomy that preserves health from toxins and the violence of State and male repression.[315] By dispossessing people from their land, privatizing and enclosing territories, neoliberal projects expand the subsumption of and seizure of women's autonomy.[316] Resisting these captures—through occupations, road blockages, disruptions—woman reclaim and recovery an agency that had been taken from them. This is what makes Andean and broader Indigenous women's acts of refusal against mining and other environmental destruction different than those in urban areas: they are grounded in an interconnected ecology that connects the body with land and community and that reconstructs the dynamism of their communities.[317] Lourdes Huanca, president of FENMUCARINAP, the National Federation of Female Peasants, Artisans, Indigenous, Native and Salaried Workers of Peru, argues that the interconnected struggles of women is an embodied response to the ecology of violence perpetuated by the state:

> [our struggle is for] control and defense of the territory of the female body which is often violated. It is also, for the political, economic, social and cultural empowerment as we [women] are the ones that sustain society and yet our work and contributions are not recognized. Finally, we also defend the sovereignty of our subsistence which is land, water, and seeds, because a *campesina* without those things has no choice but to move to city where she then becomes extremely impoverished.[318]

Huanca defines resistance as something more than simply contentious and reactionary—it is a form of reclamation that seeks to recover the relationship with land and the *ayllu* (Andean

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[315] Mack, Ashley Noel, and Tiara R. Na'Puti. "'Our Bodies Are Not Terra Nullius': Building a Decolonial Feminist Resistance to Gendered Violence." Women's Studies in Communication 42, no. 3 (2019): 347–70.

[316] Gómez-Barris, Macarena. "Submerged Perspectives: The Arts of Land and Water Defense." Globalizations 18, no. 6 (2021): 854–63.

[317] Kauanui, J. Kēhaulani. "The Politics of Indigeneity, Anarchist Praxis, and Decolonization." Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies 2021, no. 1 (2021): 9–42.

[318] Ygarza, George. "Peru: In Defense of Land, Culture and the Female Body." NACLA. Accessed May 12, 2022. https://nacla.org/news/2016/06/03/peru-defense-land-culture-and-female-body.

communal system).

Figure 4

One of Cinque's most striking images is that of Guadalupe Escalante (Figure 4) captured in a stoic and defiant stance —with the symbolic *trenzas* or braids draped over her back— looking at the passing mining vehicle. Like colonial ships, the trucks disrupt lifeworlds as they introduce others. The roads on which the trucks travel is a part of new geography brought about by "glocal" restructuring, where remote Andean communities are transformed into new capitalist landscapes.[319] However, these roads are never quite finished; left in the subbase stage, where the road is leveled but not paved, these roads quickly deteriorate causing the dirt to blanket much of the surrounding area, including nearby homes like Escalante's. These semi-completed roads shape some of the "partial connections" present in the Andes. Marisol de la Cadena described the relationship between hegemonic state elements, such as language and

[319] Gupta, Joyeeta, Kim Van Der Leeuw, and Hans De Moel. "Climate Change: A 'Glocal'Problem Requiring 'Glocal'Action." Environmental Sciences 4, no. 3 (2007): 139–48.

culture, and Indigenous communities as partial connections—not completely subsumed by one another but at times co-constituted.[320] De la Cadena's concept of partial connections helps us to read the incomplete roads in Escalante's backyard; they serve as partial connections themselves, incomplete designs that are the literal circuits the State uses to transport raw mineral resources.

As vital routes in the global geographies of extractivism, these roads become targets for communities to enact resistance. For decades, these kinds of routes have not only served as the setting for the *paros* (stoppages) but have also given them their political meaning: used as crucial access routes, their occupations convert them to political stages to mark discontent and become part of the performance of refusal.[321] As such, the *paro* become a part of the repertoire of resistance, an instrumental mode of resistance that commands the attention of the mines and State. Examining this closer, we find other embodied forms of resistance through which the K'ana enact community, namely through their practices of conviviality and the extension of the *ayllu* or communal family. Central to this are the politics of Andean womanhood, defined by elements of complementarity, including the reproduction of life across various spheres. The reproduction of life in the Andes is not done in isolation but rather relationally, in conjunction with the masculine and other elements of the *ayllu*. These principles or axes are central to the politics of the Federation of K'ana Women (FEMUK), the predominant political organization in the region. Founded in the early 2000s, FEMUK is driven by an Andean-feminist politic of ancestral recovery.[322] FEMUK seeks to establish a reposition politic in the region, countering the reterritorialization of their K'ana lands through politics of care and complementarity among

[320] Sempértegui, Andrea. "Indigenous Women's Activism, Ecofeminism, and Extractivism: Partial Connections in the Ecuadorian Amazon." Politics & Gender 17, no. 1 (2021): 197–224.

[321] Ruiz, Pollyanna. "Performing Protest: Occupation, Antagonism and Radical Democracy." Performing Antagonism: Theatre, Performance & Radical Democracy, 2017, 131–48.

[322] Ibid.

many things, including genders and the nature world.

The Peruvian Andes has a long history of photographic documentation. The work of early 20th century photographers like the Cusqueño Martin Chambi (dates of b and) and the German Max Uhle (dates of b and d) defined the style for a new era of Andean photography. Each one was informed by their own subjectivity and social position relative to the Indigenous and campesino communities they worked with: Chambi's work became a catalyst for *Indigenismo*, a movement which turned to and appropriated the semiotics of the Indigenous worlds found at the margins of the State. Its most notable proponent was Jose Carlos Mariátegui, whose work located the most transformative kind of socialist principles in the pre-Hispanic past. Uhle's work was itself rooted in scientific reasonings, particularly the positivism that opened archaeological and other exploratory phases in Latin America.

Alessandro Cinque's photojournalism comes from a different epoch than those who captured the Andes before him. A resurgence of community struggle and the proliferation of autonomous political organizing are redefining the relations between the two Perus. Like Chambi's photography did in the early 20th century, Cinque's photography captures a new epoch; one that is not defined by the interpretations from the center but by the communities themselves. Cinque invites the viewer to accompany the movements and understand politics on their terms as extractive zones in the periphery of the nation-state have become arenas for renewed social struggles and flashpoints for environmental conflicts. By analyzing his photography through the heuristic of *Peru Profundo*, we are able to find a submerged and embodied politic that places these resurgent struggles within a larger historical and political context. These images help us to bring the politics of the *reactivaccion* in juxtaposition with the politics of the *paro.* Cinque's photography showcases the ways in which statecraft takes shape in the Andes, far away from the urbanized

center. Interpreted through *Peru Profundo*, it helps us to produce a counternarrative to the predominant discourse of development and order. Cinque's photography also helps to visualize axiology, the value and mean making practices of the K'ana against those of the state. In other words, they help us to spatially locate where contention will ultimately manifest when these different systems of value give way. In Cinque's photographs, we see encounters between different lifeworlds in this Andean region, such as those enacted by Elsa Merma. She and other community leaders' defiant stance and refusal to hold consultations anywhere else but their lands define a different paradigm of engagement. In Espinar, the politics of the K'ana, Indigenous and gendered, upsets the state's politics centered on a development predicated on formality, consumption, and individualism. Understood in this way, we can see how anti-mining struggles take place within the cosmological and ontological terms of the Andean communities. The chapter has tried to show how mining ultimately produces various kinds of ontological ruptures in Espinar: ruptures result from the ways in which the making of extractive zones cause breaks in the communities' ontological formations, such as the contamination of waterways central to the Andean *ayllu*. Understanding these movements as alternative politics adjacent to the state may help us to think through the undercurrents of other contentious politics in comparable regions. These politics of being ultimately reconfigure the contemporary dominant models used to understand civil society in Latin America, particularly the relationship between Indigeneity and the state. The contention I analyze in this conflict zone should thus not be seen as one predicated on competing "political imaginaries" as normative definitions would understand them, but rather as contention premised on an otherwise politic. This inquiry does not single out Espinar for its particularity but rather studies it as a flash point to understand comparable struggles and conflicts zones found across the broader geographies of mining and development,

most often found on Indigenous territories.[323] The following chapter brings in scholars from Latin America to co-theorize some of the fundamental concepts and ideas that have surfaced through in this chapter and the otherwise politics that have surfaced in recent times. Raquel Guitterez Aguilar and Raul Zibechi have long accompanied societies in movement. They have engaged in transmetholodical practices in their own way, seeking to think in community while challenging the predominant paradigms of critical thought. Taking up an immersive position as an interlocutor, I will co-theorize and analyze our dialogues, placing my critical counterreading of the state and ruptures I have found in conversation with the interventions they have made regarding enunciations of different kinds of politics throughout Latin America.

Chapter 4: Dialogues from the *Coyuntura*: Thinking through the Politics of Community and Autonomy in Latin America

Latin American critical thought is defined by two main currents regarding power: those who see it as a necessary vehicle for social transformation and those who are less preoccupied with it.[324] The former current finds its validation in the social movements that pushed through

[323] To perceive of ontological openings means to take the effect of maladjustment seriously, beginning with a recognition that the language we use serves as a subterfuge and tool of single and exclusionary epistemological frames.

[324] Bensaïd, "On a Recent Book by John Holloway."

and ascended into official governing institutions, propelled by what Geo Maher refers to as the 'anticolonial eruptions,' the subaltern acts of refusal and reclamation that periodically and strategically surface onto the public arena.[325] The other current is defined by the debates and challenges to conventional power most prominently from Indigenous groups committed to autonomous politics.[326] This is both a consequence of the epistemological limitations of the state as well as the subversive and illusive politics that define Indigeneity in Latin America. Informed by these politics, this other critical current is premised on an anti-state position, arguing that regardless of the identities it holds, the state remains fixed to its existential functionalities.[327] Anarcho-punk thinker and Aymara performer Maria Galindo describes how this power is enacted in the discourse of the Bolivian State headed by its first Aymara President: "The idea is to stifle dissent. 'If you are not with me, you are from the right.' But this polarization is totally wrong! We question the neoliberal bases of the Evo Morales government's programme. There is a lot of manipulation of the press to discredit [the opposition]." Galindo's critique of Morales' government emerges from a critical standpoint outside the conventional dichotomy of left-right politics, capturing the two critical paths or paradigms of critical politics in Latin America: one running through state power and the other beneath it. Acknowledging the presence of an otherwise politics in the latter begins the process of unmooring politics from the "real" and into what Arturo Escobar refers to "the politics of the possible," what can ultimately lead to a

[325] Maher, *Anticolonial Eruptions.*

[326] In Bolivia, numerous Aymara and Quechua leaders have remained critical of the MAS party, most notably Felipe Quispe. In Nicaragua and Venezeual, numerous Black and Indigenous organizations have chosen to retain their political autonomy instead of joining state-led coalitions. For more see, Goett, *Black Autonomy.*

[327] Tzul, Gladys. "Sistemas de Gobierno Comunal Indígena: La Organización de La Reproducción de La Vida." El Apantle 1, no. 10 (2015): 125–40.

broader epistemic break.[328]

To accomplish this unmooring, I began a serious of critical dialogues with Raquel Guitterez and Raul Zibechi scholar-practitioners who have moved across political paradigms and theoretical and geographical worlds. Although these dialogues wouldn't formally begin until I initiated an email correspondence with Aguilar and Zibechi in early 2022, I had been engaging with their work for many years. I first came to know Aguilar and Zibechi's work through the subversive spaces I navigated early on in my life, most notably the OCCUPY encampments. As I described in the introduction, it was at these sites where I first encountered the praxis of conviviality, autonomy, and care as central and formative elements of political life. Having until this point approached political life "from above," that is through grand theories, I had in these spaces come to it from below through "unmediated direct action."[329] As such, the writings of Aguilar and Zibechi would surface not in academic journals but in pamphlets, periodicals and other popular literature. Their proximity to communities in struggle—often times within them—facilitated critical encounters across disparate territories.

