

**Shifting Imaginaries of ‘Good Citizens’:
Governing Citizens in 20th Century Peru**

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Affairs in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Political Science

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario

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ISBN: 978-0-494-94550-6

Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-94550-6

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Abstract

The central argument of the dissertation is that citizenship, and conceptions of the ‘good citizen,’ are reconfigured in different ways through varied programs of reform, on the basis of changing ‘truths’ about progress and development. Drawing upon the analytical tools offered by governmentality studies, it starts from the view that ‘the citizen’ is not a fixed subject, making it possible to inquire into *how* it is imagined and reformed as part of shifting strategies of government. It juxtaposes different narratives of ‘good citizenship’ at distinct moments in the history of Peru during the 20th and 21st centuries, focusing on how these are operationalized through specific programs, and the underlying bodies of knowledge. It first contrasts moral-racial narratives of citizenship in the first part of the 20th century, at a time when national integration and the problem of ‘the Indian’ were central concerns, with the ways in which Peruvian citizens were re-imagined in the early second part of the 20th century, as questions of progress and integration were reformulated as technical problems of economic development and ‘national security.’ It then shows how new narratives of responsible citizenship came to prevail in the late 20th and early 21st century, redefining the ‘good citizen’ in terms of the capacity to manage various ‘risks.’ It explores two dimensions of this—the re-orientation of social development programs towards individual ‘asset accumulation’ and new citizen responsibilities for direct oversight of budgets and services as a form of social accountability. In showing the contingency of ‘the good Peruvian citizen’ vis-à-vis shifting problems of government and development, the dissertation seeks to de-stabilize contemporary practices of citizen oversight, which have become a widespread solution to problems of accountability and social development but have received little critical attention to date. This in turn makes it possible to ask questions about the assumptions that underpin different programs, what types of actions and behaviours are legitimated or fostered and conversely what is precluded. In using the tools offered by governmentality to raise questions about citizenship in new sites, the dissertation also contributes to an emerging body of governmentality-inspired research on the region.

Acknowledgements

I am deeply grateful to the countless people who made this project possible. First, I would like to thank my wonderful supervisor Cristina Rojas, for her intellectual inspiration, guidance, and unwavering support through the course of the project. Thanks also to William Walters, not only for introducing me to this conceptual approach, and his inspiring work in this area, but also for organizing the ‘governmentality’ reading group, which has provided stimulating discussion over the years. I am also grateful for the patient support and sharp insights offered by Laura Macdonald, whose own work in this field was an important influence. Thanks to Bill Biebuyck, not only for his friendship but also his intellectual acumen which set such a high bar. Thanks also to fellow students Michael McCrossan, Thomas Collombat, and Nabarun Roy, for their friendship, own inspiring research and sense of humour which have made this experience so much richer. I would not have been able to navigate my way through the program without the steady guidance provided by Anna Kim, whose friendship is so appreciated, and Brookes Fee for her timely help and always pointing me in the right direction. I received generous financial support for this project from a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Doctoral Fellowship, multiple Ontario Graduate Scholarships, a fellowship from the Organization of American States (OAS), and from Carleton University. I am incredibly grateful to the many people in Lima who so generously gave their time and invaluable insights, which gave shape to this project.

This project took longer than I had ever expected, and the fact that I was able to persevere was undoubtedly due to the unfaltering support and patience of numerous friends and family. Thanks to my patient friends and colleagues at Environment Canada—Jeanne-Marie, Jenn, Diane and Matt who gave me the space and time needed to complete this project. I am so grateful to have lifelong friends who have given me so much encouragement and patiently put up with my extended periods of ‘hibernation’: To Nikki and Heather for their ‘coaching’ and constant cheering, as well as Karen, Colleen, Nicole, Tara, Andrew, Jenn and Keith—I consider myself very lucky to have such friends. A huge thanks to my extended family for their steadfast support—Wendy, Ross, Peter, Emma, Christina, Char, as well as Miriam, Debbie, Susie, Josh and the whole ‘Adler clan,’ and Annie and Maureen. To my wonderful brother and sister-in-law, Simon and Cathy and my extraordinary nephew Tristan for their love, patience and phenomenal humour – while I may not have seen you as often as I would have liked, it was always such a treat to do so. Finally, a heartfelt thank you to my mum, Anne Meltzer, for her unconditional support and the countless ways in which she made it possible for me to complete this project, to my father, Alan Meltzer, whose own intellectual curiosity and encouragement inspired me to pursue doctoral research, but who sadly passed away before its completion, and to my amazing partner in life Ken Richardson for his extraordinary patience, wisdom, and the thousands of small things that he and I know.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ABCD	Asset-Based Community Development
APRA	Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana/American Popular Revolutionary Alliance
CAD	Ciudadanos al Día
CAEM	Center for Higher Military Studies
CAJ	Comisión Andina de Juristas/Andean Commission of Jurists
CAPS	Agrarian Production Cooperatives
CCL	Consejos de Coordinación Local/Local Coordination Councils
CCR	Consejos de Coordinación Regional/Regional Coordination Councils
CCT	Conditional Cash Transfers
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CND	National Council for Decentralization
COFOPRI	Commission for the Formalization of Informal Property
COPSA	Community of Practice on Social Accountability
CSD	Center for Social Development
CUAVES	Self-Managed Urban Community of Villa El Salvador
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFID	Department for International Development (U.K.)
ECLA	United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America
ECLAC	United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the
Caribbean	
EED	German Evangelical Church Service for Development
FAO	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization
FONCODES	National Fund for Social Compensation and Development/Fondo Nacional de Compensación y Desarrollo Social
FSP	Forum Solidaridad Perú
GAP	Global Assets Project
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GPC	Grupo Propuesta Ciudadana
GIZ	German Agency for International Cooperation
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
IDA	Individual Development Accounts
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IFI	International Financial Institution
ILO	International Labour Organization
ILTP	Latin American Index of Budget Transparency
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INEI	National Institute of Statistics and Information
IPPR	U.K. Institute for Public Policy Research
ISI	Import Substitution Industrialization
ISSI	International Social Security Association
Juntos	Programa Nacional de Apoyo Directo a los Mas Pobres/National Program for Direct Support for the Poorest Populations
MAP	Military Assistance Program

MCLCP	Mesa de Concertación para la Lucha contra la Pobreza/Roundtable for the fight against poverty
MEF	Ministry of Economy and Finance
Mesa	Mesa de Concertación para la Lucha contra la Pobreza/Roundtable for the fight against poverty
MIMDES	Ministry for Women and Social Development
NAF	New America Foundation
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NPM	New Performance Management
OAP	Open Aid Partnership
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OGP	Open Government Partnership
OISS	Iber-American Social Security Organization
OSI	Open Society Institute
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PRONAA Program	Programa Nacional de Asistencia Alimentaria/National Food Assistance Program
PRSL	World Bank Programmatic Social Reform Loan
RECURSO	Rendición de Cuentas para la Reforma Social
RF	Rockefeller Foundation
RWI	Revenue Watch Institute
SAIS	Agrarian Social Interest Societies
SINAMOS	National System for the Support of Social Mobilization/Sistema Nacional de Movilización Social
TAI	Transparency and Accountability Initiative
TI	Transparency International
Transparencia	Asociación Civil Transparencia
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WDR	World Development Report

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

...Unfortunately, there is not much capacity in the large majority of citizens...at the present time, more than ever, all the responsibility falls to the heads of state...
(Dora Mayer de Zulen, *Estudios Sociológicos de Actualidad*, Lima, 1950, p. 12)



(*Transparencia, Manual 3: La Vigilancia Como Mecanismo de Participación* Lima, 2004b, p. 1)

The new breed of citizen is about using information in a way that can lead to results.

(*From Shouting to Counting*, World Bank, 2004a, p. 3)

Citizens are not born, they are made...

(Cruikshank, 1999, p. 3)

In a small room in the district of Chorillos just outside of Lima, in November 2008, Mariano facilitates a capacity-building workshop on “*la vigilancia ciudadana*” (citizen vigilance or oversight)¹ for ten men and women. The workshop was organized by Metropolitan Lima’s *Mesa de Concertación para la Lucha contra la Pobreza* (Permanent

¹ Unless otherwise stated, all translations from Spanish to English are my own.

Roundtable for the Fight against Poverty--MCLCP or *Mesa*). The *Mesa* is a hybrid state/non-state initiative operating at national, regional and local levels in Peru. It has a broad mandate to expand public dialogue on social policies, improve the efficiency of poverty reduction programs and institutionalize citizen participation in the design and oversight of government budgets and programs (*Mesa*, 2001, 2004a; Reuben and Belskey, 2006). The workshop lasts about eight hours and focuses on the concept and practice of vigilance, constituted as a citizen right and responsibility, the specific actions it entails, its benefits for improved governance, as well as the formal steps that must be followed to undertake it. By the end of the session, a *Comité de Vigilancia* is formed with each of the members committed to spending two to three hours per week to oversee a specific government program in the district.

‘Good citizenship’ in this context, is defined by the capacity and responsibility of individuals to undertake direct, ongoing oversight or vigilance of government budgets and services. Programs promoting this form of citizen vigilance proliferated in Peru in the late 1990s, and increasingly post-2000, as well as in other parts of the region, along with training programs to instill the capacities required to undertake it. While Lima, Peru is considered to be the site of more programs for citizen vigilance than anywhere else in the region (Gamero et. al., 2004), the promotion of new forms of citizen-based ‘social accountability’ has come to the fore of mainstream development programming more broadly, as part of a “new accountability agenda,” in which a lack of accountability is understood as both symptom and cause of a range of human deprivations including poverty (Goetz and Jenkins, 2002; 2005). Empowering citizens with the capacity to monitor, evaluate, and oversee government budgets and services has thus become a key

means and ends for social development, not only in Latin America but internationally (World Bank, 2004a, 2004b; Ackerman, 2005a; Campbell, 2003; Goetz and Gaventa, 2001; Licha, 2004). This is captured in the World Bank document “From Shouting to Counting: A New Frontier in Social Development” (2004a):

...A new manifestation of citizenship based on the right to hold governments accountable by expanding people’s responsibility ... It’s not just about people protesting and making noise. This new approach to citizen action actually involves systematic analysis and intelligent use of data, making sure their governments spend effectively and keep their promise... (p. 2)

While the contemporary promotion of citizen oversight can be broadly linked to longer standing ideas about participatory democracy² associated with Barber (1984) and Pateman (1970) for example, it entails novel managerial responsibilities for ongoing oversight, monitoring and evaluation (Goetz and Jenkins, 2005; Ackerman, 2005). As Newell and Wheeler (2006) put it: "...the right to claim accountability [has become] a political project with citizenship at its core..." (p. 5). It is distinguished from other forms of accountability by the direct involvement of ‘ordinary citizens’ in exacting it, and as such is understood as the ‘short route’ to accountability, contrasted with slower mechanisms such as elections (World Bank, 2004b). While the authority to ensure accountability is assumed to be embodied in the ordinary citizen, cultivating the appropriate “attitudes” and “capacities” of citizens is nevertheless considered to be critical to realizing this (Malena, Forster and Singh, 2004, p. 12).

² Modern ideas about participatory democracy and citizen participation in government tend to be traced to Rousseau, who espoused the view that all citizens should have a direct say in conceptions of the common good and all decisions affecting the community (Hagopian, 2007).

Rather than evaluate programs for citizen vigilance in Peru in terms of their effectiveness (i.e. stated aims vs. outcomes), this dissertation seeks to destabilize citizen vigilance as a self-evident solution to problems of governance and accountability by locating these contemporary programs within a longer, discontinuous history of citizen reform and ‘improvement.’ To do so, it draws upon the analytical tools provided by Foucaultian-inspired governmentality studies. The remainder of this introductory chapter outlines the key arguments, research approach, and related methodological considerations. It also situates the research within broader debates on citizenship in Latin America, although this is not exhaustive as a review of the literature relevant to different narratives of citizenship is integrated within each chapter. Finally, it highlights some of the key contributions and limitations of the research and provides a brief overview of the remaining chapters.

1.1 Arguments and Approach

The central argument of the dissertation is that ‘the Peruvian citizen’ has been reconfigured in different ways through varied programs of reform, on the basis of changing ‘truths’ about progress and development. Drawing upon the analytical tool-kit offered by Foucaultian-inspired governmentality studies, it starts from the view that ‘the citizen’ is not a fixed subject, making it possible to inquire into *how* it is reconstituted, invoked and reformed as part of shifting strategies of government. Programs to reform citizens are not taken as simply technical or obvious responses, but are considered to embody certain moral and epistemological assumptions that correspond to particular rationalities and strategies of government (Rose, 1999; Miller and Rose, 1992).

The dissertation does not aim to provide a ‘history of citizenship in Peru,’ nor provide causal explanations of change, but rather show how the ‘good citizen’ has been reconfigured in different ways at different points in time. To do so, it juxtaposes three narratives: moral and racial narratives of citizenship in the first part of the 20th century vis-à-vis problems of national integration; narratives of social citizenship and the reframing of national development in terms of security and structural reform in the early second half of the 20th century; and lastly the reconfiguration of ‘good citizenship’ in terms of individual risk management in the late 20th and early 21st century, through programs for conditional cash transfers and citizen vigilance. While the research is oriented towards shifts and discontinuities, this does not imply that these represent clear or sequential breaks, and attention is also given to how certain narratives persist or are re-articulated.

The primary aim of this type of analysis is to denaturalize present day practices to show the contingency of ‘the good citizen’ and of particular problems (and solutions) of government and development. To show that something is contingent is a useful preliminary critical tool, as it implies that particular ways of understanding and doing are not obvious or inevitable. This in turn makes it possible to ask questions about the assumptions that underpin contemporary programs, what types of actions and behaviours are legitimated or fostered, and conversely what is precluded.

Citizenship is but one amongst a number of statuses, subjectivities, and identities, and is not, as Hindess (2004) pointed out, the only category through which “people enact themselves as political beings” (cited in Nyers, 2008, p. 2). However, despite being limited as a legal status until the second half of the 20th century, different notions of ‘the

Peruvian citizen' have nonetheless been consistently invoked by authorities through the 19th and 20th centuries, in the context of broader questions about national progress, integration, modernization and development (Thurner, 1997; Klärén, 2000). Never singular, citizenship is implicated and interwoven with other narratives such as race and class. It has not only been deployed in different ways by state authorities, but also mobilized and re-articulated by different actors, particularly in the latter half of the 20th century by various movements and organizations seeking broader citizen rights (Yashar, 2005).

The racial, spatial, class-based and gendered hierarchies that have historically constituted the boundaries of citizenship, inclusion, and social order in colonial and post-colonial Andean contexts are well-documented (see Larson, 2004; Rojas, 2001; Yashar, 2005; Clark, 1998a; Wilson, 2003; Steppatut, 2004). The different ways in which the 'good citizen' has been imagined in the Andes and specifically Peru have perhaps been best captured in the historical work documenting the changing moral narratives in the production of 'good citizens.' Moral narratives on the conduct and character of "good citizens" were alternately informed by biological and/or sociological theories of "degeneracy" and "civilization" in circulation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (see Pratt, 1992; Pick, 1989; Wilson, 2004). These narratives manifest in the various projects of modernization and development undertaken in the region during this period, ranging from infrastructural to hygiene and education (see Larson, 2004; Trigo, 2000; Wilson, 2004). From the colonial period through the first part of the 20th century, various character 'flaws' and 'amoral' practices were explicitly identified as obstacles to social inclusion and civilization (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1999; Larson, 2004). The capacity for

citizenship was explicitly linked, for example, to practices of hygiene and cleanliness, which were in turn used to “articulate ideas as to a desired social and political order and the place of Indians as subjects or citizens in that order” (Wilson, 2004, p. 166). Whereas earlier accounts tend to link these characteristics to innate causes i.e. ‘Indian nature’ or “congenital degeneration,” by the mid-20th century they became increasingly understood as cultural or ‘acquired vices’ that could potentially be overcome, allowing for the possibility of inclusion into the nation-state (De la Cadena, 2000; Zulawski, 2000, p. 110).

These shifts are not just about a legal status or membership ties but embody changing practices and expectations (Procacci, 2001b, p. 50). From this perspective there is no such thing as ‘the citizen;’ rather, as Procacci (2001a) suggests, “...there exist only the specific figures corresponding to different regimes of citizenship: the citizen is an historical persona, a social creation; ways of governing people as citizens change, just as citizens’ subjectivity changes” (p. 347). At different points in modern Peruvian history the ‘good citizen’ has been defined in terms of race, property, sex, education, habitat, clothing, religion, and health for example, entailing different sets of practices, spaces, knowledges, laws, and capacities. What this foregrounds is that citizenship can also be conceptualized as a *strategy of government*—that is, the way in which citizens are governed changes over time.

Governmentality as analytic tool-kit

The research approach in this dissertation draws primarily upon the analytical tools offered by Foucauldian-inspired governmentality, and the conceptualization of

citizenship as a strategy of government.³ O’Malley (2008) usefully summarizes what he refers to as “small ‘g’ governmentality” in the following way:

....[A]n analysis of the ways of thinking about government – how problems and people are thought about, what solutions to problems are dreamed up, what ends are imagined as ideal outcomes. It is in this aspect of government that inventiveness is made explicit, together with the ‘made-up’ nature of things. This is not intended to suggest that life has no reality, or that problems don’t ‘really’ exist—only that we can only recognize or imagine them in certain ways, and can never have unmediated access to the certainty of what lies ‘behind’... (O’Malley, 2008, p. 54-55)

What distinguishes it from other approaches is its focus on *how* we are governed through the mundane, administrative processes of everyday life, involving different types of interventions, forms of authority, and subjectivities (Rose, O’Malley and Valverde, 2006, p.101). The lens of governmentality thus raises a different set of questions than more conventional approaches deployed in political science. As Rose (1999) put it, it does not start from questions about ‘what happened’ or ‘why’ but starts by asking “what authorities of various sorts wanted to happen, in relation to problems defined how, in pursuit of what objectives, through what strategies and techniques” (p. 20).

³ Foucault’s own writing on governmentality was relatively limited, primarily elaborated in a series of lectures that he gave in courses on “Security, Territory and Population” and “The Birth of Biopolitics” at the Collège de France in 1977-78 (Foucault, 2003; Gordon, 1991). As Walters and Haahr (2005) point out ‘governmentality’ has since been deployed in distinct ways: as a way of understanding government as the ‘conduct of conduct;’ as a type of political analysis of the mentality or rationality and technologies of specific types of government; and as a particular form of government that emerged in 18th century Europe (pp. 289-293), whereby government no longer reflected sovereign or divine authority but rather had its own interests or immanent reasons, centered on a new target of government—the ‘population’—whose management (biopolitics) entailed new forms of knowledge, tactics and techniques (Foucault, 2003, p. 243).

At the core of this approach is a particular understanding of government as a set of activities, techniques and procedures for directing human behaviours rather than a set of institutions. This orients the researcher towards the *practices* that shape peoples' behaviour and embody a particular way of thinking about government. An advantage to understanding government in terms of activities vs. institutions in the present context is that it invokes a much broader understanding of what 'counts' as government, recognizing that a diversity of authorities and actors govern citizens in different ways according to different objectives. This blurs the conventional separation of state/civil society or government/non-government, which is useful in this context, for example to look at the role of non-state organizations in implementing many of the training programs for vigilant citizenship, without reducing them to *only* either 'complicit handmaidens' of the state or a separate locus of transformation (see Bryant, 2002). Miller and Rose (1992) effectively summarize this broader view of government:

...The political vocabulary structured by the oppositions between state and civil society, public and private, government and market, coercion and consent...does not adequately characterize the diverse ways in which rule is exercised in advanced liberal democracies. Political power is exercised today through a profusion of shifting alliances between diverse authorities and projects to govern a multitude of facets of economic activity, social life and individual conduct. Power is not so much a matter of imposing constraints upon citizens as of 'making up' citizens capable of bearing a kind of regulated freedom. Personal autonomy is not the antithesis of political power... (Miller and Rose, 1992, p. 174)

The idea that the citizen is ‘made up’ does not erase agency but rather asks us to look at how it is produced or circumscribed as part of different governmental forms. This turns attention to the logic(s) embodied in particular ways of governing people. These are not necessarily determinate, but do delineate ‘fields’ of intelligibility and action—what ‘makes sense’ to say or do at a given time. It also belies a novel perspective on power as never external and that, in addition to constraining and coercing, is also productive, for example operating to enable and produce particular forms of “responsible citizenship” (Li, 2007; Lemke, 2002, p. 52). These analytical tools allow us to look at citizenship not only as a legal status or particular bundle of rights, but as a strategy of government, that is imagined and mobilized in different ways vis-à-vis changing problems and logics of government. ‘The citizen’ in this context is therefore neither taken as an inevitable object/subject that is realized to greater or lesser degrees nor as a constant category of analysis, but as one particular subjectivity re-made on the basis of changing understandings of development and progress.

Citizenship as a strategy of government

I have found Cruikshank’s (1999) insights into citizenship as a strategy of government and the concept of the ‘citizen-subject’ particularly useful for the present research. Specifically in moving beyond the view that citizens are either included or excluded from politics (p. 5), to look at how they are implicated in different governmental formations that shape what it makes sense to do or say as a citizen. From this perspective, programs to improve or empower citizens are understood as strategies of government that constitute particular kinds of “citizen-subjects” whose social ‘problems’ and individual deficiencies they seek to redress (Cruikshank, 1999, pp. 2-4, 67). Citizens in this sense are produced

or transformed through what Cruikshank (1999) refers to as “technologies of citizenship”—the programs that directly or indirectly attempt to shape individual conduct.⁴

Technologies of citizenship operate according to a political rationality for governing people in ways that promote their autonomy, self-sufficiency, and political engagement... Technologies of citizenship do not cancel out the autonomy and independence of citizens but are modes of governance that work upon and through the capacities of citizens to act on their own. Technologies of citizenship are voluntary and coercive at the same time; the actions of citizens are regulated, but only after the capacity to act as a certain kind of citizen with certain aims is instilled. (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 4)

An advantage of the concept of the ‘citizen-subject’ is that it blurs the dichotomy between active, autonomous citizen vs. subordinated subject, commonly taken as antithetical in democratic theory (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 26). Cruikshank, drawing from Foucault’s conception of the subject, argues that this dichotomy masks the ways in which “citizens” are both empowered to act but also subject to power. Power thus operates not only through exclusions of particular populations or individuals, but also through programs for inclusion, for example through new practices of hygiene or overseeing government budgets. Following this logic, programs to improve or empower citizens are also projects of reform. This raises questions about which attributes, skills, or capacities

⁴ The concept of “technologies of citizenship” can be understood as a type of “technology of government,” described by Rose (1999) as “...those technologies imbued with aspirations for the shaping of conduct in the hope of producing certain desired effects and averting certain undesired events....A technology of government..is an assemblage of forms of practical knowledge, with modes of perception, practices of calculation, vocabularies, types of authority, forms of judgment, architectural forms, human capacities, non-human objects and devices...to achieve certain outcomes in terms of the conduct of the governed...they are heterogeneous..never simply a realization of a programme, strategy or intention...” (Rose, 1999, p. 52).

are considered lacking at a given moment, how they are instilled, and how this shapes political action.

Attention to *how* we are governed does not negate or preclude agency or resistance—a criticism often leveled at Foucaultian approaches, but rather situates it within a particular system of power. As Walters (2012) puts it, “[w]ithin modern politics the state and its practices are often opposed in the name of civil society, the nation, the population, the people, and their rights and freedoms. From the perspective of governmentality these loci of opposition and vectors of contestation are revealed not as pure exteriority but as intrinsic, albeit contested elements in games of power...” (p. 43). The rejection of resistance (or emancipation) as a universal process does not preclude it as a pervasive part of specific transformations--there are always struggles against the efforts made and tactics used to shape conduct. These struggles not only modify the effects in often unpredicted ways, but can also potentially transform the ways in which particular forms of government are organized, sometimes radically (see Davidson, 2011). Butler (1995) and O’Malley (1996) have also addressed these concerns. Butler (1995) suggests that we should not conclude that just because subjects are constituted they are therefore determined, and that, while we do not exist outside of particular conditions of possibility, we can nevertheless critically reflect, rework and resist these. O’Malley (1996) also emphasizes that resistance is imbricated with forms of rule not only occurring where programs fail, but is also incorporated into them with transformative effects.⁵ These questions are further discussed in later chapters.

⁵ As an example, O’Malley (1996) points to resistant indigenous forms of government in Australia where indigenous communities resisted state programs for self-determination not through direct opposition, but by “...rendering white practices of rule unworkable in many contexts” (p. 316). O’Malley contends that one of

1.2 Methodological Considerations

An ‘analytics’ of government does not prescribe a single methodology, but enables the researcher to use a range of information sources and qualitative data to look at “... the specific conditions under which particular entities emerge, exist, and change...” (Dean, 1999, p. 21). As Rose, O’Malley and Valverde (2006) similarly note, governmentality provides an open-ended and flexible approach, a way of posing questions that is compatible with various methods, and they caution against its singular systematization (p. 101):

We should not seek to extract a method from the multiple studies of governing, but rather to identify a certain ethos of investigation, a way of asking questions, a focus not upon why certain things happened, but how they happened and the difference that it made in relation to what had gone on before. Above all, the aim of such studies is critical, but not critique—to identify and describe differences and hence to help make criticism possible. (Rose, O’Malley and Valverde , 2006, p. 83)

While governmentality can be combined with various methods of research, I have found Dean’s (1999) account of the ‘characteristic moves’ of an analytics of government, and more recently the suggestions offered by Walters in *Governmentality: Critical Encounters* (2012), useful in providing guidance in this regard. Dean (1999) suggests that an analytics of government starts from a ‘problematization’ – that is, a moment in which some aspects of government are called into question, in turn raising questions about how to govern (p. 27). He distinguishes this problematizing approach from those that critique

the outcomes of this was an increasing recognition of indigenous forms of government that had developed outside of state programs, which were subsequently appropriated by policy-makers.

modernist narratives by offering an alternate version or vision, premised for instance on notions of emancipation. In contrast, a problematizing approach, in tracing specific “historical forms of truth and knowledge” seeks to disrupt all types of narratives, including those of progress (Dean, 1994, p. 4).

For the present research, in order to destabilize contemporary practices of vigilant citizenship in Peru, I selected specific examples or moments in which the government of citizens was problematized and resolved in different ways in the 20th and 21st centuries. In juxtaposing contemporary problems and practices of citizenship with earlier ones, I am also drawing upon a Foucaultian-inspired genealogical style of analysis which, as Walters (2012) suggests, can be effectively combined with an analytics of governmentality (p. 122). This does not trace an unbroken ‘history of citizenship in Peru’ but instead “makes use of the past” (Hacking, 2002, p. 25) to explore how the ‘good’ citizen-subject is constituted in specific ways at particular times (and places) and in so doing, raise questions about some of the underlying assumptions in present-day practices of citizenship. Walters (2012) distinguishes between different styles of genealogical analysis but suggests that in its broadest sense, it entails using “historical knowledge to reveal that who and what we are is not fixed or eternal, not a matter of destiny or grand design, but a series of contingent becomings” (Walters, 2012, p. 115). In each case, I look at how particular problems of government and development are understood and produced, how the citizen is imagined and mobilized in each context, and the types of programs to reform or improve citizens that were implemented as part of the efforts to resolve these problems. I use the phrase ‘problem-solution’ in the dissertation to capture this dynamic, in which citizens are simultaneously invoked as both part of a problem of government

and also as part of proposed solutions. The knowledge(s) that shape how particular problems of government and development are thought about, and through what means and mechanisms these are put into practice, are also important to this analysis.

I have found the concept of narrative and attention to how particular narratives are made, take hold, and are re-made, also to be a helpful conceptual tool with which to move away from traditional approaches to historical analysis in the social sciences and to recognize social life as “storied” (Somers, 1992, p. 606). While attention to narrative history resurged in the 1970s and 1980s as a counterpoint to positivist approaches to historical analysis, there is no settled conception or use of narrative as an approach to historical inquiry (Sewell, 1992). Nevertheless, the concept has been widely discussed and fruitfully deployed by many historians and sociologists, including E.P. Thompson (1991), Steinmetz (1992), and Somers (1992; 1994), to look critically at the history of social categories such as ‘class.’ More than just a particular form of representation, narrative and narrativity became increasingly recognized in the 1980s and 1990s as constitutive of social subjectivities, and the way in which we understand ourselves and the constellation of relationships in which we are embedded (Somers, 1992, p. 600-601). Narrative in the present context is broadly understood as a way to inquire into how different practices of good citizenship are ‘made sense of.’ This is broadly informed by Somers (1992) conceptualization of ‘meta-narrativity’ as the master-narratives within which we are embedded, and Bevir’s (2011) conception of narrative as describing “contingent patterns of action in their specific contexts...” (p. 91).

Methodologically, a focus on narratives encompasses a wide range of texts in addition to those conventionally considered to be ‘legitimate’ or ‘expert’ non-fictional

sources, ranging from autobiographies, to minor histories, personal letters and oral stories for example (Sewell 1992; Steinmetz, 1992). This is consistent with the analytical tools associated with governmentality, which orients the researcher towards an empirical focus on the practices and the programmatic dimensions of government. This includes attention to the minor, mundane, and/or administrative “techniques and tools” through which particular rationales or mentalities of government are normalized or “instantiated,” such as policy documents, reports, standards of measure or evaluation, training modules, specific vocabularies, manuals, brochures and so forth that collectively contribute to the constitution of a particular practice of government and “effect” of authority (Rose, O’Malley and Valverde, 2006; Miller and Rose, 1992, p. 183).⁶

For the present research I drew heavily upon historical and contemporary policy and program documents, census campaign materials, school textbooks, academic articles, as well as training materials produced by state and non-state actors to show how a particular problem of government was understood, the knowledge(s) that informed it, and the actions and interventions considered necessary to resolving it. I focused in particular on how citizens, their required roles and capacities, are imagined and fostered at different points in time. Historical documents were primarily obtained from the archives at the National Library of Peru in Lima and the library at the National Institute of Statistics and Information (INEI). Reports and program documents produced by international aid agencies, notably the World Bank, were also important resources. Contemporary program documents and training texts and manuals for citizen vigilance were obtained directly

⁶ Language in this sense is neither only a representation (external to rule) nor paramount (i.e. the only way in which identities and realities are constituted) as per the case in discourse analysis. In this context, it is one important element in an assemblage “among many for rendering reality governable” (Rose, O’Malley and Valverde, 2006, p. 89).

from state and non-state organizations in Peru, including the *Mesa de Concertación para la Lucha contra la Pobreza de Lima Metropolitana* (a hybrid state/non-state initiative), the *Grupo Propuesta Ciudadana, Asociación Civil Transparencia*, and the *Forum Solidaridad Perú* (these organizations are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6). These organizations were selected for several reasons—they had all developed training programs for citizen vigilance that were being implemented in Lima at the time of my research and they represented a cross-section of the various types of organizations intervening in this field. This latter point is discussed in Chapter Six in more detail, but briefly the *Mesa* represents a combined state/non-state organization, and has the largest scope (nationally, regionally within Peru, and locally) in organizing and implementing vigilance initiatives (Gamero et. al., 2004). The *Grupo Propuesta Ciudadana* represents a broad consortium of Peruvian non-state organizations working to promote democracy and citizen participation and had developed some of the most extensive training materials for citizen vigilance. The *Asociación Civil Transparencia* is also a non-state organization explicitly oriented to promoting citizen participation, relatively recently established in the mid-1990s; in contrast the *Forum Solidaridad Perú* is non-state organization implementing a wider range of development programs, as well as promoting social mobilization and leftist activism.

