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Indigenismo, Indianismo, and Incaísmo in Peru: Negotiating narratives of identity and class in a neoliberal hegemony

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Signature Page

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Contents

Abstract	v
Permission Page	vi
Introduction	1
The Forging of National Projects	3
The Promises of Progress: Class, Mobility, and Education	8
Indigenismos	14
Narratives of Racial and Social Hierarchies	22
The Uses of Lineage	29
The Materiality of Lineage	35
Conclusion: Resistance, Mobilization, and Strategizing Agency	40
Appendices	46
Bibliography	52

ABSTRACT

Indigenismo, Indianismo, and Incaísmo in Peru: Negotiating narratives of identity and class in a neoliberal hegemony

by

Merare Sanchez

A survey of contemporary Peruvian life reveals the failures of the nation-state model in its attempt to assimilate the indigenous worlds and peoples into the project of Modernity. Through the political ideologies and discourses of Indigenismo, Incaísmo, and Indianismo, intellectuals and politicians negotiated the place of pre-Hispanic collectivities and their descendants within imposed Western models, attempting to claim a space for indigenous groups within the body politic. Under Neoliberal narratives of progress, formal education was identified as the solution for poverty and inequality. Nevertheless, economic inequality and discrimination persist and are often masked within the academic realm. This study explores Indigenismo and Incaísmo as political projects that have contributed to the reification of hierarchical and exploitative practices supporting the artifice of Modern nation-states. These failed Western models are contested by more recent political movements spearheaded by Indianismo, under its banner of resistance. The very existence of these contestatory spaces reveals the incomplete nature of the project of Modernity.

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Introduction

Latin America's histories inform contemporary realities, in many cases as continuous and recycled realities and experiences. The origin groups that inhabited the region that is now labeled Latin America preceded such name and had realities of their own before colonization. Contemporary observations of Latin America and its indigenous populations reveal the centuries of oppression, colonization, and resistance that these groups have experienced. Nevertheless, modernity's role in this equation, and within these experiences, reveals many truths about the violence and tragedies that have marginalized indigenous groups. Exploring the narratives of modernity and neoliberal politics as well as their various implementations across Latin America aids an understanding of current issues pertinent to the region and elsewhere.

Peru, as a Latin American country, shares an indigenous history and its respective implementations of modernity and progress reflect the role of originary cultures and materials in contemporary notions of identity, class, race, and morality. Peru is popularly known for its Inca origins and many physical aspects of that history, like the Inca monumentality, can be explored today. Thanks to the tourism industry people all over the world can travel to Peru, and especially to Cusco, and visit sites like Machu Picchu, Chinchero, or Písac. The naming of Machu Picchu as a new wonder of the world exemplifies the popularization of tourism that in Peru is facilitated by the commercialization and commodification of indigenous pasts. The adaptation of Inca heritage into the Peruvian national identity is underlined with the stories of post-independence politics, intellectual movements, and the products of the modernization of the country like urbanization, mass resource extraction, and neoliberalism.

Exploring resultant narratives and ideologies from the intellectual movements of the 20th century in Peru exposes how incaísmo, indigenismo, and indianismo spurred the conceptualization of indigeneity within modernity. Phenomena like Cusqueñismo, and its basis in incaísmo illustrate how Inca ancestry and Inca heritage are recalled into the contemporary memory by mestizos and Inca descendants. Additionally, they reveal the gap existing within definitions of indigenous and Inca and how those definitions are perceived locally. Understanding the history of intellectual movements in Peru after its independence permits the understanding of the conceptual differences between indigenous and Inca, and why those differences exist in contemporary notions of identity and heritage. The importance of these explorations is apparent when attempting to understand contemporary issues of poverty, social hierarchies, and classist narratives as they exist in the Peruvian context.

Moreover, this research project was influenced by my personal experience in studying abroad in Peru. After residing in Cusco for nearly four months I was left with a multitude of questions and curiosities about how the present is informed by the past and what that means for Cusco and Peru overall. After traveling the country from coast, to highlands, to amazonia, learning and living with their respective indigenous communities, and finally interviewing Inca descendants in Cusco I was able to formulate better questions about Inca ancestry, descendants, identity, lineage, and indigeneity in Peru. This research is my attempt to answer the questions and curiosities that my experience in the country alone could not.

The Forging of National Projects

Creole elites in Peru have played a key role in employing power to forge a national Peruvian identity. National projects include the actions, laws, language, and narratives used to reconceptualize and promote Inca heritage within national narratives and the nation building and identity formation efforts in Peru. The actions of political actors, governing bodies, and influential intellectual movements have the purpose of maintaining institutions of power and wealth. Peru's creole elites are involved actively in the formulation of modern culture and its operationalization of Inca history as a reconceptualized product of capitalist interests. The Inca memory recalled by Peru's corporations and governing bodies is a representation of corporate interests and their interference on the profitability of the indigenous and the exotic to reel in tourists and dollars. These interests are underpinned through the narrative of progress and development which materialize within the population's glorification of the Inca past and their simultaneous reproductions of non-indigenous identities as heritage and ancestral markers.

The expansion of modernity is not the explanation for the Inca resurrection, but it marked a period of significant acceleration in the production of thought and knowledge intended to rename, rethink, and re-envision an identity for Peru as a nation (Molinie, 2004, 238). Fueled by the independence from Spain, the 20th century saw growth of industries meant to better the country and propel it into the global economy, a significant one being the extraction industry in the exportation of natural and mineral resources. The results of the augmented adaptation to modernity saw the widening of existing wealth gaps which affected those who were not elite or white in Peru. Such a significant widening of inequality caused by the growth of industries, exports, resource extraction,

and the overall exploitation of land and labor defined what the true interests of the elites were. Establishing Peru as a visible and competing nation required urbanization and the expansion of the extraction and tourism industries at the expense of the people forced to create such a result with their labor. The creole and mestizo elites that occupy positions of power, leadership, and governance in Peru have abdicated a communocentric sense of identity and their ethnic origin in favor of class privilege within the framework of modernity.

Although the discourses surrounding modernity in Peru are frequently guided by the proclamation of Inca ancestry and Incaísmo, the physical space in which these take place contributes greatly to their strength. Moreover, by antagonizing the indigenous population, commitments to growing the national economy and the country, perpetuating the wealth of elites, are maintained. Cusco, specifically, presented the perfect space in which institutions of modernity could monumentalize and commercialize the cityscape through the guise of protecting the Inca archaeological monuments (McCoy, 422). Cusco's geographical location was a convenience since it marked a space of significant monumentality. These intentions permitted the restoration of Cusco and saw its transformation into a space of cultural significance as a facet of national identity. Cusco's revitalization assisted the growth of the tourism industry and fell into place with other national plans to reinstate the Inca, as the imperial memory, within the national framework of cultural production and identity construction. The Inca vision propagated by the government's identity politics, supported by the revitalization of Inca patrimony, provided the best conditions for the reinvention of Inca history and its integration into a

redefined national history, becoming a vital characteristic in the public's negotiation, perception, and performance of identity.

The existing monumentality of the Inca empire is positioned as proof of the epic feats achieved by the Inca and reflects how the memory of the Inca past is glorified today. The appropriation of Inca archaeological centers as national heritage sites allows governing bodies to dictate how spaces and legacies of the Inca should be managed and maintained (Molinie, 238). The authority to control the remnants of Inca imperialism lies in the hands of Peruvian political and intellectual figures, most of whom are likely not indigenous or Inca descendants. Peru's history becomes the story that the white or creole, especially wealthy, Peruvian decides to tell and one that perpetuates class hierarchies and social inequality through the commercialization of indigeneity and indigenous labor. The tourism industry in Peru is driven and characterized by the image of indigenous peoples in commercials, postcards, and their production of indigenous souvenirs and tokenized cultural products. Inca heritage continues to be commodified within the tourist industry as a totem of ancient times that can be re-lived through tours of monumental spaces, interactions with living indigenous peoples, and the purchasing of souvenirs as representatives and mementos of the lived exotic experience (Herrera, 2013, 285).

Rebuilding a national identity meant that those in power could forge a generalized identity onto the nation to continue the cycle of wealth within the country, where wealth, power, and authority were recycled and maintained for generations (Mignolo, 2005, 60). Those who historically benefited from coloniality and maintained its structures of exploitation are the responsible parties for the prevalence of poverty among the indigenous population in the country. Manipulating the advantageous yet uncertain time,

wealthy elites commodified the Inca “nationalized” ancestry as something for outsiders to enjoy as a novel experience and for insiders to latch onto for a sense of belonging and identity. Aligning themselves with the glorified image of the Inca, the Peruvian social climate resurrected the Inca, though through a specific framework of admiration, and promoted its characteristics as inherited and innate to the population (Herrera, 2013, 278). Fujimori’s establishment of neo-liberalism in Peru included an expansion of the penal state and a repression of marginalized peoples that had the potential to challenge powerful individuals and institutions. The penal policies and climate of punishment caused an increased criminalizing narrative towards civil disobedience, typically referring to social movements, to be used against indigenous peoples and the urban poor (Hathazy, 2013, 8). An example of a political actor using dehumanizing language towards indigenous peoples is Alan García who blamed the delay in the development of the country on the social demonstrations of indigenous peoples advocating for human rights by labeling them as criminal acts and examples of savagery deterring the betterment of the nation (Merino Acuña, 88). García’s presidency encapsulated the interests of his and his peers’ capitalist endeavors and through the abuse of power he was able to affect policies that continued the dispossession of land and land rights of indigenous communities.