Unable to visit my original field site while confined to a small study during the second wave of the COVID 19 pandemic, I decided to reconnect with Aguilar and Zibechi after first contacting them in 2018. Although the impetus was the present academic project, my engagement with Aguilar and Zibechi took up what the late scholar Gustavo Esteva referred to as a "deprofessionalized approach."[330] According to Esteva, deprofessionalization is the process

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[328] Escobar, Arturo. *Pluriversal Politics: The Real and the Possible*. Duke University Press, 2020: xxxv

[329] Dunlap, Alexander. "Toward an Anarchist Decolonization: A Few Notes." Capitalism Nature Socialism 32, no. 4 (2021): 62–72.

[330] O'Donovan, Órla. "Conversing on the Commons: An Interview with Gustavo Esteva—Part 1." Community Development Journal 50, no. 3 (2015): 529–34.

by which we unlearn the professional commitments that have defined our subjectivity; having gone through a deep professionalization in the course of their academic career, the conventional scholar no longer speaks from an autonomous positionality but rather through the professionalized world into which they have been socialized and accepted. This chapter approaches the ontological horizons expressed in the previous chapter through what the Ecuadorian anthropologist Edgar Arias refers to as "preguntas semillas" or seed questions, as a dialogue grounded in ephemeral inquiries for co-theorization.[331] These dialogues seek to collaboratively construct new ways of thinking. Through this encounter, I take up my own kind of deprofessionalization as I abandon commitments to particular Area Studies-based frameworks, bringing myself into the traditions and cultural milieu of Latin American critical thought as I engage with leading thinkers and participants of historical social and political struggles from across the continent.[332]

Raul Zibechi is a journalist and social critic from Uruguay. Since the 1970s he has accompanied numerous communities across Latin America, reporting and writing from social struggles across the Andes, including Apurimac, Peru. From these experiences, he conceptualized "societies in movement," an operative term in my own work. His political activism began in the early 1970s, having been a part of the student wing of the Tupamaros movement in Uruguay before his exile took him to central America where he reported on the internal conflicts of the time.[333] Zibechi's reporting and critical social analysis on communal

[331] Arias, Edgar Patricio Guerrero. *La Chakana Del Corazonar: Desde Las Espiritualidades y Las Sabidurías Insurgentes de Abya Yala.* Editorial Abya-Yala, 2018.

[332] Another way of thinking about this middle space is a sort of border-thinking, one that occupies the lacunae between study and theorization. Wright, "Resistance."; Woons and Weier, *Critical Epistemologies of Global Politics.*

[333] "An Interview with Raúl Zibechi / A Civilizational Crisis: Different Paradigms and Different Ways To Build Them / Global Eyes / In Motion Magazine."

politics, autonomy, and state/power has made him a well-known critical analyst and a significant figure in the post-Marxist horizon of Latin American critical thought that began to emerge at the turn of the 21st century. As such, he has become a notable interlocutor between normative political thought and the otherwise, or the politics that emerges and moves about from below. As grounded and engaged political thinkers, both Zibechi and Aguilar develop a deep reading of what William Robinson describes as the "struggles for social emancipation" while deconstructing knowledge systems and practices within Latin American critical thought to "sustain these arrangements."[334] Zibechi describes the contemporary world system as a model of death, where dispossessions and violence are necessary mechanisms to generate profit.[335]

With this in mind, my opening question for Zibechi related to the parameters of the political and epistemological limitation present in Latin American critical thought:

Ygarza: "In your most recent publication, *Mundos Otros*, you address the various limitations of western critical thought, including the elements of dogmatism, fixed material realities and its general commitments that have truncated the radical imagination in the mainstream. You were trained in some of these traditions or have at least passed through them. Today, you accompany many communities who understand power and politics in different variations than what the "left" has understood. All of this seemingly came to a head at the turn of the century, with what can be read, with increasingly veracity, as a conjunctural moment for radical thought. By this I mean that the historically oppressed communities, or *puebles en movimiento* as you describe them, can no longer be ignored or spoken for. Can you summarize some of the unique elements of this conjunctural moment as you see them? And what terms do you think if any, can be useful for

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[334] Robinson, William I. "Critical Globalization Studies." *Public Sociologies Reader*, 2006, 21–36.

[335] Zibechi, "Acumulación Por Robo y Violencia Sistémica."

meeting *pueblos* where they are?"

Zibechi: The destruction of life is a definitive element of our current epoch. But here we must specify what it is. We are not facing an explicit open project that aims to annihilate life, as was the case of the Nazis with their concentration and extermination camps. Things are now much more complex: a model of death was imposed, which we call extractivism or accumulation by dispossession that in the areas of non-being, is much more than privatizations. It is the death of nature and human life, two parallel and simultaneous processes that feed off each other.

But this is a process let's say [that is perceived to be] "natural", and that is what makes it more complex and destructive. It is very difficult to say that capital is leading the planet and humanity to extermination because it is an indirect process.

First, because there is no central command of capital but a logic of accumulation in which a part of humanity participates through its savings in pension funds for example. Those people don't consciously want to destroy anything or kill anyone. (For example: in the USA, half of the population "invests" in the Wall Street Stock Exchange, even small amounts, but these people participate in the logic of accumulation and the logic of the financial system). But in order for your stocks to earn value, there must be more soybeans, more mining and so on.[336]

So, the system is this, at least in the US: the majority of the population is interested in what happens on Wall Street and the other half precarious, earning pittances at Wal-Mart or Mc Donald or wherever. Those of us who bet on this bottom half, we have to take this into account: the system, whatever it is, has a huge social base…that it is not interested in changes, nor in modifications even if they are minimal of reality. Although in other countries this is not the same as in the US, there are other "traps" that hook people into the system, from consumption to participation in private pension funds. In each country you can detect forms

[336] Meza, "Solo 2% de los mexicanos invierte en la bolsa; en EU, el 50%."

and modes of this relationship that subordinates towns to financial capital (in Uruguay, for example, half of the country that lives in rural areas or in small and medium-sized cities, has a lot of interest in soybeans and meat having good prices and good exports.)

So, the pueblos have to face this problem, because they will never (NEVER) be a majority and if they become, as in Peru with the election of Castillo, they will face a huge social, cultural, economic and political monster, which paralyzes any attempt to change things. Then the poor or oppressed party cannot make a strategy like before, to conquer the State.... that road is closed. You have to create your own world....

It is clear to me that this is not enough to answer your question. But I think this is a central aspect of the problem today, with concrete manifestations in each place:

In China, 100 million are members of the CP, that is, of the government, and if you add the middle and high officials, the rich and the nouveau riche, you find that power has support far beyond 1%.

In Peru, for example, the population of Lima and other cities, middle and upper middle class, white or clear mestizo, many who emigrated from the mountains, will NEVER support a popular movement and will look the other way in the face of evident genocides. They don't care that in Las Bambas or wherever, the rivers and waters are polluted. It's not their problem.

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Zibechi's response substantiates the argument made in Chapter 1 that extractive zones of the Peruvian nation-state are not exceptional zones where jurisprudence is temporarily suspended, but rather have become permanent states of exception—as Agamben would describe them—in the new era of post-empire.[337] Yet, Peru's internal territories present a different kind of state of

[337] Mahmud, *Precarious Existence and Capitalism.*

exception that did not emerge after its initial founding but alongside it. These spaces of exception are as much real as they are imagined, producing a kind of "frontier imaginary," conjuring, what the scholar Mark Rifkin says is

> a space both inscribed within state sovereignty and in which the juridical structures of the state are suspended. In this way, 'frontier' might be distinguished as a designation, or structure of feeling, from a term/concept like 'borderlands', with the latter's connotation of an area at the intersection of claims by multiple sovereign entities or over which political sovereignty is indeterminate.[338]

As such, these spaces require a discursive justification that informs the imaginary. In the most recent rebellion, which started in December of 2023 with the ouster of Pedro Castillo, we find the government denying Quechua and Aymara agency and subjectivity even when these communities took up the public realm (squares, thoroughfares and airports). Initially ignored, the rebellions that started in the southern and interior provinces of the country—its frontier imaginary—were later seen as the work of outsiders. In a national press conference held on January 24th, after a deadly massacre in the city of Juliaca, President Boularte stated: "the 'red ponchos' [a Evo Morales support group] have smuggled weapons across the border into Peru" (my translation).[339] It wouldn't be until over a month and several emergency decrees later that the State would begin to acknowledge the inequality that drove these protests.[340]

Zibechi's analysis brings together systems analysis with movement theory. In his response to

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[338] Rifkin, Mark. "The Frontier as (Movable) Space of Exception." Settler Colonial Studies 4, no. 2 (April 3, 2014): 176–80. https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2013.846393.

[339] Los Tiempos. "Bolivia reclama a Perú por dichos de Boluarte sobre traslado de municiones," January 26, 2023. https://www.lostiempos.com/actualidad/pais/20230126/bolivia-reclama-peru-dichos-boluarte-traslado-municiones.