As per an analytics of governmentality, the various texts and materials drawn upon for the present research were read not with a view to deciphering particular interests or revealing ‘hidden agendas’ but taken at face value, in terms of their own logic, aims, assumptions in order to understand how ‘good citizenship’ and particular problems of government were conceptualized, articulated, and acted upon. Throughout, I paid

particular attention to the identities or citizen subjectivities that were pre-supposed or aspired to—their attributes and required capacities, and the types of reforms considered necessary to instill or enable these. These ranged, for example, from the racialized Indian citizen-subject in need of moral reform in the first part of the twentieth century, to the economically rational citizen oriented towards asset-accumulation at the end of the twentieth century. While a wide-range of archival and contemporary textual materials served as the primary source for the research, I also undertook twenty-one formal, semi-structured interviews with academics, government officials, representatives from non-state organizations⁷ and individuals participating in training programs for citizen vigilance. Most interviews were conducted on the basis of anonymity, and are listed in Appendix 2. Individuals were contacted directly, in some cases before my arrival in Peru, and in other cases whilst in Lima, sometimes on the basis of referrals from other interviewees. Finally, I also attended two workshops to train vigilant citizens, run by the *Mesa de Concertación para la Lucha contra la Pobreza de Lima Metropolitana* in the districts of Chorillos and San Juan de Lurigancho—these are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six. The research was conducted over the course of three separate stays in Lima between January 2007 and December 2008, for a total duration of approximately five and half months.

There are additional methodological considerations associated with undertaking cross-cultural research, which raises a particular set of questions for the researcher, from practical ones related to translation, to more philosophical ones related to the position of the researcher and questions of representation. As I have a fairly good working

⁷ Throughout the dissertation, I generally refer to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as non-state organizations, to recognize that through the lens of governmentality, while they are non-state, they are nevertheless governmental (i.e. part of broader strategies of government).

knowledge of Spanish, I felt comfortable reading texts (using dictionaries and other tools as necessary) and interacting directly with participants interviewed, without the assistance of a translator. However, as Marcus and Fischer (1986) suggest, in translating the researcher must mediate between “distinct sets of categories and cultural conceptions” (p. 31), and inevitably certain phrasings and meanings remained ambiguous. Interviewee feedback is helpful in mitigating and ensuring the ‘trustworthiness’ of the information gathered (Johnson, 1997). Accordingly, at the end of each interview I would review the notes that I had taken with the interviewee, in order to verify that I had correctly understood their main points. Broadly speaking, the project was also shaped by my various experiences in, and engagement with, the Andean region over the past two decades. This includes working for approximately two years in north-eastern Ecuador (1993-6); research for an undergraduate honours thesis on Indigenous organizing in Ecuador’s Amazon region (1994/5); research for a Master’s thesis on the micro-political relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous women’s organizations in Quito, Ecuador (1999), as well as several years of professional experience as a senior analyst for the Andean region at the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL) (2001-2004).

Why Peru?

The ‘explosion’ of programs for direct citizen oversight as a means to improve accountability in Latin America in recent years (see Ackerman, 2005a; Goetz and Jenkins, 2005; Peruzotti and Smulovitz, 2002) was the starting point for the present research. As noted, these forms of direct oversight (or ‘vigilance’ as it is referred to in Peru) represent a specific, novel form of citizen participation that entails ongoing, managerial responsibilities of monitoring and oversight of state budgets and programs.

Given the widespread promotion and diffusion of these programs, the questions guiding the research could have been fruitfully asked in other contexts and countries, in the region and elsewhere.⁸ However, Peru provided a particularly rich site to explore this for several reasons. It currently has more institutionalized mechanisms for citizen participation than anywhere else in Latin America, largely associated with the return to democracy in 2000 following the fall of the Fujimori regime and related processes of decentralization (Remy, 2005). New forms of citizen vigilance were institutionalized in Peru's National Accord signed in 2002 and entrenched in legal reforms that made practices of citizen vigilance a mandatory part of regional and government processes, and created new spaces for doing so (this is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five). Notably, Peru, and specifically Lima where these programs are concentrated, is now considered to have more programs for citizen vigilance than anywhere else in the region (Gamero et. al., 2004). In addition, while there is a rich debate on the merits and limitations of citizen participation in Peru as a means to deepen democracy more generally (see Remy, 2005; Tanaka, 2005, 2006; Crabtree, 2011), there has been little critical analysis of Peru's program for citizen vigilance to date. (Gamero et. al.,'s (2004) book is one of the few works on this, and provides a mapping of actors and organizations, rather than a critical analysis).

Programs for citizen vigilance in Peru do not operate in isolation. Not only do they have diverse sources of international funding but, as noted earlier, programs for citizen oversight as a means to social accountability have become a priority in international programs for social development. Thus, these new practices of citizen vigilance or oversight can neither be understood only as something particular to Peru's

⁸ Latin America is considered a pioneer in contemporary forms of citizen participation, notably with the first experiments in participatory budgeting in Brazil in the 1980s, which were subsequently diffused and adapted to other countries in the South, but also in Europe and North America (Pinnington et. al., 2009).

political landscape, nor part of a singular project or generic regional or global trend. The conception of a constellation or assemblage is useful in this context, as it captures the particularity of programs being implemented in Peru, but allows linkages to be made with a broader orientation in development programming that extends beyond Peru. The concept of a constellation or assemblage conveys the heterogeneity of arrangements, practices, organizations, ideas and activities (Marcus and Saka, 2006, p. 102), and the ways in which elements are recombined or re-arranged in a specific context, what Collier (2009) refers to as “topological” analysis (2009, p. 90).⁹ This includes attention to how a problem is diagnosed and the combinations of laws, knowledges, spaces, programs, organizations, regulatory regimes and forms of expertise that make intervention possible (Li, 2007b, pp. 264-66).¹⁰ While the analyses in each chapter do not exhaustively document all dimensions of a given problem, they try to illuminate the key elements that are constitutive of a particular problem-solution of citizenship. While the focus here is on practices of ‘good citizenship’ that are specific to Peru, they are not circumscribed by its borders, i.e. programs to reform citizens are imbricated with a variety of regional and international programs, funding, and actors. The lens of governmentality, and the orientation to looking at how these diverse elements are combined in particular narratives and practices, thus also offers a way to get beyond a conventional, clear-cut divide between the national and international.

⁹ Deleuze and Guattari’s wide-ranging ideas about assemblages and rhizomatic connections, discussed early in *A Thousand Plateaus* (1987), continue to illuminate. For Deleuze and Guattari, an assemblage is both a process and outcome, referring to the process of arranging various elements, as well as the arrangement itself. It is explained as a rhizome, characterized by connections and heterogeneity (p. 7), that challenges the idea of separate or distinct temporal and physical structures; it is a map that is connected, continually modified, and reworked (pp. 12-13).

¹⁰ This fairly expansive (and potentially all-encompassing) conception of assemblage is usefully circumscribed by Walters (2012), who suggests, citing Rabinow (2003), that assemblages refer to definable formations of power that are relatively less stable and enduring than other more entrenched ‘dispositifs’ or ‘apparatus’ (Walters, 2012, p. 77).

Governmentality and the government of citizens beyond the state

Over the past several decades the “decoupling” of citizenship’s longstanding association with the political and territorial boundaries of the state has been the subject of significant academic attention. This line of inquiry is underpinned by the idea that citizens and citizenship operate in new spaces, what Ong (2005) broadly describes as a “re-articulation of citizenship” resulting from a “confluence of global flows” that has given rise to new spaces and possibilities of citizenship:

In an ever-shifting landscape configured by mobilities and positionalities, the idea of citizenship tied to the terrain and imagination of a nation-state (Anderson [1983] 1991) is called into question. In theory, citizenship as protected entitlements depends on membership in a nation-state. But increasingly in practice, entitlements and benefits are realized through specific mobilizations and claims in milieus of globalized contingency. The movements of global markets, technologies, and populations interact to shape novel spaces of political mobilization and claims. As rights and protections long associated with citizenship are becoming disarticulated from the state, they are re-articulated with elements such as market-based interests, transnational agencies, mobile elites, and marginalized populations. (Ong, 2005, p. 697)

Ong’s formulation is but one of a rich and growing body of research that problematizes classical liberal theory’s understanding of citizenship solely in terms of the individual’s relationship to the state in different ways: through the historicizing of political power (Agnew, 1999); the development of cosmopolitan models of citizenship (e.g. Held, 1995; Linklater, 1998); in ideas about the de-nationalization of the state (Sassen 2006);

speculation on an emancipatory transnational public sphere (Fraser, 2007) and “post-national constellations” of politics and law (Habermas, 2001); and notions of “denizenship” (Zolberg, 2000), for example. Soysal’s (2001) attention to ‘postnational’ sources of authority over citizenship gained considerable currency in this debate. Soysal (2001) argued that individual citizen rights are increasingly abstracted from the nation-state and legitimated at the transnational level within a global framework of human rights, as part of a broader dispersion of political authority among local, national, and transnational institutions (p. 334). The result is a “decoupling” of national identity and rights, resulting in a ‘postnational’ form of citizenship, whereby the claim to rights is separated from national territory and identity, based instead on a universalized understanding of individual human rights. In this model, inclusion/exclusion no longer “coincide” with state boundaries but reflect a growing “multiplicity of membership forms” – for example in the context of the European Union (Soysal, 2001, pp. 335-6).

Collectively, these diverse writings reflect an “unbundling” of modernist assumptions about the relationship between citizenship, national state and territory (Brodie, 2004, p. 323). While they illuminate changing ways in which citizens lay claim to rights and operate in novel ways, they tend to imply a spatial-political structure in which ‘local’ ‘national’ and ‘international’ or ‘global’ are pre-given, more or less defined planes of action. Even more cautious efforts oriented towards ‘intersections’ or ‘porous borders’ for example, tend to reify these as separate planes, and the very debates about the concepts of ‘the state,’ ‘the global,’ and ‘globalization,’ serve to reaffirm the intelligibility of these categories and give them continued coherency (see Bartelson,

1995).¹¹ For example, political economists, inspired by cultural and political geography, have over the past decade, increasingly called attention to the “scales” at which political, economic processes and as well as practices of citizenship operate (see for example, Mahon, 2006; Grundy and Smith, 2005). Relationships and struggles across scales in this context tend to be broadly understood as linked but nonetheless distinct spaces of global, regional, national and local action. While scalar analyses have usefully highlighted different relations and influences operating in what were previously taken to be circumscribed local or domestic policies and politics, they have also been criticized for an assumed verticality and hierarchy (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002; Isin, 2007), and structuralist underpinnings, in the existence of a persistent ‘global’ plane for example, at which structural processes are operating (Legg, 2009, pp. 235-6). As Isin (2007) put it “...scalar thought represents these bodies as though all exist in actual spaces as such at a given scale of representation...” (p. 211). Rather than assuming a fixed or clear separation of local/national/international, Legg (2009) suggests that the effects of narratives of scale should be taken into account i.e. as a narrative device and technique of governing.

The lens of governmentality is helpful in reframing these assumptions about given spaces of action through several related insights: First, the idea that citizenship, as a strategy of government, has always also operated beyond the state. Second, that government refers to any programmatic attempt to govern subjects, and that it has always been practised through diverse sites, including in this case, programs run by non-state

¹¹ Bartelson’s (1995) argument is that the concept of the state continues to “condition the intelligibility” of critical discourse on the state (and its decline) and give it coherence. He reveals the problems that arise from “dissolving” the state both externally and internally for critical scholars in both international political theory and comparative politics. The latter, in temporalizing the distinction between state/society or civil society, for example, presuppose the distinction between domestic and international. Conversely, international political theorists such as R.B.J. Walker, in denaturalizing the state “from the outside,” construe it as distinct from domestic society (Bartelson, 1995, pp. 156-180).

organizations, community organizers, expert facilitators, national government projects and international programs, based on specific forms of knowledge and operating through various technologies (budgets, training manuals and programs etc.). As Hindess (2002, 2004a) so clearly articulated, liberal government's concern with the management, welfare and improvement of populations and individual citizens through regulated freedom has never been limited to the state but has always been concerned with the government of populations in other states and territories as well (Hindess, 2004a, p. 27, 35-36). In his words, "...where the liberal government of non-Western populations was once predicated on a denial of citizenship, contemporary liberal attempts to govern the people of the non-western world are increasingly channeled through citizenship itself ..." (Hindess, 2002, p. 127-128).¹² Citizenship has been an important strategy for population management in this context, dividing populations (within and between states) into those perceived as fit, less fit and unfit for self-regulation and autonomy, requiring improvement through programs of reform or development.¹³ This civilizational imperative has always also operated at supra-national levels, regulating the conduct of states as well as populations within the broader system of states – through commerce and treaties for example. Hindess (2002, 2004) and others, including Escobar (1995), Li (2007a), and Rojas (2004), show that in the 20th century programs of improvement came to operate through development assistance programs and international financial regulation. In the latter part of the 20th century, the civilizing/improvement imperatives of liberal reason mutate, with

¹² This is based on the understanding that liberal government is characterized not by the promotion of individual liberty but the promotion of particular types of free activity, and fostering appropriate habits and behaviours in governed citizen-subjects for self-regulation (Hindess 2004a). Hindess (2004a) (echoing Hirschman) points out that the image of the market is seen as a model of appropriate free interaction and good conduct, and thus becomes a measure and means of civilization, inculcating virtuous behaviour (diligence, punctuality, self-control etc.).

¹³ Peru is no exception to this, despite the fact the formal citizenship as a legal status and the right to vote was largely limited to those who were male, propertied and literate until the mid-20th century.

citizenship to be “secured under neo-liberal political conditions” (Hindess 2002, p. 140).

In this context, programs for empowerment, individual responsibilization and active participation represent contemporary efforts to improve populations or certain sub-populations considered to lack specific skills and capacities. This does not reduce development assistance to an unchanging imperialist impulse or capital penetration, but reframes it as a particular configuration of a longer project of improvement. Li (2007a) shows how this liberal ‘will to improve’ is part of broader efforts to shape conduct which, in addition to coercive (illiberal) tactics, also operates at a distance shaping habits and desires (p. 5). Through examples from Indonesia, she shows this impetus to improve is not reducible to a singular intention or interest, or broad societal transformation but is located within a more complex, fragmented assemblage. Li captures this well in the following passage, which merits citing, despite its length:

...Many parties share in the will to improve. They occupy the position of trustees, a position defined by the claim to know how others should live, to know what is best for them, to know what they need... The objective of trusteeship is not to dominate others—it is to enhance their capacity for action, and to direct it. In Indonesia, since the nineteenth century, the list of trustees includes colonial officials and missionaries, politicians and bureaucrats, international aid donors, specialists in agriculture, hygiene, credit and conservation, and so-called nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) of various kinds. Their intentions are benevolent, even utopian. They desire to make the world better than it is. Their methods are subtle...[o]ften, their schemes operate at a distance. They structure a field of possible actions. They modify processes... They make certain courses of action easier or more difficult. Many

schemes appear not as an external imposition, but as the natural expression of the everyday interactions of individuals and groups. They blend seamlessly into common sense. Sometimes they stimulate a more or less radical critique. Whatever the response, the claim to expertise in optimizing the lives of others is a claim to power, one that merits careful scrutiny. (Li, 2007a, p. 5)

This impetus to improve is enacted through specific programs which both problematize and render technical, which in addition to making visible a field of intervention also defines those who are experts and those who are ‘deficient’ (Li, 2007a). Relevant to this are questions regarding the types of knowledge and expertise that are deemed to be legitimate within a particular governmental regime as well questions about the mobility of knowledge, policies and programs, and how ideas and practices ‘travel’ and are translated and transformed in different contexts. This is discussed briefly below, and elaborated through concrete examples in subsequent chapters.

Travelling ideas, practices, and forms of expertise

While the present research does not seek to explain ‘origins’ or provide causal explanations for ideas about, and practices of citizenship, it is nevertheless relevant to briefly point to some of the recent literature on how certain ideas and practices move. Over the past few years, there has been increasing attention to the ways in which policies (and practices) move and mutate in less unidirectional, predictable ways (Peck and Theodore, 2012). Research on these questions of ‘policy mobility’ is a growing focus of critical policy studies and political economy, breaking with rational action frameworks to look at policy related actions and actors as mediated, complex and constitutively embedded within broader networks of knowledge across different spaces (Peck and

Theodore, 2012, p. 25; McCann, 2008; Mahon, 2010). For example, Peck and Theodore (2012) point to the way in which practices of participatory budgeting and conditional cash transfers have traveled from their emergence in Latin America around the world through “mutating policy networks...[that] both connect, establish relations between distant policy-making sites in complex webs of experimentation emulation evolution, subsequently exhibiting distinctively dialogic and nonlinear dynamics” (p. 22).¹⁴ Explanations for these types of diffusion vary with the analytical approaches used, which give different explanatory weight to interests, ideas, norms, institutions, the role of “knowledge-based experts” (or epistemic communities), or processes of ‘policy transfer’ for example (see Hall and Taylor, 1996; Haas, 1992; Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000).¹⁵ Larner and Laurie (2010) also emphasize that expertise, ideas and practices literally move and morph through “embodied actors.” They challenge assumptions that this is a unidirectional or singular process whereby ‘experts,’ trained at elite schools in the West, simply move around the globe to impose particular policies. Instead, they show how ‘travelling technocrats’ have varied careers that move between local, national and international institutions as well as public, private and non-state entities. This attention to the mobility of ideas and practices through embodiment, that is via specific people and professions, is relevant to the present research, helping to blur what Ferguson and Gupta

¹⁴ Others have similarly traced the movement of ideas and programming around ‘social investment, for example Mahon (2010) outlines the network of international organizations and non-governmental organizations that have played a role in promoting a model of social investment centered on targeted intervention and provision through the market mechanisms. She shows how this model, espoused by the World Bank and which draws upon a U.S. social policy model, has been promoted through diverse organizations including UNESCO and UNICEF, as well as international non-governmental organizations such as the Aga Khan Foundation and the Christian Children’s Fund, for example (p. 173). Jenson’s (2010) work on the ‘diffusion of ideas after neoliberalism’ also points to a convergence around, and dispersion of, practices of social investment.

¹⁵ There has also been increasing attention to new types of ‘connections at a distance,’ and the virtual interactions that occur via ‘mobile’ technologies, such as the internet, mobile phones, and instant messaging (Urry, 2004).

(2002) showed to be an assumed verticality in conceptualizing local-state-international spheres of action, and more generally the tendency to reify them as pre-existing, separate planes of action (Legg, 2009).

Dezelay and Garth's book *The Internationalization of Palace Wars* (2002) provides a good example of this embodied mobility of ideas and specifically legal expertise. This traces the 'export' and 'import' of law in specific Latin American countries through the biographies of various professionals, showing how international legal processes and expertise are adapted and transformed within what they refer to as national 'fields of power'. Importantly, they make the point that this is not a one-way (North to South) process, pointing out that the "temptation" to ask how the south came to adopt ideas tends to silence local projects, contexts, and transformations (p. 8). As Walters (2012) notes, "...the movement in technologies of government was not a one way flow of inventions being exported from the metropolitan 'centre' to the colonized 'periphery' but more like a circuit in which inventions, practices and devices like fingerprinting, the machine gun, administrative sciences and the concentration camp circulate back and forth, within and across imperial formations..." (p. 96).

Centeno and Silva's edited collection on *The Politics of Expertise in Latin America* (1998), also looks at the professional trajectories of 'technocratic experts' in the region, and suggests that despite variations in the types of expertise, elites and institutions across the region, technocrats nevertheless share a cultural framework and 'intellectual pedigree' (p. 3). They define technocratic experts as those who "use their claim to knowledge...to affirm their right to rule" (p. 2). Centeno and Silva point out that this shared pedigree, which has tended to include training in economics and/or engineering or

law (primarily in Europe in the first part of the 20th century and later the United States), helped produce a common problem frame and policy tool-kit, for example (pp. 4-5).

What this also highlights is that circulation of ideas and practices cannot be separated from specific forms of expertise and experts. In looking at the mediator as a particular type of expert, Osborne (2004) conceptualizes the ways in which different forms of knowledge, ideas and expertise are deployed by different individuals and organizations in terms of ‘epistemic conduct,’ a way of framing the expert-subject vis-à-vis a particular kinds of problems ‘of the world’ and the role of specific types of knowledge in this context (p. 437). Experts and expertise are not just derivative, but also productive. Mitchell’s *Rule of Experts* (2002) provides an exceptional example of how this is materialized, showing the role of particular forms of expertise, as well as statistics and new forms of calculation, in producing what we now think of as ‘the economy.’¹⁶

These ideas about the embodied mobility of practices, and varying forms of expertise are an important aspect of the changing narratives and practices of ‘good citizenship’. As noted above, for the present purpose, rather than seeking to explain or locate the causes of certain practices of citizenship, for example within an international or national sphere, I focus on the various components that help produce and operationalize it as part of broader projects of governance and development in Peru. This entails looking at how people are implicated at different points in time, in projects to instill or foster certain capacities considered to be necessary for responsible citizenship. It includes attention to

¹⁶ Mitchell’s profound insight that the contemporary idea of the economy, as a self-contained, separate sphere of monetarized exchange and human interaction emerged in 1930s is helpful in illuminating this. He showed how new forms of expertise, statistics, calculations that were central to producing the contemporary conception of the economy did not operate outside a distinct, *a priori* sphere of ‘the economy’ but were part of the conditions of its possibility: “The role of economics is to help make possible the economy by articulating the rules, understandings, and equivalences out of which the economic is made” (2002, p. 300).

the particular forms of expertise that these rely on, ranging from the moral ‘Brigades’ of the early 20th century to the (military) technical planner of the mid-twentieth century, and the ‘*promotores*’ that seek to facilitate ‘empowerment’ and active citizenship later in the century.

1.3 Situating the Research within Broader Debates on Citizenship in Latin America

This section does not aim to provide an exhaustive review of the relevant literature, which is also integrated within each of the Chapters. Rather, it traces some of the key lines of thought and bodies of research that structure contemporary debates on citizenship, in particular with respect to Latin America, as a way to situate the present research. Conceptions of citizenship have long been central to liberal theorizing on political community, individual-state relations and democracy, fundamentally concerned with boundaries of inclusion and exclusion (Lister, 2001, p. 32; Turner 1990), and comprehensive conceptual histories of citizenship abound, including Pocock (1995), Turner (1990), Barbalet (1988), Heater (1990) and Isin (2002) among many others.

Although there is no single typology or systematic theory through which to apprehend citizenship, its lineage can be traced to republican roots in the city-states of Ancient Greece.

However, it was through ‘revolutionary events’ such as the French Revolution and the American War of Independence, that citizenship was considered to become a central dimension of modern politics in the West (Isin and Turner, 2008, p. 6). As Isin and Turner point out, while citizenship was interpreted differently in these contexts, there was nonetheless a common conception of citizenship as a set of rights vis-à-vis access to collective resources that were significant in the formation of the nation-state (p. 6).

Modern debates on citizenship have commonly revolved around republican or communitarian vs. liberal versions. Classical accounts of the republican citizen draw upon Aristotelian understandings of citizenship as a political practice embodied in the natural, active participation in civic life—citizen as ruler and subject of rule (Burchell, 1995, p. 506; Pocock, 1995; Hindess, 1993). Ideas of civic virtue, or moral commitments to active participation in public life (as a guarantee of good government) are implicit in this ideal, with citizenship enacted in the *polis*, or public sphere, separate from the subordinate realm of the private or *oikos* (Pocock, 1995, p. 35). Arendt, in her important work *The Human Condition* (1998) also emphasized that citizens belonged to separate public and private orders of existence. For Arendt, the public realm is a space of ‘appearance’, in which all who are present can see and hear that which is being said or presented, and related to this, it is also a ‘common world’ that produces and maintains a shared sense of reality and community, bounded by notions of the nation.¹⁷ Alternately, (proto)liberal versions are traced to the emergence of jurisprudence and legal conceptions of citizens (for example to Plato and Roman Jurists such as Gaius) and associated with the social contractarians in the 17th and 18th century, premised on liberal individualism—individual as (passive) political-legal bearer of rights protected by law—i.e. citizenship as status (Pocock, 1995, p. 34-45; Burchell, 1999, p. 506; Turner, 1990).¹⁸

These lines of debate persist in contemporary theorizing on citizenship and political community; however, in the second half of the 20th century, it was T. H.

¹⁷ Arendt highlighted that only those of the same national origin could rely on the rights and guarantees of citizenship, and that groups that were “of the state” but outside of the nation had to struggle for this type of recognition (Arendt, 1998; Isin and Turner, 2008).

¹⁸ Burchell (1995) suggests that instead of the active/passive distinction, it is their respective assumptions about citizen “capacities and attributes imagined and fostered in each case” that are most illuminating (p. 543). In classical civic versions, the citizen is self-created, or “prior to government” whereas for liberals, the citizen “derives his or her citizenly capacities as a product of the activity of government,” i.e. Aristotelian “natural” citizens vs. Hobbesian “disciplined” citizens (p. 543).

Marshall's tripartite model of citizenship that came to structure mainstream contemporary debates (Kymlicka and Norman, 1995; Turner, 1990). His conceptualization of the evolution of civil, political and social citizen rights from the eighteenth to the twentieth century can be understood as an attempt to reconcile the contradictions between formal political equality of rights (and duties) with socio-economic inequality (Turner, 1990, p. 191; Hindess, 1993, p.20). While this presumed universality in modern conceptions of citizenships and citizen rights is progressive, as Hindess (2004a) notes (pointing to examples of certain immigrant and indigenous populations), assumptions about the incapacity of those not deemed to count as citizens, or the related need to build the capacity of people to become good citizens reflects a persistent elitism. Moreover, Marshall's original model has been effectively problematized on a variety of grounds, including its limiting anglo-centrism, its developmental and teleological overtones, and its neglect of related social struggles (Turner, 1990, p. 192-96). Through the 1990s feminists and critical theorists challenged its exclusionary, gendered foundations, its inherent individualism, its reinforcement of 'private' and 'public' distinctions and a masculinist state (Dietz, 1998; O'Connor, 1993). The universality of liberal citizenship has been, and continues to be, the subject of intense debate in terms of its exclusionary nature and erasure of 'difference'—as Young (1998) put it, "the idea that citizenship is the same for all, translated in practice to the requirement that all citizens be the same" (p. 404).

In the past several decades, alternative perspectives have emerged that challenge the dichotomies that have persistently structured debates about citizenship (as a right vs. duty; active vs. passive citizens; public vs. private dimensions; individualist vs.

communitarian versions; and citizen vs. subjects) (Burchell, 1995; Cruikshank, 1999; Joyce, 2003; Hindess, 2002). These accounts alternately historicize the citizen as “social creation” (Burchell, 1995), focus on citizen formation and citizenship as a process of reform and regulation (Wilson, 2004), and look at “technologies of citizenship” as a way governing people (Cruikshank, 1999) but also transforming the status quo and laying claim to new types of rights (Alvarez et. al., 1998).

Debates on citizenship in Latin America

In Latin America, citizenship and the constitution of a ‘citizenry’ have been key elements of post-independence nation-building projects since the 19th century (Mallon, 1995; Rojas, 2001). Although varying representations of ‘the citizen’ (for example as ‘neighbour’ or alternately ‘armed citizen’) circulated in colonial (and even pre-colonial) times, most accounts find that modern liberal individualist versions were institutionalized in the 19th and early 20th centuries in national constitutions, limited on the basis of race and gender (Sabato, 2001, p. 1290-3; Yashar, 2005).¹⁹ Despite the expansion of formal political and civic citizenship through the 20th century, in practice a majority of populations in the Andean region have historically never experienced the civic, social and political dimensions on equal footing (O’Donnell, 1993; Yashar, 2005). Civil rights continue to be limited by weak judicial institutions and rule of law, and the failure to realize social rights evident in persistent poverty, extreme inequality and lack of access to basic social services for significant proportions of the population (Tulchin and Ruthenburg, 2007).

¹⁹ Women gained suffrage in Peru in 1955, however literacy remained a prerequisite for voting in Peru until 1980, effectively precluding poor segments, including indigenous populations, from formal political processes (Yashar, 2005).

While narratives of citizenship and efforts to reform citizens have long been imbricated with government projects for integration and modernization in the region, citizenship was not explicitly deployed as discourse for claiming rights until the late 1970s and increasingly through the 1980s and 1990s related in part to the so-called ‘third wave’ of transitions to democracy (Roberts, 2005). As Jelin (1996) notes, not only were formal citizen rights not extended much beyond educated, middle-class urban men until the 1970s, but demands for change were not framed in the language of ‘citizen rights.’ In Peru, it was not until the 1980s that discourses of citizenship began to be used more explicitly by movements, and demands reframed in terms of citizen rights, in particular by urban movements in Lima following the transition to democracy (see Schönwälder, 2002; Stokes, 1995). These shifts are discussed only briefly below, but elaborated upon in subsequent chapters.

Contemporary research and debate on citizenship in Latin America has tended to be polarized: On the one hand there has been a focus on agency-centered narratives in which conceptions of citizenship are expanded beyond previous political-legal definitions to lay claim to unfulfilled rights (Alvarez, Dagnino and Escobar, 1998). On the other hand attention to citizenship has continued to be assessed in terms of institutional/state promotion of particular forms of citizenship or ‘citizen regimes’ (Yashar, 2005).²⁰ This includes corporatist regimes in the mid-20th century, characterized by class-based forms of interest mediation and the promotion of social and civil rights, and ‘neoliberal’

²⁰ The term ‘citizenship regime’ is credited to Jenson and Phillips (1996) who used it to refer to the changing ways in which general models of citizenship are “concretized” in particular places and times (p. 113). The varying ‘content’ of citizenship and the different ways in which citizens relate to the state is the focus of Yashar’s (2005) research on changing ‘citizen regimes’ and indigenous movements in Andean countries. Yashar distinguishes on the basis of who has access to citizenship, the form it takes (liberal/pluralist vs. corporatist/communitarian bases) and the types of civil, political and social rights recognized in each (2005, p. 47-48).

regimes in the latter half that privilege plural forms of interest mediation, and the political and civil rights of “responsible,” market-integrated citizens as clients and consumers (Yashar, 2005; Schild, 2000).