As a drastic change, Ollanta Humala sought the presidency following the end of García’s term and his campaign was painted with the appropriation of Inca heritage as he self-identified with Inca descentance in the purpose of approximating and collecting the votes of the mestizo and indigenous population. Humala’s presidency was filled with speeches and discourse alluding Inca pride and an identification with Inca ancestry. His

campaign demonstrated how political actors at times use indigeneity to appeal to indigenous peoples, campesinos, and mestizos' incaísmo to garner their political support and ultimately disregard their voices once their objectives are met. García and Humala used paradoxical strategies to obtain power and wealth. While Humala manipulated the nation's self-identification with the Inca past, García outwardly denounced native groups and criminalized them for merely advocating for their land rights, all under the language of bettering the nation for all peoples (Bebbington, 94). After Humala's presidency he was accused and investigated for various criminal acts during his presidency, found guilty of money laundering, and punished with minimal jail time. Meanwhile, Alan García is also being investigated for corruption and will likely not face a deserving punishment due to the influence and authority that he still holds.

In sum, the individuals regulating power in Peru's governing bodies, typically wealthy creoles and mestizos, are leading the country with ideologies that promote development and progress and they subvert such promises with an abuse of power and by subjecting the country, especially the marginalized groups, with continual exploitation and hardships. In the end, the promises made by the leaders of the country result in personal acquisitions of wealth for the powerful and for industries, while indigenous peoples lose land and livelihood and the mestizos remain in stagnant positions of income and occupation. The forging of national projects and nation building in the name of communal economic, social, technological, and intellectual advancement all play, in the end, into the failures of the promises of modernity.

The Promises of Progress: Class, Mobility, and Education

As discussed above Peru's political actors, groups, and their discourses encourage modernization by promising a more stable economy, labor growth, and the alleviation of poverty. The promises of progress give middle- and upper-class citizens the hope of a more prosperous future as individuals and as affluent members in a society that benefits them. One method of rationalizing progress is through the conceptualization of education, and inherent capitalism, as necessary and positive aspects of individual achievement and civil participation for members of society. By operationalizing education as an opportunity that can facilitate job opportunities and economic growth, those who attain education begin to participate in the mechanisms of class hierarchies that academia perpetuates. Education provides the path towards economic and social mobility within hierarchies that are built on racist conventions of morality, intelligence, and social participation. People of different backgrounds may find in education the tools to succeed in a modernized society, but the access and attainment of education may be blocked by obstacles set in place to deter mestizos and cholos by white intellectual limeños.

Education in Peru has various functions, uses, representations, and materializations based on the subject that enacts or seeks it out. The accessibility of education in Peru's urban contexts, however, is restricted within and outside those regions. The forced literacy imparted by colonization and religious "conquest" is seen recycled in modern Peru when education, as a branch of modernity, provides opportunities, but remains a historical destructive force complicit in the eradication of culture, language, histories, and other facets of indigenous livelihoods. Education, depending on its consumer, holds the power to enlighten and to oppress but has

historically functioned to produce both in conjunction. For any person that is not a white limeño, acquiring an education constitutes difficulties in its cost and geographic location as well as other aspects that follow the typical requirements of attending school. In the same manner, the acquisition of education varies for Peruvians living in urban regions and for campesinos and indigenous peoples living in rural regions. The accessibility of education, or the inaccessibility of education, illustrates the social hierarchies that limit poor and raced bodies' access to resources provided to affluent white-passing Peruvians.

In the context of urban regions and the education provided there, at a difference to rural education, it instead reflects a passive neo-colonization where mestizos and cholos experience discrimination, displacement, isolation, exclusion, language barriers, cultural erasure, assimilation, or adaptation. The concept of “superar”, or to better oneself and one's circumstances, as demonstrated by indigenous families exemplifies strategies that indigenous peoples use to operationalize education into a medium that facilitates upward social mobility. In the process of acquiring an education, indigenous peoples are also exposed to the forces that mestizos and cholos experience in urban education. A strategy that indigenous peoples and campesinos have enacted in their aim to educate their children is to relocate them to family or friends' homes that are regionally favorable and where education is more accessible (Leinaweaver, 2008). In this feat indigenous people are exposed to a plethora of obstacles and dangers within those homes like abuse, neglect, starvation, rape, and more due to the perceived need to acquire education and employment opportunities. These obstacles and horrid conditions share overarching similarities with the narratives of education in modernized contexts.

Indigenous peoples, above most other Peruvians, face a multitude of obstacles in facilitating an education for themselves or their children. A case study on bi-cultural education in an indigenous highland community confirmed another strategy employed by indigenous peoples in which they negotiate identity and culture in the attempt to provide a quality education for their children. Parents in the community, after being provided with bi-cultural and plurilingual education, communicated that their perceived priority was that their children learn to speak Spanish and English, and opposed the implementation of education in their native language (Garcia, 2003). Although the strategies endorsed by these specific communities are representations of their perceptions of ways to “superar”, they are not representations of all indigenous peoples’ strategies for survival. The communities mentioned in the case studies illustrate the frameworks with which they understand modernity and progress. Even in their pursuit of education, the families demonstrate agency in acknowledging how modernity works, and in their negotiation of the performance and survival of indigeneity in the interest of providing a better life for their families.

The implicit favoring of a formal education over a technical or indigenous one as demonstrated by some indigenous communities underlines a social awareness of racism, discrimination, and social mobility and their functions in urban modern spaces. The parents recognized that a “formal education” could provide their children with opportunities of economic growth and an escape from poverty. This was negotiated through the perception that they, as parents, were responsible for teaching their children their indigenous knowledge and that their school or education was responsible for providing them the academic capital with which to survive in a modernized urban space.

Formal education, academia, and intellect as they are performed and validated in rigorous scholarly spaces perpetuate the reduction of knowledge not pertaining to a modern society (Pacheco, 2012). Indigenous knowledge, much like indigenous peoples, are excluded from modernity, urbanization, and progress. The glorification of western ideologies and the favoritism of modern thinking over ancestral and indigenous knowledge is symbolic of the hierarchies favoring those that are formally educated and who participate in modern thinking, spaces, and productivity. In Peru, to claim middle or upper-class standing is to claim virtue and morality through a PhD or a title belonging to an exclusively academic space or role. Often, Peruvians who can make such claims are mestizos or white and even when more mestizos gain entrance to exclusive spaces they, too, tend to participate in the reification of class hierarchies that displace and discriminate.

The interviewed Inca descendants demonstrated mixed perceptions on traditional indigenous knowledge and formalized knowledge. Both voiced an exaltation of Inca knowledge, as pride in their inheritance, by emphasizing the accomplishments of the Inca like their complex trade networks, architectural monuments, hydroelectric systems, and many other commonly remembered feats of the Inca empire. One participant said, “Dominaban a toda la gente... Labraron sin instrumentos científicos... los que trabajaban para el inca trabajaban felices” to detail that the Inca were great in part because of their domination, their ability to labor without scientific instruments, and even claimed that those who worked for the Inca, worked happily. They also emphasized their own accomplishments by speaking on their knowledge as professors, leaders in academic spaces, and success as formally educated mestizos. One participant said, “Fui uno de los

primeros en llegar a educación superior...” claiming that he was one of the first to achieve higher education, as a leading Inca descendant.

The concern for exalting their own education and accomplishments signaled to their performance of class, decency, progress, and success as positioned in contrast to their background of poverty and campesino upbringing. Additionally, their comments on their past employment opportunities in Lima tie into the idealization of Lima as an urban space where class and intellect originate and where intellectuals who are successful reside, work, and find success. One participant mentioned, “ahora los hijos de campesinos han estudiado en la U y son abogados...” explaining that now the children of campesinos have studied in at a university and become lawyers to recognize the educational attainment of other cholos or campesinos that have managed to operationalize higher education to provide them with social mobility. The exaltation of the communal attainment of education and intellectual work stresses their perception of Lima not only as a space of intellect and wealth performance but as a space that, given its known exclusivity, was something they, as cholos and Inca descendants could conquer with upward social mobility. The participants responses explain their perceptions of themselves as success stories because of their ability to enter spaces of academia and class that once served white Peruvians only.

While the participants exalted both indigenous and modern knowledge, they didn't mention the value of indigenous or Inca knowledge in the context of modernity. One participant mentioned his mother's indigenous knowledge saying, “Mi mama bien trabajadora, analfabeta, agricultora...” to state that although his mother was an agricultural worker and was illiterate, as he later elaborated, she excelled in math and

business and maintained the trueque, a trade and barter system between herself, her customers, and other vendors to make an income off her crops. Like the narratives exposed in Garcia's case study on bi-cultural education, the participant explained his mother's indigenous roots and knowledge as an important legacy and inheritance that she left behind for her family but that it was not present in his academic and professional career.