[340]In early March of 2023, Erika Guevara-Rosas, Americas director at Amnesty International "Despite repeated calls from the entire international community for the Peruvian authorities to stop once and for all widespread attacks marked by racist bias against people protesting in the country, particularly Indigenous and campesino (rural farmworkers) people, we're still seeing that repression remains the only strategy adopted to deal with people's demands Amnesty International. "One Hundred Days of Protests in Peru." Amnesty International, March 17, 2023. https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/03/peru-racist-repression-slow-investigations-100-days/.

my question about the conjunctural period of the 21st century, he states that one of the defining features has been the broader recognition that dominant frameworks and paradigms of the political are insufficient to properly grasp the impulses of the movements, gesture, contours, and overall politics of the various *pueblos* that continue to proliferate across the region. Much of this is because understandings of the political continue to be informed by deterministic historical frames, including our understanding of spaces of exception within the binary of empire and post-empire. In their 2000 publication *Empire*, Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt outlined a new period of global politics, reconceptualizing the term 'Empire.' Whereas the previous formation of empire coalesced around a singular entity, espousing, and acting upon the dictates and will of its own power, empire in the emergent 21st century becomes increasingly amorphous and decentralized, a dispersed and loose network of transnational actors.[341] Negri and Hardt rethink power, moving away from a Gramscian definition to locate it in an entangled process found in a global capitalist class. Discourses of globalization entrenched this power into everyday cultural politics of the state where it develops new forms of "rationalized violence."[342] In his response, Zibechi pulls apart these forms of rationalized violence in the 21st century, absorbed into political design logics, rationalizing violence through the auspices of development and progress. It is these rationalized forms of violence that in Peru we see used to justify the spaces of exception in the interior of the country. Contamination, urbanization, and displacement are perceived as the collateral damage of development, something only to be mitigated but not stopped: "They [state-sponsored prior consultation] are used to defuse the escalation of the conflict, but they do not serve to find solutions that can be sustained over time," stated José De

[341] Hardt and Negri, *Empire.*

[342] Melamed, *Represent and Destroy.*

Echave an economist and former vice-minister in Peru's environment ministry.[343] Well aware of this, Indigenous communities recognize that the state holds no legitimacy, and thus must turn to their own principles and community in order to protect their territories. This critical view of globalization is captured by the defining neoindigneous movement at the turn of century, where its spokesperson—now known as subcomandante Galeano—described the logics of globalization this way in 1997:

> Globalisation is merely the totalitarian extension of the logic of the finance markets to all aspects of life. Where they were once in command of their economies, the nation states (and their governments) are commanded - or rather telecommanded - by the same basic logic of financial power, commercial free trade. And in addition, this logic has profited from a new permeability created by the development of telecommunications to appropriate all aspects of social activity. At last, a world war which is totally total![344]

What we read in subcomandante Galeano's intervention along with Negri and Hardt, is that power at the turn of the 21st century has been sustained in culture and design, constituting inseparable linkages that make it difficult to disentangle. This informs the social innocence that Zibechi argues carries power along, marking an era where violence and exploitation is less overt and takes the form of attrition, obscured by discourses of progress and development. Zibechi highlights this in his description of the conjunctural moment, arguing that everyday life, to borrow a term from Lefebvre, is inextricably connected to and counting on capital development:[345]

> Things are now much more complex: a model of death was imposed, which we call extractivism or accumulation by dispossession that in the areas of non-being, is much more than privatizations…. It is very difficult to say that capital is leading the planet and humanity to extermination because it is an indirect process.

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[343] De Echave, José. "Opinion: Tax Reform in Peru Would Not Damage Mining Industry." Dialogo Chino (blog), October 13, 2021. https://dialogochino.net/en/extractive-industries/47181-opinion-tax-reform-in-peru-would-not-damage-mining-industry/.

[344] Marcos, *The Fourth World War Has Begun.*

[345] Davies, *Everyday Life as Critique.*

Zibechi's 'model of death' describes a modernity whose underpinnings are marked by necropolitics embedded within the design logics of the State.[346] The design logics of neoliberalism, as Arturo Escobar argued, integrated culture, politics, and design, allowing for the normalization of and extension of the state of exception in certain regions.[347] For this reason Zibechi argues, old categories of political analysis fall short in understanding resistance to necro-based development. This can help explain why many Indigenous communities have chosen to retain and reclaim their autonomy, what has been most recently described as a 'resurgence,' because they place their struggles between life-affirming and life-denying 'models of death' as Zibechi puts it.[348] Moving away from the teleological, many Indigenous and campesino movements have turned to a critical recovery of history to seek out alternatives to the development model.

In this way, the conjunctural moment is also paradoxically defined by continuities. Zibechi argues that the project of development that has carried into the 21st century remains rooted in dispossession and accumulation. This has been the impetus for why an increasing number of Indigenous movements have decided to remain outside of the currents of state power. Most notable of which are the Indigenous, afro-descendent, and campesino communities, whose decisions to 'turn inward' have been a deliberate political gesture and an act of refusal to engage on the terms of development and progress. Ultimately, what these autonomous political formations express is a rejection of state-led projects of development. Zibechi's response helps us to recognize the politics of refusal in Latin America as a conscious project in of itself and not simply a contentious and reactionary move.

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[346] Castro, "From the 'Bio' to the 'Necro.'" Some, like the Zapatistas, have described this immutable relation as constituting a crime and must thus be confronted as such.

[347] Escobar, *Designs for the Pluriverse.*

[348] Elliott, "Indigenous Resurgence."

It is at this point that I locate the encounter with Indigeneity, finding common ground in the way they develop comparable political projects to urban autonomous movements. Thinking through this comparative analysis, I asked Zibechi, who has accompanied these different groups, what he thinks are some of the similarities between these movements:

Ygarza: "You outline several important interventions, tracks of thought and claims in your answer. Most notable of which is the agency you ascribe to the *pueblos* in struggle. By that I mean that you describe the inward turns as not simply reactionary impulses but rather a very intentional project to create "other worlds." In other words, this conjunctural moment is much less defined by neo-politics as they are a return to or a resurgence of collectivity. This is a notion that is quite clearly understood by numerous Indigenous communities across this continent who have turned to—borrowing from the Annishnabe scholar Leanne Simpson—doing things as they 'have always done.' Having accompanied both urban movements and Indigenous communities, where do you note the complimentary elements of *autonomia* and self-determination in these respective spaces that are often seen as divergent?"

Zibechi: "I begin the answer with this quote from Pancho:

"A form of mobilization that is seldom seen, yet typical of the *pueblos,* is the one they carry out within themselves. Sometimes they make them known, sometimes they do not, depending on the sacredness or spirituality they contain and the goals they want to achieve in realizing them. To carry them out, they turn to their spiritual guides, who put their powers and abilities at stake to restore harmony between the men of this time and those of the past, as well as between society and its gods. Guided by them, the peoples tour their sacred places, make offerings to their deities, ask forgiveness for departing from their obligations to nature and allowing it to be transformed from outside. And most importantly, they reaffirm their commitment to rebuild their relationships with their ancestors, their deities and nature. Then they dust off their own

forms of struggle and set them in motion to organize resistance in their own way. As many do not see them or if they do see them, they do not understand them, they think that the *pueblos* are immobile, when in reality, they are the most significant mobilizations, because it is from them that they build their autonomy."

Francisco López Bárcenas, affectionately known as Pancho, is a Triqui lawyer of Congreso Nacional Indígena (CNI) from the state of Oaxaca. His commentary this week following the culmination of *Caravana por el agua y por la vida: Pueblos unidos contra el despojo capitalista* on April 24th 2021 in Morelos, Mexico: "The Caravan allowed us to look at and notice our contradictions as individuals and as organizations, the capitalist practices that we reproduced that we can only dismantle in collectivity, [as we recognize] the system that inhabits our bodies and that manifests itself in our actions and words. In order to eradicate consumerism, patriarchy, machismo, misogyny, colonialism, racism and classism, it is necessary to recognize it in us, enunciate it and build alternatives."

In both cases, we see that [autonomy and self-determination] are resources that are worked inward. I ask: How many demonstrations have the Zapatistas made in 30 years? Very few. There was a march last month (March 2022), against the war but it had been 10 years since they had previously marched in public. All the energy of the *pueblos* is placed in the internal construction and in the micro defense of that construction. Without these constructions the peoples are nothing, they dissolve into the capitalist system, through consumerism or alcoholism that basically produce the same effects. I see the key to the construction of autonomies and self-government in the inward work."

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Zibechi's two extended quotes here are quite insightful. In the first, Pancho describes a different way of doing things, one that disengages with what the scholars Andrej Grubačić and Denis

O'Hearn refer to as "world time." In their study of communities that have decided to take up autonomist forms of organizing, Grubačić and O'Hearn describe a fundamental break from "world time" as a critical rupture carried out by these communities. They argue that world time, or the social ordering and temporal design driven by global capitalist development, shapes the relations people have with one another and relate to their social-temporal footing.[349] Autonomist communities, or what Grubačić and O'Hearn refer to as "exilic" communities, produce a temporal break, organizing along their own terms outside of the dictates of market-value systems and labor-based relationalities. It is important to note that Grubačić and O'Hearn distinguish between two main kinds of exilic spaces: territorial/geographical and structural. Pancho's description of the inward turn for reflexivity and personal transformation is what Grubačić and O'Hearn would describe as structural exit: the way communities remain territorially fixed but "exit" structures of violence and oppression while organizing under different systems of value. The *Caravana por el agua y por la vida: Pueblos unidos contra el despojo capitalista* (Caravan for Water and Life: *Pueblos* united against capitalist dispossession) is a clear form of structural exit, as the community engages in a direct critique of development projects.

Like the K'ana community in Espinar and other Indigenous-campesino groups such as those in the region of Cotambambas, 250 km north along the mining corridor, these communities turn inwards to deliberate, strategize, and reflect before opening up and confronting the structural problems. Given that they are comprised of Indigenous communities, they are place-based and therefore do not immediately engage in territorial exits unless they are forced out. Indigenous disengagements or movements of refusal, such as those taken up by the groups in the National Indigenous Congress (CNI) or peasant organizations in Espinar, have historically sought out structural forms of exit by turning towards to their own social practices

[349] Ibid.

and philosophies away from the global projects of development. Pancho's commentary captures this practice, articulating a declaration of refusal and autonomy, one that does not directly confront the State from within the paradigm of contention but rather turns away from world time and the dispossession that teleological progression promotes. Pancho describes a kind of invisible atemporal political practice that is not easily captured by those external to it in his description of how the pueblos mobilize: "many do not see them or if they do see them, they do not understand them, they think that the *pueblos* are immobile, when in reality, they are the most significant mobilizations, because it is from them that they build their autonomy." Here Pancho is describing what James C. Scott describes as "infrapolitics" or the covert expressions of political life that exceed classificatory definitions.

The gesture or turn inward has here a double meaning. In one it is a move away from that which is external to the self as an autopoietic turn for an autonomous reproduction of the self or organism. Pancho, the alias for the Attorney Bárcenas, describes the relationality between the self and the external movements, what Zibechi uses as an example of the shared elements between autonomous communities and self-determination of Indigenous communities. Both rely on a particular logic and form of organizing in the world. The turn inward thus is a conscious gesture that moves away from globalizing forces and instead moves inward towards community. It does not rely on the conventional repertoire of protests and rallies, as Zibechi reminds us by bringing up the Zapatistas. Rather, these moves have no established repertoires and establish their own forms of resistance on their own time as opposed to depending on 'world time.'