Taylor (2004) characterizes this distinction in terms of “citizenship as agency” with respect to the former, vs. “citizenship as belonging” (p. 155). ‘Belonging’ in this context refers to the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion that determine who enjoys specified civic, political and social rights. It also encompasses the symbolic and affective dimensions of community belonging such as nationalism and national identity. ‘Agency,’ on the other hand is about *who* gets to determine the boundaries of community and the bundle of associated rights. This invokes the history of citizenship as a process of ongoing contestation and negotiation not only around legal rights but also social status and conditions of citizenship. “Historically, the expansion of the franchise has, in many ways, been concerned with challenging the prejudices which have excluded some people from the ranks of explicitly political citizens...”(Taylor and Wilson, 2004, p. 156). This battle for ‘rights on paper’ has shifted to a struggle for ‘rights in practice,’ and is thus linked to discourses of human rights. There is a particularly rich set of examples of such struggles in the Andean region, where women’s movements, Indigenous organizations, gay rights and environmental activists have had measurable success in challenging the boundaries of citizen rights, the scope of citizenship and the social and cultural ‘places’ assigned to particular populations (Dagnino, 2003, p. 214). Although ‘agency vs. belonging’ is a useful way to distinguish between predominant approaches, it misses the mutually constitutive relationship between the two. That is, ‘belonging’ or criteria for

'inclusion' has historically been contingent on a particular forms of 'agency' or capacity – whether it be practices of hygiene, literacy, or audit and oversight.

Corporatist vs. neoliberal citizen regimes

Questions of citizenship through much of the 20th century in Latin America have also been oriented towards the relationship between citizens and the state and forms of 'interest mediation' (for example, corporatist or liberal/pluralist) within a state-society framework (Malloy, 1977; Schmitter, 1974; Yashar, 2005). Corporatist citizen regimes are considered to have defined the political landscape in the Andean countries through much of this period, characterized by forms of representation and mediation designated and supervised by the state (see Collier and Collier, 1977).²¹ Taking different forms within the region, under different types of regimes (civilian, military), corporatism has provided an important basis for comparative political analyses of Latin America. It is also considered to have been the key means through which bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes maintained control over popular sectors (O'Donnell, 1977).²² The 1930s and 1940s were considered to be a 'watershed' moment in Latin American history in this regard, characterized by economic crisis in the wake of worldwide depression, the exhaustion of export-oriented growth, the collapse of oligarchic rule, the growth of populism,²³ and the emergence of corporatist arrangements (Malloy, 1977).

²¹ Collier and Collier (1977) suggest that in Latin America, corporatism refers to a form of interest representation and mediation based on "noncompeting, officially sanctioned, state-supervised groups" that interact with the state in regularized ways, juxtaposed to pluralist forms of interest representation (p. 493).

²² O'Donnell (1977) contends that it was a particular form of corporatism that was implemented under bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, what he referred to as the 'statizing corporatization' of the popular sector characterized by efforts to depoliticize and produce inertia, rather than activate popular sectors (pp. 69-70).

²³ Populism most often refers to the combination of charismatic leadership, broad popular sector support, and few institutionalized mechanisms for political mediation between the populist and his supporters (see Roberts, 1995). Populism has no ideological content *per se*, but reflects a particular logic of political practice. As Laclau (2005) suggests, what is common to all forms of populism is the single division of

While the 1930s were considered to herald a ‘new political era’ in Peru with the emergence of new populist parties, exemplified by the *Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana* (APRA) party,²⁴ social mobilization was comparatively lower than elsewhere in the region (Palmer, 1977). This is attributed in part to the fact that workers were not key political actors to the same extent as in Brazil and Argentina for example, precluding the need for accommodation (Drinot, 2003). While workers were incorporated by new parties, the most pre-dominant of these, APRA, was banned from participating in formal politics for much of this period (Drinot, 2003). Relative to other countries in the region, Peru was thus considered a latecomer to corporatism, which was not considered to have been institutionalized until the late 1960s and 1970s, under General Velasco’s military regime, (discussed in detail in Chapter Three). Nevertheless, in the wake of increasing popular mobilization, from the 1940s onwards political leaders did make increasing efforts to accommodate demands for social protection and worker rights, for example. Malloy (1977) notes that citizenship (in terms of national belonging), was deployed as a basis for support in this context rather than narrower notions of class. (This increasing role of the state as social provider is also discussed in more detail in Chapter Three).

It is worth briefly noting here that questions of populism in Peru came to the fore again in the 1990s, with the victory of President Fujimori, considered to be emblematic of the so-called second generation of neo-populist leaders, distinguished from the populism of the 1940s and 50s in Latin America in combining populist politics with orthodox

population ‘the people’ (as internal frontier) versus the political class, with the former serving as a unifying referent for heterogeneous demands and deprivations.

²⁴ APRA, founded by Haya de la Torre in 1924, was considered to represent a relatively organized populist movement, (similar to the *Acción Democrática* in Venezuela and the *Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario* (MNR) in Bolivia). However, unlike populist movements at that time in Argentina (under Perón) and Brazil (under Vargas), APRA did not achieve formal political power until much later in the century (Malloy 1977).

economic reforms.²⁵ In most analyses, the emergence of neopopulist leaders is linked to acute institutional, political and/or economic crises such as the collapse of party systems or economic crisis, that serve to undermine existing forms of representation and create spaces and support for system ‘outsiders’ (Weyland, 2006; Roberts, 1995).²⁶ Other oft-pointed to examples include President Menem in Argentina (1989-99) and President Collor de Mello in Brazil (1990-92) who came to power in the context of economic crisis. The decline of traditional political parties is considered endemic in the Andean region, attributed to the failure of parties and elected leaders to redistribute wealth and redress the host of persistent social and economic problems; to the dissolution of parties due to internal division or loss of leadership; and to growing disenchantment with elitist and exclusionary patterns of rule (see Drake and Hershberg, 2006).

For the purpose of this research, I focus less on the emergence of corporatist politics and populist parties in the first half of the 20th century, of which excellent analyses abound (see for example Kláren, 2000; Drinot, 2011a; López, 1997; Crabtree, 2000), but on the particular narratives of moral-racial-cultural improvement that underpinned notions of the Peruvian citizen at this time, and which have received less attention. As Drinot (2011a) notes, the ways in which conceptions of race and racial improvement were imbricated with projects of modernization and progress at this time have tended to garner little attention in institutionalist or Marxist-inspired analyses of state formation, social politics, and the emergence of the social entitlements in Latin America at this time (p. 8). He suggests that the lens of governmentality thus provides a

²⁵ Subsequent distinctions have been made between those advocating strong neoliberal reforms such as Fujimori, and the so-called second generation neopopulists such as Toledo, Kirchner and Lula who are considered to have ‘softened’ but not fundamentally disrupt neoliberal models (Meltzer, 2009).

²⁶ Fujimori was considered to be one of the most successful neopopulist leaders in Latin America (Weyland, 2006, p. 14), who had significant popular support despite his self-coup in 1992.

particularly useful analytical framework for “...for moving beyond the cooptation or incorporation paradigm” to look at state agencies and actions neither just as “mechanisms of cooptation nor simple expressions of autonomous bureaucratic rationalities or elite interests” (p. 9), but as elements in a governmental project of civilization and improvement that would lead to national integration and progress.

Corporatist citizen regimes were considered to give way to neoliberal citizenship regimes through transitions to democracy in the last three decades of the 20th century, marking a shift away from representation via organized social sectors towards (neo)liberal citizenship regimes premised on the individual (Yashar, 2005). These shifts, and the turn towards ‘active citizenship’ are discussed briefly below, as well as the way in which the present research intersects with these debates.

‘A crisis of citizenship’: Democratization and the active citizen

Citizenship is considered to have undergone a “revival” in both Western political thought and mainstream development practice since the mid-1990s, particularly civic versions that give primacy to active participation in public life (Burchell, 1995, p. 540; Kymlicka and Norman, 1995). Citizenship increasingly became a central focus of political debate and analysis in Latin America in the 1980s and 1990s, largely in the context of the ‘third wave’ of democratization in the region (Jelin, 1996).²⁷ The key role that social movements played in this context in mobilizing against authoritarian regimes is well-documented, as well as the ways in which citizen and human rights were deployed as a “fundamental instrument” in this context (Dagnino, 1998, p. 48; Eckstein, 2001; Jelin,

²⁷ See Linz and Stepan (1997) and Rueschemeyer, Stephens, and Stephens (1992) for influential analyses of democratic consolidation, and the criteria by which it is measured; and O’Donnell (1997) and Vilas (1997) for critiques of its teleological determinism and neglect of the challenges to consolidation posed by inequality and exclusion, for example.

1996).²⁸ In addition to demands for political and civil rights, this included the politicization of basic needs as a right by urban popular movements and self-help organizations that emerged in conditions of harsh austerity (Dagnino, 1998). Certainly in Peru, the claim to rights on the basis of '*ciudadanía*' or citizenship expanded through the 1980s, notably with the opening up of political spaces within local government, as well as through the proliferation of 'survival movements' (such as community kitchens) in the wake of growing economic crisis (Schönwälter, 2002). Discourses of citizen (and human) rights were also considered crucial to the return to democracy and removal of Peruvian President Fujimori from office in 2000, following dramatic revelations of political corruption.²⁹ These movements in Peru, and the region as a whole, have not only mobilized discourses of citizenship and citizen rights as a way to lay claim to individual and collective rights but to re-define the meaning and content of citizenship through this process.³⁰ The edited collection by Alvarez, Dagnino and Escobar (1998) stands out among a rich body of analyses on these 'new' social movements in Latin America. In contrast to more formal institutional approaches, they look at the 'cultural politics' of

²⁸ Starting in the 1970s, and increasingly through the 1980s and 90s, movements (as well as other actors including NGOs, churches, development organizations and foundations), have drawn upon human rights as a way to demand change, harnessed to regional and international human rights networks (see Jelin, 1996; Garretón, 1996; Sikkink, 1996). Sikkink notes that the number of human rights organizations in Latin America expanded dramatically through the 1980s, including in Peru that had an estimated 50 to 60 domestic human rights organizations by the 1990s (p. 66). She suggests that this growing human rights network and the increase in human rights NGOs in Peru was one of the reasons for the relatively quick international outcry and return to democracy in Peru in the 1990s (1996, p. 61-62).

²⁹ In 2000, President Fujimori was forced from office after Congress voted on his "moral incapacity" to govern, following the revelation of pervasive corruption that included illicit strategies to sway public opinion and harass opponents. At the center of the regime's political manipulation machinery was the head of the SIN (National Intelligence Service) and Fujimori's right-hand man, Vladimiro Montesinos. The extent of Fujimori's and Montesino's corruption was made public in hundreds of secret videotapes revealing vast networks of corruption that included the judiciary and media (see Conaghan, 2005 for an excellent account).

³⁰ As Isin and Nielsen (2008) have also noted, multiple 'ways of being or becoming citizens' have emerged, which has expanded from longer standing conceptions, for example of the worker-citizen, warrior-citizen and parent-citizen to include ecological, indigenous, consumer, cosmopolitan, and global forms of citizenship (p. 1).

movements, to show how discourses and practices of movements potentially “destabilize and thereby—at least partially—transform the dominant discourses and exclusionary practices” of government in the region,” including by re-signifying what ‘counts’ as political (p. 11-12). As Alvarez et. al. (1998) put it:

...[P]opular movements, along with feminist, Afro-Latin American, lesbian and gay, and environmental movements, have been instrumental in constructing a new conception of democratic citizenship, one that claims rights in society and not just from the state, and that challenges the rigid social hierarchies that dictate fixed social places for its (non)citizens on the basis of class, race, and gender...

(Alvarez et. al., 1998, p. 12)

There are also important analyses of the gains made by Indigenous groups in particular in advancing alternate conceptions of citizenship, culture, and community and more recently in acquiring formal political power (Van Cott 2003).³¹

While transitions to democracy expanded certain citizen rights, for example suffrage, it is still the case that most citizens in the Andean region do not enjoy the full social or civil rights outlined in Marshall’s model. This is evident in persistent poverty and high levels of inequality, violence and corruption, as well as weak legal and political systems and parties (Tulchin and Rutherford, 2007). As the UNDP’s 2004 report *Democracy in Latin America: Toward a Citizens Democracy*” concluded, the lack of

³¹ Isin and Nielson (2008) have also contributed to this line of inquiry by introducing the notion of ‘acts’ of citizenship, as an alternate approach that explores the multiple ways in which people ‘enact themselves’ as citizens, in ways that break with conventional forms (such as voting and paying taxes), and in doing so “rupture social-historical patterns” (p. 3). While these acts may have different dimensions (for e.g. ethical, cultural, sexual), they challenge the conventional boundaries of what constitute accepted actions (or ‘deeds’) of citizenship, and thus “...create a sense of the possible and of a citizenship that is ‘yet to come’ ...” (p. 4). Through this process, they can disrupt existing repertoires of action, advance new rights and disrupt or push the boundaries of existing orders (p. 10). Perhaps most significantly, the notion reframes ‘active citizenship’ by raising questions about “what constitutes ‘action’ in the first place” (p. 12).

engagement and disenchantment of citizens is one of the greatest threats to democracy in the region. The crisis of democracy in Latin America is thus simultaneously constituted as a “crisis of citizenship” understood as a problem of participation and a question of rights (Hagopian, 2007, p. 21). This growing citizen disenchantment with democratic governments is considered to symptomatic of the poor ‘quality’ of democracy in the Andean region in particular, which continues to be characterized as ‘weak’, ‘thin’ or of ‘low-intensity’ (Tulchin and Ruthenburg, 2007), and ‘disjunctive’ (Holston, 2007). Analyses have tended to link this to a host of problems in ‘state-society relations,’ which are considered to be “in crisis” the Andean countries (Drake and Hershberg, 2006, p. 1). These range from the absence of state ‘responsiveness’ and accountability to citizens, corruption, lack of confidence in weak institutions, weak political parties, and legislatures, and generally “faulty” linkages between citizens and the state that fail to integrate citizens’ demands into the governing process (Conaghan and Malloy, 1994). Social and economic exclusion are also identified as key contributing factors to this crisis, which manifests in social unrest, poor economic performance and ‘political corrosion’ (Drake and Hershberg, 2006, p. 1).

These questions of citizenship in relation to problems of democracy and state-society relations continue to be central to political analyses of Peru (see for example Tanaka, 2005; Crabtree, 2011; Panfichi, 2011; Remy, 2005; Cameron, 1994). Cotler’s important book, *Class, State, and Nation in Peru* (1978), which remains influential in contemporary debates, suggests that Peru’s failure to become an integrated nation was due to the absence of a sense of citizenship or belonging, attributed in part to the lack of a historical break with its oligarchic past (Cotler, 1978; Crabtree 2011, p. xviii). This

argument is re-affirmed and extended by Crabtree (2011) and others in a recent edited collection on *Fractured Politics* in Peru, which highlights the ‘poor quality’ of democracy. Evidence for this is found in Peruvians’ high levels of disenchantment with democratic institutions, parties and politicians, as suggested in consistently low-rankings in regional surveys on the ‘quality’ of democracy, such as *Latinobarómetro*, as well as in the broad decline in traditional forms of representation resulting in a “fractured politics,” which are seen as evidence of the absence of institutionalized linkages between ‘state and society’ (Crabtree, 2011, p. xix). In line with his earlier arguments, Cotler (2011) characterizes politics in Peru, particularly in the latter half of the 20th century, in terms of chronic instability resulting from failed efforts at incorporation and national integration, resulting in constant social conflict and recurring political crisis (p. 54). He describes the cycling between orthodox and reformist governments and policies as the “Peruvian pendulum,” that has prevented institutional development in Peru, and contributed to a persistence of clientalistic practices and ineffective bureaucracy and public service (2011, p. 53-58). He suggests it is this instability that fosters social unrest and in some cases violence, which in turn exacerbates the instability, made worse by periods of extreme economic crisis. Despite the view that there has been political and economic progress post-2000, the view that these problems of citizenship and integration are not yet resolved prevails (see Tanaka, 2005; Cotler, 2011; Crabtree, 2011; Panfichi, 2011). The persistence of ‘fractured’ politics is also seen in the limited success of broad efforts post-2000 to promote citizen participation and redress problems exclusion (Panfichi, 2011). While these analyses are timely and important, they tend to reproduce the sharp distinctions between state and society or civil society which, as Chatterjee (2005) reminds

us, are so fundamental to narratives of modernization. As noted earlier, the present research starts from a different understanding of government, not as a separate set of institutions but as an activity, operating through a range of techniques, spaces, organizations and programs--some of the advantages of which are discussed in a later section.

The ‘active’ citizen

It is increasingly the ‘active’ citizen that is harnessed to contemporary projects of democratization and development in the region post-1990 (this is elaborated on in later chapters, and therefore only briefly discussed here). As part of its contemporary revival, some of the most interesting new developments in citizenship studies in and on Latin America look at the paradoxical deployment of ‘active’ citizenship by both the left and right, in bottom-up resistance movements and neoliberal policy-making (Dagnino, 2007; Schild 2000; Franceschet and Macdonald, 2004; Rojas, 2007). In this respect, neoliberal and emancipatory projects are seen to exhibit what Dagnino refers to as a “perverse confluence” in their mutual emphasis on active citizen participation in political and social life (Dagnino, 2007).

Critical attention to the ‘active citizen’ has also been at the center of another growing body of research on new forms of neoliberalism that have become an increasingly important object of analysis in social science research since the late 1990s (Barnett, 2010), including in Latin America (see Perreault and Martin, 2005; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Jayasuriya, 2006; Macdonald and Ruckert, 2009). These analyses highlight the fact that contemporary forms of neoliberalism in Latin America are no longer characterized by the structural adjustment policies of the 1980s and 1990s that packaged

privatization, deregulation, and liberalization of trade and finance with a reduced role for the state in social service provision, collectively coined as the Washington Consensus. Criticism of these reforms and the political shift towards the left in many South American countries have raised provocative questions as to whether this represented the “death of neoliberalism” or just a transformation towards a different *kind* of neoliberalism (see Macdonald and Ruckert, 2009). The view that repercussions of these orthodox reforms triggered a metamorphosis of the neoliberal project, marked by a re-institutionalization of the state and the normalization and extension of a market logic to encompass new spatial and social frontiers, is widely held (see for example Peck and Tickell, 2002; Perreault and Martin, 2005). This line of inquiry focuses on the ways in which renewed national and international attention to social policy agendas to redress poverty and inclusion, and a ‘re-institutionalization’ of the state (*neodesarollismo*) remain in many cases congruent with a neoliberal economic logic. This mutation of neoliberalism has been alternately described in terms of ‘roll out,’ ‘softer’ or ‘inclusive’ neoliberalism, defined by the grafting of a positive liberal emphasis on empowerment and participation onto neoliberal macroeconomic models of development (Craig and Porter, 2006, p. 12). This is considered to have created a new hybrid that allows neoliberal reforms to persist by way of a shallow re-embedding of markets for example through the promotion of greater citizen participation (Craig and Porter, 2006).

The active citizen in this context is defined by their ability to productively engage in a market economy, contingent on a presumed rational economic orientation in making ‘wise’ consumer choices. This model not only allows the market to persist as key mechanism of citizen integration, but empowerment through participation is implemented

as a technical-institutional solution, which fails to overtly politicize problems of poverty and exclusion or the political-economic model that produces them. Jayasuriya (2006) suggests that this socialization of the market model, in which social problems are aligned with market imperatives, distinguishes contemporary forms of social democracy and the Left-leaning leaders that have emerged in Latin America from earlier models of postwar welfarism or the developmentalist state. Evidence for this is found in new social policy agendas that neither fundamentally alter neoliberal economic models nor redress inequality through significant redistribution (Jayasuriya, 2006). Certainly, the absence of a “pure” form of neoliberalism is now widely acknowledged (Larner, 2003; Peck and Tickell, 2002). However, from (neo)Gramscian and (post)Marxist perspectives, these new forms of neoliberalism do not disrupt the view that neoliberalism is, as Harvey (2005) puts it “...in the first instance a theory of political economic practices which proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, free markets and free trade...” (p. 2). Collectively, these analyses of new forms of neoliberalism in the region are useful in illuminating novel forms of neoliberal hegemony, as well as persistence and permutation of the market model. In Latin America, this is helpful in understanding the policies of the ‘New Left’ including former Presidents Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (Lula) (2003-2010) and his successor Dilma Rousseff (2011-) in Brazil, Cristina Kirchner (2007-) in Argentina, Michelle Bachelet (2006-2009) in Chile and Ollanta Humala (2011-) in Peru for example.

The lens of Foucaultian-inspired governmentality contributes to these debates in several of the ways identified earlier, for example in focusing attention on how particular

‘active’ citizen-subjectivities are produced within broader strategies of government. This lens is also helpful in looking at neoliberalism, not as a dichotomy between an interventionist versus non-interventionist state (Miller and Rose, 2008), but as a particular rationality of government, that reconfigures social behaviour in terms of an economic logic, and reorganizes forms of expertise and techniques of intervention (Larner, 2005; Lemke, 2003, p.177; Barry, Osborne and Rose, 1996, p. 14). Larner (2005) suggests that from the perspective of governmentality, neoliberal government becomes a “more complex and contradictory phenomenon,” entailing the emergence of “new spaces, socialities and subjectivities” (p. 10). This shifts the focus away from the identification of broad tactics of power (defined in terms of imposition or consent), towards the programmatic and productive dimensions of government in specific settings, which informs the present research.

While elements of a persistent neoliberal logic of governing may be prevalent in Peru and the region more broadly, as Barnett (2010) suggests, neoliberal government should not be deployed as a default explanation for everything going on. He cautions social scientists against assuming that neoliberalism is a coherent object of analysis, that entails a clear shift from state to market or welfare to market models of provision, or more generally, that it can explain everything that is unfolding in contemporary political-economic landscapes. Instead, he calls for more attention to what he refers to as “emergent public rationalities of contemporary governmentality” to better capture the heterogeneity and contradictions of actions (p. 286). For the present context, this means that programs for cash transfer or vigilant citizenship, for example, while exhibiting many of the traits associated a neoliberal logic of government, may not solely be reduced

to this, but also combine novel disciplinary tactics and forms of moral regulation. This increasing attention to hybridity and the novelty of specific arrangements, as well as the ways in which governmental efforts are reworked and transformed (see O’Malley, 1996; Li, 2007a; Walters, 2012), offer a potentially important way to address some of the problems raised by Barnett (2010). While this is acknowledged in the present research, it remains an area for further investigation, as discussed in the next section.

1.4 Key Contributions and Limitations

This dissertation seeks to make several modest contributions. It aims to show how the ‘good citizen-subject’ has been imagined, invoked, and reformed in different strategies of government at different moments in the past century in Peru, in relation to shifting ideas about progress and development. This line of inquiry provides a way to de-stabilize contemporary practices of citizen oversight or vigilance, which have become a widespread solution to problems of accountability and social development but have received little critical attention to date. In contrast to much of the research and academic debate on citizenship in relation to questions of democracy and development in Latin America discussed previously (and again in later chapters), it focuses not on the presence or absence of formal, legal dimensions of citizenship but rather on the different efforts undertaken by various authorities to reform the capacities and attitudes of citizens. This does not imply that problems related to citizen rights, or economic and social hardships more generally, do not ‘actually’ exist, or that reforms undertaken may not have positive impacts, but instead asks about how the problem of citizenship and the ‘Peruvian citizen’ is conceptualized and acted upon in different ways, as a way to render contemporary programs less familiar. Contemporary programs that promote citizen vigilance as a means

and ends to empowerment and accountability are currently widely considered to be a ‘good thing’—an organizational axis for social development programming, promoted by state and non-state organizations in Peru and elsewhere. To de-familiarize programs and activities that appear to be natural, neutral, or inherently useful serves as a preliminary critical tool, making it possible to ask questions about the assumptions within which these efforts are embedded and what types of actions and behaviours are legitimated, potentially expanding the parameters of political debates and opening new grounds for contestation (Rose, 1999, p. 277).

The dissertation also seeks to make a related conceptual contribution by using some of the analytical tools of governmentality to ask different questions about citizenship in Peru. This lens has rarely been turned to questions of government in Peru, with a few notable exceptions. These include Drinot’s (2011a) excellent work “The Allure of Labour: Workers, Race, and the Making of the Peruvian State” (2011a), which focuses on industrialization as a cultural project in the first half of the 20th century and as well as his article on neoliberal policies under President Alan García (2011b); and Stepputat’s (2005) analysis of the incorporation of Indians in the Peruvian Republic from the late 18th to late 19th centuries. However, the potential relevance of this lens for research on the region is evident in the small but growing body of work that draws upon the tool of governmentality including by Schild (2000, 2007) on the constitutions of client-citizens in Chile; Rojas (2004) on aid and the production of governable subjects; Lucissano (2006) on Mexico’s conditional cash transfer program (*Oportunidades*); Postero (2007) on Indigenous organizations in Bolivia; Fridman (2010) on neoliberal economy in Argentina, and Baldwin and Meltzer (2012) on ‘enviro-prenurial’ citizen-

subjects in Peru. (These various studies are not reviewed here, but are invoked in different chapters, as relevant).

Thus, in using some of the tools of governmentality to analyse a new site and sets of programs, the dissertation seeks to contribute to an emerging body of governmentality-inspired research in political studies on citizenship in the region. It also responds to a conceptual ‘invitation’ to extend the lens of governmentality to contemporary non-western contexts (Dean and Henman, 2004, p. 489). Foucauldian-inspired perspectives on power, knowledge and disciplinary tactics have been fruitfully applied to non-western (colonial and postcolonial) contexts (see Scott, 1995; Stoler, 1995; Ferguson, 1994; and Dirks, 1992 to cite but a few examples). However, as noted above, the lens of ‘governmentality,’ has tended to be directed primarily toward ‘modern’ western contexts. More recently, increasing attention to co-existing, heterogeneous forms of power in the ‘modern west’ has spurred the view that governmentality “...provides an analytical approach that is readily suited to examining peoples beyond the imagined limits of these geographic and cultural spheres, particularly in postcolonial sites where illiberal practices are enmeshed with liberal forms of governing...” (Dean and Henman, 2004, p. 489). I suggest that governmentality’s orientation towards the productive effects of specific programs of government is useful in this context for several reasons: it re-orientates analysis from a focus of “state failure”, party collapse, and weak governance (for example see Mainwaring, Bejarano and Pizarro, 2006) towards the strategies and practices of government that, although rarely coherent or fully realized, nonetheless have effects—in shaping subjectivities as well as particular spaces of action and intervention (Mitchell, 1991; Cruikshank, 1999; Miller and Rose, 1992; Li 2007a). This does not imply that this

approach should displace other productive lines of inquiry, but rather that it enables different types of questions to be raised. For example, in this case, questions about what counts as appropriate forms of behaviour and engagement with state institutions, which new capacities and responsibilities are required of citizens, and what moral and epistemological assumptions underpin them. In focusing on specific practices of citizenship in a particular time and place, this research also attempts to overcome, to some extent, the criticism levelled at more encompassing analyses that tend to reduce all political programs and practices to a ‘master category’ (such as neoliberal government) and as a result, potentially overlook the what is particular to the articulation of strategies of government within a given locale.

At the same time, the approach nevertheless provides a lens through which to explore some of the specific ways in which neoliberal governmental strategies are being re-articulated in present-day Peru. This seems particularly relevant at a time when Peru, and the Andean region more generally, is increasingly thought to have moved into a “post-Washington Consensus” moment, in its shift away from the orthodox economic reforms of the 1980s and early 1990s, and the success of left-leaning governments throughout the region, including Peru (Van Cott, 2005; Birdsall and Fukuyama, 2011). As Muñoz (the UNDP’s Regional Director for Latin America) suggested in a brochure for a recently published book (*El Estado de Ciudadanía. Transformaciones, logros y desafíos del Estado en América Latina el siglo XXI*), the region has entered into a “new phase...leaving behind the decades of neoliberal hegemony” (2011, p. 1).

As noted earlier, this line of inquiry (through an analytics of governmentality) is made possible through several conceptual shifts. This includes a shift away from

questions of causality (i.e. of what happened and why (Rose, 1999)), to a focus on how we are governed, or as Dillon (1995) broadly put it, how a particular political imaginary is executed (p. 333). It also entails a shift away from a state-society framework, and the understanding of the state as a set of institutions separate from distinct sphere of (civil) society, to view government as a set of wide-ranging activities and techniques to direct conduct, not just limited to state institutions.

As with any approach, this is not without its limits, stemming from the approach itself but also in the ways in which it is deployed. Governmental strategies are rarely singular, but more often operate in combination, an insight that is increasingly highlighted in recent works (see Walters, 2012; Legg, 2009; Valverde, 1996). For example, liberal modes of government in Peru that work through capacities/freedom also rely on illiberal tactics and various forms of coercion. Valverde (1996) points out that this persistence of illiberal or ‘despotic’ forms of government are not necessarily evidence of the failure of the liberal project but “in the heart of the paradigmatic liberal subject’s relation to himself” (p. 359). Programmes to cultivate particular (moral) habits, among people deemed ‘unfit’ to make the ‘right’ decisions—whether they be habits of hygiene, work or self-improvement—are examples of this. Valverde suggests that the concept of ‘habit’ is useful here, as it mediates between two seemingly contradictory aspects of liberal government: the emphasis on liberal autonomy and the persistent concern about the lack of capacity of certain individuals and populations for autonomous government. While this applies as much in western societies, for example in the criminal justice or welfare systems, as it does to non-western regions, it is particularly pronounced in latter (Hindess, 2004c).

In the present context, while I draw attention to the persistence and re-articulation of different strategies of government, for example of forms of moral regulation embedded in contemporary programs for development, I focus less on their intersection with overt forms of violence and coercion. In addition to the multiple forms of violence against indigenous populations enacted (and resisted) over the centuries (see Klarén, 2000), a variety of coercive tactics continue to be used in contemporary Peru. These range from programs for sterilization of women,³² to pervasive human rights abuses including the killing of protesters during demonstrations, harsh prison conditions and abuse of detainees, media intimidation, violence and discrimination against women, minorities and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people, as well as child labour exploitation (U.S. Dept. of State Human Rights Report, 2010). There are also many in Peru who remain outside the legal bounds of citizenship, without formal registration or birth certificates required for recognition as legal citizens and to access certain services and programs. The violence of widespread poverty is also pervasive in Peru—approximately 30% of Peru's population is considered to live below the poverty line and about 10% in extreme poverty, concentrated in rural areas (ECLAC, 2010). Attention to how liberal strategies operate alongside and through coercive tactics is a potentially important consideration for future research. Related to this is a tendency with the approach taken here to focus on ruptures rather than persistence, which risks conveying a sequentialism or sense of sharp discontinuities. Although the chapters are ordered chronologically and oriented towards juxtaposition, I try to counter this by drawing attention to the re-articulation of narratives of 'good citizenship' throughout the chapters. Nevertheless, the persistence of certain

³² As recently as the late 1990s in which a government family planning program targeted poor women for tubal ligation with systematic deficiencies in obtaining voluntary consent (see Ewig, 2010).

strategies of government and the hybrid ways in which these operate through specific programs will be useful to elaborate further in future work.