Class, education, and mobility are parts of the progress and development of Peru that are integral parts of participation in an urban context. These are tied to rhetoric about improving the country, yet neglect issues affecting the population. They function as ideologies that elite use to perpetuate their wealth, power, and class superiority. The promises of progress give false hope. The Inca descendants represent people, loosely like indigenous peoples, who are historically dispossessed of their history, land, and rights to remember. However, they demonstrate, uniquely, a pride in and an exaltation of their heritage. This pride, though tied to national projects of Incaísmo and a glorification of Inca imperialism, is simultaneously a resistance of memory, in that they choose to remember the greatness of the Inca empire, pre-colonization, and emphatically resist being labeled mestizos, or any mixture involving Spanish coloniality. Indigenous peoples, Inca descendants, campesinos, cholos, and mestizos are strategically and historically excluded and denigrated by modernity, yet in these circumstances they demonstrate various forms of, both, adaptation and resistance.

Indigenismos

To understand how the contemporary discourse on identity, indigeneity, and the Inca in Peru is informed I follow Jorge Coronado's work and his text *The Andes Imagined: Indigenismo, Society, and Modernity*. Coronado's theory of modernity and indigenismo as seen in Latin America and Peru explores the intellectual movements of the late 19th century and the early 20th century to explain how the reproduction of modernity in Peru after independence redefined national identity and the "indio".

Indigenismo is the cultural, social, and political movement that grew to prominence in the early 20th century in Latin America that had an integral role in influencing how Peruvians and elites were thinking about how to adapt the indigenous Inca past, and the poor indigenous peoples of the country, into the projects of development of the economy and identity for the country (Coronado, 2009).

Peru's history is marked by the Spanish colonization of the Inca Empire and other originating groups inhabiting the region, exposing these populations to disease, land dispossession, and labor exploitation. Peru's independence from Spain was officially documented in 1821 but was preceded by substantial, yet failed, indigenous revolts where Tupac Amaru and Tupac Amaru II, as indigenous leaders, heralded the forces of indigenous and creole peoples against the Spanish coloniality. The Argentine war for independence and the liberation movements happening across Latin America at the time also had a role in expanding the space for indigenous rebellion and war for independence in Peru. In the 20th century, after independence in Peru, envisioning a new nation meant incorporating modernization and economic development within the national

consciousness, resulting in the indigenismos of the indigenista movement and the legislation attempting to return human rights and citizenship to the “indio”.

The indigenista movement, beginning in the 19th century through the 20th century, produced theories and reconfigurations on the role of the indio within the social fabric of Latin America. The indigenismos resulting from the movement became formulations of the indio that affected how indigeneity, indigenous peoples, and indigenous struggles were perceived. These indigenismos, in fostering conversations and platforms on the indio, permitted the representation of indigeneity and pondered how the indio, though still perceived as backward and traditional, could exist within a modern Peru. The work of two indigenismo theorists, Jose Carlos Mariátegui and Cesar Vallejo, received recognition for rethinking indigeneity and repositioning the indio as a being belonging to and shaping the makeup of Latin America and Peru.

Mariátegui’s contributions to the indigenista movement proved him to be a crucial influencer in what would be a growing shift in national idealizations of the indigenous. As one of the key actors within the movement, and this shift, Mariátegui offered a reconceptualization of indigeneity during the growing urbanization of the nation, specifically its increased internal migration from the highlands to urban cities and their outskirts. Upon the first sprouts of modernity in Peru, its acceptance and reproduction, the indigenista movement came to adapt narratives from European and foreign thinking and theory. The movement challenged idealizations of the indio as an outsider and attempted to create a dialogue between indigeneity and modernity. This dialogue, however, remained at the hands of middle and upper-class intellectuals and did not include the voices of indios who were at the center of the subjects of such conversations.

Without Coronado's lens on indigenismos and their interaction with modernity, the understanding of contemporary social stratification and mobility, racial and ethnic categories, and narratives on discrimination would be incomplete. Modernity is the local response to foreign ideas, culture, art, technology, and other forms of the non-modern. A symptom of modernization in Peru was, and is, the exponential urbanization of the nation and the growing influx of indigenous peoples and other populations from rural areas to the industrialized cities (Krüggeler, 1999). This migration, marked by the formation of a middle-class mestizo population, signaled the opportunity for intellectuals to expand on indigenismo's inherent critique of the exploitation enacted by dominant society. After Peru's participation, and failure, in the Chilean war and Augusto B. Leguia's presidency, the consequent redistribution of land to indigenous communities, their legalized recognition, and Leguia's appropriation of the liberatory indigenismo, the motif of indigenismo diverged. Although it proclaimed to advocate for the liberation of the indio, it instead further essentialized and universalized aspects of indigeneity to justify a social revolution.

Mariátegui's contribution, in contrast to his intellectual peers at the time, proposed that the indigenous or indio be at the forefront of the revolution and that his oppression be lifted in that way. However, Mariátegui also proposed that the mestizo's emergent status be completely removed from the narrative and promoted the dehistoricized and decontextualized "espíritu indígena" to be the power that would incite social change, not the recognition of the marginal experiences and worldviews of indigenous peoples themselves. Mariátegui had been able to spend time in Europe during the early 1920's and was exposed to foreign notions of revolution, specifically the

Russian revolution and the Italian communist party. These exposures offered Mariátegui a new way to formulate modernity within the context of Peru and new ways of imagining the indio within his liberation.

As a mestizo born in provinces, later migrating to the city, Mariátegui was able to ascend socially through his work with the newspaper and experience with journalism. Other intellectuals that were involved in the indigenismo movement ran in similar circles as Mariátegui and all held respectively unique, and influential, views on indigenismo as it pertained to growing narrative of development and global participation. Mariátegui's indigenismo demonstrated a tendency to essentialize indigeneity as a spirit, nostalgia, or a timeless entity that was fundamentally ahistorical. Though other intellectuals of his time failed to consider the indio, Mariátegui, too, was complicit in presenting aspects of indigeneity that were advantageous towards his idealization of the imagined social revolution and the future of Peru as a changing nation. Mariátegui and his work displayed an "insistence on social change through revolution" that lay in a "profound commitment to indigenous culture not as it existed, but as it had been written up by other intellectuals".

The works of the intellectuals participating in the movement consecutively contrasted and brought to light issues regarding the indio in Peru from the perspective of a near Andean modernity. Mariátegui, an intellectual and scholar, underestimated indigenous peoples in his work and theory by implying that they required a revolution but never considered how they were capable or were already in the process of resistance and revolution. Mariátegui, though heavily influenced by Cesar Vallejo's poetry, produced an indigenismo highly contrasting to Vallejo's by clinging to myth and the idealization of

the indio as a subject necessary to the reimagination of the Andes through the frameworks of western literature and thought. He dissected parts of Vallejo's work that satisfied his own perceptions of that essentialized subject and interpreted his poetry as a work that inherently embodied the spirit of the indio.

César Vallejo centralized the mestizo and mestizaje in his poetry and two of his published bodies of work, *Los heraldos negros* and *Trilce*, spoke to the memories and images of the highlands of Peru that he recalled after expatriation. Unlike Mariátegui, Vallejo interpreted modernity and the new nation period as a defining time for the mestizo and his unique experience of modernization. As a mestizo from the highlands, Vallejo channeled a personal connection to the region and its transformations within his poetry. Although Vallejo's poetry communicates his nostalgia for Peru, and its essence of home through the sentiment of estrangement, it also relates to the mestizo's displacement from the highlands. The exponential urbanization of the nation and the accompanying disconnects from land, family, culture, and identity are symptoms of the mestizo experience with modernity. This experience as illustrated by Vallejo's poetry and its popularity, exemplifies the emergence of mestizaje as a pronunciation of national identity and the transitioning conceptualizations of race.

The foundation of the journal *Amauta*, its naming, its content, and its end mission reflect the undertaking that its three founding intellectuals agreed upon, which was to "overturn their society's traditional hierarchical organization." Ironically, even though Mariátegui envisioned indigenismo as the counter to western ideologies, he continued to entertain western ways of thinking and theorizing within his work. He idealized a classless society through Marxist theory and other western ideologies and used them to

explain the role that the “indio” should play as a revolutionary figure. The founding of the journal marked a period where certain indigeneities gained visibility within the broader Andean culture and the intellectualists’ visions of Peru’s social makeup. The works produced by the indigenista intellectuals demonstrate how the “indio” was conceived and enlightened other thinkers on how the “indio problem” should be addressed. Contemporary sentiments surrounding indigeneity can be understood by deconstructing the impression that intellectuals like Mariátegui had within the indigenismos of the 20th century and their input on the role of the indio and the mestizo as subjects representing relevant facets of identity in a transitioning nation.