In Chapter 2, I argued that the historical currents of resistance, moves, and gesture towards other ways of being have always been present, evident in the multiple movements and practices of refusal, such as the historical *cimarrones* movements of fugitives, Indigenous

rebellions and other disruptive acts that refused to conform to modern political formations. Despite the historical attempts at managing these alternative socio-political practices, these alternative political formations persist. My follow-up question for Zibechi focused on these ruptures, continuities, and capture:

Ygarza: "During the 20th century, it can be argued that the autonomous impulse was temporarily suspended or rather usurped by the leftist movements, the State-centered communist and socialist movements preoccupied with state power, monopolized structural critique and political organizing. As we discussed, the impetus to create other worlds has always been present. You allude to this in your conversations with various *pueblos*, from Indigenous communities in Chiapas down through to your conversations with self-defense organizations and networks in Bolivia.[350]

However, you seem to articulate another unique characteristic of this conjunctural moment and that is a distinct arena of struggle from those taken up by the previous social movements. Revolution, in the political leftist tradition, is indebted to historical materialism. Seemingly gone are civil society's sympathetic view of the oppressed masses as we find a neoliberal multicultural project that has captured a wider space, committing a larger percentage of people to the development project.[351]

Social movements and theory in general have in many ways acquiesced to and internalized Margaret Thatcher's dictum of there being no alternative, evident in the shared reactionary elements of capitalists and socialists alike, both of whom believe that development and growth are necessary vehicles of transformation, albeit for different ends. With all of this in mind, can you speak a little bit to the notion of totality and teleology and where communities turning

[350] Zibechi, *Dispersing Power.*

[351] Tomlinson and Lipsitz, *Insubordinate Spaces.*

inward fit, both spatially and temporally?"

Zibechi: "I appreciate [Anibal] Quijano's proposition: Eurocentric totality is one in which the whole can be found in its parts. But Latin America doesn't work like that. So, the whole here is not a totality, as the parts have relative autonomy from the whole. That is what Quijano spoke of when discussing historical-structural heterogeneities. In Indigenous regions for example, there is no absolute totality, or if it is it is as a vertical and colonial imposition. That is, as oppression.

But the most interesting thing about his proposal is that having such a level of heterogeneity to an irreducible level means there can be no transit into a different kind of totality, as the parts move in differentiated ways, maintaining a heterogeneity, towards places that they see fit. In particular: there cannot be a transition from capitalism to socialism as an entire society because there will be parts that cannot or do not want to do so and, in the same way, there will be other parts that are already transiting to something else, new worlds, while the rest of society is not yet in it.

I believe that this view of Quijano prevents us from talking about concepts such as revolution in the classical sense, that is, as keys to the change of the totality of a society."

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Zibechi's discussion of totality through the work of Quijano is important. The critique of the Eurocentric worldview moves away from the frameworks that misread the politics of refusal around which many Indigenous movements have long organized. The "historical-structural heterogeneities" Zibechi brings in by citing the work of Quijano unhinge political theory from its propensity to think about totality. The underlying worldview of totality that predominates political science is what misinterprets resistance as contentious and nothing else, missing the

ways in which colonized subjects have continued to push history along.[352]

Quijano's structural heterogeneity is a decolonial critique of western teleological thought. In many ways, it complements the structure of the central Andean concept of the *pacha* or whole. According to Andean cosmogeny, the whole is not the sum of its parts or a totality but rather a dynamic complimentary coexistence between difference. According to Pablo Solon, the pacha includes an "indissoluble unity of space and time."[353] This is distinguished from the Euro-centric worldview whose epistemological core is rooted in separate forms that make up a totality—that of the human, the temporal, spatial—that informs the political and social spheres. This totality also drives its critical theories, as the western revolutionary traditions adhere to teleological definitions, seen for example, in Hegelian thought. The totality was in full display during the Maoist Shining Path insurrection. Although comprised of mestizo and Indigenous cadre, their teleological worldview effaced Andean realities, subsuming them into their violent campaign to command state power.

A recognition or rather rejection of western totality has brought some leftists movements together with Indigenous movements in Latin America, recognizing, as Zibechi describes, that "there cannot be a transition from capitalism to socialism as an entire society because there will be parts that cannot or do not want to do so and, in the same way, there will be other parts that are already transiting to something else, new worlds, while the rest of society is not yet in it." Where some social movements focus on social transformation, other groups, specifically Indigenous and campesino movements, draw from their own philosophies and cosmovisions to develop different kinds of autonomous gestures and political enunciations.[354] This is what

[352] Maher, *Decolonizing Dialectics.*

[353] Solón, "Vivir Bien."

[354] González, "Indigenous Territorial Autonomy in Latin America."

distinguishes place-based forms of resistance like those taking place in the K'ana community of Espinar and in other communities in resistance across the Andes and other regions: their refusals are not speaking to the politics of totality but exercise localized political formations.

While Zibechi highlights a sort of dialectic in the ways communities organize in relation to one another, it is quite distinct from that the European or Hegelian tradition. The Hegelian dialectic, a pilar of modern western philosophy, views opposing elements as antagonistic forces. These forces only find a balance when one overtakes the other to produce a synthesis in the form of singular entity. According to Hegel, the antithesis remains present as a part of the synthesis but no longer in the way it used to be—a part of the new whole. This Hegelian dialectic is present in societies where the market-value logics predominates, preserving the thesis-antithesis relation. In contrast, the dynamism of autonomous communities is a consequence of a complimentary relationality, where even opposing forces can co-exist.[355] Contracting and contrasting, both in and out, a reciprocal existence that is not closed off but rather maintains a dynamic relationship to the whole.

Ygarza: "I wanted to talk about the dynamism found within collectivity. What are some comparable animating forces shared across the different movements you have accompanied?"

Zibechi: "These communities do not remain inward facing. They do it for a while and then they turn outward. There is a kind of systole-diastole, like the heart—closure and openness. Through closure, unity and strength are gained; through openness they generate innovation and change and alliance with other communities. I mean, it's both at once.

I believe that the key to these communities lies in their worldviews, in a relationship with time different from the capitalist-Western (time as money, progress and so on), circular ways of

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[355] The Andean concept of *yanantin* is one such example

seeing life. From these worldviews emerges a different relationship with people and with nature, not instrumental, not of cost benefits but of complementarity and balance and harmony. For me this is a key that allows for a community to exist, which is based on that way of seeing-feeling the world. They say, I relate to the other to complement myself, not to take advantages or benefits, the same with nature.

I don't think that the material is what determines consciousness but that I see is a more fluid, more complex relationship. In that sense, I don't think Marx can be taken at face value but as inspiration."

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The limits of western philosophy and its understanding of the world can be found in its nomenclature and compartmentalization. Descartes' rationality underlies much of western philosophy's notion of self with some exceptions.[356] Zibechi points out the different ways that subjectivity and collectivity is practiced and animated in spaces that seek to break from the totality of the State and capitalism. This is of critical importance if we are to properly read alternative political formations as enunciations of politics otherwise.

Zibechi's description of these movements departs from the typical dialectical reading of political actions. This distinction is important in order to understand the fundamental difference of autonomy as a practice and as an ideological branch of Critical Thought. As mentioned earlier, dialectical thinking leaves the past behind, a metaphor captured in Benjamin's interpretation of Klee's Angelus Novus. In this dialectical framing, what has already transpired is superseded by the present, standing along as it is unaffected by what has already occurred.[357]

[356] See Heidegger and the Frankfurt school as some examples.

[357]Derrida's notion of *Différance* approximates this in his critique of totality and instead reading an economy of terms in concepts.

Departing from Western dialectics, Zibechi's description of autonomous politics as a "systole-diastole" system is an apropos metaphor. This biological or organic metaphor depicts the active and living notion of totality these communities take up. As opposed to the closed totality that a dialectic process may engender, this describes the way in which closure is not necessarily a permanent State of being, but rather in constant motion. As opposed to external or ideologically driven politics of autonomy, historically marginalized communities across Latin America deploy autonomy as a mode, a critical method that responds to the historical neglect of the State that looks to create a dependent relationship.

Rather than drawing in other kinds of autonomous politics, the autonomous governance of these communities is drawn from within, that is, through ancestral practices that were long denied or forced to take up a kind hybridity. For example, while many Indigenous *pueblos* use Spanish as their *lingua franca*, their social and communal practices are informed by ancestral knowledges, such as with Mayan, Quechua, and Paéz communities.[358] Communities on the margins, from urban poor but especially Indigenous communities, are increasingly recognizing the failures of the left as well as the state to provide alternative forms of justice. It is for this reason that movements are turning to autonomy informed by the needs of the community, as Zibechi describes.

As we've seen, various communities in the Andes are recognizing the failures of engaging with a State that has long denied, procrastinated or drawn-out dialogues with regard territorial protection and good governance. Behind discourses of legality, the state has manipulated the legal space to serve their interests, such us the instrumentalization of prior consultation. As I

[358] Recognizing the failures of the broad left in determining politics beyond organizing forms, the Zapatistas would be one of the first organizations to make this epistemic break and learn from Indigenous communities.

described in Chapter 3, the reclamation of Las Bambas was in effect an enunciation of this refusal. After years of suffering the detrimental impacts of being separated from their original lands, the reclamation was effectively an expansion or motion of breathing out for air, a kind of systole-diastole expression. The notion that they had already "given up" their territory is itself informed by the dialectics. The trade, although made through deception and coercion, led to a new fold which legal statues maintain.[359] Instead, communities returned to their ancestral practice, deciding to close and organizing before opening outward.

Ygarza: "The "structural heterogeneity" of Quijano that you cite is a way of decolonizing western philosophy and political frameworks. If we turn to Indigenous groups across the continent, we see comparable philosophies and worldviews, such as the Andean concept of the *pacha*, which is an equilibrium among separate yet interrelated ecologies.

Over the last generation, we have seen an expansion or resurgence of autochthonous thought, most recently with the rise of what are known as *Gobierno Territorial Autónomos* in the Peruvian Amazon with the Shipibo and Wampis nations. What do you believe has made these autonomous turns of this last generation more resilient if not more visible and able to evade state seizure?"

Zibechi: "Every case is different. In the Wampis case, what I see is that they have been seeking to defend their territory for decades, in the face of the encroaching zones of extraction. You must bear in mind that the Amazonian territories are very vulnerable, that an oil spill or the burning of forests, generates problems that take generations to solve. They know very well that oil or mercury are poisons that prevent them from continuing to live because they scare away fish or kill them, flora, and fauna and so on.

[359] This colonial rationale alludes to the idea of "Indian giving," the perception that Indigenous communities were known for going against their word. Yet, as we can see, this is informed by axiological terms set by colonial and State powers.