A further limitation of this research is that it does not address in detail the “messy actualities” (O’Malley et. al., 1997) of what happens as the various programs to reform citizens are implemented, and in this process potentially contested and re-worked. This was in part due to the scope of the research, and in particular the early stage of the programs for vigilant citizenship which were the starting point for the project. As Li (2007a) contends, analyses from a Foucaultian perspective have typically not paid adequate attention to these ‘practices of politics,’ and the ways in which people contest governmental programs of improvement, noting that these often become the basis for new forms of action (p. 25-26). In this respect she suggests that while Foucaultian approaches are best placed to show how different forms of power and practices of government ‘shape the conditions in which lives are lived’ (p. 25), it is Gramsci’s conception of situated struggles that may offer greater insight into how subjects mobilize.³³ This limitation is discussed further in the final chapter, and also identified as a potentially fruitful avenue for future research.

1.5 Overview of the Chapters

The chapters are structured around different narratives of citizenship in relation to changing problems of government at different moments in the 20th and early 21st centuries. As noted, the intent is not to provide a full account of ‘the history of citizenship in Peru,’ nor to suggest that these represent sequential breaks between these various

³³ Li (2007a) does not give primacy to either approach, but combines them in her analysis of programs of improvement in Indonesia and how these have been modified, refused and contested. She usefully reminds us that Gramsci did not conceive of resistance as something in the abstract, but as situated, embodied and embedded, as well as a process through which new meanings can emerge (pp. 22-26).

narratives. While the focus is on reconfigurations in the way in which the citizen-subject has been mobilized and produced, some attention is also given to persistence and re-articulation.

Chapter Two focuses on how ‘good citizenship’ was constituted through moral-racial and spatial narratives vis-à-vis a problem of national integration in the first part of the 20th century, at a time when the problem of ‘the Indian’ was considered to be a crucial question. It looks at how ‘good citizenship’ was defined through the project of *Indigenismo*, which centered on the one hand on the recovery and revalorization of Indian heritage, and on the other hand on the need to improve and reform these populations to render them ‘fit’ for national integration as Peruvian citizens. Empirically, this chapter draws heavily from an extensive package of census campaign materials, uncovered in the course of archival research in Lima, which had been commissioned in the late 1930s in the lead up to the first (post-Independence) national census held in 1940.³⁴ These materials, and the knowledges upon which they were based, show how ‘internal dangers’ to the Peruvian population and nation were constituted in moral-racial and cultural terms, with some persistence of biological accounts of ‘fitness’, particularly with regard to the perceived problem posed by lowland (Amazonian) Indian populations. (In focusing on the rarely considered materials produced in the lead-up to a census, including enumerator instruction manuals and census campaign materials, this Chapter also contributes to

³⁴ There has been very little written to date about these census materials. I came across them by chance, during the course of archival research at the National Institute for Statistics and Information (INEI), when a helpful librarian commented that they were ‘clearing out’ old materials related to the 1940 census which I had been inquiring about, including a stack of hundreds of pages of original copies of campaign materials, which were literally in the wastebasket.

expanding the conventional focus of critical analyses of census-taking on the census-proper).

Chapter Three focuses on the reconfiguration of the ‘good Peruvian citizen’ in the early second half of the 20th century, as national development was reformulated as a problem of security and structural reform. It situates this shift within the broader context of social citizenship and the growing role envisaged for the state in the provision of social insurance. A good portion of this chapter is oriented towards showing how the re-problematization of national development relied upon a reformulation of ‘national security’ to encompass economic and social development, constituted as a technical problem to be addressed through new expertise in planning. In Peru, this technical expertise was located within the military, fostered at the Center for Higher Military Studies (CAEM) through new research and curricula on national security and development. New ideas about economic dependency and modernization in the region underpinned this narrative, produced and promoted through regional and international projects by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the UN Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), for example. These ideas underpinned efforts to integrate Peruvian citizens not on the basis of racial, moral or cultural reforms but as peasants and workers, in the context of internal and external dangers posed by foreign capital and entrenched oligarchic interests. Changes in the way in which ‘good citizenship’ was mobilized in this context are primarily illustrated through programs and publications of the National System for the Support of Social Mobilization (SINAMOS), a state project for citizen capacitation established by the Velasco military government in 1971. There is a fairly extensive, existing body of work that analyses the Peruvian

military government in the 1960s and 70s, its programs and policies, predominantly through the lens of bureaucratic authoritarianism and corporatism, often in comparison to other regimes in the region (see for example Collier, 1979; Stepan, 1978; Jaquette, 1972; McClintock, 1977, 1983; Seligmann, 1995; Stepan, 1978). In contrast to this, rather than understanding programs such as SINAMOS as only part of larger corporatist projects, I re-read program materials to show how they also normalized new narratives and practices of ‘good citizenship.’ The last part of Chapter Three points to the persistence of earlier moral-racial narratives of ‘good citizenship’ showing how these continued to inform programs of reform.

In contrast to the narratives of citizenship based on solidarity, collective ownership and social entitlements vis-à-vis problems of unequal wealth distribution traced in Chapter Three, Chapter Four shows how new narratives of responsible citizenship came to prevail in the late 20th century in Peru, whereby the ‘good citizen’ is defined by the capacity to manage her own social and economic risks through the “accumulation of assets.” While I link this to a neoliberal strategy of government, I only briefly review the orthodox economic reforms in the 1990s and Fujimori’s self-coup (*auto-golpe*)—as there are many good analyses of these (see for example Conaghan and Malloy, 1994; Kay, 1996; Levitsky and Cameron, 2003; Manrique, 1996; Carrion, 2006; Conaghan, 2005). Instead, I focus on the re-orientation of social development policies and programs towards ‘asset accumulation,’ which among other things relied upon the development of new technologies to make the ‘asset-poor’ subject visible. The Chapter seeks to show how these new narratives of ‘good citizenship’ were operationalized in Peru’s conditional cash transfer program (the National Program for Direct Support for the

Poorest Populations - *Programa Nacional de Apoyo Directo a los Más Pobres* known as *Juntos*), focusing on the responsibilities and capacities required to practice ‘good citizenship’ in this context. The last part of the chapter points to the persistence of moral-racial tropes of uncivilized conduct, culture and hygiene in these programs of improvement, highlighting the hybridity of this particular arrangement that also entails disciplinary and coercive strategies of government.

Chapter Five looks at a related articulation of citizenship also embedded in assumptions about individuals’ responsibility to manage risk. However, in this case it is oriented toward the risks posed by a lack of state accountability, considered to be a central impediment to social development and democracy in Peru, to be resolved through novel practices of citizen oversight. It focuses on the emergence of programs to foster citizen vigilance as a form of ‘social accountability,’ in the context of new commitments to democracy, accountability, and transparency following the return to democratic rule post-Fujimori, promoted through bottom-up political mobilization as well as international development programming. Within this problematic, citizens are responsible for direct, ongoing monitoring and oversight or ‘vigilance’ of government budgets and expenditures with the goal of ensuring transparent and efficient use of resources. In this chapter, I argue that practices of social accountability and citizen vigilance are distinct from other practices of citizen participation, responsibilizing citizens in new ways and constituting a new terrain of intervention and reform. The final part of the chapter shows how this is operationalized in Peru, through a heterogeneity of new laws, instruments and programs created to provide spaces ‘*de encuentro*’ between vigilant citizens and the state, and how the state is made ‘legible’ in specific ways as part of this process.

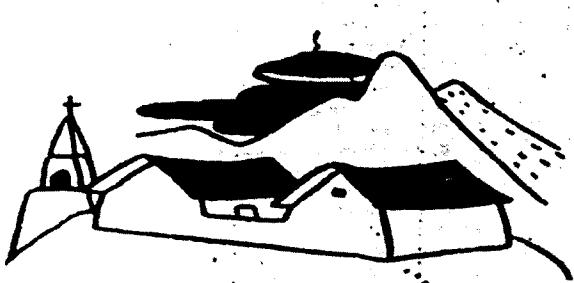
Chapter Six also focuses on vigilant citizenship, specifically on how the vigilant citizen is imagined and produced through training programs to instill the necessary capacities, skills and attitudes required to practice vigilance. It reads off programs, texts, trainers' manuals, graphics and tools deployed by state and non-state organizations to train citizens how to oversee government budgets and services. The analysis of these materials is not hermeneutic, that is, I do not aim to 'interpret' these texts in order to 'uncover' hidden motives, singular interests or 'real' underlying objectives. Instead, I look at the programs and program materials on their own terms, their objectives, language, categories and the capacities and practices of 'good citizenship' they seek to foster. I focus on four vigilance training programs in particular implemented by the hybrid state/non-state *Mesa de Concertación* of Metropolitan Lima and three non-state organizations--the *Grupo Propuesta Ciudadana*, *Asociación Civil Transparencia*, and the *Forum Solidaridad Perú*. The central argument in this Chapter is that the citizen-subjectivity produced through these training programs is constituted as a particular type of responsible moral agent, charged with ongoing oversight to ensure good governance, defined by measures of performance such as efficiency and transparency. It also shows how prescribed practices of 'good' citizen vigilance circumscribes what counts as 'empowerment' and 'appropriate' engagement with authorities, which precludes challenging prevailing policies or the larger economic-political order. While vigilant citizenship is shown to be embedded in, and help normalize, a logic of individualized management of social and economic risks, I also highlight the persistent moral narratives that are reproduced through these training programs, and point to some of the incoherencies and contradictions that emerge as they are implemented.

Chapter Seven reviews and reflects on the central points raised in the dissertation, as well as some of its limitations and potential avenues for future investigation. Collectively, the Chapters support the central argument in this dissertation that the ‘good Peruvian citizen-subject’ has been mobilized and produced in different ways at different points in time through the 20th and early 21st centuries in Peru, in the context of changing strategies of government and programs of reform. The effects of these respective programs on subjectivity and conduct are not determinate, and the focus on authoritative (official) narratives, whether in the early 20th century or today, is of course never enough. However, it does offer insight into the shifting concerns of government and the way in which these circumscribe areas of action and intervention. This is useful in de-stabilizing contemporary programs promoting vigilant citizenship that are not just obvious responses to given problems of government and development, but entail particular responsibilities and capacities, and are thus part of a long but discontinuous history of citizen ‘improvement’ and reform.

CHAPTER TWO

MORAL, RACIAL, AND SPATIAL NARRATIVES OF ‘GOOD CITIZENSHIP’ IN THE FIRST PART OF THE 20TH CENTURY

2.1 Introduction: A Story



‘The village of Huanipaca’ (Runa Yupay, J. M. Arguedas, 1939, p. 9)

In 1939, a pamphlet was distributed by the Peruvian National Census Commission to Indigenous communities throughout the Peruvian Highlands containing a story entitled *Runa Yupay*, which roughly translated from Quechua as ‘counting people.’ The story was written by one of Peru’s foremost Indigenist novelists of the 20th century, José María Arguedas, commissioned by the Census Commission.¹ The tale of *Runa Yupay* was set in the actual town of Huanipaca, located in the Andean province of Apurimac, near Choquequirao or the Inca ‘City of Gold,’ known as the final site of resistance to the Spanish conquest. In the story, Huanipaca is described as idyllic—surrounded by verdant forests, clear streams that naturally irrigate traditional crops, facing snow-capped mountains and overlooking the large landholdings (*haciendas*) in the valleys below. Life

¹Arguedas was an anthropologist and novelist, a self-titled ‘modern Quechua’ of *mestizo* parents raised in the highlands by Quechua household servants. His writing in the 1930s (which included ethnography, literature, autobiography, poetry, and prose) was considered both catalytic and emblematic of *Indigenista* thinking, that combined utopic accounts of pre-conquest Inca heritage with a focus on the contemporary ‘Indian problem’ and the tensions between ‘preservation’ and ‘progress’ (see García, 2005). This idea is explored in more detail later in this Chapter.

for the Indigenous of Huanipaca is simple and pastoral, they descend to town for traditional festivals with music and dancing in the central plaza, in contrast to the Indians working on the *haciendas*, who are prohibited by landowners from participating and described as sitting silently drunk or asleep “in disorder and without sense” (*en desorden y sin juicio*) (p. 15). Contrary to previous imaginings of the highlands as sites of degeneration, backwardness and moral decay, the story emphasizes the physical and moral dangers in moving “down from the highlands,” away from “pure air” manifesting in alcoholism and lethargy. The story also points out the physical and health repercussions associated with ‘wayward Indians’—the haciendas located in the valley below Huanipaca are described as yellow blemishes amongst dark trees, where fever reigns: “...*Las haciendas se ven como manchas amarillas entre los árboles oscuros...en esas haciendas reina la terciana...*” (Arguedas, 1939, p. 12).

The school in Huanipaca is the center of village life, located next to the church, as depicted in the above sketch. The schoolmaster is neither Indigenous nor from Huanipaca, but was educated in Lima, the son of a shopkeeper from the larger town of Abancay. Although not Indigenous, the schoolmaster is lauded by the locals for his “Indigenous appearance”—“...his short eyebrows, narrow forehead, thick hair and hands and the dark face...” (p. 13). In this story, the schoolmaster is well-liked, dedicated to educating the Indigenous village children, encouraging parents to send them to school, promising them that their sons will “become useful,” learning, for example, to prevent goitre and other illnesses associated with the Indigenous populations of the highlands. The schoolmaster is also the villagers’ link to the outside world, receiving news and newspapers from Lima, which he relays each week to interested locals.

During the particular week in which the story unfolds, the schoolmaster receives news that a national census is to take place. He tells them that the census will “take the pulse of the nation” to assist Peru to “move forward and progress,” by providing crucial information to the government to allow them to “properly guide” the process. He explains that “the State must attend to the needs of its people, but to do so it must first know their needs” (p. 28). They are reminded that the forthcoming census has roots in a glorious Indigenous heritage in its similarity with the Incan tradition of taking stock of people in the Empire.

On the day of the census state officials arrive and the ‘*Indios*’ of Huanipaca enter in a procession into the central square, playing instruments and waving a “small but clean” Peruvian flag. The officials and the schoolteacher make a formal presentation about the census in Spanish and in Quechua, stating that the government is like a “man with many children...who wants to help them all...” (p. 50), and therefore needs to “know about them in detail, their number and needs” (Arguedas, 1939 p. 50-51).

This story was distributed by the Peruvian National Census Commission as part of an extensive campaign to promote the national census undertaken on June 9th, 1940. There are several narratives woven through this tale that stand out: the centrality of the schoolteacher as a symbol and catalyst of progress, and education as a source of social improvement; the heavy promotion of the national census and efforts to solicit cooperation; as well as the emergence of the state as social provider and the biopolitical impulse to produce and manage the ‘needs’ of a ‘Peruvian’ population. Equally significant for the present context are the implicit and explicit racial and spatial narratives

of good conduct and citizenship that contrast utopic bio-cultural account of Indigenous body, culture, and space with the moral and physical degeneration of those who have left.

This story provides a useful point of entry for this Chapter, which aims to show how the problem of citizenship was articulated through moral-racial and spatial narratives in the first part of the 20th century, at a time when the place of “the Indian” vis-à-vis the nation was considered to be a “burning” political question (Rowe, 1947, p. 208). The prevailing political imaginary revolved around the problem of racial integration which was seen as necessary for modernization and development of the Peruvian nation and national citizenry. This requisite, which was contingent on fluid accounts of race, underpinned various projects of citizen reform.

My aim in this chapter is not to provide a full account of ‘the history of citizenship in Peru,’ nor of (post)colonial forms of racialized oppression and the ways in which this was subverted, resisted, or appropriated—on which there exists a rich body of work (see for example, Mallon, 1995; Thurner, 1997; Stern, 1982; De la Cadena, 2000). Instead, in looking at academic texts, government documents, and training and educational programs in the first half of the 20th century, I aim to show how citizenship was produced and problematized through bio-cultural and moral-racial tropes and thus made amenable for particular forms of intervention. The Chapter thus supports the broader argument being made in the dissertation in showing ‘the good citizen’ as contingent, constituted in relation to particular problems of government and through varying programs of improvement.

The Chapter is structured as follows: the first part shows how national integration and citizenship were constituted as a problem of racial, cultural, and moral reform, and

situating this (briefly) within the broader historical context of (late) colonial rule. It then focuses on how citizenship was re-articulated in the 1920s and 30s through official narratives of *Indigenismo* (Indigenism). This project centered on the one hand on the recovery and revalorization of Indian heritage and on the other on the need to improve and reform these populations to render them ‘fit’ for national integration. The Chapter draws heavily from an extensive package of campaign materials prepared in the late 1930s in the lead up to the 1940 national census to show how the problems of integration and citizenship were understood at this time and the knowledges upon which they were based, including moral-climatology and ideas about ‘Andean biology’. While the campaign materials reproduced and normalized racial hierarchies in line with Indigenist discourse on the problem and potential of ‘the Indian,’ they also show the persistence of biological (determinist) accounts of race, reflecting the complexities of narratives of race and citizenship at this time. The final part of the Chapter focuses on specific projects that were undertaken to improve Indian citizen-subjects through state and non-state programs such as Sanitation and Cultural Brigades.

2.2 Colonial Legacies, Problems of Race, and National Integration

As noted in the introductory chapter, there is a rich body of literature on the racial, spatial, class-based, and gendered hierarchies that have historically constituted the boundaries of citizenship, inclusion, and social order in colonial and post-colonial Andean contexts (see Larson, 2004; Rojas, 2001; Yashar, 2005; Clark, 1998a; Wilson, 2003; Steppatut, 2004). Problems of race and integration in questions of Peruvian national development and citizenship in the early 20th century were shaped by colonial legacies. From the colonial period through the first part of the 20th century (and with

some persistence), various character flaws and amoral practices were explicitly identified as obstacles to projects of civilization (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1999). As Larson (2004) noted, a key problem facing the project of national integration was the existence of a large Indigenous population, and the disjuncture between the founding liberal principles of equality and economic modernization and extreme stratification along lines of race. Under colonial rule practices of social ordering had been principally oriented towards separating ‘the Indian’ from ‘non-Indian’ through the creation of two ‘republics’—Spanish and Indian. This division allowed Spanish colonists, largely through the Catholic Church, to pursue proselytizing and civilizing projects through which the “the Indigenous population would hypothetically acquire the virtues of Christian civility and good government” (Klarén, 2000, p. 136). This system would also provide a means to structure tribute collection: “...Although ostensibly created to protect the Indian population against exploitation by the settlers, the “republic of Indians became a euphemism for a regime of de-tribalization, regimentation, Christianization, tribute and forced labour”” (from Bethell, 1984 p. 82 in Klarén, 2000, p. 61).

Indian populations were moved into larger settlements; they were granted communal lands and limited self-government in return for tributary tax or ‘*contribución*’ paid to local (and brutal) *encomenderos* (through Indian agents or Curacas) designated by the Spanish Crown. Whilst the complexity of pre-existing ethnicities and social relations were to some extent erased under colonial rule, reduced to three broad phenotypic categories of Indian, *mestizo* and Mulatto, there was also evidence of great preoccupation over questions of racial mixing. Klarén (2000) makes this point:

By the 18th century, the elaboration of such a caste system had reached such a seemingly pathological obsession that there were extraordinarily elaborate attempts to categorize the multifarious permutations and combinations of interracial couplings. This classification went hand in hand with the idea that one could ascend the social order through intermarriage with a lighter racial counterpart, producing a ‘whitening’ effect in one’s offspring. Cahill (1994) uncovered one such genealogical system of classification in eighteenth century Cuzco that provided a grand total of twenty-one socioracial categories (español + indio = mestizo real; mestizo + india=cholo; tente en aire + india = salta atras and so on). (Klarén, 2000, p. 94)

Despite official Independence in 1824 and the declaration of a Peruvian nation of equals, the socio-racial and economic hierarchical structures constituted under colonial rule persisted. As Thurner (1997) put it, in writing about the complex postcolonial legacies, “...the classical liberal-republican ideal of propertied citizenship and unmediated rule was bracketed by the expedient politics of the postcolonial predicament: countless *caudillismos*, liberal dystopias, positivist racisms, destabilizing subaltern readings...” (p. 148). Initially, creole elites altered the status of Indians and Indian communities which had been protected under colonial rule in return for tribute. Under a banner of nationalism and emancipation, Indians were re-labeled as Peruvians, as proclaimed by San Martín in a famous quote from 1821: “in the future the aborigines shall not be called Indian or natives; they are children and citizens of Peru, and they shall be known as Peruvians” (Lynch, 1973 in García, 2005, p. 165).

Nevertheless, the non-equal, non-citizen status of the Indian was entrenched in the first post-Independence Constitution written in 1823 that prohibited Indians (identified by provincial census records and registration for tribute as well as race and community affiliation) from learning to read or write, owning lands or exercising a profession. Under San Martín and later Bolívar's 'liberal utopianism,' the colonial system of tribute payments and protection was dismantled, community lands privatized, and communal self-rule prohibited. But the loss of revenue and appropriation of land by non-Indian settlers resulted in the revocation of these reforms a few years later. This was embodied in the Law of 1828 that grafted liberal property rights (associated with citizenship) onto earlier programs of tribute (Larson, 2004, p. 143). The Law promoted individual property rights and prohibited the sale of Indigenous lands to non-Indians, but it also restored the *contribución* (Indian head tax) and applied literacy requirements on citizenship, creating an ambiguous, in-between status for Indians, what Thurner (1997) described as being between "tributary subject and propertied citizen generat[ing] a subaltern form of Indian citizenship wrapped up in the hybrid notion of *republicano...*" (p. 35).

The extent to which Indians should be formally granted rights became a central point of contestation between liberal and conservative elites post-Independence; the former argued for a formal recognition (partial) of Indigenous rights, despite denying them in practice, whereas conservatives excluded them from the political community from the outset (López, 1997).² The racial distinctions between Indian/non-Indian (*Castas*) were maintained in postcolonial tax registers, although the language was modified, with *Indios* becoming *Indígenas* and "white" merging with 'mestizo' (Thurner,

² See Duenas (2010) for a detailed history of the role of educated 'elite' Indians and *Mestizos*, in challenging Spanish colonial rule in the 17th and 18th centuries.

1997, p. 36).³ In what Davies (1974) refers to as the first reliable census in 1876, ‘Indians’ made up close to 58% of the total population of about 2.7 million.

Post-Independence narratives about race and Peruvian citizenship were informed by early Indigenist discourse on the imagined Peruvian nation and prevailing liberal ideas of equality, that existed in tension with everyday economic exploitation and cultural devaluation of ‘the Indian’. Indigenism in this context was deployed to disparage colonial rule—a central project for elite intellectuals. In this project, Indian oppression stood as a symbol of colonialism’s excesses, and ‘the Indian’ was recast as a potentially redeemable subject through physiological and moral reform (Portocarrero and Oliart, 1989, p. 19). In this discourse the Indian was defined as “brother and compatriot” on the basis of a presumed continuity between the Inca civilization and post-Independence Peru, but was viewed as culturally and biologically degenerate as result of colonial rule. This idea was revived and reworked in the 1920s and 30s and discussed in more detail later in this Chapter.

Projects for racial improvement were part of broader competing programs for national development and modernization throughout this period. These were embodied, for instance in *Civilista* President Pardo’s (founder of the liberal *Civilista* party and first civilian President 1872-76) program for national development, which explicitly blamed Peru’s lack of development on colonialism and the failure to integrate Indian populations

³ Larson (2004) suggests that the Creole political elite governed through four “paradigms” of Indian policy reform post-Independence through the 19th century. The first centered on free-market reforms in the 1850s that imagined the Indian as property holder and labourer; the second through “extractive and punitive actions” in the mid-1860s that saw the re-instatement of the head-tax; the third entailed a state-lead civilizing/assimilationist campaign (to the mid 1870s) under the ‘civilista’ regime of President Manuel Pardo (1872-6) with education as the key means to “Hispanize” Indigenous populations; and the fourth was a paternalist approach in the context of the War of the Pacific (1879-83), manifest in President Pierola’s self-appointment as “Protector of the Indian Race” that paid lip-service to liberal citizen equality but without substantive action (p. 152-162). Through each of these, Indigenous populations were alternately imagined as labourers, backwards, disenfranchised, equal, uncivil, and so forth.

into the state. The “moral progress” of the Indian population was linked to Peru’s material progress, to be realized by using revenues from the guano boom to promote internal development, through railroad and road construction and other public works:

“...Without railroads, there can be no real material progress today; and even though it may seem an exaggeration, without material progress there can be no moral progress in our masses because material progress gives the population wellbeing, and removes them from the brutalization and misery...” (Excerpt from Pardo’s Speech quoted in Kristal, 1987, cited by Klarén, 2000, p. 174).⁴ Moral reform was thus a form of regulation and source of improvement, underpinning programs for sanitary, cultural and educational reform to turn ‘Indian’ into citizens , in which habit, hygiene, sobriety and other measures of moral worth are bound up with ideas about progress and provided a basis for distinguishing ‘good citizens.’⁵

By the late 19th century, however, questions of race and racial improvement were increasingly recast in evolutionary and biological terms. As Larson (2004) notes, this entailed on the one hand a shift away from principles of liberal-universalism towards positivism; on the other hand the emergence of diagnostic sciences that allowed “social reformers to use that normalizing knowledge to assess the congenital or cultural capacity

⁴ Of course projects for moral regulation and character improvement were blended with oppressive tactics that denied civil and political citizen rights (including voting and property rights) to Indians (as well as Afro-American and Asian minorities) (see Klarén, 2000).

⁵ Academic attention to moral reform projects as form of regulation emerged in late 1970s, as part of broader critiques of capitalism and capitalist state formation (Valverde, 1994, p. vi). Corrigan and Sayer’s *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution* (1985) remains an important point of reference in this context, in its attention to the “routines and rituals” of the state that are central to its formation, and the way in which certain behaviours and subjectivities are normalized through moral regulation. This moved beyond the view of the state as singular, coercive or consensus-producing to focus on how cultural activities constitute and sustain particular social orders, in part by unifying multifaceted histories and experiences; and legitimizing particular identities at the expense of others (1985, p. 3-6). The possibility of improving character through moral reform had the advantage that it could be acquired through reform, and harnessed for social and political transformation (White, 2005, p. 476).

of Indians to improve themselves and their race for the greater good of the nation” (p. 64). Scientific explanations in this context were drawn upon selectively, to construct hierarchical racial taxonomies without the constraints of biological determinism, in order to open the possibility for improvement and social-racial “ascent” (De la Cadena, 1998a, p. 25; Larson, 2004, p. 64).⁶ This shift towards evolutionary/biological explanations is manifest within the writing of then-editor of the prominent national paper *El Comercio*, Luis Carranza. In an 1883 essay, Carranza attributed Indian ‘passivity’ to economic exclusion and poor government under the guano boom and Aristocratic Republican rule (in Thurner, 1997, p. 131). Yet, just two years later in 1885, he wrote an explicitly evolutionary, biological account of Indian ‘capacity’ focusing on his “lymphatic temperament...sad and severe physiognomy...who revels in a paralyzed intellect in the midst of a slow but certain progress...” In explicit evolutionary terms, Carranza adds that “...psychologically the Indian...is in the order of moral types what the mammoth preserved in the snows of the Siberian Sea is in the order of organic types...” (in Thurner 1997, p. 132).

However, not only were biologically determinist accounts disadvantageous for projects of nation-building and racial improvement in Latin America, but hierarchies of biological race became increasingly taboo through the first part of the 20th century, and more so post-WW II in efforts to eschew Nazism (García, 2005; Stern, 2003; Weismantel and Eisenman, 1998). Race was thus “recoded” in cultural and socio-economic terms,

⁶ De la Cadena traces three “post-biological” conceptual periods of race in Peru: In the first, from 1910-1930, race was primarily conceived of as a moral disposition; in the second 1930-60, cultural and class analyses predominate over biological, biogeographical and moral accounts, and in the third period 1960-1980, distinctions are drawn primarily in economic terms, reflecting in part leftist opposition to culture and race as false consciousness (1998b, p. 144). The contingency of race more generally is also reflected in its ‘re-biologization’ through the ‘molecular gaze’ of genomic research (see Rabinow and Rose, 2006).

apparently absolving its proponents of racism, opening space for ‘legitimate’ debate around ‘acquired’ attributes of culture and education (De la Cadena 1998b, p. 160). Therefore, whereas late-19th century accounts tended to link ‘Indian’ characteristics to an innate causes such as ‘Indian nature’ or ‘congenital degeneration,’ by the mid-20th century they became increasingly understood as cultural attributes that could potentially be overcome, allowing for the possibility of inclusion into the nation-state (De la Cadena, 2000; Zulawski, 2000, p. 110; Wilson, 2003). Evidence for this was found in the new centrality of culture in anthropological research, for instance in the likes of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown (Weismantel and Eisenman, 1998). Framing these problems in terms of cultural or behavioural attributes opened the possibility for transformation and progress: social practices could be changed through public health and education.⁷

These varying conceptions reflect the ontological and epistemological slipperiness of race – alternately conceived of as innate or mutable, informed by discourses of climate, physiology, education, and etiquette, a source of degeneration or noble distinction. Stoler (1995) usefully theorizes race (and sexuality) as a mobile ordering mechanism in the 19th century in both European and colonial contexts, linking the respective ‘civilizing missions’ that are often treated separately. In *Race and the Education of Desire* (1995) she shifts the Foucaultian lens to look at how the production of race in the colonial contexts shaped bourgeois identities in Europe; how “racialized

⁷ Wilson’s (2004) excellent account of the relocation of the Sunday market in the late 19th century in Tarma, a town in the central Andes in Peru, provides insight into how new discourses of public health and hygiene were mobilized as a marker for citizenship.

bodies” provided a foil for the “healthy, vigorous, bourgeois body” (p. 7), and how this coded struggles of citizenship and nationalism in both places.⁸

Nationalist discourse drew on and gave force to a wider politics of exclusion. This version was not concerned solely with the visual markers of difference, but with the relationship between visible characteristics and invisible properties, outer form and inner essence. Assessment of these untraceable identity markers could seal economic, political, and social fates. Imperial discourses that divided colonizer from colonized, metropolitan observers from colonial agents, and bourgeois colonizers from their subaltern compatriots designated certain cultural competencies, sexual proclivities, psychological dispositions, and cultivated habits. (Stoler, 1995, p. 8)

What is underscored here is that race cannot be reduced to an instrument of class in (post)colonial contexts, insofar as these were racially coded, that is “race already [made] up a part of that “grid of intelligibility” through which the bourgeoisie came to define themselves” (Stoler 1995, p. 53). Nor are all racisms the same; ideas about race are harnessed to different projects and social taxonomies, not as clean breaks but in novel reconfigurations and recoveries of polyvalent discourses. As Rattansi (2011) puts it “...the reiterations of race need to be understood in the way the category of ‘race’ has always been able to intertwine and interweave with, and fold itself around ideas of class, sexuality and, above all, that of ‘nation’” (2011, p. 119).