Amauta’s publications disseminated indigenismos of the movement alongside the Incaísmo of Jose Sabogal’s cover art which illustrated a romanticized physiognomy of Inca faces. Amauta incorporated the conceptualization of the indio and the idealization of Inca features onto one plane of materiality. It reflected indigenismo’s attraction and manipulation of the aesthetics of indigeneity and incaísmo for a synthetic reinterpretation of the indio and mestizo of the new Peru. Incaísmo is defined as a “tendencia plastica peruana” or a Peruvian manufactured tendency to employ romanticized motifs and ornamental aspects of the Inca through a western lens (Castrillon, 1998, 37). Incaísmo works in communication with indigenismo to narrate the emancipation the indio and integrate him into the new Peru by appropriating and exalting characteristics of the Inca empire and tying them to the collective memory that recognizes both indigeneity and Spanish coloniality as markers of the national identity and history. The *Comentarios reales* are an example of the use of Incaísmo within the trope of patriotic criollo emancipation projects (Diaz-Caballero, 2004, 93). This use of Incaísmo depicts the

plasticity of Inca memory at the hands of criollos during the 20th century and its malleability within contemporary historizations of Peru.

Amauta's role in the erection of a new Peru involved more than including indigenista writers' perspectives on the changing social fabric of the nation and advocating for the emancipation of the indio. The journal, a physical materialization and academic performance of Incaísmo, engaged language that established an admiration for the spirit of indigeneity and the Inca past to energize readers to participate in the social revolution and to advocate for indigenous rights and progress. The circulation of Amauta throughout intellectual spaces in Latin America and Peru ensured the permanence of Incaísmo and indigenismo within the reconfiguration of a post-independence Peru. Contemporary Peruvian celebrations of the Inca, like Inti Raymi, and other cultural performances of the 20th century demonstrate the adaptations of Inca heritage into the formation of Peruvian identity in a modern context. Inti Raymi, a Peruvian national festival with roots in indigenismo, is a model for contemporary renditions of identity-based claims of Inca ancestry and for the cultural performance of such identity negotiations. The creation of cultural performances like Inti Raymi based in adaptations of pre-Hispanic traditions speak to the prevalence of Incaísmo in contemporary navigation of identity across Peru's mestizo and criollo populations.

Where the indigenista movement began at the hands of mestizos and their advocacy of indigenous rights, the indianismo sprouting from cultural resistance was depicted in Mexico as a method of revindicating indigeneity in its many manifestations. Indianista resistance sought to recover indigeneities that had long been suppressed and violently silenced by colonial hegemonies in Latin America. This indianismo was

intended to foster a revival of indigenous languages, cultural practices, cosmovision, and art. The reality of the movement was that it participated in further essentializing indigenous peoples into beings that had to reproduce previously ascribed cultural and traditional practices to be deemed valuable, productive, legitimate, and authentic. All three strategies encouraging socio-political order in Peru facilitated the rebirth of the nation through the integration of aesthetically convenient indigenities into the national identity. However, these strategies did not articulate or encourage the voices of indigenous populations within these nation-building projects nor did they consider already existing indigenous unifications against social inequality and marginalization.

Indigenismo, incaísmo, and indianismo all map onto 19th and 20th century strategies attempting to adapt originary populations into nation state models of citizenship and civic participation within modernization. Indigenismos formulated by mestizo intellectuals inherently exclude narratives and voices of indigenous peoples on their own emancipation and instead idealize the criollo and mestizo as their liberators. Incaísmo represents certain aspects of indigeneity and their performance within modernity as being limited to the aspects that are profitable or worthy of remembering. Indianismo, though in some contexts signaled a resistance at the hands of indigenous peoples themselves, often, instead, perpetuated the essentialization of indigeneity and romanticized its existence within national projects of expansion and development. The interview study with Inca descendants deconstructs how contemporary individuals negotiate allegiances with Inca patrimony, indigeneity, and the indio of the modern context and how these negotiations intersect with perceptions of ancestry, descentance, and lineage.

Narratives of Racial and Social Hierarchies

The in-depth interviews with Inca descendants suggest ways in which race and class categories are negotiated at the local level of society in Cusco and reveal the influence of national hegemonic narratives in creating or perpetuating these categories and the hierarchies stemming from them. The personal stories emerging from the interview process show how the participants navigate their own conceptualizations of race and class within the normalized social structures and interpret how these negotiations of identity to speak to the larger issue of transitioning national sentiments on the indigenous population of Peru. The influence of indigenismo, incaísmo, and indianismo on shifting race and class categories help to explain the contemporary social climate in Peru and its peculiarities within different contexts like Lima and Cusco.

Although Peru's population was once a majority Andean, this changed when the nation transitioned into modernization and marked the adaptation and reproduction of modernity in Peruvian society. The shift towards modernization implicated infrastructural development that was concentrated in urban spaces, thus requiring an urbanization of the country. The resultant urbanization was illustrated by a mass internal migration from the country side to the newly developing cities. This population shift became increasingly significant in the 1940's, and in a matter of a few decades caused the predominantly rural country to become a dominant developing urban context. This dynamic caused both a spatial reconfiguration and influenced the composition of the overall urban population by attracting the indigenous peoples, campesinos, and mestizos inhabiting the rural and highland regions, that accounted for a significant percentage of the national population, to

the growing urban spaces, engaging in the geographical movement that aided urbanization and propelled the modernization of the nation.

Urbanization necessitated metropolitan spaces and those, and modernity in general, were built by the rural migrants. The height of urbanization was characterized by a concentration of Peru's wealthiest population, typically rich white and criollo elites, inhabiting the affluent spaces of newly built metropolitan areas and dictating how they should be designed and for whom (Schaedel, 1979). The reconfiguration of space and habitation throughout the period of urbanization provided a visible reproduction of existing class hierarchies and social inequality. For example, while mestizos participated in making and inhabiting the newly created cities, they did not initially occupy the same wealth or spaces that wealthy non-mestizos did and were only able to gain entry by acquiring a higher education. Many of the migrants that participated in this mass migration did so in the search for better job opportunities and resources, understandably attempting to alleviate conditions of poverty for themselves and their families. These migrants provided the labor force for the modernization of Peru and since they couldn't afford to live in the metropolises they were constructing, they settled on the outskirts of these areas and formed their own communities. The major cities that were built by this urbanization, like Arequipa and Lima, the national capital, continue to be inhabited by white and mestizo economically wealthy residents. As more mestizos gained access to exclusive and elite spaces, being geographical, physical, or academic, so did their resistance against centralism and narratives that overvalued Limeños.

According to recent demographic statistics, Peru is estimated to be 15% white, 45% indigenous, 37% mestizo, and the remaining 3% accounts for the black, Japanese,

and Chinese population (Country Reports, 2018). The mestizos that make up 35% of the national population live within the urban cities in the country and comprise the educated, working and middle-classes. One of the challenges presented by this data is that it does not provide an accurate account of the indigenous and mestizo populations since definitions for these categories vary by individual. Self-identifying persons that approximate indigenous or mestizo to their own identity may be influenced by their various definitions and the stigmas or perceptions attached to them. Beyond the race categories that are employed in statistics and survey data collection to describe Peru's Amerindian and Spanish mixed ancestry, there are other cultural terms that have emerged or changed because of continuous national shifts in demographics and population concentrations. For example, the term "cholo" was used in the Colonial period to refer to mixed ancestry. As new urban spaces emerged in the early twentieth-century, the word added a layer of meaning.

The term refers now not only to mixed ancestry to address a "campesino," that is a "peasant" or "country person". The word "cholo" is also used as a derogatory term to refer to an indigenous origin person that moves to the city and assimilates into that modernized space (de la Cadena, 146). This racial slur is used to minimize, other, and to differentiate based on ethnic and spatial origin (Cusco Pacheco, 2012). Campesinos are understood as people that live, and remain, in the highlands of Peru and live off their agricultural practices and products, otherwise known as farmers. The history of campesinos in Peru is complex and historically intersects with the indigenous people in the country. Legislative policies enacted by political actors like Fujimori, Leguia, and others preceding them aimed to protect the extractive industry, and other exploitative

institutions or individuals, for the sake of driving Peru into the global market and ultimately affected how the land rights of these groups were divided and recognized. The terms cholo and campesino are not used in demographic survey data to identify the Peruvian population but they are terms that indicate how Peruvian peoples identify themselves or others according to perceptions of class, ethnic origin, and spatial origin, and signal historical moments that altered understandings on race and ethnicity, like that of the history of campesinos and indigenas.