The state does not take them into account, they are few and isolated and on top of that territories of the Wampis lie where there is resource wealth. This leaves communities to watch over their living conditions themselves. The Wampis staged the Revolt of Baguá, a real war of the Peruvian state against the peoples, and now they have seen that only by asserting themselves in autonomy can they have the umbrella to protect themselves. I would like us to think that autonomy for peoples is a necessity, not an ideological choice or something. Either they defend their territory, or they disappear as peoples.... and if they have to migrate to the cities then they are no longer peoples."

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On November 29th, 2015, the Wampis nation, consisting of 27 communities across 1,3 million hectares in the Peruvian Amazon, declared their autonomy from Peru. Far from a reactionary turn, the enactment of their autonomy was understood as part of their historical struggle, only expedited following what was known as the *Baguazo* in June of 2009.[360] According to their declaration, the Wampis' decision to form an autonomous governance "arises with the objective of facing the threats against the conservation of the territory from a territorial management that dialogues with our customs and guarantees a pleasant life for our population."[361] Zibechi echoes this in his answer: the autonomous turn taken up by the Wampis, and recently by other Amazonian nations, is not in itself the political mode but the pragmatic mode used to preserve ancestral practices. That the "State does not take them into account" is not incidental but rather a condition for that State's very existence.[362] Recognizing

[360] For more on the *Baguazo*, see chapter *Into the Deep*.

[361] Nación Wampís. "Nuestra Historia." Gobierno Territorial Autónomo de la Nación Wampís (blog). Accessed April 13, 2023. https://nacionwampis.com/nuestra-historia/.

[362] Whereas the Andes have held a particular place as insurrectionist territories the State feared within its imaginary, Amazonian societies maintained a lower rung, closer to the zone of none-being according to the

the poverty of recognition, other nations have begun to embark on structural exits from the Peruvian State in order to take alternative paths to preserving their way of life.

Following in the footsteps of the Wampis, on December 18th, 2022, the Autonomous Territorial Government of the Awajun formulized their autonomy with the election of their Pamuk, Gil Inoach Shawit and Waisam, Matut Micaela Impi Ismiño, their president and vice president respectfully. The government came together to represent 70,000 Awajun peoples across the Peruvian provinces of Amazonas, Cajamarca, Loreto y San Martín.[363] Facing years of similar structural neglect that their relatives the Wampis faced that included harassment and intrusion by illegal gold miners and loggers, the Awajun saw no other recourse than to structurally exit a State that failed to recognize them on their terms. It is this structural exit through the formation of autonomous governments that nations like the Wampis and Awajun believe they can enact and fully actualize their existence; as the Awajun's *Constituting Statue* proclaims:

> We, the Awajún people, in order to ensure the perpetual existence of our people, reflected in cultural manifestations and linguistic expressions of our own with the same importance as all the cultures of the world and as such, enjoy the essential collective rights to territory, identity, to self-development, self-government and self-determination within the framework of the internationally recognized human rights; With the joy of a good spell and guide from our Ajutap [a guiding spiritual force that strengthens the community and individual alike], we establish ourselves and sanction this STATUTE for the Awajún Autonomous Territorial Government.[364]

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modernity's hierarchy of civilizations. Observed through the lens of the Euro-centric gaze of the civitas, Amazonian nations fell outside of it for not having the preconditions of a society—namely institutional structures organized around a centralized power. Just as the viceregencies previously did, the Peruvian State has carried on a form of structural neglect with Amazonian communities.

[363] gtaawajun. "Nace Gobierno Territorial Autónomo Awajún." Gobierno Territorial Autónomo Awajún (blog), February 11, 2022. https://gtaawajun.org.pe/nace-gobierno-territorial-autonomo-awajun/.

[364] Awajun. "Estatuto-Awajun-Oficial3-1.Pdf." Accessed April 13, 2023. https://gtaawajun.files.wordpress.com/2022/02/estatuto-awajun-oficial3-1.pdf.

This statement captures the essence of autonomy—a mode for the preservation of a "perpetual existence…reflected in cultural manifestations and linguistic expressions." Whereas the nation-state model seeks to fix cultures in place through its institutions that pull apart and separate the private and public spheres, autonomous governance is south out in order to reintroduce deep forms of integration and plurality. It is this form of structural refusal that Grubačić and O'Hearn refer to as "geographical exile," where autonomous movements make use of their isolated and neglected spaces to protect life-producing practices in their territory-based cultures.

Tejidos Beyond the State: Conversation with Raquel Gutierrez Aguilar

Raquel Gutierrez Aguilar is a Mexican sociologist, researcher, and educator. Aguilar occupies what Runajit Guhu describes as the 'secondary space' or resource: those who write from within movements and outside of official accounts.[365] Aguilar has been a participant in many of the broader political tuns in Latin America, taking part in transformative political movements that defined the critical orientation of Latin America. She was a founding member of the Tupac Katari guerrilla movement in the Andean country of Bolivia. Grounded in the politics of subversive Indigeneity connected to its historical namesake, the Tupac Katari movement sought to build a wide and multiethnic insurgent base, effacing the need for vanguardism. The political philosophy of the Tupac Katari movement enjoined historical Indianism with autonomist decolonization projects, greatly inspired by the work of the Aymara-Quechua scholar Fausto Reinga.[366] Later imprisoned for nearly five years in Bolivia, Aguilar would go on to publish *¡A desordenar! Por una historia abierta de la lucha*, an influential underground

[365] Singh et al., "Subaltern Studies II."

[366] Linera, *Plebeian Power.*

text that challenged the ascension of the political left. Written while in prison, *¡A desordenar!* (Loosely translating to "A call to disorder"), anticipated epistemic disruptions that would soon emanate from the uprising in the Lacandon jungle of Mexico.[367] Upon returning to Mexico, Aguilar would continue to theorize beyond the binaries of critical thought—that is between power and anti-power—collectively analyzing the triadic of capital, the state, and patriarchy. Aguilar has since been theorizing from the communal, finding it as the agentive of women discourse and praxis.[368]

One of Gutierrez's central theses is that the current world system stunts or limits the production of life, a position she takes up from a post-Marxist critique influenced by Latin American feminist thinkers. Aguilar's critique makes note of the way capitalism and the State advance a patriarchal order, one whose notion of life-cancelling projects is very much an anti-feminist endeavor. This process is made evident in the postcolonial statecraft of extractivism that pollutes territories in order to mine precious metal and raw materials to grow financial markets and advance State development.[369]

The current project extends some of the main interventions in Aguilar's *Rhythms of the Pachakuti,* a critical meditation on one of the most transformative political epochs of the 21st century. In this 2008 publication, Aguilar presents an account of the social and political uprising that led to the reorganization of power within the Bolivian state. In her unique narrative methodology, Aguilar analyzes the Aymara and Quechua rebellion in El Alto and other central cities of Bolivia as they contended with neoliberal policies and a reckoning with national

[367] Attesting to the conjunctural moment that underlies this project, Aguilar finds herself here in conversation with the Zapatistas who were just emerging onto the world stage.

[368] Aguilar, Linsalata, and Trujillo, "Producing the Common and Reproducing Life."

[369] Fernandes, "Feminist Alternatives to Predatory Extractivism."

belonging. The most compelling contribution of this work was the way in which Aguilar brought out the heterogeneity of Indigenous politics, thinking through the politics of the MAS party—who would eventually assume State power—and grassroots Indigenous communities that retained autonomist if not antagonistic responses to power. These dynamic relations or "rhythms." contrasted the binaries and teleological forms of thinking about social transformation and upheaval in Euro-centric political theory. Drawing from Andean cosmology, Aguilar's deployment of the *Pachakuti* or world/whole (pacha) transformation/upheaval (kuti) argues that a different kind of dialectic, one that is generative and constructive, is made present through the social and communal practices of women.

Since the publication of *Rhythms of the Pachakuti,* Aguilar's work has pivoted to community-level and feminist rhythms. Her political theorization has turned inward, as she has begun to rethink the question of power from and through the communal. Moving away from a preoccupation with theorizing and opposing the state, Aguilar's recent engagements have disengaged with methodological statism, and instead theorized the political from interpersonal relationships. Her work in this liminal space—that of the non-state—makes her a great interlocutor for reading the elements of refusal present in the Andes. With Foucault's methodological precaution in mind, I start of the notion of methodology:

Ygarza: "I would like to start with some of your notable interventions, specifically with regard to moving away from methodological statism and the search for new categories. The latter, of course, is an ongoing effort, not least because identifying who exactly this work is for is critical. Therefore, I would like to start with a question on methodological statism: How can we begin to step outside the state while remaining cognizant of its material impositions? More specifically, do you think it is possible to exit the State in a way while still operating within it?"

Aguilar: "Let's see... what I've been trying to think about — since writing *"A call to disorder!*

For an open history of the social struggle"— is how to make the necessary "displacements"— including subjective ways—to evade/circumvent/turn around ... certain epistemological obstacles (Bachelard) that are not only inserted in the dominant argumentative framework over politics and policies, but even constitute that framework of analysis. This is the enormous endeavor that is needed to avoid being trapped in a state-centric thought.

I believe at least three displacements are necessary: of the subjective order and then, of the strategic order, ie, in and from the struggles: i) a move away from "fixed subjects" predetermined by immobile or fixed identities, hence the notion of the community network—which is the one I always propose—that is continuously recovering the dynamics and logic of the relationship that those who lead the struggles engage; and also, at this point, to maintain attention on the precise way in which struggles develop as a key to analysis—through daily and extraordinary struggles ii) The second shift comes from dialogues with certain Marxist and communal feminists that clearly state that what is usually at stake in social conflicts is the "struggle for the guarantee of the reproduction of life"– particularly from the communal or popular fabrics that are part of the fabric of life. The mediation of these political struggles is indeed state-owned. But it does not belong to the State, and it is not simply a question of "delegating" all the energy of struggle into occupying the state, but of establishing "mandate policies" (Vilaboa, Diego Castro) from the social world. This has always been my point of contention with the canonical thought of the left. I put it this way: "we need a non-state-centric policy – which must be produced and cultivated, with arguments and reasons – and not necessarily "anti-state." If you look closely, my point is not to collapse into the loop of repetition proposed by the enlightened and patriarchal left, which again and again calls for delegating all energy to "the group or party of the left" to "take charge of the problems". That path has consistently been wrong, again and again. How do we break from this repetitive cycle?

iii) Finally, in order to think about all the above, it is necessary that the thought, voices and orientations of women—of communal currents—be present. When they are present—that is, if they remain audible and active—these voices and perspectives open the ground of the possible because they question and destabilize a large part of the patriarchal alliances that also occur – for example between *caudillo* and male social leaders, in the case of Bolivia. So, it is not a question of "including" classic feminist views nor be focused on rights—although it is possible to dialogue with them—but of expanding the exercises of freedom that women carry out during the hard moments of conflict and that then return to silence. Realize that they exist and strive to understand them.