⁸ Stoler (1995) was one of the first (and few) to highlight the centrality of racism to Foucault’s conception of biopolitics and the normalization of race as an internal social danger. Central to Foucault’s writing on biopower was the articulation of a “permanent social war” requiring the regulation of internal dangers against which ‘the population’ must be protected: “For Foucault, racism is more than an ad hoc response to crisis; it is a manifestation of preserved possibilities, the expression of an underlying discourse of permanent social war, nurtured by the biopolitical technologies of “incessant purification.” Racisms do not merely arise in moments of crisis, in sporadic cleansing. It is internal to the biopolitical state, woven into the weft of the social body, threaded through its fabric.”(Stoler 1995, p. 65).

It is also important to note that, despite widespread accounts of the biological and/or cultural underpinnings of racial difference, visions for racial improvement and the place of indigenous populations differed throughout the region. This was shaped in part by the influences of particular intellectual currents among political elites, as well as different forms of authority and economy, and was manifest in very different policies and programs for modernization (Necochea, 2010). For example, Brazil and Argentina imagined a nation not based on an indigenous heritage, but developed through European migrants. Whereas in Argentina this entailed ongoing efforts to exterminate its indigenous populations (nearly eliminating them by the late 19th century), in Brazil efforts to “whiten” the nation were concentrated on the promotion of European immigration (Necochea, 2010). Whereas Indigenist discourses in Peru made a link between theories of racial degeneration with racial mixing (*mestizaje*), in Mexico and Ecuador, for example the improvement of indigenous populations was promoted through miscegenation (De la Cadena, 1998b).⁹ These differences challenge the tendency to assume that liberal projects of modernization throughout the Andean region entailed a “standard drive to homogenize the new citizen-subjects of the nation...” (Hale 2002, p. 502).

In Peru, as elsewhere, the breaks between biological and cultural accounts of race were by no means complete. This is a central argument of De la Cadena in her excellent book *Indigenous Mestizos* (2000), that looks at how discrimination in Peru, and Cuzco in

⁹ Mexican writer Vasconcelos’ influential book *La Raza Cosmica (The Cosmic Race)* (1925/1966) epitomized this view, suggesting that the perfect hybrid race would combine the most desirable traits from (utopian) Indians, Asians, and Whites respectively, creating a new, and “much improved” race. There is implicit paradox in this, which on the one hand promotes integration, homogeneity and hopefulness for racial improvement, and on the other reproduces a racial hierarchy in which Indigenous populations are excluded as inferior. This is highlighted by Wade (2003) who suggests that “*mestizaje* inherently involves both a symbolics of future homogeneity and a symbolics of original, primordial differences: both are continuously re-created, never entirely suspended” (p. 264).

particular, is explained in terms of ‘culture,’ yet embedded in (but silent on) race. Social differences are explained by cultural markers—education in particular; ‘Indianess’ thus becomes a *social* condition, potentially shed through education, the key marker in a ‘legitimate’ social hierarchy, a process that De la Cadena refers to as “de-Indianization” (p. 6). Indigeneity is thus fluid, able to be selectively practiced, mixed with other identities e.g. *mestizo*—defined culturally-materially rather than fixed by race (as evidenced in Argueda’s description of the schoolteacher in the introduction).

Concomitantly, the term *mestizo* tends to denote some form of indigenous/non-indigenous ‘racial’ mixing, and can be traced to early colonial labels of the 17th century in reference to Spanish/Indian descent, increasingly deployed in the 19th century in the region with the rise of social Darwinism and research on racial hierarchies (see Radcliffe, 1999). However, as De la Cadena (2005) suggests, the terms *mestizo* and its extension *mestizaje* are complex, simultaneously deployed in different ways, with distinct meanings attached, and therefore exceed a single definition. She suggests that they are underpinned both by the racial taxonomies of the 18th and 19th centuries (taken to mean ‘non-indigenous’ as a result of biological mixing manifest in phenotypic distinctions), as well earlier faith-based connotations of impurity (and the need to separate the faithful from the pagan), but that neither of these fully capture or ‘contain’ the concept.¹⁰ Classifications under colonial orders were based on ideas about ‘purity of blood’ (p. 265), which validated some forms of mixing (noble Inca women and Spanish Conquistadors for example), but not others. There were also other labels that denoted mixing such as

¹⁰ See Gose (2008) for a detailed account of conceptions of purity/impurity of blood that informed Spanish conquest and colonial practices in Peru.

criollo).¹¹ In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the distinction between indigenous/*mestizo* was translated through scientific conceptions of race and a new impetus to distinguish and classify populations into distinct racial categories. The texts and programs looked at below show this *bricolage* of narratives of race and citizenship through the first half of the 20th century and the moral, spatial and cultural assumptions that underpin them.

These varying characterizations reflected the dilemma (and contradictions) between the rejection of definitive racial categories that would have precluded improvement, yet the persistence, and necessity, of racial hierarchies in the problematization of integration, further complicated by regionalist debates (see De la Cadena, 1998a). However, in the early 20th C, notably through the 1920s and 30s, the problem of Indian integration was increasingly constituted through renewed narratives of *Indigenismo*. The remainder of this Chapter explores how the Peruvian citizen was imagined and produced in this context.

2.3 Reconfiguring Citizenship and Race through Narratives of *Indigenismo*

In the first several decades of the 20th century, education for public health and literacy more generally became predominant solutions to advance modernization, national integration, and expand citizenship throughout the region (Clark, 1998a, 1998b; Wilson, 2004). Emphasis was placed on improving the (more mutable and less biologically

¹¹ De la Cadena (2005) also suggests that colonial concerns with *mestizos* were not solely based on ideas about race, purity and culture, but with the problems and potential interruptions they posed to the social and political order, as a particular social group (p. 266). In her book *Indigenous Mestizos* (2000), De la Cadena shows how Indigenous people have not conformed to these official “purified categories” in multiple ways, mixing markers and practices associated with ‘Indigenous’ and ‘mestizaje’ for centuries. Hale (2002), in discussing the term *mestizo* in Central American contexts, makes the point that it was not just borrowed from the ‘standard Western liberal repertoire’ which equated racial mixing with degeneration. Instead, it was used to connote the displacement of Indigenous populations with a more advanced, ‘hardier’ hybrid population (pp. 501-501). Instructions to enumerators for the 1940 census explained that those who did not have a clear race (according to the categories white, Indian, black or yellow) would be registered as *mestizo*. In addition to defining “*mestizo*” as any combination of these, it stated that ‘racial types’ referred to as *zambos, injertos, cholos, mulatos* etc. would be counted as *mestizos* (in Necochea, 2010, p. 289).

determined) character and capacity of excluded populations as a means to extend national citizenship to Indigenous populations. The contingency of the ‘problem’ of citizenship through this period is evident in the way it was constituted in different ways not only vis-à-vis previous accounts that promoted racial mixing but also vis-à-vis the persistence of such approaches through the region. Unlike other countries in the Andean region where narratives of national progress through “assimilation” or “racial hybridity” (*mestizaje*) were considered to prevail (Weismantel and Eisenman, 1998), in Peru, racial-cultural improvement was envisaged through renewed narratives of *Indigenismo*, as a utopian project for racial purity and recovered Indian heritage. This difference was contingent on a particular nature of highland/coastal regionalism in Peru, combined with the influence of a Peruvian intellectual movement centered at the university in Cuzco. *Indigenismo* came to be deployed in official discourse and reform programs in the 1920s and 30s, reflecting this particular confluence of ideas promoted by intellectuals based at the university in Cuzco and regionalist politics, discussed in more detail below.¹²

Indigenismo has different meanings, but it broadly refers to the social, political and cultural discourses that became prominent through the first part of the 20th century, encompassing literature, art, and government policies that converged around the aim of revindicating the Indian from marginalized to central subject in projects of national

¹² The pan-Latin lack of consensus on racial identities or their ‘place’ in nation-building projects was reflected in the inconsistent inclusion of explicit categories of race in the national censuses conducted in the 1930s and 40s. Unlike Peru, national censuses in Mexico (1940), Chile (1940) and Nicaragua (1940) did not include explicit categories of race, nor did those administered in Venezuela or Honduras in 1941 and 1945 respectively (Vandiver, 1949). In determining racial categories, Peru was the only country that combined White/*mestizo* as a single racial category, whereas these were separate racial categories in other censuses with explicit questions on race, including those undertaken in Guatemala (1940), Cuba (1943), Brazil (1940), Dominican Republic (1935), and Panama (1940) for example (Vandiver 1949).

integration and modernization (Coronado, 2009, p. 1).¹³ Whilst *Indigenismo* has historical colonial and post-Independence precedents, as previously noted, I agree with Coronado (2009) that its ‘defining moment’ was in the first decades of the twentieth century, considered to be a period of intense nation-building in Peru (Coronado, 2009, p. 6-8). Peru’s defeat by Chile in the War of the Pacific in the late 19th C. was attributed in part to the failure of consolidating a Peruvian citizenry into the nation, with the marginalization of Indians a key detriment to progress in this context (Coronado 2009, p. 6-8). For the purpose of the dissertation, I focus specifically on how *Indigenismo* re-articulated narratives about moral, racial/cultural and spatial attributes of the Peruvian citizen, centered around the potential for Indigenous redemption, reconciling a reclaimed Indian heritage with the perceived backwardness of present day Indians.

Peruvian *Indigenismo* in the first half of the 20th century was constituted spatially.¹⁴ Pedagogically and politically, it was centered in the highland city of Cuzco, the colonial capital and heart of the Inca empire, a symbolic “center of Indianness” (De la Cadena, 2000, p. 22). *Indigenista* intellectuals (mainly non-Indigenous elites) were based at the University of Cuzco which had become a center of research and cultural promotion of ‘recovered’ Indian heritage, what Poole (1997) explained as the reinsertion of the “previously forbidden figure of the contemporary Andean Indian into the Peruvian literary and artistic imagination as well as into Peruvian nationalist discourse, jurisprudence, and domestic policy...” (p. 182). This re-valorization of Inca/Indian culture is considered to be a counterpoint to the long held association of modernization and

¹³ See Dawson (1998) for a discussion of *Indigenismo* in post-Revolutionary Mexico. See Galindo (1986/2010) for an excellent account of the way in which “Andean utopias” have been mobilized in different ways throughout Peru’s history.

¹⁴ De la Cadena (1998b) suggests that the term ‘*serrano*’ or highlander “braided” regionalist with Indigenist discourse, and was deployed across the political spectrum (p. 147).

progress with the coastal region and Lima and the associated backwardness of the highlands and (predominantly Indigenous) populations therein. As De la Cadena (1998b) notes, *Indigenismo* produced a “countrywide spiritual transformation that would, in turn, result in a unified and renovated culture/race purged of colonialism and rooted in national sentiment. This was the proposed foundation upon which the Peruvian nation could be constructed...” (p. 147).

While this debate between *Indigenista* and assimilationists is generally presented in terms of partisan politics, what is often overlooked in this debate, and as Stern (2003) has argued, is the shared logic in both versions, embedded in neo-Lamarckian conceptions of heredity, the view that acquired traits can be passed on to the next generation, in circulation since the late 19th century (see Stern, 2003; Stepan, 1991). Attributes could thus be acquired not only genetically but through the ‘civilizing influence’ of education, including habits of hygiene, public health and sanitation programs aimed not only at constituting good citizens but also at improving the ‘genetic stock’ (Stepan, 1991). *Indigenistas* and assimilationists both advocated for citizen improvement through programs of reform including education, sanitation, hygiene. However, whereas for assimilationists reforms were aimed at incorporation and thus entailed teaching in Spanish for example, for *Indigenistas* it was about cultural recuperation, oriented to rural contexts and in native languages.¹⁵

The *Indigenist* claim was that Peru was a country of Indigenous peoples, descendants of a noble Inca heritage, the source of national identity that risked being lost

¹⁵ The coastal elites’ “assimilationism” was closer to official projects for “progress” and “improvement” in other countries in the region, a means to bridge the paradox of homogeneity and racial hybridity and a way to refute European view of racial-mixing as degenerative (Stern 2003, p. 191).

through miscegenation (racial mixing). Their project was one of purification and resuscitation of the contemporary Indian—whose development had been stifled or “frozen” through processes of colonialism and contact with other cultures, manifesting their departure from traditional lands and lifestyles and specific problems such as alcoholism and lethargy (Valcárcel, 1927). This decay of then-present-day Indians is captured in the remarks by the Minister of Justice, Religion and Instruction in 1923, that:

...Indians are in fact incompetent. I base this conclusion on the experience of personal observation. Whether it is because of the state of vassalage in which he has lived since the time of the Incas, continuing through the colonial period...or because of the atrophy of his facilities as the result of alcohol, or finally because of his lack of basic necessities, the fact remains that the Indian has completely lost all character... (cited in Davies, 1974, p. 83)

Indigenismo envisioned a “New Indian” returned to an idealized former glory and way of life:

New indians are abstainers...[who have] lost their inclination for toxins..alcoholism – powerful ally of the white oppressor, they will return to their former vegetarian diet, their strong soups made of grain....coca leaves will be used only for magic rituals and pharmaceutical properties... the abstinent indian is an example... the first victory of the indian over himself... (Valcárcel, 1927 (1972 reprint), p. 97)

The challenge for *Indigenist* thinking the 1920s and 30s lay in the paradox of civilizing Indians while at the same time safeguarding their innate ‘indianness’ —cultural, biological and spatial—that could be lost or contaminated through migration or miscegenation.

They simultaneously promoted Inca culture and tradition, as well as bilingual education and literacy for the improvement of contemporary Indians, without “altering the Indigenous soul” or “fundamental Indigenous culture” (García, 2005, p. 148). The foremost *Indigenista* intellectuals at that time were virulently anti-mestizo. This was epitomized in leading *Indigenista* Luis E. Valcárcel’s manifesto *Tempestad en los Andes* (1927) in which he explicitly equates *mestizaje* with degeneration:

Worms lost in the subcutaneous galleries of this decomposing corpse which is the mestizo population...What do these troglodytes do? They do nothing. They are parasites...Alcoholic intoxication is the highest institution of the mestizo population...All the aspirations of the *mestizo* reduce to obtaining money to pay for their dipsomania...The [composition] of all mestizo populations is identical: alcohol, bad faith, parasitism, laziness and primitive brutality.... (Valcárcel, 1927 (1972 reprint), p. 38-9)

From this view, Indians became *mestizo* not only by physical mixing but by adopting their practices and abandoning ‘Indian life’ in the highlands. This revalorization of the highlands was in contrast to national imaginaries that had prevailed through most of the 19th century, when the highlands had not been considered to be part of the Peruvian nation; *Indigenismo* countered this, relocating the highlands as the “source of the true nation” (Coronado, 2009, p. 104). Valcárcel synthesized race and place through the concept of Andinismo or Andeanism: “race and landscape go together, and where heritage exists, race lives too...” (Valcárcel, 1927 (1972 reprint), p. 127).

As a political project, *Indigenismo* was fused to some degree with socialist thinking in the early 20th century, as Peruvian leftist intellectuals combined moral-racial

and cultural redemption with questions of economic reform. This was epitomized in Mariátegui's, one of Peru's foremost socialist thinkers, *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (1928/1971) in which he framed “the problem of the Indian” as a social and economic one, rooted in unequal systems of land tenure and gamonalism (feudal landholding); as well as a moral and psychological one, albeit rejecting race as an explicit category of analysis. Mariátegui's socialist project for Peru was to integrate the Andean tradition (based on an Andean utopia) into a new society (Galindo, 1986/2010). (This view would continue to inform political imaginaries in the second half of the 20th century, as discussed in the next Chapter). Nevertheless, moral-racial narratives nevertheless persisted in his work, for example in descriptions of the Indian as non-individualist, evincing “hardy and stubborn habits of cooperation and solidarity” and thus the “...empirical expression of a communist spirit” (Mariátegui, 1928/1971, p. 58). Echoing Indigenist idealizations of the highlands as the ‘natural’ environment of Indigenous populations, he also noted that “[i]n his native environment, as long as migration does not deform him, [the Indian] has nothing to envy in the Mestizo...” (1929, cited in De la Cadena, 1998b, p. 151). Notably, Mariátegui also reaffirmed a racial hierarchy in locating the “the Negro” as inferior in Peruvian society, stating that “...it is necessary to separate the Indian from the Negro, mulatto and zambo, who represent colonial elements of our past...Because he has never been able to acclimatize himself physically or spiritually to the sierra, the Negro has always viewed it with distrust and hostility. When he has mixed with the Indian, he has corrupted him with his false servility and exhibitionist and morbid psychology...” although he was also potentially redeemable through social and economic revolution (Mariátegui, 1928/1971, p. 273).

Advocacy associations, the most notable of which was the Pro-Indian Association, played a key role in disseminating Indigenist ideas nationally, sending delegations to all parts of the country, as well as documenting, publicizing and defending against abuses against Indigenous communities and individuals (see Davies, 1974). The Association also implemented programs to inform Indians of their constitutional and legal rights. These types of efforts contributed to the integration and normalization of *Indigenismo* in official political discourse and programming through the 1920s, notably in the second term under populist President Leguía (1919-1930). Leguía, a member of a growing entrepreneurial class that had broken with the traditional parties of the so-called “Aristocratic Republic” (1895-1919), invoked *Indigenismo* as a centerpiece in his campaign, which was run under slogan *La Patria Nueva* (The New Fatherland) (Klarén, 2000). Once elected, Leguía initiated a set of legislative reforms including issuing a new constitution (1920) that gave official recognition to the “Indian Race” and Indian Communities in a new Article 58, which stated that “The state will protect the Indian race and will dictate special laws for its development and culture in keeping with its needs. The nation recognizes the legal existence of Indian *comunidades...*,” explicitly aimed at “the rehabilitation of the Indians and their elevation to the high position they had held in pre-Columbian Peru” (1920 Constitution; Davies, 1974, p. 70).¹⁶ He also appointed *Indigenista* elites and began to position himself personally as a leading *Indigenista*,

¹⁶ As Stepputat (2004) points out, this special status for Indigenous communities was underpinned by the idea that protecting Indians in their ‘natural habitat’ would allow them to develop the attributes and capacities to eventually integrate as full citizens. These communities were re-named as ‘peasant communities’ under the revolutionary government of General Velasco in the early 1970s, and discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

“flavouring” his speeches with Quechua (Galindo, 1986/2010, p. 171), and even referring to himself occasionally as “*Virachocha*,” a white Inca god (Davies, 1973, p. 196).¹⁷

Indigenist discourse was also normalized through the creation of new institutions and reforms to the penal code and its treatment of Indigenous populations. As Davies (1974) notes, Leguía implemented the most extensive program of Indian legislation ever attempted in Peru, entailing more laws, decrees and resolutions than had been implemented over the previous one hundred years. A Bureau of Indian Affairs was created within the Ministry of Development in 1921, a special Indian Bureau in the Ministry of Education, and a Trusteeship of the Indigenous Race (*Patronato de la Raza Indígena*) was created in 1922 with an explicit mandate of moral improvement, including to “aid Indian education, to end Indian alcoholism, and to instill in the Indians a sense of duty and spirit of hard work” (Davies, 1974, pp. 76-77). *Indigenista* narratives were also manifest in reforms to the Peruvian Penal Code in 1924 regarding the potential to redeem morally unfit Andean Indians, whose criminal conduct was linked to their history of oppression, and at the same time persistent biological backwardness of Amazon Indians. As Aguirre (1998) notes, the penal code required the court to consider the ‘semi-civilized’ condition of highland Indians, and the ‘savage’ nature of those from the Amazon region, both of whom lacked the sensibilities and morals of civilized Peruvians (urban, educated and non-Indian), and therefore could not be held directly responsible for their criminal conduct (p. 84). For example, Article 45 of the reformed code stated: “In

¹⁷ Leguía’s reforms are considered to have had little impact in improving the everyday economic circumstances facing Indigenous populations, reflecting limited resource investment and the disjuncture between narratives of indigeneity and a systematic structural change (see Guzmán, 1999). The promotion of Indigenous reforms was also undermined by the implementation of the *Conscripción Vial*, a program for unpaid, forced road-building to extend the transportation infrastructure throughout the country that was signed into Law in 1920 –although this was promoted as re-orienting Indian labour from the land to more ‘modern projects’ (Coronado, 2009, p. 9). Leguía’s power and popularity declined through the latter part of the 1920s, in the wake of economic crisis and growing opposition to his caudillo-style rule (Klarén, 2000).

matters of crimes committed by half-civilized or degraded Indians, the judges will take into account the Indians' state of mental development, their level of culture and their customs, and proceed to judge them prudentially..." (cited in Poole, 1988, p. 386). The author of the code, V. Maúrtua, rationalized these considerations on the basis of achieving the criminal Indian's "full re-adaptation to an honest and free life" by serving time on agricultural penal colonies designed to transform 'uncivilized' Indians into 'good citizens' (Aguirre, 1998, p. 84). Indigenous criminals were thus necessarily redeemable through education and moral reform.

It was in part through this lens of *Indigenismo* that official narratives of the Peruvian 'good citizen' were articulated in the early to mid-20th century. I explore this below in official materials produced in preparation for the national census in 1940, as well as related texts and government programs. Despite the apparent displacement of determinist biological conceptions of race in Indigenist discourse that precluded reform and redemption, the census materials show that these were still persistent, imbricated with moral and cultural accounts.

2.4 Constituting Citizens in the Campaign for the 1940 Census

It is now widely held that a census tells us more about government than the statistics it produces; that is, it is more than just an empirical exercise in counting populations. Social historians and social scientists looked more critically at the practice of census-taking in the 1980s and 1990s, shifting attention to the role of the census in state-building, social and spatial ordering and constituting populations and imagined communities¹⁸ (Anderson,

¹⁸ It has long been argued that nations are historically contingent constructions produced not only from above but also from below (Hobsbawm, 1990; Gellner, 1997). Anderson's seminal definition of the nation as "an imagined political community" (1991, p. 6) has been central to contemporary conceptions of nation-building and the role of the census therein. For Anderson, the census is one of the three key institutions (in

1991; Curtis 2001). The idea that the census helps constitute rather than just reflects a particular socio-historical reality is widely shared (Kertzer and Arel, 2001). From this view, the census embodies a particular epistemology, a way of ‘knowing’ populations. Scott (1998) aptly refers to this as the state’s attempt to “make society legible”—a way for it to know (and constitute) its populations and sovereign space, part of a (never fully realized) process that both constructs and transforms that which it is taking (ac)count of. As Bourdieu (1999) has told us, more than just collecting, the census also provided states with a monopoly on naming—the ability to “produce and impose categories of thought...including itself” that become natural or given (p. 53). This act of naming or representing has the effect of making the referents that it invokes (nation, population, race) appear as objects that exist *a priori*; the crucial reifying process of representing the real (Mitchell, 2000).

Census categories thus produce and reinforce hierarchies of subjects and citizens. Critical analyses of the census have tended to focus on the census day and data.¹⁹ However, here I foreground the public information campaigns and materials attached to the census-taking process. While these are rarely considered, I suggest that they are also useful in illuminating how the problem of government and national integration were conceived of, and how the citizen-subject was constituted in this context. Attention to the

addition to the map and museum) that “profoundly shaped the way in which the colonial state imagined its dominion—the nature of the human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry.”(p. 164). He draws upon Hirschman’s (1987) study of British colonial censuses in Southeast Asia in the 19th C. to additionally show the progressive racialization of census categories (p. 164). Despite his insights into origins of nationalism that usefully challenge assumptions about its origins in the metropole, Anderson’s account does not locate race and nation within the same conceptual space, i.e. he still reduces race to class hierarchy, less useful for this research.

¹⁹ As Rabinow (1989) explained, in his excellent analysis of practices of modernization in France, the application of statistics to understand and resolve social problems had begun to displace “political arithmetic” by the 18th century in France, and become the ‘state’s numbers’ by the mid 19th century (pp. 59-60).

materials produced ‘around’ the census itself is also useful in showing how census-taking is also a census-*making* process, helping to cultivate a public with the inclination and ability to participate.²⁰

The 1940 census was the first national census in sixty-three years, and the first one oriented towards ‘knowing the needs of the population.’²¹ Alberto Arca Parro, then-head of the Peruvian Electoral Service, attributed the long gap between national censuses to a “lack of psychological preparedness for such a formidable undertaking” (1942, p. 2). According to Arca Parro, Peruvians’ “readiness” for such an undertaking began to manifest in the 1930s in several initiatives: in the successful electoral census in congressional elections in 1931, which “showed that the populace had the capacity to participate in national affairs” (p. 2); in the growth of national infrastructure including highways; and in the expansion of popular education and improved economic conditions (Arca Parro, 1942, pp. 2-4). Concomitantly, evidence of the capacity of the state to undertake the national census, which, unlike previous ones, would include most rural areas, was seen as manifesting in the creation of the first national statistics office in the early 1930s, and work to develop an electoral registry as well as train a new ‘cadre’ of data entry clerks (Necochea, 2010).

²⁰ Osborne and Rose (1999) make this point in their article on public opinion and polling, in which they note, among other things, that “...the existing of questionnaires and surveys *themselves* promote the idea that there is a public opinion ‘out there’ to be had and measured...When asked questions by pollsters and others, people have to know what to do; they need a sort of political education in the expression of opinions; people need to know how to create that phenomenon called opinion...” (p. 387).

²¹ Although there had been some regional and local census initiatives during this time – see De la Cadena (2000) for a discussion of race in this context.

The Census Campaign

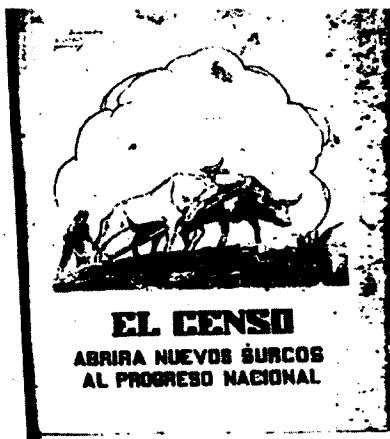


Figure 1. “The Census will open new paths to national progress” (Image and title on a census campaign brochure, 1939a).

Initial plans for the national census were laid by General Oscar Benavides²² in the mid 1930s, and a national commission was created for this. The scope of the census campaign undertaken by the commission was extensive— it included hundreds of pages of printed materials, as well as the use of cinematographic, radio and visual media. Different types of materials were tailored to sub-populations, including school-age children and Indigenous communities in the highlands. The official report on the 1940 National Census states that the dissemination of propaganda was required to ensure the collaboration of the “common man” (*hombre común*), and to dissuade prejudice and misconception about the census (Arca Parro, 1944, p. LIV). To this end, the Service for Publications was created in 1938 to produce material for the general public, but also explicitly targeted toward those who were the “least cultured” (*menos cultos*), who required information that was “adequate” for their “mentality” (p. LVI). A great deal of it was written in-house by then-editor Carlos Lasus Arevalo, with some exceptions (e.g.

²² A coup d'état lead by Col. Sánchez Cerro in 1930 ended Leguía's presidency. Cerro was subsequently assassinated by an APRA party supporter in 1933, and the Presidency was assumed by Gen. Oscar Benavides (Klarén, 2000).

Runa Yupay). The Service relied heavily on the media but also on schoolteachers as key proponents of these materials.

Over 26,014 enumerators were trained over an 8-10 day period as part of the preparations for the census. Enumeration was a paid position allocated on the basis of a written exam, with the exception of schoolteachers and state officials whose participation was mandatory, “rewarded only by a souvenir briefcase” (Arca Parro, 1942, p. 4).²³ In the absence of ‘trained specialists’ to undertake preliminary surveys of rural ‘un-inhabited areas,’ Arca Parro had solicited the assistance of over 300 non-state organizations, ranging from sports clubs and mutual aid societies to help generate and verify these lists, and noted the significance of incorporating the ‘common man’ in the process (Arca Parro, 1944, p. LIII). Relying on teachers and other local authorities was not atypical of the times. (As Hennock (1987) noted, in his article on the development of measurements of urban poverty in late 19th and early 20th century England, the use of teachers and other professionals in a position of authority and with everyday access to and knowledge about individuals and families in specific communities, played an important role in early surveying and census-taking). Teachers were thus assumed to be able to act authoritatively in this context, representing what Osborne and Rose (1999) referred to as “inventive figures” (p. 95), who speak in the name of society.

²³ The number of enumerators trained provides a glimpse into what a monumental task it was to prepare for the census, involving not only the training of enumerators, but of departmental and provincial inspectors; the mapping and the collection of town plans, regional maps, monographs etc.; copies of town plans and the creation of census zones; aerial surveys over jungle areas; the elaboration of coding instructions for the census schedules, and the massive campaign to “educate the public.” The census covered 21 departments, 122 provinces and more than 1064 districts, and the tabulation of results was undertaken by over 340 men over a ten-month period (Parro, 1942, pp. 3-5). On the day of the census, people were required to stay at home to be ready for enumeration (although enumerators in rural areas had 15 days within which to complete their census forms, each allocated 500 people). Fines were to be levied for those who deliberately did not participate or provide the required information (Arca Parro, 1942, pp. 2-5).

Evincing the growing emphasis on cultural accounts of difference among Peruvian populations, Arca Parro felt compelled to explain why questions of race featured prominently in the campaign and census questions, stating that "...Research into racial questions was encouraged because it was already evident that racial prejudice, consequent on the profound differences of colonial days, is practically disappearing..." (Arca Parro, 1942, p. 14). Nevertheless, he states that "statistical data was still required for the study of certain issues related to the "Indian Problem" (p. 14).

The instruction manuals used to train the census enumerators were also emblematic of the discursive bricolage of ideas about race, citizen, and nation, demonstrating a simultaneous emphasis on culture and overt discomfort around the inclusion of phenotypic categories of race, yet containing persistent, implicit references to innate racial biotypes. In the first pages of the enumerators' instruction manual, the category of 'race' was used with many caveats, explaining that they were not seeking a "scientific finality," as it would be "impossible for enumerators to record this with precision" but that racial data was required to ascertain the "composition of the population and the problems of cultural and economic development of distinct racial groups" (*Comisión Central del Censo*, 1940a p. 19). Accordingly, enumerators are asked to classify populations according to four categories: White/*mestizo*, Indian, Black or Yellow. The ascription of race depended primarily on the "personal appreciation" of the enumerators, who were instructed that it was "not actually necessary" for them to ask explicitly about race if they could tell by looking at the participant and if it was not "clear" then they should be recorded as *mestizo* (*Comisión Central del Censo, Instrucciones para el Empadronador*, 1940a). (In an early analysis of the census, Rowe

(1947) suggested that only 13 percent of the replies to the question on race were supplied directly by the persons counted, and 87 percent by the judgement of the census-takers (p. 206).²⁴ These ‘apologist’ caveats for physical/phenotypic categories were followed by unproblematised instructions to enumerators to “take great care” in documenting cultural referents of language, education, style and condition of housing etc.: “... Given our large population of Indigenous origin, it is of transcendental importance for the study that you find out how many people speak Indigenous languages, and how many also speak Spanish...so that we can appreciate its influence on national life” (*Comisión Central del Censo, Guía para los Maestros y demás colaboradores del Plan Censal*, 1940b, p. 56).