As previously mentioned, Peruvian intellectuals in the 20th century participated in movements and ideological shifts that influenced the nation's perception on indigenous realities and the "indio" problem. As the indigenista movement engaged with the thematic of indigenismos and Inca histories, it also fostered space for race and class debates to engage with the evolving narratives on Peruvian identity. Intellectuals like Mariátegui participated in influencing the public through three periods, as described by de la Cadena, concentrated in the 20th century in affecting how race would be defined in Peru. The first period, in conjunct with Leguia's presidency, encapsulated the dynamics of regionalism against centralism, anti-centralist/limeño sentiments, the rise of scientific politics, the grounding of moral superiority within intellect, and the rejection of terminal biological differences as characteristics defining of race. The second period, beginning in the 1930's, saw the increasing representation of serranos in Lima's academic spaces, the trade out of the term and ideology of race for culture, and later for ethnicity, and the prevalence of the narration of human decency and morality as existing within educated, privileged, white Peruvians. By the third period, after his death, Mariátegui's thought remained relevant towards the replacement of "racial labels with class rhetoric" and his

work and that of other thinkers advanced pro-mestizaje narratives towards indigenous peoples and rather than questioning the status quo they further branded the indigenous peasant as inferior to mestizos (de la Cadena, 156).

Within this economic narrative deficits in income, quality of living, and access to resources and education were explained by environmental characteristics which inherently furthered misunderstandings on poverty and resource allocation. Rather than a recognition of structural inequality, the indigenista movement and others involved in the third period continued classist discourses tying the environment to deficits. Moreover, the narration of “gente decente” and the decency ascribed to whites with education or access to elite advantages held superiority over mestizos and indigenous peoples. Those who lacked a formal academic education were thus fixed on the outskirts of society. To enter exclusive and affluent spaces, the acquisition of higher education and social capital were requirements. This ideology disguised a recycled racism that would permeate narratives on poverty and inequality under a different appearance.

In contemporary Peru education is accessible to those that belong to the middle- and upper-classes and others with the means to fund an education and its other non-monetary costs. The acquisition of higher education is a marker, like materiality, of class status, wealth, stability, and social networks with access to private spaces. Obtaining an education, whether it be one that leads to an involvement in academia or not, can facilitate upward social mobility for individuals that are not born into middle-class status. The respondents from the interview study demonstrated an understanding of the importance of obtaining an education, especially higher education, in easing social mobility and emphasized their acquisition of education as a measure allowing them to

prosper and succeed. Their strong self-perception as Inca descendants – though they could be considered middle-class mestizos given their income and education – is intricately interwoven with their denial of indigeneity, an affirmation of modernity, and an acceptance of or congruence with contemporary national discourses.

In one case a participant detailed their strategies and stories of upward social mobility and their perceptions of prejudice in Cusco by narrating their experience with discrimination. The participant experienced discrimination for having a quechua, non-Spanish, last name throughout his life and perceived his ability to prove his oppressors wrong by pursuing higher education, becoming a professor, and receiving recognition within his field. The participant's story exemplifies the underlying narrative that upholds education and academia and perceives it as allowing farmers, peasants, and indigenous people to overcome lives of poverty and scarcity. The participant stated having perceived a decline in discrimination in Cusco and tied the decline to the increase of indigenous people moving to the city, acquiring job opportunities, and becoming educated. The participant exhibited a narrative present in indigenismo that explains bias and prejudice as issues that can be resolved through indigenous peoples' adaptation to modernity.

A second participant expressed similar sentiments about modernizing the traditional and indigenous to alleviate social hierarchies and oppression. Furthermore, this participant demonstrated a strong self-assurance in their Inca ancestry, an even stronger desire to engage in the conversation of identity by demonstrating material relevant towards confirming their descentance. The participant referred to himself as a cholo and defined the term as someone who is mixed with Spanish blood and originating Inca ancestry. The participant explained himself as having an anti-discriminatory view

and emphasized how the prevalence of “cholos” in influential jobs and in academia and economic wealth is encouraging social change. In narrating his ability to counter prejudice and discrimination by excelling in school and becoming a professor, he too was affirmed how education is used as a vehicle of upward social and economic mobility.

The agency portrayed by the participants and their individual choices reflect the convoluted and conflicting interests of modernity within a space like Cusco that is proliferated with the memory of Inca tradition and the past. Indigenous peoples in Peru experience poverty at a greater rate than their mestizo and white peers. Cusco is a space where the convergence of racial and other social hierarchies exists not only as a reflection of modern hegemony but as a product of continually fueled structures that lead to inequality and inequity. The reproduction of class and its accompanying false ideologies of decency, morality, and development permeate the individual lives visible at the local level of Cusco’s population. Although indigenous peoples continue to account for a significant portion of the national population of Peru, their indices of poverty, exposure to exploitation, and their dispossession of property and land rights is proof of the implicit prioritization of development in the country. Existing social hierarchies are a direct result of centuries of discrimination but have intensified due to an increasing national desire to recreate modernity for its profits.

The Uses of Lineage

Interviews with contemporary citizens of Peru reveal the Inca empire did not disappear after the Spanish invasion and how indigenismo, incaísmo, and indianismo have had an impact in the way individuals perceive and negotiate identity and indigeneity. Cusqueñismo, known as a feeling and performance of Inca pride localized in Cusco, exemplifies how Incaísmo has formed part of local negotiations of indigeneity and identity for Cusqueños and the commodification of that pride to challenge the centralization of power in Lima during the growth of modernization and urbanization in the country (de la Cadena, 2000). Moreover, in recent years surveys have reported an increase in Peruvian residents who self-identify as direct descendants of the Incas, Quechua, or Quechua-speakers. However, to legitimize authentic lineage and ancestry Inca descendants preserve material evidence like inherited legal documents and journals that log family trees. The materialization of ancestral lineages presents a physical link that connects Inca populations of the past with those of the present. The materials also allow for descendants to create a connection between themselves and the assets of the Inca empire, which were historically stripped from them during and after colonization. The presentation and control of tangible sources that legitimize ancestry surpass the quotidian performances of Cusqueñismo seen today. Discriminatory and essentializing discourses on indigeneity and the "indio" continue to be propagated side by side with Cusqueñismo and it is most evident within the growing tourism industry in Peru (Méndez, 1996).

The expansion of tourism within Peru has influenced contemporary memory on Inca heritage and patrimony. The visibility of vestiges of Inca and indigenous material

culture is pervasive and manifested by the mercados and street vendors dedicated to selling merchandise that is ripe with indigenous designs and indigenous textiles. The opportunity to see and experience an exotic place, where pre-Hispanic cultures and traditions still exist, is highly marketed to the outsider and is evidenced by the commercialization of souvenirs, typically indigenous (made) material culture across the country, typically concentrated in archeological sites of Inca patrimony. The indigeneity that is represented and promoted inside and outside the country, supposedly a representation of Peruvian reality, reduces indigeneity to the aspects that can be commodified for industrial and capitalist interests. With the expansion of modernity and its accompanying symptoms, the ideological separation between what is considered indigenous and what is considered Inca has grown. Inca descendants' articulation of identity and lineage underline the conceptual differences between Inca and indigenous and highlight the division and tension in identifying with the indigenous.

The interviews suggest that Inca descendants do not consider their Inca ancestry to be indigenous but consider it an independent category, one that is not ethnically mixed. This separation is partially explained by the way in which Incaísmo has become pervasive in discussions and performances of identity in Peru and how it functions to separate redeemable aspects of the Inca from other dimensions of indigeneity. Indigeneity is categorized, by some, as a separate entity that cannot be correlated with Inca ancestry, forming its own identity next to others like campesino, cholo, mestizo, blanco, or afro-peruano. Within these categories lie many conceptual differences, qualifications, and historical contexts that complicate their definitions and perceptions. The complexity of racial and ethnic identity in Peru requires an understanding of the historical context of the

country and the social changes, waves, and movements that have taken place over centuries.

Conversations with residents of Cusco quickly reveal how some locals engage in discussions of their last name and lineage as the primary performance of self-identification and the simultaneous performance of Cusqueñismo. These are examples of Cusqueñismo functioning at the local level of Cusco through means of social interaction and conversation. By means of a surname these individuals explain their ties with ancestral Inca lineages and demonstrate the intention of authenticating their connection with historical Inca families. These authentications exist on a different plane than do those of self-identifying Inca descendants that harbor the material evidence of such claims. Additionally, the recognition of an Inca origin does not equate with a recognition of, or self-identification with, indigeneity. Much less does it connote an understanding, or sympathy, with indigenous realities and experiences. Apart from the Inca self-identification that is a popular performance among Cusqueños, the exaltation of the Inca past bridges facets of indigeneity, or contortions of it, into a modern performance of identity for Peruvians (de la Cadena, 1998).

The conceptual divergence between Inca and indigenous has run parallel to socio-economic and political movements and moments in Peru's history (Coronado, 2009). The indigenista movement in the 20th century serves as an example of this shift in the articulation of identity in the region. A new body of literature served as a cannon where to discuss new meanings of the notion of "indio" and it opened the discussion on what it means to be "indio" in Peruvian society. However, this movement, and its failures, caused an ontological disruption between the reality of the indigenous populations and

the image that the intellectuals in the indigenista movement painted in their literary works (Coronado, 2009). The phenomenon of change of name, more typically the surname, happening in Peru and perhaps in other countries as well, is related to the prejudice and discrimination that is imposed on indigeneity. For example, changing a Quechua name to a more Hispanic or Spanish sounding name happens frequently and signals an active strategy used by Cusqueños and others to avoid the discrimination that is associated with the "indio" and its perceived characteristics. Such strategies falsify Spanish heritages and erase indigenous influences for those who wish to assimilate into aspects of modern Peruvian society.