So, you ask me who I write for... And I answer that I write two kinds of texts: 1) those that seek to promote "that we talk among ourselves," among those who are committed and inserted in the struggles and 2) other works—the most academic—that insist on reflecting in ways closer to the canon of academic and formulate around the issues that I am learning and understanding from the way in the contemporary moment and understanding how they are developing."

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What makes the Latin American socio-political landscape so unique is the dynamic societies present beneath the state. Part of the reason is that its civil society is quite permeable, replete with loose and liminal spaces.[370] It is within these spaces that a multitude of political actors move about, transgressing the nominal agreements between State and society. These interstices are the consequence of the short comings in nation-building and state seizure, the places where it has failed to fully capture and contain the movements of Indigenous, women, afro-descendent and campesino peoples and collectives. Always present, these collectivities have

[370] Alvarez et al., *Beyond Civil Society.*

evaded capture in the margins of the State, from the Andes to the quilombos, and even in the urban barrios. Women's collectives, which Aguilar highlights in her response, engage in active critical displacement through their feminist enunciations of care that move away from State politics. It is these enunciations of care otherwise, taking place in the reproduction of life through processes of conviviality, nurturing, food prep and other practices which make up the historical social fabric that Aguilar argues does not only belong to the State. The previous chapter captured these social fabrics in Espinar, where K'ana women, through their shared struggles including their defense of the land, weaving together spaces of care as they defend their territories on principles of collectivity and body autonomy.

Evading capture, dispossession and cooptation from the State, these social fabrics enunciate difference by maintaining their autonomy. This is what both Zibechi and Aguilar are reminding us of: various kinds of societies are present and moving about beneath the State, only surface when they encounter different modes of statecraft such as extractivism.[371] Given this heterogeneity, to read this periodic surfacing as contention undermines its complexity.[372] While traditional political science sees only one arena of political engagements, these societies or *pueblos en movimiento* as Zibechi describes them, operate in arenas that attempt to move away from the purview of the State. Critical social theorists like Aguilar illuminate the ways in which these societies produce different kinds of relationships, arguing that the paradigm of contention fails to properly capture the autonomy these communities are building in their resistance.

Citing the work of Uruguayan sociologist Diego Castro Vilaboa, Aguilar carries political autonomy into the discursive realm, arguing that its ability to scale up from their localities and

[371] Pineda, *Pensar Las Autonomías.*

[372] Even beyond Lenin's concept of a dialectical "Dual Power" many societies are present in Latin America, pushing through and engaging with the state in different way. For an example of how this took place in Venezuela, see Maher, *We Created Chávez.*

formulate grand political agendas is vital to their preservation. For Aguilar, communities can maintain autonomy by developing organic "policy mandates" from the grassroots or the bottom-up and thus avoid State capture. One of the most significant policy mandates of this kind is the notion of *Buen vivir*/Good Living/*Samaq Kawsay*.[373] Broadly interpreted as a philosophy of life, *Buen vivir* has various iterations depending on its proximity to the State and society. Nevertheless, it has continued to serve as a philosophy of life animating the different forms of refusal.[374]

The fluidity and dynamism of women's thought and communal life are the essential elements of their practices that help to evade State seizure. This is very much present in places like Espinar, where organizations led by K'ana women preserve the communal and complimentary practices of the *ayllus* against the individualism of external capitalist logics.[375] As Aguilar puts it in her response, methodological statism relies on co-dependent categories, these categories set up "fixed" subjects and categories that allows the State to appropriate the communal. Serving as a fundamental statecraft, extractivism carried out this process, dispossessing communities while rupturing their integrated system of the *ayllu* or Andean community. Extractivism pulls apart autonomous lifeworlds, composed of the *runa* (people), water, land, and other elements that make up the whole of these Andean communities. Aguilar identifies dynamism as an essential praxis that communities deploy to preserve their autonomy, finding communality among multiple spaces including woman's spaces and Indigenous communities.

Aguilar ends by asking a really important question, one related to the blockades and

[373] Gudynas and Acosta, "El Buen Vivir Más Allá Del Desarrollo."

[374] Castillo, M. A. "Implementing Indigenous Paradigms: The Paradoxes of Actualizing Sumak Kawsay." Administrative Theory & Praxis, 2022, 1–23.

[375] Núñez del Prado, "La Federación de Mujeres K'ana (FEMUK) de Espinar y La Participación Femenina En La Política Local a Través de Los Discursos."

disruptions that my work has documented: how do we theorize ephemeral yet grounded practices? Citing the French Philosopher, Gaston Bachelard, Aguilar recognizes the problem of dominant critical thought in its limitations, specifically the way it comes to know and understand. Dominant frameworks for reading and understanding the political are fixed upon certain presuppositions, most notable of which is the state-centered model and ultimately the teleological goal of politics. This model takes the idea of the State as a natural phenomenon, a determinant factor and social organizing force that draws attention away from what is possible beyond totality and the terms of order that modernity has demanded.

In the chapter two, I described the interplay of imaginations—of body politic, community, and geography—in the Peruvian nation-state. As the framers of the nation-state began to define the identity of the new State, they needed to establish fixed definitions, first through a racial restructuring of society tied to particular geographies.[376] Inverting the position of Aguilar's critical analysis and redeploying Bachelard, we can view the "Indian Question" as a manifestation of the State's fundamentally epistemological obstacle of the nation-state: the management of Indigenous peoples. Overtime, the epistemological obstacle of Indigenous realities would be overcome by several mechanisms the State came to rely on, most central of which was extractivism. By restructuring land in accordance with global development processes, extractivism not only serves to shape affairs in service of the state but totalizing project of globalization as well.

Ygarza: "Thank you for your response. I appreciate your invocation of epistemologies, and the important reminder to think about how the way that we know and how we know informs our social practices, which have historically and continue to be predominantly *caudillista* or paternalistic notions of power. You are also alluding to feminist and embodied praxis as a sort of

[376] Walker, *Smoldering Ashes.*

incubator for the radical process that can disrupt the perpetual cycle of power and anti-power, or state and anti-state, that has played out in much of the radical thought on the continent. Can you elaborate a bit on the importance of praxes as an epistemological exercise and way of thinking through the binaries you highlighted?"

Aguilar: "One of the criticisms I heard towards the practices and arguments of feminist movements against all of the violence in Argentina more than five years ago—perhaps since 2017 [here referring to the *ni una menos* feminist movements across the Americas] when the massiveness of the movement as well as its radicalism (Verónica Gago) began to emerge—was that: "the feminists blur everything." I was quite intrigued by what was sought to be expressed with this statement, given that observing from within and listening to the arguments put forth by the movements... renewed arguments that became further elaborated... helped to clarify the mean of the connections that feminist struggles were making.

A very simple example of this is how what happens in the private sphere is "blurred" in feminist practices with what happens in the public sphere, exhibiting its continuity and the falsehood of its separation from those spheres to the latter, as it happens in liberal politics. The practice of traveling again and again from one space to another ... and the effort to signify that continuity punctually messes up historical ensembles. But beware: not abiding by the separation and stirring and joining areas that are presented as opposed is a practical action ... expressed in words and embodied in everyday and sometimes strategic actions.

So, these practices and these arguments constitute a matter of reversal of meaning but they are also more than that. When important matters are deliberated again and again exceeding prescribed limits, when the word is spoken and circulated and flown from matters that deal with administrative authoritarianism in workplaces, to incurred and burdensome debts, from bitter experiences of ignorance to fatigue produced by care work, etc. when these conversations are

had openly, they help to organize the experience of others that return to the conversation with other orientations, etc. ... then it also begins to produce "weavings." Feelings and weavings – "weaving" as sedimentation of practices that replace and alter senses from what exists– are then two central elements of contemporary struggles and of the possibilities of "getting out" of the dead ends to what modern political thought leads us.

Reasoning by contrast: the warmongering and militarism on the rise today needs to settle in armies that continuously expand, whose inner life is aestheticized and exhibited as acceptable, as desirable, etc. This reality demands that connections concordant with that warmongering be expanded and that it all be normalized. From there a counterproposition of reasoning is clear: from multiple feminist struggles and diverse women, life is sustained, work is done on the production of the common where collective care and self-care for what exists is encouraged; practices of freedom are intensified, creation is defended through a loop meaning and fabric. However, this reproduction of life is systematically and repeatedly denied; whose dissolution is sought through different modes, from ignoring it to attempts to reinsert it into discourses and organizational formats consistent with what has been instituted.

Here, the main thing I am currently working on is thinking through the ways in which dissident common sense that occurs in moments of struggle and unfolds as different weavings, settles in permanently. We find [this dissident common sense] emerging again and again in recent struggles, but it is necessary to have a kind of "comprehensive look" in order to better read them; not as an anomaly, as residue, as remnants of something not fully modernized, but as a node of other political possibilities."

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That Aguilar announced her ideological break in, *A Desordenar…,* a text that was mostly written under confinement from a prison in La Paz, Bolivia reflects a particular praxis

engendered under repressive conditions. This process of writing under duress, or what Avery Gordon calls a "methodology of imprisonment," describes the way subjugated knowledge can preserve life despite a violent apparatus of neglect and isolation.[377] *A Desordenar,* (A call to disorder) is a text that challenges the structured politics that continued to inform leftists movements in Bolivia and broader Latin America well into the end of the 20th century. Aguilar's critical departure from this political form, presented in her book as a "disorder," prefigured the conjunctural moment in the 1990s.

Aguilar's description of the "weavings" as a kind of methodology from below attempts to read through the "disorder." These weavings take place during feminist organizing and conversations that disregard the imposed separation of the private and public sphere. In Andean feminisms, this inseparable private and public sphere is found in the notion of the *ayllu*. The *ayllu* is the most prominent social organizing space in the region, a quechua term that can mean both community and family.[378] As we saw in Chapter 2, it was ultimately this imposed separation by the relocations of the *ayllu* that compelled communities of Fuerabamba to reclaim their territories. Aguilar reminds us that when circulated long enough, these conversations produce weavings, coming together as ideas from which new movements can emerge.

As with her personal confinement, feminist movements speak from a similar repressive space of confinement under the patriarchal State.[379] The weavings Aguilar is analyzing are the moves preserve life-affirming and life producing practices of conviviality and communality beneath and beyond the State. Asphyxiated and oppressed by the State and (patriarchal) power,

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[377] Gordon, Avery F. "Methodologies of Imprisonment." Pmla 123, no. 3 (2008): 651–58.

[378] Cooke, Douglas. Quechua Cusqueño, Year One: Revised Edition, 2022. Amazon Digital Services LLC - Kdp, 2022.