The structure of the census itself also reflected racial-spatial hierarchies. There were four different census schedules (forms) to be used respectively for large urban centers, smaller towns, rural areas and for groups of people in the same dwelling but not related. These were distributed ahead of time to cities, and could be filled out independently ahead of the census. However, the remainder of the population was required to wait for the enumerator to arrive before filling out the form. As Necochea (2010) pointed out, this created separate categories of people considered to have/not have the capacity to self-identify. Enumerators were also required to assess the type of house, number of rooms, number of occupants, type of building materials used, and their own observations about the condition of the house. (See excerpt Figure 2 below, which describes house with five rooms, made of clay and brick, construction complete and fully

²⁴ See Radcliffe and Westwood (1996) for a discussion of the fluidity of self-ascribed racial identities in the region, including strategic self-ascription as “Indian” or “mestizo” under colonial rule, which reflected race-based rules for tribute payment and land allocation and protection.

inhabited, with the enumerator observing details such as the condition of the numbers on the door).²⁵

Figure 2. Sample of urban housing schedule, Census Report V.1 (Arca Parro, 1944)

ZONA 18 MANZANA 93 CALLE Tortes Par				No ORDEN INMUEBLE 5.	
Total de puertas del inmueble	No de puerta	MATERIAL DE CONSTRUCCION		Características casa concluida, adobe y ladrillo y totalmente habitada.	
5.	2	adobe y ladrillo			
Nombre del Propietario... Nicolás Costa		Su nacionalidad... italiana			
1 Puertas	2 Deptos	3 No Orden	4 Int.	5 Nombre del Jefe de Familia	6 Ocupación
712 Garage					
716 Viviendas	7	—	Luis Alvaro	Abogado 12	
720 id	8	der	Mamud Lopez	empleado 3.	
id	id	9	virg	Pedro Garcia electricista 5	
724 id	10	—	Juan Alfaro	comerciante 7	
728 otra falso					
OBSERVACIONES Las puertas tienen ademas placas de numeracion antigua					

This imbrication of moral and cultural markers of race with persistent assumptions about innate physiological difference (mutually constituted with those of place) manifests in the campaign materials discussed below. The next sections look at how ‘the good citizen’ was mobilized in census campaign materials and how this was normalized through programs for moral improvement.

²⁵ The attention to door numbering was explicitly required in the instruction manual, which stated that the enumerator must record the official number on the door and if absent, must assign a number to it in relation to the last one numbered (Arca Parro, 1944, p. 617).

Narratives and programs of citizen reform

The revindication of ‘authentic’ Indigenous culture, central to discourses of *Indigenismo*, was evident in many of the census campaign materials. For example, a 32-page booklet entitled “Typical Occupations of Peruvians,” widely distributed as part of the campaign, aimed to “describe in a brief and attractive way some of the typical occupations of Peruvian aborigines that despite transformations and new forms of work persist as a reaffirmation of tradition and collective ingenuity” (1939g, p. 644). The second booklet in this series was self-described as being written with the same “heartfelt sentiment” as the first, detailing Indigenous scenes, occupations and customs typical of different regions of the country, including portrayals of ‘the Potter’ (*el Alfarero*); the Shepherd; the Chicha-maker (*la Chichera*); the Rope-makers (*Torcedores de sogas*); etc.).

At the same time, while the image of the Indian-in-his-place was lauded, Indian populations were constituted as needing to acquire new cultural and bio-psychological dispositions to render them morally fit and sufficiently civilized for integration as citizens of the Peruvian nation. This contradiction was evident, for example, in the pamphlet entitled “Letter to Indigenous Communities” that promoted their participation in the census, in part on the basis of their obligation to “open their eyes” and understand their rights and obligations as citizens of a large and rich country (1939j, p. 43). Referring to them as ‘naturals’ it states that:

It is now time to demonstrate that ‘*los naturales*’ are not an obstacle to the nation’s development; but, on the contrary, are desiring of acquiring instruction, of improving your conditions of life and readiness to take part in the work to

contribute to the progress of Peru. (*Comisión Central del Censo, Carta a las Comunidades Indigenas*, 1939j, p. 43)

This narrative of necessary improvement also manifest in a forty-five page booklet included in the census campaign materials entitled “The Census Will Open New Paths to National Progress” (*Comisión Central del Censo, El Censo Abrirá Nuevos Surcos al Progreso Nacional*), which articulated the problem of incorporating Indians into the “rhythm of civilization...” (1939a, pp. 15, 24). The booklet explains in some detail the problem of Indian degeneration, identified as a primary obstacle to national integration, in terms of the impact of colonialism on their physical, psychological and cultural well-being. It points not only to the brutal labour they endured in the mines but also to their susceptibility to disease, as well as problems of alcoholism, and cocaine consumption, and the repercussions of their displacement from their spaces of origin. It explains that collectively these traumatized the formerly “prosperous” and “tranquil” Indigenous populations, paralyzing their creative capacities, removing them from their natural habitats where they thrived (pp. 25-26). Quoting a Dr. Lastres, it states that: The biological evolution of the Indian population suffered from the psychological and physical trauma of the Conquest...paralyzing their creative capacities (p. 25). The booklet goes on to explain that as a result, the “mis-adaptation” of the Indian disrupted the “rhythm of their life,” forcing them out of their former “prosperity and tranquility, resulting in a state of permanent anxiety ...” (p. 25). This booklet also highlights the perceived impacts of spatial displacement on their well-being, explaining that the violent removal of the Indian from his natural environment in the highlands to the coastal regions that were strange to their bodies and ancestral customs produced terrible results, pointing

out that “...it is well known that the *indio* is not acclimatized to the coastal regions..” (p. 26).

The native violently transposed from his place of origin, from the Sierra highlands to the nearby valleys or ocean or to other strange sites for his organism and ancestral customs, produces the worst results. It is well known that the Indian does not acclimate in the valleys of the coast, where he is taken as a worker... (*Comisión Central del Censo, El Censo Abrirá Nuevos Surcos al Progreso Nacional*, 1939a, p. 25-26)

This pathologization of certain spaces and the concomitant view that other space and landscapes foster good conduct reflects what Huxley (2006) termed a “dispositional” spatial rationality. This invokes the idea that spaces themselves can produce disorder and immoral behaviour: “... spaces of debauchery, drunkenness, idleness that produce poverty, disease, death. It is bodies and behaviours out of control in unruly places, threatening to expand and spread...” (Huxley, 2006, p. 774). This idea of ‘natural’ highland Indian spaces as conducive to good conduct, evident in Arguedas’ story *Runa Yupay*, is reiterated in the final Census Report (Arca Parro, 1944), which concluded that:

We have to agree that race, possibly since a prehistoric period, responding to biological impulses of acclimatization, can adapt life to migrations between climactic zones ...this same process continues, even if unnoticed. Sometimes we have called attention to the nomadism of workers in [certain] zones of the Sierra....the Andino only lives in a stable way where his climo-physiology permits...He is a man of the Andes [who] emigrates to work in other zones, but sooner or later will return to his natural environment and frugal economy of his

community that provide ideal conditions for his existence. Nobody is surprised by the customary abrupt departure of the servant even when all appears favourable...to return to the Sierra, obeying, without knowing it, an ancestral biological law. Peruvian sociologists have to give these facts their due consideration.... (Arca Parro, 1944 V.1., p. cxxxv)

These narratives about the Indian and possibility for reform made sense, in part, on the basis of emerging knowledge about ‘Andean biology’ and moral-climatology.

The influence of “Andean biology” and “moral climatology”

Cueto (1989) suggests that there were two related approaches to Peruvian physiology at this time, characterized on the one hand by a scientific and cultural “crusade for the redemption of the Andean people” and on the other by efforts to categorize high-altitude research according to prevailing international academic standards. The latter was exemplified in the finding of renowned British physiologist J. Barcroft, based on an expedition to the Peruvian highland community of Cerro de Pasco, that “[...]ll dwellers at high-altitude are persons of impaired physical and mental powers...” (Cueto, 1989, p. 642). To refute these conclusions, Peruvian Carlos Monge Medrano, Director of Institute of Andean Biology (1934-56),²⁶ organized expeditions to various regions in Peru’s central and southern highlands, to look at the physiological performance of Indigenous populations in these regions, focusing on their ‘compensatory mechanisms’ (greater chest volume, number of red blood cells etc. and other features of so-called ‘Andean biology’) that showed an acclimatization to high-altitude conditions. As Cueto writes, Monge noted that “heavy muscular work was a natural phenomenon in the high-altitude native

²⁶ In 1941, Monge received an honorary doctorate from the University of Chicago for his work on high-altitude sickness (Cueto, 1989, p. 650).

population. He considered the Andean people to be the ‘race with the greatest physical performance in the world’...” (Cueto, 1989, p. 646). Cueto notes that this defense of Indigenous highland populations was linked with the Indigenist nationalist ethos of the time, contributing to the revalorization of the place of the Indian in Peruvian society. It was in this context that in 1931 an Institute of Andean Biology was established within San Marcos University, institutionalizing the study of Andean physiology and high altitudes (Cueto, 1989, p. 640).

However, unlike the highland Indians, who could potentially be reformed, the Indigenous populations in the Amazonian region were considered to be beyond the scope of improvement needed to be considered a Peruvian citizen, and thus not even worth counting. As Parro noted in his report on the census in 1942:

It is common knowledge that the Peruvian jungle...is unlike the rest of the country in every respect, physical, and human... The jungle aboriginal still keeps his freedom; he likes to move from place to place; he accepts no other rule than that of his own community. It would be useless to try and count him. (Arca Parro, 1942, p. 8)

Not only does this discussion rely on a differentiation of ‘Andean biology,’ but it also mobilizes climate as a determinant of moral (as well as cultural, psychological and physical) attributes and ‘fitness’ for integration. This ‘moral-climatology’ was underpinned by knowledge and research in sub-disciplines of Victorian anthropology and tropical medicine that had emerged in the 19th century (Livingstone, 2002).²⁷ Moral

²⁷ Thurner (2011), in his excellent book on Peruvian historiography, notes that the diversity of the Peruvian climate had long informed historical and anthropological works from Humboldt to modern times. This included the patriotic accounts of Peru’s climate by Peruvian naturalist J. H. Unanue (a peer of Humboldt’s) in the early 19th century, which contributed to the imagining of an independent Peruvian

climatological conclusions were often applied to regions as a whole, typically used to affirm imperial projects and racial hierarchies well into the 20th century (Livingstone, 2002). As Pierre Gourou, a geographer at the College de France, concluded in his 1947 book *The Tropical World*:

...It is not surprising that tropical lands should as a whole be thinly populated and that they should be backward in civilization. The contribution of these regions to the fund of world civilization is small, whether in the material, intellectual or moral sphere... (Gourou, 1947, p. 141, cited in Livingstone, 2002, p. 159).

The work of J. Crawfurd, an ethnologist, colonial envoy, Fellow of the Royal Society and a President of the Ethnological Society of London, was an important part of this canon. His three volumes on the *History of the Indian Archipelago* (1820) suggested that climate is a root cause of moral, cultural and pathological differences between races: "No people, he insisted, "inhabiting a warm climate has ever known how to reconcile freedom and civilization" (Crawfurd V.III, p. 4 cited in Livingstone, 2002, p. 167). Crawfurd considered the "feebleness of intellect" of "barbarians in the Archipelago" who were condemned to live in a "morally darkened space" to be rooted in climatic conditions (p. 167).

Moral-climatological discourse was medicalized in the growing discipline of tropical medicine, which commonly ascribed pathologies to specific spaces and climates, intertwined with narratives of moral hygiene. This infusion of morality and climate also manifest in climatological and meteorological writing through the early to mid-twentieth

nation. In Unanue's book *Observaciones sobre el clima de Lima y sus influencias en los seres organizados, en especial el hombre* (Observations on the Climate of Lima and its Influence on Organized Beings, in Particular Man) published in 1805, he suggests that the impact of the "equatorial sun" on the body heightened Peruvians' "nervous sensibilities" instilling Peruvians with "special powers of perception" (Thurner 2011, p. 92).

century. A. Miller's standard textbook on Climatology published in 1931 stated that “...psychologically, each climate tends to have its own mentality, innate in its inhabitants and grafted on its immigrants...” (cited in Livingstone, 2002, p. 173). This logic was applied in Ainsworth Means' article on ‘Race and Society in the Andean Countries’ (1918) published in the *Hispanic America Historical Review*, which focused on the sociological problems resulting from the “racial constitution” of Andean populations.²⁸ He draws from the work of a Mexican researcher Manual Gamio (Director of the *Dirección de Estudios Arqueológicos y Etnográficos*), considered to be the founder of a line of study of ‘race-appreciation,’ which aimed to “understand the geographical characteristics and problems of the land and to apprehend the psychology and requirements of each racial group to the end that every step may be taken by society to overcome every environmental drawback to cultural development ...” (Means, 1918, p. 416). While Means considers the “depressing” highland environment to have contributed to the moral-cultural decay of Indigenous populations therein, he is also cautiously optimistic about their potential for moral improvement for citizenship through education, culture and education. This was manifest in his explanation of differences in moral attributes between inhabitants of two villages in the Peruvian highlands.

...Little by little, even in the highland valleys, conditions are improving. Railways, the telegraph, the telephone, the cinema, the printing-press, and mechanical musical instruments are beginning to make life distinctly more bearable, to help men to shake off sloth and bestiality and become vigorous and alert. The difference in moral tone between two highland villages which I know is simply

²⁸ A. Means was a historian and archaeologist from the U.S., who had worked extensively in the region, including as a director of Lima's National Museum of Archaeology in the 1920s.

astounding. They are not as much as six miles apart. In one, because the *hacendado* and his brother the priest are indifferent to the welfare of their charges, conditions of all sorts are horrible. In the other, the *hacendado* has installed a young priest from France, and the two work hand in hand for the people. They have games and races for them on Sundays and holidays and in the evenings there is always a fine cinema or a reading of interesting stories by the priest or some similar amusement which is open to all. The dwellings, too, though far from being what they should be, are much better than those in the other village. The people are stronger, longer-lived, more jolly, and self-respecting, and much more productive as regards work in the fields... (Means, 1918, p. 416)

This fusion of the equation of moral-physiological disposition with climate and landscape with potential for redemption through economic, physical and cultural reform, so central to *Indigenismo*, also manifest in research and pedagogy in early 20th century Peru. This was evident in an article on regionalism and education published in the Peruvian journal *The Modern School: Monthly Pedagogical Review* (May 1911), written by Humberto Luna, a lawyer, well-known educator and member of the commission created in 1920 to investigate the state of Indigenous populations (in Puno and Cuzco) under President Leguía. In his article, he states that “there exists no psycho-physical conformity among the human species...this discrepancy is influenced by factors including hereditary, environment and education” that must be taken into account by teachers and legislators alike by close study of the pupil’s physiology, origin, customs,

diet and “life regimen” and “the state of their organic functions” (1911, p. 69).²⁹ Climate is a key part of this typology; the coastal climate of Lima “accelerates” mental development at the expense of physical development (Luna, 1911, p. 71).

The association of moral-biological traits with space and specifically climate was central to *Indigenist* discourse, which subverted previous prevailing equation of progress (physiological, racial, moral, cultural) with urban spaces and temperate climates to recast previously morally degenerative Andean spaces and climates as idyllic. At the same time, reforms were required to bring highland Indigenous populations into the ‘rhythm of civilization,’ notably through changes in sanitary and hygienic practices, as well as cultural and educational reforms.

2.5 Programs for Citizen Improvement and Reform

As noted, the census campaign materials manifest the dual project of *Indigenismo* – that of revalorization (of indigeneity and Indigenous space) and the need to reform Indian populations to be integrated as Peruvian citizens. Reforms were oriented towards moral and cultural changes through education and new habits of hygiene and sanitation that had come to distinguish good citizens in the first part of the 20th century (see Mannarelli, 1999).

Moral-cultural, hygiene and sanitary reforms

The enumerators’ Instruction Manual explained that public sanitation was a “primordial duty of the state” and required the enumerators to “find out about the general health of the population,” to shed light on key sanitation and health challenges (*Comisión Central del Censo, Guía para los Maestros y demás colaboradores del Plan Censal*, 1940b, p.

²⁹ Reflecting regional divisions, Luna (1911) associated intelligence and progress with urban space, and the availability of education and literature in the city that he sees as contributing to the psychological development of the city-dweller.

56). This included information on the “biological character” of each person, based on innate sensibilities/ susceptibilities to climates; autochthonous illnesses etc. (p. 56-7). To this end, enumerators were asked to record mental and physical “defects” (according to four categories: blind, deaf/mute, demented, invalid) as well as select diseases of particular concern: Verruga Peruana (also known as Carrion’s disease and Oroya fever) and Uta (a form of Leishmaniasis) which were to be documented by the enumerator according to his own judgement. These diseases, which were endemic to the Andean highlands, not only created physical and economic obstacles to state projects of modernization, but were also ‘visible’ i.e. they could literally be seen by the enumerator.³⁰

The concern with improving sanitation was explicitly framed in terms of race and climate. As stated in a census campaign booklet entitled “*The Census and Sanitation Problems*” (*Comisión Central del Censo*, 1939h), on the development of a national sanitation plan: “Not all human races are equally susceptible to the offenses of the climate, nor to the aggression of diseases known to be infectious-contagious. For this reason, it is useful to have numbers corresponding to the diverse racial groupings and geographic regions that they inhabit...” (1939h, p. 5).³¹ The campaign booklet entitled “The Census Will Open New Paths to National Progress” not only warns against alcohol and drug consumption but also identifies the physical propensity of Indigenous populations to infection and epidemic disease, attributed in part to an absence of hygiene

³⁰ Inter-regional differences in census questions on health show the contingency of these concerns, for example in neighbouring Ecuador (1934), specific concern was expressed for tuberculosis and venereal disease (Clark 1998b, p. 202).

³¹ The page numbers in this booklet are not evident due to the poor quality of the copy – the page numbers reflect my own numbering, for reference purposes.

(*Comisión Central del Censo, El Censo Abrira Nuevos Surcos Al Progreso Nacional*, 1939a, p. 24).

Programs to improve Indian habits and hygiene, including state and non-state education and public health projects, were already well underway by the first part of the 20th century and reflected Indigenist narratives of redemption and reform. The rural Sanitary Brigades were an illustrative example, organized by Peruvian physician Manuel Nuñez Butrón with the aim of respecting native values while improving sanitation and conducting a campaign against typhus and smallpox (Cueto, 1991, p. 22). Butrón's Brigade built upon the programs to promote sanitation and hygiene implemented by the seventh-day Adventists (largely American and Argentinean) already working in the region, who traveled to Indian towns and communities, preaching hygiene and education, as well as abstinence from alcohol and coca consumption, (by 1926, there were about two hundred Adventist primary schools operating in Puno) (Cueto 1991, p. 25). The instructors of the Sanitary Brigade were in many cases trained by Adventist preachers, and Adventist Indians volunteered for the Brigade. Butrón's first brigade was created in 1933, made up of physicians, soldiers, Indians and educators. It was named '*rijchary*' which was Quechua for 'wake-up,' which, as Cueto (1991) notes, captured the idea of the need to 'wake up' Indians from a backwardness that was redeemable.

Typically, the brigade would start its work by attracting people to a Sunday conference in the main square of a town... During the meeting the members of the brigade would present in a very simple way the advantages of hygiene and of smallpox vaccination. For instance, they would present and contrast a dirty Indian boy and a clean Indian boy. In addition, a band of musicians performed popular

songs whose lyrics had been revised to advocate hygiene. The meeting included a lecture...after which the crowd received smallpox vaccinations, haircuts, and baths in the river... (Cueto, 1991, pp. 34-35)

In addition to improved sanitation and hygiene, the Brigades also promoted broader cultural and moral reforms to end alcoholism and coca consumption. Key to the development of the Sanitary Brigades was the establishment of a publication in 1935, '*Runa Soncco*' that translates as 'the one who loves the Indians with all his heart,' which was read out loud to brigade participants (Hazen, 1981). The journal discussed some of the habits and hygienic practices that were required for moral and hygienic improvement. As stated in the editorial in first edition of the journal, brigade programs would bring "...sanitary lessons to improve our health. It will teach us to read and write, to no longer be deaf mutes. It will guide us along the path of hygiene, morality and progress..." (Hazen, 1981, p. 410). The Brigade was most prominent between 1935 and 1937, at which time there were 122 members in the brigade, which operated in 22 different areas, including 14 Indigenous communities (Cueto, 1991). Brigade leaders also solicited the support of local authorities, who were encouraged, for example to refuse audience with "unwashed Indians" or those without a vaccination certificate (Hazen, 1981). The State borrowed heavily from the model and tactics of the Butrón Brigades to promote cultural and education reforms, which were also considered to be central to the 'resuscitation' of Indians as good citizens (Hazen, 1981).

"Roving Nuclei of Civilization": Redemption through education

As noted at the outset of this Chapter, a key theme in Arguedas' story Runa Yupay is the central role played by the schoolteacher not only in ensuring that they learn the skills

required to become ‘useful,’ but also as their link to national progress and the nation itself – including the national census. As De la Cadena (2005) notes, in the early 20th century, education had become a “means to acquire citizenship...the [Peruvian] state set out on its civilizing mission and schools were built in remote areas and equipped with the necessary tools..” targeting Indians and others living in regions in particular (p. 271). She also notes that the national budget for education grew significantly by 1930, and in 1936 a separate Ministry of Education and Health was established, granted 10 percent of the national budget (p. 271).

The place of the Indian-citizen, and the requisite for cultural and educational reform is reflected in the work of José Antonio Encinas, a well known Peruvian educator and writer on pedagogy and educational reform in the 1930 and 40s, who promoted the “proper” instruction of Indians, specifically through the creation of a ‘New School’ (*Escuela Nueva*). The role of the school is explained in his book “*Un ensayo de escuela nueva en el Perú*” which suggested that educational reform was necessary to form a new type of Peruvian citizen, “*el peruano del futuro*” (Robles 2009, p. 323). He considered the profession of teaching the highest form of citizenship, and the school to be not just a place to learn to read and write, but as a place to participate in social and civic life (p. 326). For Encinas, who was also an Indigenist intellectual and a member of Peruvian delegation to the first *Congreso Indigenista Interamericano* in Mexico in 1940, considered Indians to be the ‘true’ Peruvian nationals (“...*la verdadera nacionalidad residen en el indio...*”) (Encinas, 1932, p. 59 *Un ensayo de escuela nueva en el Perú*, in Robles, 2009, p. 331).

Redeeming Indians from ignorance through education was also operationalized through state projects for educational and cultural reform; a notable example of which were the Indigenous Culturalization Brigades or *Brigadas de Culturización Indígena* (Culturization Brigades) established under President Prado (1939-45). Prado had also made Indian integration a centerpiece of his political campaign, hailing the Indian as “the forgotten man of the nation” who had, since conquest, remained in a primitive state and who had to be improved if “Peru was to progress” (Prado, 1939 in Davies, 1973, p. 203). Prado’s *Indigenismo*-informed vision of the nation was presented in a national speech in 1939, in which he describes two “fundamental aspects” of “the Indian Problem”—economic and cultural—that required a guaranteeing of property rights as well as the inculcation of knowledge and cultural orientation required to “redeem them from the state of ignorance in which they find themselves” (excerpt from Prado speech, 1939). The former would be resolved through state-mediated settlement of land disputes and the expansion of legal recognition of Indigenous communities. The latter was to be addressed through cultural reforms, promoted through state-sponsored *Brigadas de Culturización Indígena* (Culturization Brigades).

In the 1930s, ‘Indigenous Culturalization Brigades’ were dispatched to provinces with the highest Indigenous populations—Cuzco, Puno, Ayacucho, Ancash, Junín and Cajamarca. These Brigades, also referred to by Prado as “roving nuclei of civilization,” were charged with providing Indigenous adults with skills for literacy and cultural orientation (notably in their respective Indigenous language). In his speech Prado points to the care taken in selecting the Brigade personnel as evidence not only of their important mission and need for pedagogical and technical expertise, but also according to

high standards of “morality and honour” as the Brigades are also charged with ensuring Indigenous learning about the nation (fatherland/Patria). He expounds on this in detail, specifying its emblems, their rights and duties, the states’ organization and functions, the situation of the aboriginal vis-à-vis the national destiny, the need to instill appropriate habits of hygiene (personal, home, appearance and apparel); improve their homes and the selection of nutritious foods, fight alcoholism and cocaine, and overall to: (paraphrased) “bring the influence of civilization in all of its dimensions to the Indio to....make him an individual of healthy body and soul, *a useful citizen* [emphasis added] who loves his country, who participates in the organized life of the country and its activities” (Excerpt from Prado Speech, 1939).

The reforms advocated by the Brigades thus combined moral concerns with new pre-occupations with public health. They also shared the Indigenist-inspired aim to resuscitate contemporary ‘Indians,’ as Cueto suggests, motivated “...by the belief that the salvation of the Indian race rested not solely on its possession of the land and the vindication of its culture but also on its mastery of hygiene and education...” (1991, p. 34). These reforms were also directly linked to the progress of the national as a whole. As Abel (1996) noted, “[i]t was not coincidence in Latin America as in Europe religious and military metaphor was endlessly repeated with references to hygiene ‘campaigns’, sanitary ‘brigades’ and ‘crusades’ and health ‘missions’” (p. 7), which were about more than instilling social habits among certain populations, but about broader projects of modernization.³²

³² This persistence of heroic, military discourse, and its connection to narratives of race and rescucitation of a noble Inca heritage reflect, in part, what Thompson (2007) refered to as “spirited martial power”, relate to the “...struggles formed in the context of ‘blood, toil, and soil’, heroic virtue and legendary combat...” (p. 488).

These projects, and the census campaign itself, problematize government and national integration in terms of moral-racial and bio-physical dangers embodied in the Indian, distinguishing fit from unfit citizens on this basis. In addition to normalizing a particular imagining of the ‘Peruvian citizen,’ the census campaign materials also articulated the emerging role of the state as social provider, discussed briefly below.

“Without the Census the Country won’t know its needs...”: The state as social provider



Figure 3. “Without the census the country will not know its needs” Poster circulated as part of the Census Commission campaign, (1939).

...This census of our population will not only tell us how many we are, who we are, and what we do, but also highlight the content of our collective problems, and tell us what the government must do for the moral and material progress of Peru....

(Excerpt from “*Que es el Perú?*” *Comisión Central del Censo*, 1939i, p. 22)

State-provided social insurance programs were not broadly implemented in Peru until the second half of the century, and are discussed in the next Chapter. However, State concern

for providing for ‘social needs’ emerged and grew through the 1920s and 1930s. Until the 20th century, poverty, ill-health and problems were principally addressed through philanthropic organizations and religious orders (Drinot, 2011a). In the 1920s, this began to be governmentalized for example through Constitutional reforms that introduced ‘Social Guarantees’ for workplace safety, maternal health and accident although only implemented in limited ways until the post-war period. Nevertheless, the articulation of the state as paternal social provider is explicit throughout the census campaign materials. This paternalism, which was interwoven in Indigenist literature and discourse, constituted not just women but indigenous populations as a whole as pre-political, reliant upon the state as a ‘father-figure’ for protection and progress (Castillo, 2009). As the schoolmaster explained to the Indigenous community in *Runa Yupay* regarding the purpose of the census:

It is as though the government is a man with many children....who wants to help them all. The first thing he must do is confirm how many children have married, how many have their own families, how many grandchildren and their ages, whether they are boys or girls, healthy or sick, whether they know how to read and write, what career they pursue. The Father would also need to know if they are married... Once he knows all this, he can distribute his wealth, and help them all. ...This is the same as the Census process—the Government is like the father of the nation, and all its inhabitants...as such he can help his people, but first needs to know about them in detail, their number and needs....

(Runa Yupay by J. M. Arguedas, 1939, p. 50-51)

Evident in this is the assumed role of the state to provide for the social well-being of its population and, for the first time post-independence, make this calculable by generating broad-based statistics on its population, for purposes beyond taxes and tribute. This imperative was explicit in the brochure “*Que es el Perú?*” which stated that “[t]his census of our population will not only tell us how many we are, who we are, and what we do, but also highlight the content of our collective problems, and tell us what the government must do for the moral and material progress of Peru...” (*Comisión Central del Censo*, 1939i, p. 22). It explicitly invoked the State as father-figure and head of family:

The head of a state...must attend to the needs of those who live within the national territory, in the same way that a head of family does for those who live in his house. [The Census]...will permit him to know how many schools are needed for each town; how many hospitals for each province; how much land should be cultivated; how many sports fields need to be built etc. (*Comisión Central del Censo, Que es el Perú*, 1939i, p. 13)

The census was thus a key technology to empirically map the Peruvian population in terms of internal moral-racial and bio-cultural pathologies -- a prerequisite for governing from a social point of view. This is manifest in a section in the same booklet (*Que es el Perú*) entitled ‘state obligations’ which sets out the state’s responsibilities including those of providing sanitary and economic conditions as well as guaranteeing property, health and life (p. 16). Imbricated with this biopolitical impulse were persistent pastoral forms of power. In the pamphlet entitled *Carta a las Comunidades Indigenas* it is again explicitly stated that the state needs to count his population, “*como el pastor*” (like a

shepherd), and check the qualities and conditions of each person, and know all that he needs for the wellbeing and happiness of all of its inhabitants (*Comisión Central del Censo*, 1939j, p. 41-44).

The state's orientation towards managing the social needs of the population was also expressed in the booklet on "Ten Chats with Children," which explicitly asks why the state should undertake the census. The heading of Third Chat is: "The Census is the point of departure for greater knowledge about many problems." It asks schoolchildren why the state should undertake the census, and (in case the children are not able to provide the appropriate answer) explains that the state must attend to the "needs of its peoples," and in order to do so it must first "verify what these needs are" (*Comisión Central del Censo*, 1939c, p. 7), requiring knowledge about how many people are in each town or village, how many hospitals are needed in each province, which lands should be cultivated, and with what, which roads need to be build etc. (pp. 6-7).³³

In addition to an explicit pastoral role for the state in guiding the conduct of individuals as members of a population to ensure their subsistence, this orientation towards the 'well-being' and the activities and occupations of Peruvian citizens reflects a longer standing logic of government referred to by Foucault (2007) as 'police' state. By this, he does not mean a conventional policing or a police state, but rather the governing of people -- their activity and occupation (p. 322), with a view to strengthening the state itself, promoting its internal growth. The census therefore played an important role in

³³ The census was also part of a process of making Indigenous populations and communities 'legible' (Scott, 1998), requiring not only the establishment of land registries (*censo de las tierras*) but, as then President Prado stated in a 1939 national speech on the census, the collection of other related statistics as a "national necessity" to be undertaken by the government, in order to be better attend to these "ancient institutions" that require a "proper orientation in their activities" (Prado Speech, 1939). To this end, engineers, cartographers and others were sent to demarcate, map and delimit the communities (Arca Parro, 1942).

producing the statistics considered necessary to determine the appropriate allocation of state resources, for growth and ‘progress’. As noted above, this was explicit in statement in the brochure “*Que es el Perú?*” (*Comisión Central del Censo, Cartilla ilustrada para Escolares y Obreros*) that the census will “...tell us what the government must do for the moral and material progress of Peru” (1939, p. 22).