The rhetoric of selective memory that has been presented within various political platforms in Peru regarding Inca history calls into question who owns the right to remember the past, how it should be remembered, and points to the way in which history is currently being retold by those appropriating its memory (Silverman, 2002). Quickly the various ways in which Peru's past has been remembered, whether for nationalist purposes of unification or for selective glorification are demonstrated by the tourism industry and the essentialized image of indigeneity and Inca ancestry that they choose to propagate. Previous political figures have, through various means, used Peru's pre-colonial past to approach indigenous populations for strategic and commercial reasons like obtaining their vote or with the intention of exploiting their lands. Using Incaísmo within their platforms, these figures manage, both, the indigeneity and the Inca past, to encourage the false ideologies of multiculturalism and to foster a synthetic connection with the Inca heritage that aligns with the voting masses.

A study of the enduring “panakas” in Cusco shed light on factors involved in the survival of Inca royal ancestry and the systematic disinheritance of Inca royal descendants. A panaka is the group of people who form the nucleus of an Inca royal family. This excludes the heir who was responsible for forming his own panaka. The royal panakas of Cusco were moved to marginal regions of the city that are now known as San Jerónimo, San Sebastián, and a portion of the Av. De la Cultura (Elward, 2018). To this day there are Inca panakas who still live in San Jerónimo and San Sebastián and the participants of the interview study belong to different panakas from the mentioned regions. The varying backgrounds of the Inca descendants provide different perspectives on their self-perception, identity as Inca descendants, and their feelings toward indigeneity.

The gap between indigenous and Inca as conceptualized in the Peruvian perspective points out the benefits perceived by the Inca descendants in negotiating and proving their Inca identity while rejecting the "indio". Within the interviews an active rejection of the "indio", defined as a representation of primitivism, the uneducated, and those who oppose the improvement of the country, was expressed. Although the participants recognized the existing prejudices expressed towards them, their surnames, and their lineage, as they are typically associated with being "indio", they exhibited pride in the Inca heritage and opposed any negative discourse about their lineage. Upon perceiving a direct connection with the Incas, idols of ancient times, the descendants were proud to call themselves legitimate Incas and not simply the "cholos" that others perceived them to be. The strategic manipulation of an Inca identity allows the descendants to navigate oppressive narratives with confidence and certainty, while

reifying the discourse that others the contemporary indigenous. The daily performance and perpetuation of Cusqueñismo among the local population and the rhetoric of some Inca descendants on ancestry and Inca heritage depict frequent instances of identity navigation working in tandem with the narrative of incaísmo and the conceptualization of the “indio” in a modern context.

The Materiality of Lineage

The disposition, maintenance, and demonstration of legal documents on Inca ancestry, as provided by the interview study participants, are more than performative aspects of lineage. Jo Labanyi argues that the act of doing things indicates an entangled relationship between thought, emotion, affect, and judgment where the subjective and objective are not upheld (Labanyi, 2010) This entanglement suggests that what materiality does and how it is engaged with and practiced reflects agency and strategy. Labanyi's argument is used here to correlate Inca ancestry and its materiality with the practices and performances of Inca descendant identity. Using this framework to explore the practices of legitimization and the materials present in the performances of Inca descentance supports the discernment of these actions as strategic identities.

The popularization of Cusqueñismo encourages the legitimization of descentance and while that is achieved by Cusqueños speaking about their Quechua or Inca last name, Inca descendants use materiality to further authenticate lineage. The materiality at the hands of the Inca descendants participating in the study was that of ancient legal documents generationally inherited and journals documenting annual panaka meetings and updated descendant family trees. The participants emphasized having experience doing interviews about their lineage and they presented the appropriate documentation of their Inca descent as evidence of that claim. Their documents symbolize more than the material proof of their lineage and claims to direct Inca descentance as their ties to those documents are also entangled with emotions, conscious feelings, and judgments on how they should be used and maintained. Moreover, the participants' (unprompted) preparation and presentation of documentation of their Inca descentance serves as an

example of how the performance of authenticating lineage is a form of conscious relationality and affect towards materiality.

The participants verbally established a divide between Inca and “indio” and emphasized their identification with being Inca and not being “indio”. The implicit argument within the participants’ claims to Inca descentance established a distancing from the “indio” which also suggests a separation from having Spanish ancestry, as mestizos are typically suggested to inherit. The materiality of lineage has consequences, as proposed by Daniel Miller, in that the documents on lineage have agency in providing the evidentiary connection and authentication for their claims. The documents also are doing things when they provide the historizations to backup participants’ claims to pure, non- “indio” and non-Spanish, heritage. The affect imparted on the documents by the participants and the things the documents do (legitimization) for the participants support Miller’s proposal on the entanglement of these (Miller, 2005). It also emphasizes how participants are engaged in selective and strategic techniques of navigating identity through the negotiation of these documents.

The participants communicated an understanding that their direct lineage allows them to distance themselves from Spanish coloniality, Mestizaje, and the “indio”. However, participants formulated their own definitions of pure lineage where one relied on matrilineal descentance and the other depended on patrilineal descentance. The respondents’ statements about lineage relegated competing and conflicting notions of heterogeneity and authenticity in heritage. The first respondent emphasized having descentance from direct lineage through a comparison between himself and the second respondent, as they personally knew each other’s lineages, by proposing that

patrilineality is the definitive measure by which direct descentance can be acknowledged. The second respondent claimed, also in comparison to the first respondent, to have a purer descentance as his lineage could be traced back through matrilineal heritage. The participants also used their documentation to support these claims through the information on descendant family trees that can trace back their ancestors.

Just as the participants' conceived definitions of pure lineage differed, so did their presentations of material evidence, and their performance of panaka preservation. The first participant presented materials which consisted of newspaper clippings (Appendix A & B) of past interviews and aged legal documents (Appendix C) he claimed were transferred generationally and which were written when his respective Inca royal ancestors were alive. The newspaper clippings served to demonstrate that he had evidenced and performed his identity and lineage through a public medium and had received recognition for it, communicating an individualized manner of performing descentance. The second participant displayed documents with an up-to-date family tree (Appendix D) and a journal/magazine (Appendix E & F) made by the family's organization which is disseminated at annual meetings. The journal, designated to one family within the panaka each year, highlights new born descendants of the panaka, Inca traditional knowledge, and identity affirmation. The participants each strategize identity around and with the material evidence they have in their power and accordingly select how to define authentic lineage.

The participants revealed different styles of panaka preservation and engagement with the materiality of their lineage. One participant engaged the documentation to

broadcast his lineage and descendance through communication media demonstrating an individualized way of informatively communicating Inca legacy and its survival. The other participant demonstrated that his documents belonged to an organization that his panaka created with the purpose of educating themselves on their lineage and to maintain familial ties with each other. The first participant's documentation and authentication were used to educate non-Inca Cusqueños and the second enabled the evidence to educate his own family and panaka members, peoples who actively identify as Inca descendants. The participants exhibited outward and inward informative strategies as well as individual and communal panaka engagement.

Although the descendants demonstrated divergent definitions of authentic lineage, performances of lineage, and engagement with the documentation they shared commonalities in their self-perceptions as true inheritors of Inca royalty, and as non-Spanish, non-indio, and non-mestizo peoples existing in a modern society. The prominence of Cusco as a tourist capital relies on the constant commercialization and commodification of the Inca past, its patrimony, and the false image of indigeneity. Amidst the current social climate, in which many Cusqueños call themselves Inca descendants, the participants' identities reveal varying relationships to the materiality of their claimed lineage and the performance of such lineage. Whether the performance of lineage is archival or communal, the respondents' preservation of evidence reveals the significance that materiality provides in authenticating and affirming lineage within the panakas. Massumi's explanation on the effects of affect – which detail that affect can impact sensation, emotion, and reasoned argument – explains the diverging passions and

engagements the participants' demonstrated with their materiality and how they relay varying panaka preservation techniques (Massumi, 2002).

The participants', in their operation of Inca materiality, are innovating ways of re-inserting a version of indigeneity into the neoliberal modernity that Cusco and Peru exist in. Moreover, their materiality, which can be considered cultural texts, should be considered cultural practices that disrupt the conventional Peruvian claim on Inca heritage (Labanyi, 2010). In the above-mentioned interview study with self-identified Inca descendants, the cultural practices that they exhibit, and the cultural texts enabled in those practices reiterate the impact of affect on materiality, its use and performance, and the entanglement of these. The performance of Inca lineage through the preservation of material evidence is an example of how Inca descendants are strategizing the representation of Inca lineage, descendance, and heritage in a neoliberal modern Cusco.