[379] This form of writing can also be described as "insurrectionist narratives," those who indict the state and society to "emphasize state criminality or the crimes of elites." James, Joy. "Introduction: Democracy and Captivity." *The New Abolitionists:(Neo) Slave Narratives and Contemporary Prison Writings*, 2005, 96–107.

the feminist "blurring" that Aguilar describes becomes a way for feminist politics to think through and find a space within this confinement. By deploying prison and military terminology, Aguilar is making a clear comparison in the way that feminisms move underground as subversive practices within the public space. Feminisms are attempting to escape the ideological confines while constructing webs or *tejidos* of support networks, weaving that can create and sustain an otherwise politics. In Espinar, like in other regions across the Andes, this reproduction is often carried out against the contamination and dispossession of their territories caused by extractivism.

Ygarza: "I would like to follow up on what you described as the "modes for dissolution," that which you see being deployed against any attempts to reproduce life otherwise or outside of the State. I read this as the way in which various aspects of what power is—security, politics, and domination—work together as a kind of a nexus that looks to break apart the life-affirming practices of women's politics. Contrasting with discourses of development, I have come to understand the life producing practices of women as being predicated on sustainability and complementarity, something I was able to observe within the K'ana women in Espinar Peru, who are at the forefront of what we in the West describe as "environmental struggles/politics." Your discussion of the "blurring" that feminist movements are able to carry out by engendering spheres that are otherwise compartmentalized is important here. It is interesting to see this blurring as a kind of methodology as well as a method.

The hidden political project behind objectivity—that informs models of development, framings of contention and understandings of power—serves to further entrench colonialism,

patriarchy and other structures of violence.[380] It is this hidden political project that allows the sciences to continue to read the discourses and practices of subjugated groups as contradictory, paradoxical or nonsensical. Take for instance, the statement shared by a K'ana protester in response to the instrumentalization of President Boularte's womanhood: "A government that violates human rights does not represent women, no matter how much of a woman she is. [my translation]"[381] This seemingly paradoxical statement emerges from a clear equivocation between the Andean perspective and those of us attempting to understand the socio-political conditions that underlies the contention between protestors and the Peruvian State. The imperative here is to recognize that equivocation is not the end of comprehension but that understanding the roots of equivocation is the fundamental challenge for those of who seek to accompany "societies in movement." This equivocation is not simply the result of failing to understand the subjugated other but reflects the presence of multiple worldviews.[382]

Moving away from this "zero-point" and crossing epistemic boundaries became the impetus for these dialogues; what was sought out here was a deeper understanding of how the very methods we use to understand power and politics ultimately reifies life as a set of interdependent spheres. I sought out to do this by "looking across" epistemological and analytical limits, thinking through these concepts from a different standpoint.

More than simply crossing into a region with distinct postcolonial and cultural histories, the standpoint from which Zibechi and Aguilar write from is situated outside the totalizing

[380] Saffari, Siavash. "Can the Subaltern Be Heard? Knowledge Production, Representation, and Responsibility in International Development." Transcience Journal 7, no. 1 (2016): 36–46.

[381] Recorded by my interlocutor Liliana Estrella

[382] "Failure to understand that understandings are necessarily no the same, and that they are not related to imaginary ways of "seeing the world" but to the real worlds that are being seen." Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo. "Perspectival Anthropology and the Method of Controlled Equivocation." Tipití: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America 2, no. 1 (2004): 1.

modernity that still preoccupies Latin American critical thought.[383] Instead, their work recognizes the plurality in the continent, and thus moves away from totalizing concepts. As such, bringing them in as interlocutors through these engaged dialogues became my method of unmooring politics from its preoccupation with the "King"/State and instead to theorize it, as the Zapatista say, from below and to the left. Aguilar's contributions here brought everyday politics into focus, particularly those that are being weaved through interpersonal relations among women collectives. She is not by any means forgetting about the central networks that constitute the state, but rather helping us to think through the networks that exist beyond it. Rather than give into dissilussionment or succumb to the state and enter formal politics as many of her male counterparts had done at the turn of the 21st century, she directs our attention to the communal politics of women that focus on the reproduction of life. I believe the metholodological pivot Aguilar describes at the beginning is imperative because it highlights how critical readings of daily practices maybe obfuscated by our worldviews. As such, we can come to recognize the significant contribution of the communal elements beyond the conventional repertoire of protest and resistance in places such as Espinar. Communal kitchens, the preservation of the *ayllu*, the use of chicha and other ceremonial practices all contribute to the preservation and enactment of a longstanding traditions of resistance. I see my work complimenting Aguilar's own intervention here, meeting her in the public space, where she examines collective politics and I the roots of the reactionary nature of the state. Aguilar's illumination of collective everyday politics puts forth an alternative kind of politics that stands in contrast to the state, serving as an entry point for recognizing how social practice enact their own power.

[383] The dominant conceptualizations of power and politics come out of north American modernity that folded into that of the broader West. The Latin Americas see themselves as "belated and passive recipients of modernity" Quijano, Aníbal. "Modernity, Identity, and Utopia in Latin America." Boundary 2 20, no. 3 (1993): 140–55.

Zibechi developed his most notable term, societies in movement, in dialogue with students from the Universidad Nacional Micaela Bastidas in Apurimac near Espinar. Capturing the way collectives take up their own kind of politics on their own time and pace, this term is a lens from which to recognize that collectives are animated beneath a totality. The Andes have always been in movement. A geography defined by transhumance, the state has sought to keep Andean communities fixed in place, a prerequisite for civility and society of which only the state determines. Together with Aguilar's description of the everyday politics of communal life, we can trace the movements of resistance in places like Espinar and other extractive zones, moving away from political life as determined by the state and instead see it from below. Yet some challenges remain: how do we sustain these frameworks outside of thinking about or through totalities? Is it even possible? How do we prevent the essentialization of these politics? To answer these questions, I believe we need to continue to carry out exchanges between professional and grassroot intellectuals, settle into our convictions and engage in more collaborative and participatory research. In doing so we will be able to recognize the pluriversal, create "better nouns" as Boaventura Santos calls for, and simply lessen the impact of equivocation.

Conclusion: The State in Contempt: New Horizons

On the morning of January 9th, 2023, I found myself freewriting as I prepared to pivot into the last round of revising my dissertation chapters. By this stage, my community partners and I had established a great relationship, already thinking about how to plan our next collaborative project. Turning my phone over as I periodically did, a series of blurred images from Liliana, an anthropologist and my interlocutor from *Derecho Humanos Sin Fronteras* (Human Rights Without Borders) held my attention. As each message began to download, the opaque images started to unveil disturbing scenes of violence. For the next few days, Lilianna would pass along images depicting chaos and militarization and weeping mothers standing over lifeless bodies.

Just a few days earlier, the region of Espinar had joined various towns and villages across the Andes in historic mobilizations of *Peru Profundo*. Since the ouster of President Pedro Castillo on December 7th of 2022, sporadic protests had taken place in regions across the country. After a brief pause for the highly venerated catholic holiday season, protests restarted on January 7th, particularly in the southern region of Puno, where residents took over the local airport. Videos and images of Puno residents clashing with police went viral, ultimately leading to the suspension of the airport's operations. It was the fourth such takeover of an airport in Peru since protests began a month earlier, which by that point had left 22 people dead across the

country. Although these kinds of clashes are relatively rare on Peruvian soil, they were nonetheless reported as the all-too-common scenes typically found in Latin America by the international press. That was until the third day of airport disruptions: on January 9th, the state police carried out a massacre, killing 21 people in the city of Juliaca.

The January 9th massacre, carried out in the southern region of Peru during widespread protests and rebellion, was imbued with interlocking symbolisms. Juliaca is just over 100 kilometers south of Espinar, the capital of a region defined by the rich cultural heritage of the Aymara and Quechua peoples. Here, vestiges of its histories are only activated in travel blogs and state discourses, as *Peru Profundo* is brought into the fold on terms determined by the state. Those terms are set by a multicultural project of limited inclusion, where the state is able to manage the presence of cultural difference in order to substantiate its development logic. In this way, celebratory practices of *Aymaraness* and *Quechuaness* are tolerated and even celebrated, while at the same time, enunciations of the otherwise are surveilled and policed. Numerous institutions, such as the police and militarized forces, allow the state to move quickly to contain and neutralize enunciations of the otherwise, which demonstrates a deep fear of the otherwise. The rapid deployment of open violence carried out on Jan 9th is the result of an impulsive defensive maneuver, driven by a deep fear and resentment of the Indian problem. In Juliaca, we can observe how the most important monopoly of the State—violence—is activated as a mechanism for self-preservation.

On January 24th, President Dina Boluarte made the now infamous proclamation that Puno, where the massacre had taken place, was "not Peru."[384] Puno is in what is considered the

[384] infobae. "Dina Boluarte habló de las protestas, Pedro Castillo y por qué dijo que Puno no es el Perú." infobae. Accessed March 2, 2023. https://www.infobae.com/peru/2023/01/29/dina-boluarte-hablo-de-las-protestas-pedro-castillo-y-por-que-dijo-que-puno-no-es-el-peru/.

interior of Peru or *Peru Profundo*, making it part of both an actual and imagined geography. The state imagines it as a space where, although "nothing" exists, can nonetheless congeal, and threaten the state. But how do we read what is ultimately not fully present? Describing a study of that which is not seen, Boaventura de Sousa Santos engages in a "sociology of absence," a method that transforms absent subjects into present beings.[385] But what rendered these subjects absent in the first place? And how do we understand the way the state is threatened by that which it has subjugated? In essence, how can something that does not really exist threaten the State? For Peru, it is less that the threat is real but rather the threat has the potential to materialize— in other words the "Indian problem" still haunts Peru.

Hauntings help us to explain the underlying symbolism in Peru's use of violence against Indigenous peoples, where the poisoning of the environment from mining already produces a kind slow death.[386] In *Ghostly Matters,* Avery Gordon describes the affective and effective nature hauntings have on a subject:

> But haunting, unlike trauma, is distinctive for producing a something-to-be-done. Indeed, it seemed to me that haunting was precisely the domain of turmoil and trouble, that moment (of however long duration) when things are not in their assigned places, when the cracks and rigging are exposed, when the people who are meant to be invisible show up without any sign of leaving, when disturbed feelings cannot be put away, when something else, something different from before, seems like it must be done.[387]

Gordon's conceptualization of hauntings helps us to make sense of the motives behind the reactionary violence deployed by the Peruvian state. The reactionary violence the state embarked

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[385] Sousa Santos, Boaventura de. "A Critique of Lazy Reason." *In Epistemologies of the South: Justice against Epistemicide.* Routledge, 2015.

[386] Rob Nixon is credited with coining the term 'slow violence.' Nixon, Rob. 2011. *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor.* Harvard University Press. Mining is also a kind of 'slow violence,' a spatially rooted form of violence consequence of reterritorialization. Schindel, Estela. "Death by 'Nature': The European Border Regime and the Spatial Production of Slow Violence." Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space 40, no. 2 (2022): 428–46.