While the census data did become the basis for decisions related to the location of new judicial and educational institutions and sanitation campaigns (Necochea, 2010), state provision of social assistance was relatively limited in the first half of the 20th century, (as discussed in more detail in the next chapter). Nevertheless, the census, in observing individuals in terms of race, social, and economic practices to produce patterns and pathologies of ‘the population,’³⁴ illuminates the ‘productive’ forms of power embodied in the census as a key instrument in constituting a natural social body or ‘Peruvian population’ beyond the state (rather than just “unveiling” it as a strategic form of state domination). The census and campaign materials, in reinscribing and recoding racial hierarchies, helped normalized these within the mechanisms of the state, contributing to a particular problematization of government in terms of internal dangers against which the population needed to be protected. The census and associated campaign materials thus produced and normalized categories that divided populations into sub-groups alternately considered to contribute to or present an obstacle to the well-being of

³⁴ For Foucault, the emergence of ‘population’ in this sense is pivotal in the shift to a modern ‘mentality’ of government, becoming the object of government. The purpose of government thus becomes one of managing and enabling the welfare of its population: “...the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health etc.... upon which the government acts directly and indirectly...it is the population itself on which government will act either directly through large-scale campaigns, or indirectly through techniques that will make possible...the stimulation of birth rates, the directing of the flow of population into certain regions or activities, etc....The population is the subject of needs, of aspirations, but it is also the object in the hands of the government...in the sense that population is the object that government must take into account...in order to be able to govern effectively...” (Foucault, 1991, p.100).

‘the Peruvian population.’ Securing the Peruvian population required specific interventions to promote the health, hygiene, education of those populations deemed unfit. Statistical ‘science’ was central to this, as then-President Prado stated in a national radio broadcast on the eve of the 1940 census “...no country that partakes in the accelerated pace of contemporary life can regulate its activities through mere estimations, superficial guesses or approximations unsupported by science...” (cited in Necochea, 2010, p. 289).

This was markedly different from census-taking projects in the 18th and 19th century that were not concerned with the populations’ ‘needs’ but rather sovereign power—counting and cataloguing resource potential (economic, military etc.) (Gootenberg, 1991; Klarén, 2000). For example, the official report on the previous (1876) census states that the “fundamental purpose...is the demarcation of territory” (1876, p. 2). Arco Parro, in his 1940 Census Report, also notes that previous census were undertaken for reasons of tax collection, rather than to “improve the lives of the population...” (1940, p. XXVII). While the 1940 census was the last time that categories of race were used explicitly in a national census, the moral-racial narratives within which these were embedded did not disappear, but were re-articulated in other narratives of ‘good citizenship.’

2.6 Reflections on Chapter Two

This Chapter has sought to show how the Peruvian citizen was imagined and produced through moral, racial, cultural and spatial narratives in the first half of the 20th century vis-à-vis the problem of national integration, underpinned in part by Indigenist discourse that both revalorized the Indian but required his reform in order to become a ‘good citizen.’ This particular problem of government and national integration was construed in

terms of ‘internal dangers’ embodied in racial-moral and bio-cultural hierarchies and the ‘problem’ of the contemporary Indian. While determinist biological accounts of race were partially displaced by moral-cultural narratives as a prerequisite to potential improvement, they were nevertheless persistent, presenting contradictions and challenging ‘tidy’ sequentialist accounts that articulate clean breaks between narratives of race.³⁵ These complex and often contradictory conceptions of race, as well as prevailing narratives of *Indigenismo*, were reproduced in the census materials and manuals, as well as in the programs of citizen improvement and reform implemented at this time.³⁶ These were embedded in (and helped normalize) the view that unfit, but redeemable (Indian) populations could be reformed and integrated through moral regulation and education was central to the Indigenist national imaginary.

The effects of these narratives were of course indeterminate and varied, and beyond the scope of the present research. It is worth noting, however, that while the Indigenist narratives and programs did not necessarily directly improve the everyday life of indigenous populations, they nevertheless opened up a new space in which indigenous men and women were able to make increasing demands for justice, equality and citizenship rights (Castillo, 2009). Castillo’s research shows that while indigenous populations have used legal ‘petitions’ to make demands to authorities for centuries, there

³⁵ This challenge to sequentialist accounts supports De la Cadena’s arguments in *Indigenous Mestizos* (2000).

³⁶ The official results of the census were released after 10 months and found that of the total population of 7,023,111 (including an estimate of 350,000 population in the “jungle”) 3,283,2600 were “White/Mestizos” (52.89%), 2,847,196 “Indians” (45.86%), with “Negroes and Yellows” constituting less than 1% of the population (Census Report V.1 1944). Other key findings included: 50.58% of the population enumerated were women; 42.08% were under the age of 15, (one of the highest proportions in the region); 25% lived on the coast; 63.5% in the sierra, an est. 11.4% in the jungle; 63% were in rural areas; 35% professed “aboriginal” (aborigen) as only language; 16.6% native and Spanish, 46.7% spoke Spanish, and a significant majority were Catholic. Among the active economic population (2.475 million), more than 52% worked in agriculture (Arca Parro, 1942, p. 4-20).

was an “explosion” of formal petitions in the first part of the 20th century, made often with the help of Indigenist activists and scholars, to enact pro-indigenous legislation as well as address individual complaints. The state’s orientation to indigenous issues, and new institutions created in this context enabled indigenous communities to secure legal recognition of communities and communal rights. For example, through the new Bureau of Indigenous Affairs, an estimated 470 indigenous communities officially registered with the government, and by 1945 more than 600 others had gained official recognition (Castillo, 2009, p. 184).

Despite the centrality of ‘the Indian’ in official discourse on national integration, this was not the only narrative of progress and modernization at this time. The 1930s were a time of significant change in Peru, including the emergence of new ‘modern’ political parties and labour organizations (Drinot, 2011a).³⁷ Other (longer-standing) discourses of improvement and modernization, including through industrialization, road building, and irrigation projects for example, also continued to circulate at this time.³⁸ These were not necessarily perceived as contradictory, as President Leguía stated in a 1929 speech: “The redemption of the Indian and the irrigation of the coast have the same meaning for me. They are tasks that I undertake consciously, bravely, self-sacrificingly, in order to awaken the agricultural consciousness of the country....in order to destroy the

³⁷ Narratives of race also informed politics of labor and the mobilization of workers, albeit in different ways. As Drinot (2011a) notes, in the first part of the 20th century, labour policy in Peru was “shaped by racialized ideas about the nature of work and the nature of workers and in particular by the racialized assumption....that industrialization and the emergence of an industrial workforce would bring ‘civilization’ to Peru...” (p. 4). This captured the ambivalence of narratives of *Indigenismo*, which hailed Inca heritage and revalorized a reformed Indian, but did not necessarily see them as central (or fit) to drive modernization through industrial progress.

³⁸ Even the implementation of the *Conscriptión Vial*, a program for unpaid, forced road-building to extend the transportation infrastructure throughout the country that was signed into Law in 1920 was promoted as having a civilizing effect (Coronado, 2009, p. 9).

final link in the enslaving chain...that tied the Indians of the sierra and the *colonos* of the coast to the yoke of a servile and intolerable tutelage" (in Drinot, 2011a, p. 107).

The re-problematization government and development in the second half of the 20th century and the (partial) displacement of the 'good Indian-citizen' with the 'citizen-worker/peasant' are the focus of the next Chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

RECONFIGURING CITIZENS AS PEASANTS AND WORKERS

3.1 Introduction: A Problem of Citizen Passivity

In 1971, a pamphlet was published and distributed by Peru's National System for the Support of Social Mobilization (SINAMOS), established under General Velasco's military government, warning against the problem of "citizen passivity." This passivity was attributed not to moral, racial, or cultural predisposition but as an effect of oppressive economic structures and social stratification:

The current common citizen has been a citizen indifferent to the problems of his own society. This has suited the minority groups who have monopolized power and wealth in its different forms (economic, political, and social). To perpetuate their domination they have done everything possible to maintain passivity in the majority of the population....The Peruvian Revolution wants a citizen who thinks for himself, a citizen who learns to organize for himself and exercise democratic control over his organization and society as a whole. This is a social democracy with full participation. (SINAMOS Pamphlet, 1971, p. 2)

"Full citizen participation" was the cornerstone of Velasco's military government, which had come to power through a coup in 1968 that is considered a watershed in Peru's modern political history (McClintock 1989, p. 347). This chapter looks at how citizenship was imagined differently in the context of shifting problems of national integration and development in the second half of the 20th century. In this period, the dominant narrative focused on social and economic reform, with government discourse and programming oriented towards the citizen-peasant/citizen-worker. This narrative is traced primarily

through programs and publications of the National System for the Support of Social Mobilization (SINAMOS), a state project for citizen participation established by the Velasco military government in 1971. ‘Good citizenship’ in this context was reconfigured in relation to problems of social solidarity and economic justice.

This shift is situated within the broader context of social citizenship and efforts to integrate the Peruvian population and promote national progress by challenging internal and external dangers posed by foreign capital and entrenched oligarchic interests through structural reform. This re-problematization of national development relied upon a reformulation of ‘national security’ as encompassing economic and social development, constituted as technical problems to be addressed largely through expertise in planning. In Peru, this technical expertise was located within the military, integrated at the Center for Higher Military Studies (CAEM) through research and curricula on national security and development. New ideas about economic dependency and modernization in the region underpinned this narrative, produced and promoted through projects undertaken by national and international organizations such as the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the UN Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), for example.

There are many analyses of Peru’s military government (1968-75), which are part of an expansive body of work on ‘bureaucratic authoritarian’ and corporatist regimes in Latin America (see Collier, 1979; Stepan, 1978; O’Donnell, 1973, Jaquette, 1972; McClintock, 1977, 1983; Seligmann, 1995; Stepan, 1978; Cotler, 1983; Wise, 1986). Broadly, these analyses tend to be oriented towards characterizing the political and economic policies associated with respective regimes and identifying causal factors to explain their emergence and divergences. The resurgence of military rule in Latin

America in the 1960s and 1970s had challenged post-war theories about modernization and democratic development, and contributed to the returned attention of Latin American social scientists to ‘the state.’ Military coups in Brazil and Argentina in the 1960s and Chile and Uruguay in the early 1970s became a central focus of political analysis, with “bureaucratic authoritarianism” added to a typology that included oligarchic and populist regimes (O’Donnell, 1973; Collier, 1979; Stepan, 1978). Bureaucratic authoritarian regimes were characterized by the elimination of elections, a ‘technocratic’ approach to policy-making, and a specific policy mix, typically including the promotion of industrialization through foreign investment combined with austerity measures and restrictions on labour organizations, using extreme violence in the cases of Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina (O’Donnell, 1973; Collier, 1979).

Academic attention in the 1970s and 1980s focused on developing (and subsequently criticizing) new models of political and economic change to explain how capitalist development in the region had led to a particular kind of authoritarian military regime.¹ The bureaucratic-authoritarian model was widely debated and challenged on several grounds, including the significant differences between the countries, for example in the form and timing of military rule, levels of industrialization, and history of popular organization (Collier, 1979). While Peru’s military coup occurred during the same period,

¹ O’Donnell (1973) proposed that these military regimes could be explained in terms of the political and social tensions arising from industrialization (through import substitution), and the resulting socio-economic changes: The initial phase of industrial expansion was considered to lead to a concomitant increase in material benefits to the working class, strengthening of labour unions, and political clout of industrialists vis-à-vis traditional elites. However, the subsequent saturation of the domestic consumer market combined with a continued reliance on the import of intermediate (inputs to other) goods would lead to a balance of payments deficit, which in turn would trigger a shift to more orthodox economic reforms that would negatively impact the working class/popular sectors. This would lead to increased mobilization (from a strengthened popular sector) and political instabilities, which, combined with the increasing technocratic role of the military, was considered to trigger military intervention (Collier, 1979, pp. 26-28).

it was not typical of Latin American military regimes of that time. Unlike the larger countries in the region, Peru, which was considered to lag in industrialization in the region, had not implemented a policy of industrialization through import substitution (ISI) in the 1950s. Instead it had largely continued to follow a laissez-faire approach, favourable to foreign investment with few restrictions on imports (Thorp, 1991). Growing social and political unrest under the democratically elected government of then-President Belaúnde preceded the military coup in 1968, which was considered to have been triggered in part by a failure to implement land redistribution and worsening economic conditions.² Unlike other military regimes that implemented orthodox reforms, Velasco's regime sought to implement a social revolution to counter foreign and elite economic interests. Velasco's 'social revolution' was to be realized through popular participation and sweeping social and economic reforms, centered around agricultural reform and economic restructuring, as well as social mobilization and citizen participation (see McClintock, 1989).

This orientation to broad citizen participation differed significantly from other 'classic' bureaucratic authoritarian regimes in the region that were typically highly exclusionary, seeking to limit or repress popular mobilization. In contrast, the Peruvian military government was considered to be an 'inclusionary' regime that used cooperative rather than coercive measures, did not repress autonomous mobilization, and had a

² The rise of movements on the Left through the 1960s was seen to have been inspired by the success of the Cuban revolution, and fostered by education reforms of the previous decade that had significantly increased the number of university students in Peru, including students from lower and middle income classes (Klarén, 2000). During this period, the government had also harshly repressed violent radical guerrilla groups that had emerged by the mid-decade, resulting in the deaths of thousands of Indigenous peasants (Klarén, 2000, p. 330). This economic and political instability, combined with growing support for radical leftist movements (split from APRA), were the backdrop to Velasco's military coup in October of 1968.

redistributive agenda (see Stepan, 1978; Huber, 1983).³ As Velasco stated, in his ‘Message to the Nation’ on July 28, 1970 “...the dismantling of the old structures of traditional politics will occur in a climate of absolute citizen liberty...” (p. 4). The Velasco regime sought to increase citizen participation within what was considered to be a corporatist or controlled framework, largely through institutionalized forms of workplace participation, and expended significant resources to this end (Dietz and Palmer, 1978). At the same time, although efforts were made to displace the influence of autonomous labour organizations, other forms of mobilization, such as strikes, marches, union organizations were not eliminated (Dietz and Palmer, 1978).⁴ However, despite state efforts, labour and leftist movements were not weakened, but increased their capacity to mobilize, also considered an anomaly, with respect to other military regimes in the region (Huber, 1983). This is discussed in more detail in the last part of the chapter.

Velasco’s project was considered to be fairly ambiguous ideologically, framed as more of a “third way” between socialism and capitalism with popular participation and agrarian reform at its core.⁵ However, in scope it was considered to be one of the “most ambitious state-building and nation-building projects in modern Peruvian history” (Burt, 2006, p. 227). This included significant land reform, in which much of the hacienda

³ In his influential analysis of the explanatory factors for differences in bureaucratic authoritarian and corporatist regimes in the region, Stepan (1978) suggests that particular political and economic conditions contributed to the installation of very different types of military government in Peru vs. Southern Cone countries. These included a lower level of industrialization in Peru, which meant that the priority was less about containing industrial labour but more oriented towards integrating rural and urban masses as a means to further modernization and industrial development (pp. 125-127).

⁴ Huber (1983) notes, however, that under Morales Bermúdez, who replaced Velasco in 1975, more repressive tactics were used to dissolve unions and left-leaning political organizations.

⁵ In a 1970 speech to Peruvian industrialists, Velasco describes the either/or choice of capitalism or communism as a “false dilemma” (Jaquette, 1972, p. 650), stating that: “The two fundamental problems of our country were generated under the aegis of capitalism and for that reason it would be extremely illogical to try to resolve them maintaining the system which produced them... Yet the concrete reality of communism is that it leads to totalitarian and bureaucratic societies totally incapable of guaranteeing the free development of the individual... There such societies cannot be the models for our revolution” (Velasco’s speech in 1970 to CADE-70, cited in Jaquette, 1972, p. 650).

system was eliminated through the redistribution of an estimated 60% of Peru's agricultural lands through associative and cooperative enterprises-- "Agrarian Social Interest Societies" (SAIS) and Agrarian Production Cooperative (CAPS)—to rural populations (about 25%), although the benefits were not evenly felt throughout the country (Klarén, 2000, p. 341; Yashar, 2005). In addition, the role of the state in the economy was dramatically expanded through the creation of new national enterprises in mining, fishing, steel, petroleum, and industry, resulting in state control of nearly half of total economic investment (about 30% of GDP) (Klarén, 2000, p. 343).⁶ To support the expanded economic role of government, there was a concomitant expansion of public services and bureaucratic apparatus, notably through increase of planners and advisers, discussed in more detail below.

For the present purpose, I do not re-assess Velasco's military government with respect to either bureaucratic authoritarianism or corporatism, which focuses on the arrangement of policies and institutions to structure particular forms of representation (see Stepan, 1978). Not only are there numerous analyses from these perspectives as noted previously, but as Drinot (2011a) pointed out, the development of social welfare in Peru, and I would add narratives of social citizenship, however limited, cannot only be "reduced to an attempt to incorporate labor and neutralize the Left" (p. 194). Instead, in line with the central research questions and the lens of governmentality, I look at how national development was problematized in this context as part of a broader logic of government, the types of expertise that were privileged, the changing strategies for

⁶ While state expropriation and reduced private ownership of corporations had a chilling effect on investment, , reforms under Velasco did not fundamentally challenge foreign capital investments, but sought to increase the government's role in managing it – through more supervision, joint ventures, profit-sharing and worker participation requirements (see Stallings, 1983; Thorp, 1991).

governing citizens, and how these were operationalized in policy documents, new institutions and programs of government. This means taking official discourse seriously--as Ferguson (1994), drawing upon Foucault's insights, reminds us "...discourse is a practice...and it has real effects which are much more profound than simply 'mystification'..." (p. 18).

This Chapter is structured in the following way: the first section provides some additional context, reviewing how provisions for poverty and ill-health became an increasing focus of government intervention by the mid 20th century in South America and specifically Peru. It looks at how these were rationalized on the basis of social reform and improvement centered on 'the worker.' Narratives of the good citizen in the post-war period were contingent upon a reconceptualization of problems of national progress and development. Therefore the second section looks at how national development was re-problematized in terms of dangers of foreign capital and entrenched oligarchic interests, made intelligible through new knowledge and the discipline of development economics, and the central role of the technical planning expert in this context. This section also shows how the Peruvian military was constituted as the primary source of technical planning expertise, including through new research and curriculum development at CAEM. The Chapter then looks in more detail at how the citizen was mobilized in this new problematic, focusing specifically on the government's National System for the Support of Social Mobilization (SINAMOS) as a program of reform and improvement, that aimed to instil the citizen-worker with the required capacity for "conscious and active participation of the national population in the tasks demanded for economic and social development..." (SINAMOS, 1970). Finally, it is argued that the displacement of

previous moral-racial narratives of ‘good citizenship’ was neither sudden nor complete, and that these continued to inform programs of reform.

3.2 Social Citizenship and Social Government

The idea of social citizenship is of course most associated with T. H. Marshall’s developmental model of citizen rights – from civil (18th century) to political (19th century) to social (20th century)—and the varieties of social welfare provision implemented in post-war Western Europe. As noted earlier, it refers broadly to the right to collective provision of a minimum level of social welfare and security to redress the inequalities produced by capitalism (Brodie, 2008, p. 21), drawing attention to the problems that poverty and inequality raise for a liberal society based on equality (Procacci, 2001b, p. 52). For Marshall, the social redistribution required to realize social rights was to be achieved through the provision of public services that would guarantee a minimum level of education, health, and income in order to equalize the status of citizens within society. The logic of social rights was therefore distinct from that of civil or political rights, requiring not limits on the state but new forms of state intervention to redistribute wealth, and thus represented a “rupture” with civil and political rights rather than an evolution, as Marshall’s model implied (Procacci, 2001b, pp. 55, 59).

Underpinning the concept of social rights was the understanding that not only individuals, but *society* was also a subject of rights, and a social “insurantal imaginary” based on a conception of socialized risk (Ewald, 1991, p. 198; Procacci, 2001b, p. 54).⁷ It is under the welfare state, and based on actuarial science, that the idea of mutual risk is

⁷ While risk is inherently collective (i.e. can only be understood in terms of affecting a population or group) the responsibility to mitigate it can be conceived of as individual or social. Ewald (1991) describes three defining characteristics of risk – it is calculable in terms of probability, and thus relies on the emergence of statistics; it is collective (inherently something that is shared by a population); and it is a capital – i.e. the consequence of risk can be capitalized and insured (pp. 201-204).

extended to the population as a whole (see Ewald, 1991; 1986). Poverty and inequality from this view are social (shared) vs. individual risks—individuals access social protection on the basis of their membership in society. Systems of social protection are premised on pooling risks, and thus work as a form of redistribution, by distributing the costs and risks of protection against poverty, for example, across the members of society (Brookes, 2009, pp. 7-8).

Addressing social risks thus entailed a political transformation in the relation of citizens to the state, based on the idea of mutual obligation and society as a separate field of intervention, with the problems of poverty, ill-health and working conditions becoming a focus of government concern and intervention. The emergence and governmentalization of ‘the social’ (which has been well-documented in the work of post-Foucaultian scholars including Procacci (2001b), Rose (1999) and Dean (1999), and earlier by Donzelot (1979)), was a condition of social citizenship, and the governmental rationality of welfarism. From this view the social is understood not as something internal to or opposed to liberal government, but as Dean (1999) put it as a “set of problematizations of the liberal government of economy” (in terms of social problems), and the related sets of institutions and practices such as social welfare, social insurance and social work, and corresponding new laws, actors, and agencies through which social problems were constituted and addressed (p. 53).

The ways in which social citizenship has been imagined and practised vary widely, although analyses of welfare regimes have tended to focus primarily on the West (Brodie, 2008; Martinez et. al., 2009). Those that have focused on Latin America have tended to assess policies in terms of elite interests or only as mechanisms of incorporation

(Drinot, 2011a). The section below briefly reviews how problems of poverty and ill-health became a growing concern and responsibility of the state through the first part of the 20th century in Peru.

Government regulation of the social in Peru

Until the early 20th century in Peru and typically throughout the region, poverty, ill-health and workplace dangers were not an explicit concern of the state but were primarily addressed through philanthropic organizations, religious orders, and community efforts (Drinot, 2011a). Internationally-oriented programs for philanthropic intervention emerged in the early 20th century; one of the first and most significant of which was the Rockefeller Foundation (RF), which began working in Latin America around 1914. By the 1920s and 1930s, a broader assemblage of philanthropic organizations, which included the Carnegie Foundation, the Guggenheim Foundation and the Kellogg foundation, worked with and through new international institutions for public health, including the Pan American Sanitary Bureau established in 1902 (later becoming the Pan American Health Organization) (Cueto, 1997; Rojas, 2004).

Informed by new knowledge and techniques in epidemiology and tropical medicine, in the 1920s and 1930s, the RF focused heavily on campaigns for public health and control of tropical diseases, notably the elimination of yellow fever from the region, including a campaign in Peru from 1920-22 (Rojas, 2004; Cueto, 1994a, p. xii).⁸ They also sought to train local medical professionals in new practices of public health and hygiene. The RF and other philanthropic organizations also served as a key source of expertise and information generation on public health conditions, making the problem of

⁸ As evidenced from the development of knowledge on Andean biology in the previous Chapter, scientific knowledge was not just exported from West to Latin America, but was also shaped by local contexts (see Cueto, 1997).

public health visible, for example, through extensive health surveys (including in Peru in 1926), which not only documented the incidence of specific diseases, but tried to assess the educational and economic conditions of each country (Cueto, 1994b, pp. 2-5). The RF also provided direct support and training to health practitioners, and in some cases established medical schools. While growing knowledge of infectious disease and public health provided a basis for intervention, it was also embedded in prevailing ideas about racial improvement and progress, as RF officer A. Gregg suggested “...the lack of a “uniform race” went a long way toward explaining the underdevelopment of science, medicine, and education in Latin America in the 1920s” (Cueto, 1994b, p. 14). While philanthropic intervention continued, assistance for poverty and ill-health was increasingly governmentalized in Peru and the region more generally through the 1920s and 1930s, as the state took on a more direct role in social provision.

There was significant variation in the timing and scope of the social insurance systems that emerged in Latin America. While the “Beveridgean” welfare state ideal remained too costly for most governments in the region, some countries, notably Uruguay and Argentina, did make early efforts to implement comprehensive welfare programs (Abel and Lewis, 1993, pp. 6-7). While some minimum entitlements had previously been secured for some formal sector workers in the late 19th and early 20th century, broader state-provided social insurance programs were not initiated until the 1920s and later in most cases. The first ‘pioneer’ countries, including Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Costa Rica and Uruguay, introduced social insurance programs in the 1920s and 1930s (at the same time as many western European countries), and had the most developed systems in the region in terms of coverage and scope (Mesa Lago, 2008). Of these, Chile, Uruguay

and Argentina were the first, having implemented social security systems in the 1920s which served as prototypes for the rest of the region.⁹ The Andean countries—Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela—as well as Mexico and Panama, did not introduce social insurance systems until the 1940s and 1950s (Mesa Lago, 2008).¹⁰

The programs that emerged in Latin America by the mid-century were primarily social insurance funds set up for specific sectors of formal workers (Barrientos and Santibáñez 2009; Abel and Lewis 1993). Social assistance was limited, but tended to be in the form of subsidies on commodities and in some cases direct nutrition or food-based programs. The tying of benefits to formal employment meant that a large portion of the population was left out and programs reflected persistent exclusions based on race, gender and class; in part due to lower levels of income and participation in the formal sector among women, for example (Schild, 2000, p. 281). (The World Bank thus described the welfare systems that emerged in Latin America as ‘truncated’ - see de Ferranti et. al., 2004).¹¹ Filgueira (2005) similarly concluded that “no social policy system in Latin America can truly be considered a welfare state,” but refers instead to the

⁹ Chile was the first country to introduce social security in the Western Hemisphere, passing a compulsory social insurance act in 1924, and founding pension programs for blue and white-collar workers, as well as health and maternity protection (Mesa Lago, 1978).

¹⁰ Other countries in the region, including Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua and Paraguay, implemented social insurance systems in the 1960s and 70s, with the least coverage (Mesa Lago, 2008).

¹¹ By the 1970s, programs for social protection in South America had broadened from limited, contribution-based social insurance schemes for specific formal sectors, and most countries in the region had the ‘main planks’ of social welfare, with public funding for health and education, and social insurance systems for formal workers (Molyneux, 2008; Martinez et. al, 2009; Huber and Stephens, 2001). Nonetheless, there was still relatively low coverage and quality of social provision, with the majority of social insurance entitlements, notably pensions and health insurance, linked with formal employment; for the majority of the region’s populations living in poverty, social support came from family, community and the voluntary sector (Molyneux, 2007).

varied development of ‘social states’ (p. 9), distinguishing between countries based a similar typology to that proposed by Mesa Lago.¹²

There is a growing body of research that assesses the development of welfare regimes in Latin America (see for example Haggard and Kaufman, 2008; Segura-Ubiergo, 2007). Like Filgueira’s analysis, these tend to compare the extent to which those in Latin America measured up to ‘ideal’ types of those developed in Europe.¹³ However, for the present purpose, I do not evaluate the extent to which a welfare system was or was not successfully implemented, but instead focus on the effects of this particular problematization, in which social provision increasingly came under the purview of the state, and the corresponding interventions, programs of reform as well as on related narratives of ‘good’ conduct.

In Peru, some early social insurance programs had been implemented in the 1920s and 30s, largely oriented towards the worker—considered a “valuable resource” that “needed to be protected and improved morally and physically” (Drinot, 2011a, p. 27).¹⁴

¹² Similar to Mesa Lago’s typology, Filgueira (2005) distinguishes between three forms of ‘social state’ development in Latin America until the 1970s: a stratified universalistic model, a dual model, and an exclusionary one (2005, p. 10). The first (stratified universalistic) is similar to Mesa Lago’s ‘pioneer’ countries and refers to those that had higher levels of decommodification, i.e. had put in place some form of protection for a majority of the population, through the provision of social security systems and basic health services. (Notable examples are Uruguay, Argentina and Chile). The second, dual model refers to regimes that had more stratified coverage, under corporatist regimes such as Brazil and Mexico. Filgueira considers Peru to represent a particular form of dualism, “truncated corporatist incorporation” (p. 29) defined by a more exclusionary system of political incorporation in which a stable alliance between elite, labour and urban middle classes. Filgueira defines the third model, exclusionary regimes, (such as Guatemala, Honduras, Bolivia) as those typified by elite control of the state apparatus to extract rents without providing social services. After the 1970s, he suggests that these went through a ‘critical phase’ which gave rise to two different models – a neoliberal one and another nascent form of ‘egalitarian exclusionary basic protection’ – what he considers an “embryonic social democratic Latin American state” (p. 10).

¹³ Dean (1999) points out that even in the West the welfare state was “more of an ethos...and much less (and to varying degrees in different national contexts) a set of accomplished reforms and completed institutions. Above all, the welfare state was to be the telos...of particular problematizations, interventions, institutions and practices concerning unemployment, old age, disability, sickness, public education...”(p. 55).

¹⁴ Some early legislation had been enacted previously, including the Work Accidents Law passed in 1911, the first of its kind in Latin America, followed by legislation setting a minimum wage specifically for

By the early 1920s, in addition to the office of Indian Affairs, an Office of Labour was created under the Ministry of Development. While many of the significant constitutional changes in 1920 had centered on addressing the social problem of ‘the Indian’, at the same time there had been some movement to expand the state’s role in regulating labour, including affirming the State’s responsibility to legislate on issues related to workplace conditions and safety, as well as protect the health and hygiene of workers (Mesa Lago, 1978).

Although broader social welfare reforms were not implemented in Peru until the second half of the century, as noted in the previous Chapter, the state was increasingly constituted as responsible for the provision of specific forms of social protection. This was evident in the new constitution of 1920, which stated in Article 47 that “the State will legislate on the general organization and security of industrial work and on the guarantees to health and hygiene” (Article 47, 1920 Constitution). It also set out the state’s responsibility in the promotion of sanitation and provision public assistance, for example as stated in Article 55, in setting up hospitals and other institutions to protect ‘needy’ populations. This also manifest in journal articles that suggested that the philanthropic initiatives, for example the Beneficence Society (*Sociedad de Beneficiencia*), which ran hospitals were not sufficiently able to meet the population’s needs. Drinot (2011a) provides the example of an article by A. Alba in 1925 in the journal *Mundial* in which the author draws upon scientific as well as moral and racial narratives to justify the state’s role in social provision: “Social security, provided by the state in a scientific and systematic manner, will produce a healthy, productive and conscientious population...”;

Indians in 1916, and a law on the work of women and children in 1918, who faced a particular set of (moral) dangers in the workplace (Drinot 2011a, p. 29).

he also saw that it was the state's duty to "protect every member of the social mass" and that it would "help "incorporate" the Indian into "civilization and culture" (Drinot, 2011a, p. 197). This new role for government entailed new legislation, setting up new institutions and programs: in 1933, under President Oscar Benavides, the 1920 Constitution was modified to expand the state's role in labour force protection and public health and sanitation. In 1936, compulsory contribution-based social insurance was first legislated, limited in coverage to industrial workers and formal labour in commercial and agricultural sectors (an estimated only 600,000 workers in total) (Grieve, 1967, p. 446).