Conclusion: Resistance, Mobilization, & Strategizing Agency

Peruvians and indigenous peoples residing within Peruvian territorial boundaries are not depicted by complacency, adaptation, or aloofness. Although neoliberal politics, multicultural discourses, and corporate agendas at work affect the realities of Peru's inhabitants, the constraints of these systems and institutions do not dictate how Peruvian and indigenous peoples live and exist (Gorman, 1980). Social movements throughout the region, from the past to the present, are examples of societal opposition to social hierarchies, oppressive politics, and serve as demonstrations of agency within supposed rigid structures. Particularly, agency as enacted within these constraints is evidence of individuals and communities working towards a common goal, one of protecting basic human rights and maintaining access to shelter, income, and physical nourishment. The iterations of such agency and activism can be seen across indigenous and social movements in Latin America at large and in their own microcosmic renditions in Peru.

Activism and demonstrations enacted by Peruvian peoples play an important role in the disruption of hegemonic narratives and powers in the country. Social movements throughout the region vary by cause, geographic location, and by the actors and peoples mobilizing such efforts. McDonnell (2014) challenges the literature that minimizes the existence of indigenous movements in Peru by highlighting how indigenous groups in Puno and the Amazon mobilize, organize, and resist with strategy and context against the daily threat of the extractive industry and government military presence. Additionally, Buffardi, Cabello, et al (2012) find that LGBT movements in Peru exist in large sizes and encourage civil involvement and structural change within policies, leadership, and representation. Similarly, educators and teachers throughout Peru have been involved in active strikes addressing the failures of the education system in the country (Cruz, 2017).

The motivation and execution of social activism considers time and space, environment and social climate, as factors linking the application, impression, and resolve of organized resistance. Many social movements and instances of communal mobilization as seen in Peru have gauged the reactions of local, regional, national, and political sentiment. The persistence of social engagement is evidenced in Peru by the perpetuity of internal protest to political marginality and the denunciation of abusive regimes.

Contemporarily speaking, a significant portion of protests that linger in the conscious of the Peruvian like Baguazo are ones characterized by indigenous opposition towards modernity (McDonnell, 2014). Events like Baguazo are examples of indigenous mobilization against the threat of physical displacement and land pollution that come with the presence of mining companies and other developing extractive projects in the amazon. The conflict of Baguazo is not a singular occurrence of indigenous backlash to politically sanctioned foreign investment and disruption of Amazonian lands (Rénique, 2009). Indigenous Amazonian communities arm themselves with knowledge on what is happening in Peruvian government as far as legislature that affects them and the ancestral indigenous land in which they reside and subsist in. Becoming informed on laws, politician stances, and national projects allows communities to organize and strategize ways to counter foreign economic investments that threaten the safety and well-being of their peoples and lands. Indigenous resistance varies throughout the country and the events seen in Bagua do not determine how indigenous mobilization develops in the highlands or in the coast.

Voiced dissent stemming from civilian inhabitants towards political and economic representatives in the country is produced and perceived differently than indigenous

demonstrations of opposition. In 2002 the privatization of electricity in Arequipa conceded under Alejandro Toledo's presidency received momentous antagonism the city's population and its political leaders (Arce, 2008). Arequipa, Peru's second largest city following Lima, an urban space where white, mestizo, campesino, and indigenous peoples reside held a memorable occasion of objection imparted by its residents in contradiction of the president's decision to privatize the city's public services. This instance of protest and unrest displayed through the unity and organization of Arequipeños questioned the credibility of Toledo's presidency and communicated a dissent towards privatization of any kind, as well as distrust in political leaders who supported such economic strategies. The political reaction to Arequipa's objections was the militarization of the city through the increased presence of police

Most recently, my own research made me a witness of multiple paros in 2017 in which citywide engagements of boycotts and protests put a literal stop to transportation services and vendor services. Multiple paros converged coincidentally when the teacher and educator's strike aligned with the Chinchero airport strike. The paros' ensuing protests occupied the main streets in the city like Avenida de la Cultura and lead up to the Plaza de Armas. The demonstrations caused school closures, major market closures, and bus route cancellations or detours. These closures and "stops" to daily life activities and places in Cusco invited Cusqueños to take a leave from routine and participate in the communal resistance happening in the city. However, since Cusco is a city with a high traffic of tourism, the paros had an adverse effect on tourists and that increased the impact of their strikes and resulted in an increased interest from political agents. The

paros are an example of how people in urban spaces challenge imposing political interests and, in the process, disrupt the urban consumer routine.

Teacher strikes have grown over the past year and their demonstrations throughout Peru reflect the recent, but historicized, reaction to the failures of the current government to maintain promises on better wages and conditions for educators. Specifically, the Kuczynski government joins past governing bodies by continuing the neglect and minimization of labor rights. The government attempted to appease the teachers and end strikes with a minimal raise in wages and threatened the jobs of teachers that continued the strikes. Upon demonstrating continuous efforts for better wages and rights, the government began slandering those who remained involved in the strikes by calling them supporters of Sendero Luminoso, tying them to the guerrilla movement that terrorized the country decades earlier (Cruz, 2017). Education in Peru has facilitated the homogenization of the country, the assimilation of indigenous peoples, and the reproduction of class hierarchies is yet another institution that does not function without the labor of middle-class and working-class individuals. The strikes pose a threat for the government as it questions their ability to control and maintain the marginalization over peoples and institutions in Peru.

When, in the case of Baguazo, indigenous replies to the extraction and invasion of Amazonian lands were of objection rather than submission, an instinctive response from political authorities was to militarize, control, and subdue the situation with as much physical and rhetorical force as needed. The physical force, in the shape of military squads, was used to subdue the situation and the rhetorical force, manifested by hegemonic political narratives, was used to accuse, criminalize, and penalize indigenous

peoples for their involvement in what began as protests and were ultimately labeled riots by savages. The political authorities' response to indigenous rallies was not to address the issue at hand or to understand the motivations behind the protests. Instead, the denunciation of indigenous activism and the militarization used to control those efforts clearly indicated the interests, both economic and material, that were of any relevance to government and political agents. The actions and reactions leading to the events in Bagua, Arequipa, and Cusco illustrate a pattern of oppression, resistance, and government-sanctioned violence that is meant to temporarily silence the masses.

Cases like Baguazo, privatization in Arequipa, and paros in Cusco don't cease to occur even when answered with state militarization, decreased media coverage, and criminalizing narratives. Despite the contrasts within indigenous movements and between those and non-indigenous movements, at the heart of each of these demonstrations lay grievances and voices that are making themselves heard. Like many Latin American countries, Peru has seen its share of social turmoil, exploitative governments, and national protest so much so that contemporary representations of activism are threads of continuous struggle and redefinition. Nationalized identity, neo-liberal politics, and centuries of exploitation are not things that Peruvians simply accept or adapt to, nor are they expected to. The failures and abuses of modernity are a focal point of numerous contemporary protests in urban and rural environments, whether it be a push for decent salaries for teachers, disagreement with rising transportation costs, advocacy for lgbtq rights, or a defense of ancestral indigenous lands against contamination.

Movements as mentioned above are only representations of agency and autonomy that are publicly recognized and remembered due to their collective nature. Agency as

enacted at the individual level, especially under stifling repression, is just as revolutionary as agency employed in group settings. More so, the daily struggle for agency is what can influence powerful movements of resistance and protest. The present is a time marked by endless discord and contrasts between idealizations of the contemporary and its realities. A unique product of modernity is its manifestations of resistance and activism. Indigenous movements and its organizers can use technology to disseminate knowledge about issues affecting their communities and are using education to acquire knowledge on law to defend their lands and rights. Similarly, protests in urban spaces are capable of halting and disturbing access to transportation, trade, and labor – the essential features of a modern society. Peruvians involve autonomy and agency in their daily decisions to adapt, conform, resist, question, or transform the realities in which they exist and participate in.

Appendix A



Appendix B



NCIA. La memoria que guarda está vinculada a las historias que le contaron y a este paisaje, el mismo que ha mantenido a sus ancestros



...nchi Roca Inga año del 16...

...ontró este es-
na casona del
eblo de Maras.

...Toledo reor-
a tributario.
enía que ser
generalmente,
testimonios de
idos de la no-

...ene la suer-
sus libros
obrevivido
icio del si-
rdados en
de Cusco
o que po-
nealogía

...Ellos
apelli-
Roca.

Genealogía identificada y recuperada



Cómo se realizó la investigación



Estos artículos son resultado de un trabajo que empezó hace tres años el genealogista holandés Ronald Elward, con los auspicios de El Comercio. Durante este tiempo él revisó todos los archivos parroquiales de la antigua capital imperial, así como gran cantidad de documentos de los últimos 300 años que todavía se conservan en notaría cusqueñas.

En total, Elward ha examinado unas 60.000 páginas, las que incluyen partidas de bautizo, de defunción, de matrimonios, así como testamentos de familia de la antigua nobleza inca. Este trabajo permitió establecer los vínculos entre los descendientes vivos y sus ilustres antepasados. Nunca antes en el país se había realizado un trabajo de esta dimensión, que empieza a reconectar los eslabones de la historia que se creía perdidos.