[387] Gordon, Avery F. "Introduction to the New Edition." *In Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination.* U of Minnesota Press, 2008.

on is precisely this fear of the actualization of this "something-to-be-done" to *it*, the State project. But what exactly is left behind to represent the state once we pull apart its interior and hold onto these hauntings?

There are few key political concepts as vexed and difficult to define as the state. Max Weber famously defined it as the entity that holds a monopoly on violence;[388] Charles Tilly described it as a racket.[389] James C. Scott broadened its description by reading it as a fixed territory managed by a centralized power and bureaucracy.[390] Perhaps the best way to understand the state is with an adage—you will know it when you see it. In other words, states are based on sets of illusory entanglements, some of which have come to be taken for granted and reified in quotidian discourse. In postcolonial states like Peru—a pioneer country in Benedict Anderson's terms—the state makes itself known when it touches down in certain sites, either through rhetoric, violence or both.[391] One keyway it touches down is through its role as arbiter, serving as the entity that grants the legitimacy to the reterritorialization of regions like Espinar, converting them into extractive zones. At the same time, the state renders the original spatio-ontologies invisible, presenting the only acceptable terms and discourse that reaffirms its imagined geographies.[392] These particular and acute forms of violence are conducted at the behest and interest of a globally connected dominant class. As Pierre Clastres has argued, the emergence of

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[388] Anter, Andreas. "The Modern State and Its Monopoly on Violence," 2019.

[389] Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," in *Collective Violence, Contentious Politics, and Social Change* (Routledge, 2017), 121–39.

[390] Scott, James C. *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed.* yale university Press, 2020.

[391] Anderson, Benedict. "Creole Pioneers." Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, 1983, 47–66.

[392] By other spatio-ontologies I am referring to the ways in which many Indigenous communities are known to understand space and time as immutable notions rooted in territory. To see an example, see Reid, Geneviève, Renée Sieber, and Sammy Blackned. "Visions of Time in Geospatial Ontologies from Indigenous Peoples: A Case Study with the Eastern Cree in Northern Quebec." International Journal of Geographical Information Science 34, no. 12 (December 1, 2020): 2335–60. https://doi.org/10.1080/13658816.2020.1795176.

that State was predicated on the domination of one social class over another.[393] Anything but natural, Clastres found this process to be a long durée of contentious negotiations and struggle. Defiantly, communities have long resisted its different encroachments and impositions in early state formations. What can otherwise be described as *fugitive practices*, movements against centralized order, fixity, and exploitation, have sought to evade capture by proto-statecraft functions.

Researching the Andes, Graeber and Wengrow noted how the ubiquity of the universal sovereign Inca was in many ways overstated given that many of the local *ayllu* or Andean communities maintained their autonomy and familial structures.[394] These anarchistic social practices would eventually be interpreted as fugitive for they existed beyond the terms set forth by early state formations. Clastres astutely observed from this research on Indigenous communities of the Americas that "The emergence of the State brought about the great typological division between Savage and Civilized man; it created the unbridgeable gulf whereby everything was changed, for, on the other side, Time became History."[395] This gulf, as it emerged in the formations of the Peruvian State, were explored in Chapter 1, particularly through the entrenchment of mining as a fundamental statecraft that cut across the colonial and post-independent state.

Researching anti-mining resistance in Espinar served as a prism to see how Peru carries out these processes and collapses contention within the state apparatus. Yet, we've also seen that communities have long maintained their autonomy through different acts and enunciations of refusal. Communities such as the K'ana understand that the extraction of mineral is related to

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[393] Clastres, Pierre. *Society against the State: Essays in Political Anthropology.* Princeton University Press, 2020.
[394] Ibid.

[395] Ibid.

their ontological subjugation and their mistreatment as campesino and Indigenous peoples. Enunciated in stoppages and occupations, these eruptions are not only the consequence of the colonial blind spot, or what Geo Maher describes as the hubris that dehumanization and development produces, but the surfacing of an underlying ontological difference.[396] These ontological differences are expressed in various kinds of "tempos," what Raquel Gutierrez Aguilar also refers to as "rhythms," based on moves for dignity and autonomously organized.[397] Like Paul Drinot in his*Peru in Theory*, I've placed the Peruvian condition within theory itself, examining Peru's statecraft within a hemispheric and global context, including how it serves as part of racial capitalism's multi-nodal spatialities. This dissertation has examined the ways in which global processes touched down and shaped the local particularities (glocalization) of the Andes through extractive mining.[398]

Analyzing the contentious site of Espinar within a broader interrelated historical and global context of racial capitalism, this dissertation placed its statecraft beyond Peruvian borders, identifying the social, political and economic entanglements that make up the Peruvian state. Part historical, Chapter 1 examined these leverage points as interrelated biopolitical functions materialized in racialization, commodification and territorialization, the core triad that defines the Peruvian state. As co-constituted biopolitical functions, this triad shapes subjectivities and designs the categories from which other kinds of exploitations are formalized. The historical example of Huancavelica provided evidence for this, as its reterritorialization as an extractive zone was a central node that saw race and place-making as co-constituted projects. A theoretical

[396] Maher, Geo. *Anticolonial Eruptions: Racial Hubris and the Cunning of Resistance*. Univ of California Press, 2022.

[397] Aguilar, Raquel Gutiérrez. *Rhythms of the Pachakuti: Indigenous Uprising and State Power in Bolivia*. Duke University Press, 2014.

[398] Robertson, Roland. "Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity." Global Modernities 2, no. 1 (1995): 25–44.

chapter, Chapter 2 brought in the secularization of modernity—the making of man—drawing in part from the work of Sylvia Wynter to read the ways in which these processes were subsequently inscribed into modern Peru. Its key intervention read *profundidad* and c*rilloismo* as self-reinforcing imaginaries. Like the previous chapter, it engages in a study of the interplay of these concepts and ideas, looking at the ways in which the State relied upon certain technologies of order, particularly that of urbanization. Shifting into the contemporary moment, Chapter 3 took up a transmethodological study that touched down on the so-called contentious sight of Espinar and presented an alternative way of studying a place. It reaffirmed the importance of the ontological turn, arguing for the recognition of other ways of understanding. Bookending this chapter was the exploration of methodology in the field of political science. This concurrent deconstruction is critical not least because the terms set forth by state-centrism inevitably inform *how* we studied the past as well. Describing what he referred to as the "narcissistic exercise in self-portraiture," James C. Scott noted the tendency of dominant frameworks of archeology and history to only read permanent settlements as notable and legible histories.[399] This propensity can be extended into other paradigms of knowledge and disciplines, such as Global Studies, and political science, a field of study concerned with how *we* identify the political, or what Cedric Robinson referred to as the "terms of order." Robinson, in what would ultimately be an inherent polemic in his respective field, critiqued the fetish of leadership and power within the general discipline and understandings of politics.

> We associate, then, the political with power, authority, order, law, the state, force and violence-all of these are phenomena which restrict the outcome, deflect the extraneous, limit the relevant forces. We speak of the political both as an instrument for ordering society and that order itself. It is both a general way of acting on things and the consequences which follows having acted upon things.[400]

[399] Scott, James C. *Against the Grain: A Deep History of the Earliest States*. Yale University Press, 2017.

[400] Robinson, Cedric J. "Introduction." *In The Terms of Order*. SUNY Press, 1980.

Written well before the conjunctural moment at the turn of the 21st century, Robinson's takedown of the embedded presumptions and complicity of the field anticipated what Boaventura de Sousa Santos would describe as the west's "crisis of nouns," the limited epistemological framings in Western critical thought.[401] Despite Robinson's critical interruption of political science's continuities, the field has retained if not entrenched a deep preoccupation with power within its methodological frames.

This project focused on Peru for several reasons. Aside from being one of the largest mineral-producing countries in the world, Peru hosts dozens of long-term conflict zones and presents various important elements for analyzing the ways in which a state misreads or captures an otherwise politic. For one, Peru is a state run by a predominant social class (creole/criollo). It is also a weak state in that much of its territory does not count on or is not shaped by the central government. Peru is also a place that was predicated upon a new form of being, specifically with the transformation of Andeans (Indigenous peoples) into *Indians*. This transformation or fungability inscribed Indianess within a colonial way of being. Like the social death associated with Blackness, the making of the "Indian" came alongside the formation extractive zones, tying Indian ontology to the hinterland. Although undergoing transfigurations overtime, *Indianess* came to permanently represent a place that colonizers and creoles alike saw occupied by a "static" people, locating the latter "out of time."[402] This all came to be contained within the state, which serves as a vessel constructed out of imagined relations, in spite its territories holding what the Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano described as a heterogenous

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[401] Ibid.

[402] I borrow this term from Kevin Bruyneel. see *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of US-Indigenous Relations* (U of Minnesota Press, 2007).

society.[403] Centered on a dialogue with Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar and Raúl Zibechi, Chapter 4 offered a wide-ranging discussion of contemporary "otherwise" politics in Latin America today.

Examining the vexed history of the state, Graeber and Wengrow define the state as the confluence of certain political forms, most notably, the political forms of sovereignty, administration and charismatic competition. Noting the ways in which this confluence is in constant flux, they argue: "There was nothing inevitable about it. If proof of that were required, we need only observe how much this particular arrangement is currently coming apart."[404] The governing crisis that has befallen Peru since 2020 speaks directly to Graeber and Wengrow's point. Although informal markets and peripheral zones seldom encountered the state, loose concepts and ideas such as citizenship, shared histories and imagined geographies constructed a permeable yet comprehensive social fabric that held the idea of Peru together. By the end of 2023, much of these illusory entanglements of citizenship, governance, and history had come apart and given way to social eruptions in the form of occupations, road blockades and other kinds of embodied refusal. Demonstrating the folly that was its social cohesion, the undoing of the illusory entanglements of the Peruvian reality during this recent period—six presidents in five years saw Peru momentarily become "leaderless"—fundamentally questions the terms in which this social cohesion was implemented. The inherent fragility of civil society and the constant flux of the political forms that make up the state are caused by the other ways of being found in its interstices as life in Espinar shows. The fragile agreements that made up the imagined community and loosely tethered the social fabric of the state have come undone in

[403] Quijano, Aníbal. "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality." Cultural Studies 21, no. 2–3 (2007): 168–78.

[404] David Graeber and David Wengrow, *The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity* (Penguin UK, 2021).

Peru over the last few years and the massacre carried out on Jan 9th was an attempt by the state to reassert its essential agreements.

As this study has demonstrated, the state has relied on consistent and specific interplay between racialization, territorialization, and commodification. It's persistent use of violence to entrench this order speaks to the modes of being otherwise that remain active and continue to unsettle the state. Foucault tells us that the use of violence by the king is a way for it to reassert its dominance and demonstrate its power.[405] The belief that this reassertion is needed is not only a testament of the fragility of the state but that subjugated knowledges, while considered illegitimate, continue to make themselves known.

[405] Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* Vintage, 2012.

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