Nota: Este modelo es una síntesis de cada generación.
Fuente: R. Elward, Archivo Arzobispal Cusco, Archivo Regional Cusco, Iglesia San Jerónimo

...noblés incas durante el virreinato), y como Alferez Real tenía el... rientes”, dice sonriendo don Octavio. Pero esta es una cos-... los Sinchi Roca en San J... fue demolida hace años

Appendix D

**FUNDACION CIVIL
PANAKA ATAYUPANQUI PACHAKUTEQ**

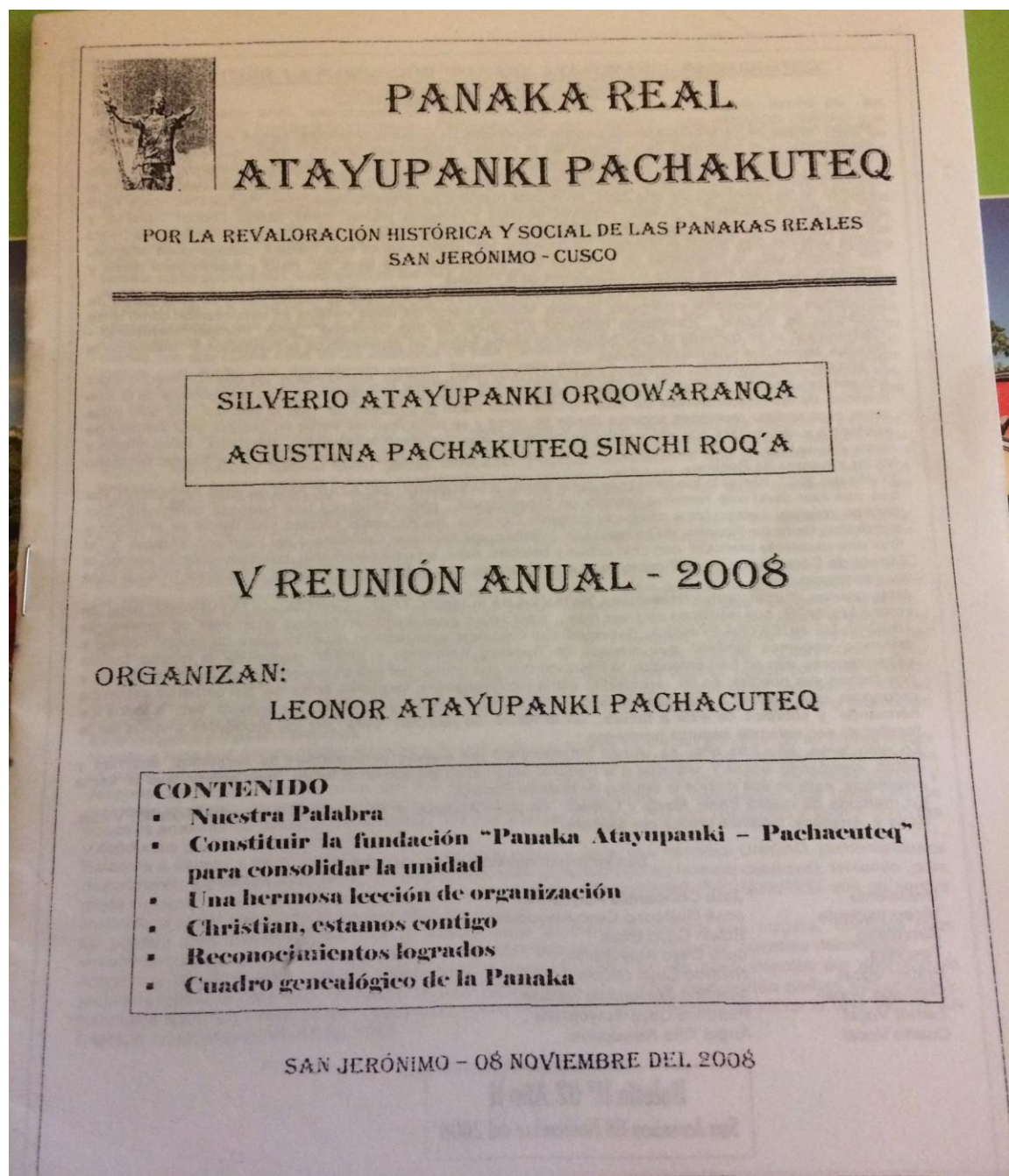
				
Irene Atayupanqui Pachakuteq (+)	María Atayupanqui Pachakuteq (+)	Leonor Atayupanqui Pachakuteq (+)	Apolinar Atayupanqui Pachakuteq(+)	Isabel Atayupanqui Pachakuteq

Los hijos de Apolinar Atayupanqui Pachakuteq: Josefina, Alejandrina, Mariano y Julia en coordinación con la Junta Directiva, hacen extensiva la invitación a Ud. y familia a la reunión anual, cultural de la PANAKA ATAYUPANQUI PACHAKUTEQ, que se realizará en la casa del Tío Rodolfo cito en la Plaza de Armas de San Jerónimo N° 11 el día 03 de Noviembre del 2007.

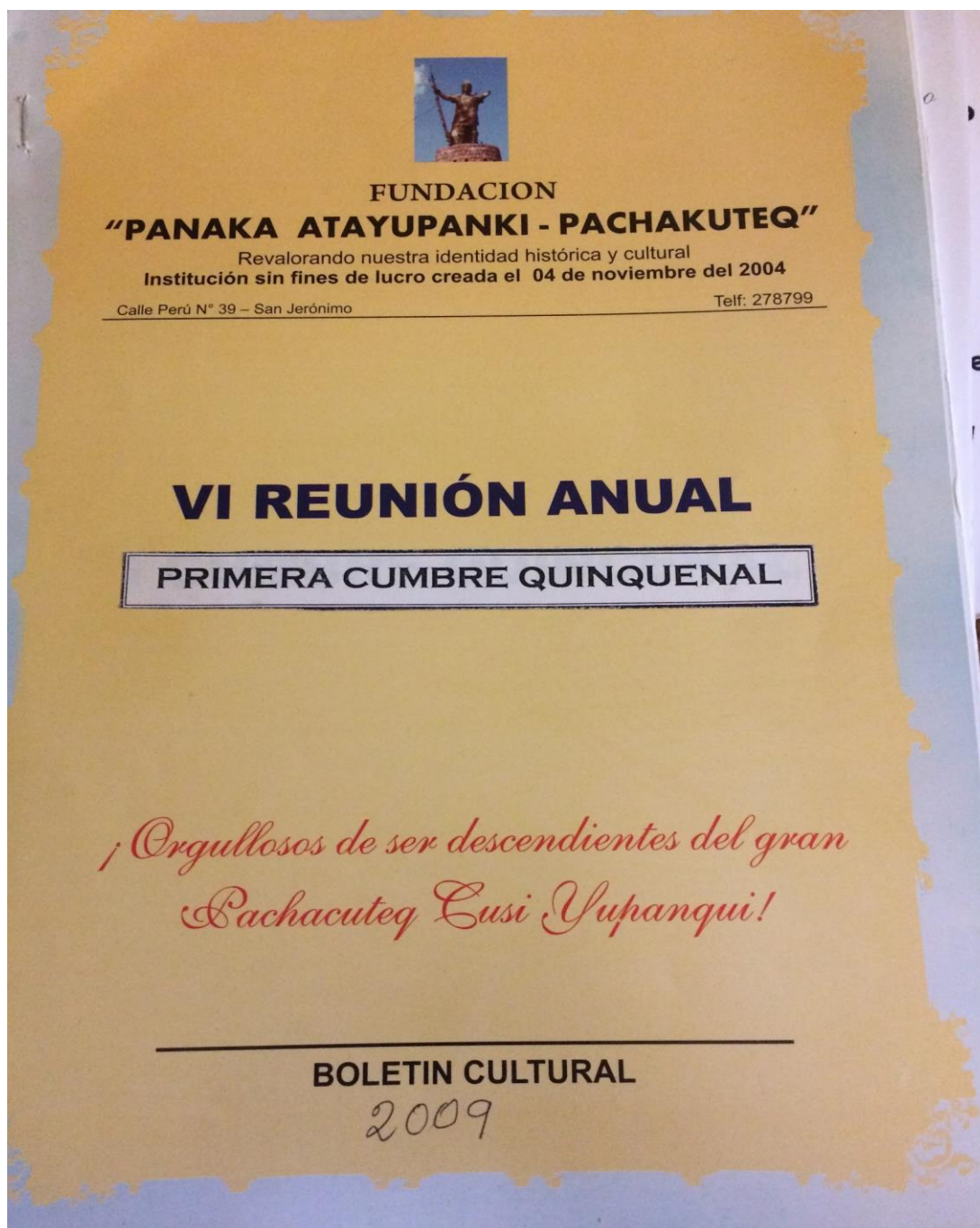
Agradecemos cordialmente su asistencia

La Comisión

Appendix E



Appendix F



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