While growing labour mobilization, urbanization, and economic recession in the 1930s were considered to contribute to the expansion of a social security system in Peru, programs were still underpinned by moral-racial and social narratives of improvement.¹⁵ This is illuminated, for example in Drinot's (2005) account of the state-run '*restaurantes populares*'. 'Popular restaurants' were initially conceived of in the early mid-1930s as a way to improve the nutrition of the urban popular classes, in conjunction with other social security reforms implemented at that time oriented toward the urban working classes (for e.g. the Social Security Law in 1936, discussed previously). Typically these had been considered only as a form of populist cooptation (incorporation) of the increasingly organized urban working classes. However, Drinot (2005) contends that these types of 'only' instrumentalist accounts tend to neglect other less tangible, hard to quantify factors included particular notions of citizenship and relations of citizens vis-à-vis the state. He argues that most historians have "tended to see this discourse as little more than rhetoric

¹⁵ Labour movements began to emerge in the late 1920s and increasingly through the 1930s, promoted by the populist party APRA (*Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana*) founded in 1924, which mobilized urban workers and created the General Confederation of Workers in 1929 (with the Peruvian Socialist Party founded by José Carlos Mariátegui) (Klarén, 2000).

and have portrayed the social policies that derived from it as no more than ploys to undermine support for...new radical alternatives..." (p. 262), at the expense of other considerations. Drinot, instead, shows how these embodied a civilizing project and program of moral reform, thus problematizing a simple transition between moral-racial and class-based reforms. The restaurants were considered to be a tool and a space for moral and cultural improvement, a way of instilling "values such as decency, respectability, sobriety, and cleanliness..." thus part of a civilizing mission of 'backward' poor urban populations (Drinot, 2005, p. 247).

The constellation of institutions and programs expanded slowly through the next decade--a new Public Health and Social Welfare Ministry was created in 1942 (independent from the Labour Ministry where it was previously housed), and a National Fund for Public Health and Social Welfare (*Fondo Nacional de Salud y Bienestar Social*, FNSBS) was created in 1952 to improve sanitation and public health and extend the coverage of state hospitals, although relatively limited measures were actually implemented (Mesa Lago, 1978). Social insurance for health and maternity was expanded, including the construction of new hospitals for the insured in urban centers including Lima (Mesa Lago, 1978, p. 117). These were broadened somewhat to cover public and private sector workers,¹⁶ and urban social programs to build basic infrastructure (housing, roads, sanitation, etc.) in the context of rural migration and a

¹⁶ In 1948, social insurance programs for employees were broadened to cover public and private sectors, and included some health and maternity benefits. In 1958, a broader Employees Social Insurance Scheme was approved, and broader pension legislation for private and public sector employees was approved in 1962. All of these included some percentage of contribution from the beneficiaries. The Workers' Insurance System funded its own (17) health centers, including 13 hospitals, and also covered some care for mental illness (Mesa Lago, 1978; Grieve, 1967, p. 447).

rapidly growing urban population were also expanded through the 1950s and 60s,¹⁷ concentrated in Lima.

International and regional organizations notably the International Labour Organization (ILO), as well as the International Social Security Association (ISSA), the Iber-American Social Security Organization (OISS), and the ECLA (Mesa Lago, 2004) played a role in constituting the knowledge and institutional structure for social insurance programs in the region, including through the provision of actuarial expertise, and the organization of conferences and workshops (Rosenberg and Malloy, 1978, p. 164). The Declaration from the first ILO sponsored Conference of American States in 1936 had stated that obligatory social insurance should be provided in every country; subsequent ILO regional conferences in 1942 and 1946 advocated that countries adopt systems based on single uniform plans of benefits around principle of “social solidarity” – the idea that social security be universal i.e. available for all citizens, with progressive system of contributions linked to income (Rosenberg and Malloy, 1978, p. 164). Although the ILO began to place greater emphasis on the development of national systems of social security in the post-war period, in line with the proposals put forward in the Beveridge Report, it retained a focus on social insurance (vs. social assistance) for Latin American countries, considered more appropriate for ‘less advanced’ countries (Rens, 1959; Seekings, 2008).¹⁸

¹⁷ The majority of public investments at this time were channelled through the *Fundación Nacional de Desarrollo Económica* (FNDE) and departmental corporations were created to allocate funding at regional levels (Prada, Bazan and Sagasti, 2007, p. 7). A National Health and Social Welfare Fund was also set up to subsidize public health care and fund services; and in 1965, based on international recommendations, a National Social Security Council was established with a mandate for planning and improving the social security system; planning for the creation of a National Social Security Institute, and playing a unifying, standardizing role across social security initiatives.

¹⁸ Prior to the 1940s, the ILO had promoted contributory pension systems for specific classes of workers, for example, in contrast to broader, universal dimensions of programs promoted post WWII, with costs

The ILO had established a strong presence in Latin America by the late 1930s, and influenced social insurance program development through the dissemination of information via regional conferences, through its regional offices (including one in Lima), as well as by providing direct technical assistance to policy-makers (Seekings, 2008, p. 24). The ILO also played an important role in establishing statistical concepts, definitions and classifications related to social security and insurance schemes, including a manual on social security statistics. In 1940, the “Inter-American Committee to Promote Social Security” was established as an outcome of ILO conference of American states in Lima. Two years later, in 1942, an Inter-American Conference on Social Security was held in Chile, from which came the Santiago Declaration that called for protection against social and economic risks for every man and women. Technical interventions and the promotion of specific policies and projects continued, including the implementation of an “Andean Program,” (in partnership with UNICEF, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the World Health Organization) that aimed to integrate Indians into the national life of Peru, Ecuador, Colombia and Bolivia via technical training in agriculture, teaching Spanish, and training health workers to “point the way towards civilisation...” (Rens, 1959, p. 18). The provision of technical and specifically actuarial expertise increased through the 1950s as well as the development of new technologies for funding social insurance schemes, which were extended to the region

collectively borne, and the state responsible for maintaining this system (Seekings, 2008). The 1942 Beveridge Report was considered by the ILO, as then Chairman of the ILO’s Social Section P. Laroque put it, to be “a basis for all post-war social security effort[s]” (1969, p. 473). The ILO had actively participated in the discussion and elaboration of the Report; the Beveridge Committee which produced the report had requested the input of the ILO, and consulted with Oswald Stein and Maurice Stack, from the Social Insurance Section of the ILO on this (Laroque, (then Chairman of the Social Section of the Council of State) 1969, p. 473).

through the ILO's Committee of Security Experts (CSSE) (promoting specific tools and instruments such as the 'scaled-premium') (Craig and Tomes, 1969, p. 521).

Despite these efforts, the reach of social programs in the second half of the 20th century remained fairly limited. By the early 1960s Peru had one of the highest levels of income inequality in the region with the top five percent of the population receiving close to half of the national income and approximately seven hundred large landowners controlling nearly one third of the country's productive land (Klarén, 2000, pp. 322-4).¹⁹ Nevertheless, social citizenship and the 'developmental state' were normalized in school textbooks on social and civic education. For example, a text book on Laws and Civic Duties (1963) published by the Ministry of Education, explains that:

Society perfects and improves man. It protects his rights. For this reason, men should be social, and should live sociably not isolated from society...society wakes altruistic sentiments in man; the altruist loves his neighbour...A good society contributes to the best citizen education... (Ministry of Education, 1963, p. 142).

A third year high school student textbook, authored by Javier Gonzalez, a secondary school teacher in Lima, also explained the state's responsibilities (in addition to its legislative role) in terms of citizen well-being and improvement in these terms:

...The function of the State is no other than procuring for each and all spiritual and material goods, and satisfying at least, their most basic needs. It is the state that must be at the service of perfecting/improving the person. Reciprocally, the

¹⁹ Peru had high levels of national poverty, even by regional standards, as Thorp (1991) notes, approximately 50% of households lived below the poverty line in Peru around the 1970s, the majority of which were in rural areas (p. 59). In a comparative analysis with Colombia, Thorp (1991) also notes that social expenditure as a percentage of government spending was higher in the 1970s in Colombia than in Peru.

citizen must subordinate his conduct (in a moral and legitimate way) to the institutions and laws of the state, which ensure the common good... (Gonzalez, 1973, p. 30)

In Peru, it was under the Velasco military regime in the late 1960s and first part of the 1970s that more wide-scale social policies and programs were implemented through a constellation of new institutions and experts. Prior to 1968, social security had not been included in national planning in Peru. The 1971-1975 National Plan included social security and health policies and objectives, and the unification of social security under state supervision. Legal reform led to a re-organizing of the Ministry of Labour, charging it with the supervision of social security. A new Direction of Social Security was set up within the Ministry to coordinate and oversee social security programs, and the previously autonomous compulsory social insurance systems came under the supervision of the Ministry, including through a new oversight system, consisting of representatives from the state, employers and workers (Mesa Lago, 1978, p. 121). In the early 1970s, following advice from technical experts from the Inter-American Social Security Organization (OISS), the compulsory social insurance systems were unified under a National Institute of Social Security (Mesa Lago, 1978, p. 122). In 1973 a unified pension system was created, and a National Pension Fund set up to administer this.

These programs for reform were less overtly about cultural, moral or racial improvements (although these tropes persisted), but were rationalized on the basis of economic equality, to be achieved through participation in the means of production and social solidarity, rooted in ideas of class. The worker was no longer just expected to be morally improved through work, but rather to become an active citizen through new roles

and responsibilities in co-managing the means of production. The next section looks at this re-problematization in the 1960s and 70s, and how the ‘good citizen’ was mobilized in this context.

3.3 “Peasant, the Master will no longer feed off your poverty...”²⁰

Increasingly through the 1960s and 70s, government and national development were problematized in terms of the internal and external political-economic dangers posed by foreign capital and domestic elites, to be addressed through the promotion of social solidarity and deep structural reform. Poverty and unemployment were not framed as an individual responsibility either in cause or solution, but as the result of exploitative capitalist interests, to be addressed through land reform and participation of the worker in the means of production. Velasco’s revolution was thus defined in terms of ‘full participation’ – “*Revolución de plena participación*,” with participation in this context serving as a counterpoint to longstanding political dominance of an alliance between the political and financial elites and landowners (Burt, 2006).

Against this, Velasco positioned himself a champion of the poor, and explicitly sought to implement a “fully participatory social democracy” through state-led development: “...We want a social order based on a morality of social solidarity, capable of overcoming the deep egotistical root of individualism ...” (excerpt from Velasco’s speech in 1970 to CADE-70, cited in Jaquette 1972, p. 650). This particular problematization is captured in the cartoon in Figure 4 below from a SINAMOS brochure, depicting a bloated ‘foreign capitalist’ clutching national resources, while it is

²⁰ Excerpt from General Velasco’s speech to the nation, June 24th 1969, re-printed in the Peru Reader (2005, p. 284).

being suggested that he not to raise the salaries of workers, who stand quietly puzzled in the background.



Figure 4. "Submitting to the foreign capitalists..." (SINAMOS brochure, 1972)

Although Revolutionary discourses of participation under the Velasco government were centered on 'the peasant' and 'the worker,' the development of capacities for participation was framed in terms of 'the citizen.' Good citizenship was defined in terms of active participation to resist and re-structure the oppressive socio-economic order. As noted, a key requirement for citizens was to "shed their passivity" in order to actively organize. This passivity was attributed not to racial or cultural predisposition but an effect of stratified social and economic structures that had produced 'civic passivity.'

Participation in this context was understood as fostering social solidarity and socio-economic reform, juxtaposed to individualism, as expressed in a SINAMOS government document on *Revolución y Participación* (1974):

...A profound transformation in the fundamental relations of society, and as a consequence a redefinition of its deepest socio-economic structures, as well

as...the reconstitution of its moral universe, in accord with values entirely distinct than those that sustain all forms of individualism... (SINAMOS, 1974, p. 12)

What emerges in this narrative is not just a particular Peruvian citizen-subject, but society itself as a subject of rights, and the imbrication of the problem of economic development with national security and ‘social rights.’ As General Marin (head of CAEM) stated in 1953, national security must be understood in terms of social rights –to land, housing, health, daily food (Kruijt, 2008, p. 97).

Citizen participation in this context was predominantly seen as a path to social solidarity, a way to challenge elite capitalist interests and an unjust economic order. Citizens were thus called upon to redress this through active participation in the collective management of economic production and the creation of a society of solidarity, (as elaborated below in section 3.4). This problematic was reflected in a government (SINAMOS) document entitled *Characterization of the National Problem: Social Structural and Economic Apparatus – its Dynamic* (1970), which set out the central problems facing national development, and the revolutionary government’s aim to change these traditional social structures to foster a ‘moral order of solidarity’:

Social democracy with full participation will be a system based on a moral order of solidarity not individualism; in an economy fundamentally self-managed, that is, in which the means of production will principally be based on social property and managed by the workers; and in an political order in which the decision-making power is not captured by a small group, but rather rests in autonomous organizations and institutions, in all the men and women who form them...

(SINAMOS, 1970a, p. 6)

This particular problem-solution of national integration and development, and the new responsibilities it entailed for citizens and the state, was codified in the National Plan for Development (1971-75). The plan had three main objectives: 1) "...to integrate the national population in order to achieve the full utilization of the human resources as well as the basic potential of the country," 2) to "substantially improve the distribution of an income per capita...," and 3) to "mobilize the contribution of the external sector to the national development policy, reducing the present conditions of external dependence and vulnerability that characterize the economy" (National Planning Institute, 1968, p. 6 cited in Hilhorst, 1980, p. 6). Specific medium term objectives outlined in the Plan included: "effective participation of the national majorities in the basic decisions of the country by means of its organization in intermediate institutions such as labour unions, cooperatives etc.;" "speeding up and concluding the transference of rural property in the entire country, within the process of Agrarian Reform"; "substantial increase in the level of health of the Peruvian population which should enable the full development of its physical and mental capacities"; "provision of social services to the marginalized groups..."; and integral transformation of the educational system so as to facilitate education for structural change of society, for development and work, as well as for the self-assertion of the national identity..." (National Planning Institute, 1968, p. 14, cited in Hilhorst, 1980, p. 6). This program of participation was to be implemented through training and consciousness-raising ('conscientization'). It was also to entail the creation of cooperatives and self-managed enterprises as a way to redress inequality, identified as a root problem, by increasing the participation of workers to mitigate individual and private interests (discussed in a later section below). This re-problematization of national

progress and development was, in part, made intelligible through the emerging sub-discipline of development economics, which recast national development as a problem of structural reform and industrialization, and constituted the technical planner as a key expert in this regard.²¹

A new development problematic: development economics, national planning and the technical expert

It is now fairly widely held that ‘under-developed countries’ and regions came to the fore as objects of national and international intervention in the postwar period, made visible through new sub-disciplines and knowledges including the ‘economic development of underdeveloped areas’ which emerged as a novel field of study in the late 1940s and early 1950s (Fine 2006; Escobar, 1995). This was attributed to the partial success of the Marshall Plan in Western Europe, which stood as a testament to the possibility of accelerated economic transformation through foreign aid; and new models and theories of economic ‘underdevelopment’ (Hirschman, 1979). In this context, the idea of development, and the particular relationships it implied between industrialized and non-industrialized countries, became central to a new conceptual framework that appealed to governments of developed and underdeveloped countries, as Cooper and Packard (1997) put it, giving “...citizens in both categories a share in the intellectual universe and in the moral community that grew up around the world-wide development initiative of the post WWII era” (p. 1).

Attention to development economics was part of a broader orientation to questions of modernization and political development that came to the fore in the 1960s, notably in academic debates on democratization in the region. Broadly, these drew upon

²¹ A focus on land reform and redistribution had been previously promoted by the Peruvian Left including, for example in Mariátegui’s work from the early 20th century. However, it was not constituted as a technical problem of ‘national development’ until mid-century.

Weberian distinctions between traditional and modern societies with Durkheimian-influenced structural functionalist approaches to identify the pathways and prerequisites for political development. Sociological theories of social action, notably Parson's work, shaped the behaviouralist approaches to political development that came to the fore in the 1950s and 1960s. These were oriented towards the (political) role of narrow conceptions of 'culture,' defined in terms of specific attitudes, values and behaviours, in institutionalizing stable political systems (Peet, 1999).²² Research on political culture was also constituted through and reliant upon the emergence of survey technologies and new statistical methods of analysis through which researchers could ascertain individual subject orientations (Almond, 2000). The work of Almond and Verba is emblematic in this regard. In their book *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (1963/1989), Almond and Verba distinguished between different types of political culture, and the values and attitudes deemed to be conducive to (and result from) stable democratic institutions, based on varying levels of citizen engagement. This included 'parochial' political cultures in which there is no differentiated political sphere of action; subject types in which there is a political system but citizens play only a passive role, and participant political cultures in which 'modern' citizens are informed and engaged in political life (Almond and Verba, 1989). Countries with higher levels of the 'right' political culture were more likely to implement and sustain democracy. From

²² Behaviouralist approaches and attention to political culture were normalized within the discipline of political science in the U.S. during this time, as was manifest, for example, in the formalization of the sub-field of comparative politics (promulgated by the U.S. Social Science Research Council (SSRC) in 1952), and the subsequent formation of a Committee on Comparative Politics in 1954, under the SSRC chaired by Almond) (see Peet, 1999). U.S. sociologist Talcott Parson's theorizing of social action in relation to the maintenance of social systems was particularly influential in this regard. He understood society as a system with different imperatives, sustained through the value-based choices or actions undertaken by individuals. He combined this with an evolutionary conception of social development, envisaged as unfolding through processes of differentiation that would lead to a transition from traditional to more complex, industrial societies (Peet, 1999).

this perspective, Latin American countries tended to be viewed as pre-industrial, transitional, or in Almond and Verba's terms a mix of 'parochial' and 'participant' cultures (see for example Johnson, 1964). This scientific, 'systems' approach informed a decade of studies of 'development' through the 1960s, and centered questions of development and modernization in the new field of comparative politics (Wiarda, 1999).²³

However, it was the field of development economics and the primacy of planning that underpinned what were considered to be the key issues facing government in Peru in the post-WWII period. Unlike unilinear narratives of social evolution, development economics was premised on the idea that the economics of industrial countries was inherently different than that of non-industrialized ones, but was still underpinned by earlier (18th and 19th century) notions of change as ongoing, immanent and uniform (Pieterse, 2001). In these narratives, national governments were constituted as agents of modernity with 'outside' interventions taking the form of technical assistance (Ferguson, 1994; Cooper and Packard, 1997).²⁴

This broad focus on technical intervention for industrial development was produced and reproduced through the emergence (and re-orientation) of a host of new

²³ This orientation to political culture persists in various forms, underpinning for example contemporary surveys on the quality of democracy, and ongoing attention to the civic culture and citizen participation such as Latinobarómetro and the AmericasBarometer, designed to measure values, behaviours and attitudes towards democracy (see Carrión, Zarate, and Seligman, 2006). It is also often linked to ideas the role of trust and social relations i.e. 'social capital,' in generating 'social cohesion' that continue to be central to mainstream development programming (for example the World Bank's 'Social Capital Initiative'). However, as Walters (2002) notes, there are different political imaginaries underpinning notions of political culture and social capital--whereas the former is oriented towards questions of stability and legitimacy (support for democracy), the latter focuses on democratic institutional performance and the skills/actions (vs. attitudes) of citizens (pp. 388-394).

²⁴ The view that industrialization needed to be promoted outside of the west in former colonies and southern countries was not altogether new--and had been advocated in the U.S. and Europe following the Great Depression, for example in influential books such as Eugene Staley's "World Economy in Transition" (1939). However it gained primacy and was further elaborated in the post-WWII period.

international and national institutions in the 1950s and 1960s, including the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), the creation of the International Development Association and new UN organizations including the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), UNICEF, UNESCO and the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance as well as other non-governmental and private programs promoting economic development (see Cooper and Packard, 1997). Progress in development came to be measured on the basis of GNP, and national and international development projects concentrated on investments in industrialization, particularly large industrial/ infrastructural projects such as highways and dams.²⁵ There were also growing concerns about the “population problem” at this time, and emerging ideas about ‘demographic transition’ were increasingly influential in debates on modernization and development in the post-war period (Sharpless, 1997; Szreter, 2005). The view that population growth was a central impediment to economic development for countries seeking to industrialize was increasingly taken up by development economists, informed by theories of demographic transition emerging from Princeton University’s Office of Population Research in the 1940s and 1950s (Szreter 2005). Internationally, this materialized in the creation of new institutions such as the Population Council in 1953, set up to support scientific research in demography and reproductive biology, and the emergence of an international network of “population experts” that produced and systematized the problem, which was embedded in the scientific-moral Malthusian narratives of the 18th and 19th centuries (Sharpless, 1997, pp. 182-4). By the 1950s, this had given rise to a range of policies for population control and family planning policies (Szreter, 2005, p.56-59). In Peru, the problem of population

²⁵ Poverty alleviation was not part of this problem or discourse until the late 1960s (Finnemore, 1997); nor were people the central target of development.

became an area of governmental concern in the 1960s, marked by the establishment of the Centre for Population and Development Studies that produced demographic data. However, there were deep tensions between the impetus to curb fertility among development planners and the influence of the Catholic Church in Peru and the region more broadly (Necochea, 2008).²⁶

Within Latin America, the Economic Commission for Latin America's (ECLA) research on structuralism and the promotion of ISI as a key intervention to achieve industrialization was particularly influential in normalizing and operationalizing this orientation towards technical intervention and planned industrialization. There are many comprehensive analyses of ECLA work and its impacts in the region (for example Sikkink, 1997), and I do not repeat these in detail here. Briefly, the central tenants of what came to be known as ECLA doctrine, elaborated in Prebisch's well-known 1950 article on "The Economic of Development in Latin America and its Principal Problems," located Latin America as on the periphery of the global economy, and therefore not able to follow western trajectories of industrialization, largely due to a reliance on primary products for which the terms of trade were declining. The policy prescription derived from this analysis was that industrialization was necessary for economic development, and that protection and restriction of imports from the 'center' were necessary in order to do so.²⁷ (This also required land redistribution, the creation of regional markets, increased

²⁶ At the Peruvian bishop's conference in 1968, for example, it was explicitly acknowledged that while the rate of demographic growth was an issue, birth control programs were not a feasible recourse (Necochea, 2008, p.36-37). While this view had softened by the mid-1970s, Velasco curtailed 'family planning' programs heavily promoted by U.S. development organizations, including USAID, as part of a broader distancing from U.S. intervention more generally (Necochea, 2008).

²⁷ ISI policies emerged in the region in various forms after the 1930s depression, conventionally understood as a set of policies promoting inward-oriented industrialization and economic growth through protectionist instruments (tariffs, quotas, domestic industry subsidies), and limits to foreign investment and trade

access to technologies required for industrial development, and investments in ‘human capital’ e.g. through education and technical training to “...free an enormous human potential that is...largely wasted...The system of individual initiative...can be restored by the initiative of new men, able men who will emerge in that process of liberating social forces...” (Prebisch, 1961, p. 629).²⁸

This diagnosis was not altogether new, but was applied in new regional contexts with renewed vigour; as FitzGerald (1994) notes, ideas about industrialization developed and promoted by Prebisch had become fairly familiar in the region by the 1940s (p. 89). The problem of unequal exchange had been elaborated earlier in the century by economists in central Europe, drawing directly on longer traditions from Ricardo and Mill for example. The terminology of center-periphery in this context had first been used by W. Sombart, a German economic historian in 1928, in reference to Central, Eastern and Southern Europe and became a point of contestation among Frankfurt School theorists (FitzGerald, 1994, p. 94). While debates on center-periphery relations initially centered on Europe, they were well known in Latin America (as well as Keynesian ideas on macroeconomic management and the international economy), and increasingly applied to the region by a rising number of Latin American economists studying in Europe (Fitzgerald, 1994).

Planning techniques and the ‘technical planning expert,’ were constituted as crucial to resolving these structural problems impeding development and modernization,

(Perreault and Martin, 2005). While they were attributed with periods of significant economic growth, for example in Brazil and Mexico, they were also associated with inflation and economic instability.

²⁸ Human capital was a term attributed to T.W. Schultz in 1960, which reframed the various skills and knowledge that people acquired through training and education in terms of deliberate capital investments (Rose, 2006, p. 162). Schultz developed new tools to measure returns on education as investment, contrasting the costs of education to the productivity of workers and contributions to national income. These economic calculus underpinned World Bank early investments in education in the 1960s, notably in technical training and engineers (Rose, 2006, p. 165).

and to address what were considered to be increasingly complex problems facing governments (Centeno, 1993; Sikkink, 1997; Kothari, 2005). The role of the expert in projects of modernization and development more generally has been extensively explored, including in producing, diagnosis and intervening in problems of development and the constitution of the boundary between developed/under-developed (see Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 1994; Kothari, 2005, for example). Baud (1998) traces the turn towards technical experts in Latin America to the persistent influence of positivism in the late 19th and early 20th century. While engineers were the predominant technical experts at this time, he also notes the rise in visits by foreign economists in the 1920s and 30s, hired as consultants (or ‘money doctors’) by governments to provide expertise on how countries could make themselves more amenable for foreign loans and investments. The ‘Kemmerer missions’ led by U.S. economist and renowned expert on international finance, Walter Kemmerer were emblematic of this trend.²⁹

ECLA played a particularly influential role in the region in helping to establish national planning agencies and technical training for economic management. Technical experts in the 1960s were considered best placed to determine a country’s ‘needs’ and how much international assistance and of what type: “The decision as to how much each country is to receive must emerge from the technical examination of each plan by experts” (Prebisch, 1961, p. 630). The technocrat thus became central to strategies of government in the region, with his legitimacy founded on the idea that objective, scientific knowledge provides the basis for decision in contrast to ‘politics.’ This technicity came to define international development projects, which constituted social,

²⁹ Academics also played a role as ‘visiting economists’, for example Albert Hirschman was appointed by the World Bank (the then International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) as an economic advisor to the Colombian government to provide advice on financial reforms (Bianchi, 2011).

economic problems as technical ones. Centeno and Silva (1998) thus suggest that the technocratic expert uses their “claim to knowledge (as opposed to representation or authoritarian control) to affirm their right to rule.” (p. 3). It is a claim to a particular type of knowledge (rather than an ideology or singular set of policy prescriptions), based on scientific ‘truths’ and the concomitant view that there is an objective, universal ‘policy reality’ that can be (indisputably) apprehended using scientific methods (Centeno and Silva, 1998). In this respect the expertise of the technocrat or ‘bureaucratic technicians’ (Rabinow 1989), and their ‘economistic neutrality’ is considered to depoliticize decision-making by limiting the role of particular ‘political’ interests in this process, creating a paradoxical relation between ‘expert rule’ and democratic participation (see Van Dijck, 1998; Centeno and Silva, 1998, pp. 9-11).³⁰ The influence and centrality of the technocrat in decision-making is thus considered to have been more limited in populist forms of rule than under later ‘neoliberal technocrats,’³¹ and there is also variation in the types of policies promoted and level of influence exerted in different contexts. While economic technocratic experts were considered to have had less of a direct, institutionalized role in government in Peru than some other parts of region, Velasco was nonetheless considered to have implemented a ‘technocratic regime’ (Centeno, 1993, p. 324; Centeno and Silva 1998). (Although Peru did not have an early systematic program, such as Chile’s, to send economists to train in the U.S. for example, economists were considered to have relatively less direct influence (Conaghan, 1998).

Technical planning and the Arthur D. Little Report

³⁰ Centeno (1993) suggests that technocratic policy-making is “inimical” to democracy in that it limits the space for values-based political debates as well as the number of legitimate actors (pp. 327-328).

³¹ Van Dijck (1998) also notes that the conditionalities of multilateral structural adjustment loans away from project-based loans increased the ‘leverage’ and institutionalization of neoliberal technocrats in policy making in the 1980s and 1990s (p. 97).

This development problematic and role of the technical planning expert in Peru was evident in a 1960 report entitled “A Program for the Industrial and Regional Development of Peru” which became a “semi-official tract” over the decade and emphasized the need for national planning, state-lead development, regional planning and comprehensive industrial, land and labour reform (Nunn, 1979).³² The report had been commissioned by the Peruvian government’s Ministry of Development and Public Works to a Boston-based consulting firm, Arthur D. Little. This contract was not unusual; both governments and private industries in the region at the time contracted private U.S. firms, such as Arthur D. Little, Battelle Memorial Institute or the Stanford Research Institute, which promoted themselves as technical-managerial advisors, to undertake research on economic and industrial development (Roche, 1972; Gross and Poor, 2008). Arthur D. Little was considered the first ‘pure consultancy’ business in the U.S., founded in 1886, focusing initially on engineering technology, but moving into ‘administrative advisory services’ by the early 1900s (Gross and Poor, 2008). The 1960 Arthur D. Little Report to the Peruvian government stressed the need for economic development and industrialization, highlighting the urgency of accelerating economic development of Peru for political stability and long-range ‘economic survival,’ which, drawing upon demographic transition theory, it considered was being “jeopardized by the population explosion and the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few” (Arthur D. Little Report,

³² Based on the telling of its own history on its website, Arthur D. Little was founded in 1886 as the world’s first management consultancy, with the initial slogan of “others people’s troubles are our business.” It provided advice to corporations, states, federal agencies and international governments, and was incorporated in 1909 as world’s first company seeking to apply technology to industrial growth. The expertise it offered was wide-ranging, from advising Campbell Soup on how to use waste from tomato soup manufacture (1930), to developing oxygen masks for high-altitude unpressurized war-plans (1941), to helping Brazil speed industrialization of Minas Gerais State in the 1970s. In 1953 Arthur D. Little published a paper on “Operations Research for Management” in the Harvard Business Review considered to mark the transformation of ADL from technical research to management consulting.

1960, p. xv). The report set out a five year development program, entailing an industrial development strategy with a strong role for the state as leader and catalyst of industrial development, requiring direct forms of intervention:

...The view that it would be contrary to the meaning of private enterprise to do anything more than grant tariff protection and tax concessions, is an extreme view of laissez-faire and harmful to the development of the country. It is our belief that an active program of research, planning, and promotion must be sponsored and paid for by the Government... (Arthur D. Little Report, 1960, p. xv)

The Arthur D. Little Report advocated labour reforms and the creation of training centers so that Peruvian workers could acquire basic industrial skills. It also promoted the establishment of a state-run system of unemployment insurance and the extension of social entitlements to include work-related accidents, sickness, unemployment, and retirement pensions (Arthur D. Little Report, 1960, pp. 41-2).

The report gave a central role to planning and the technical planning expert in managing the development program proposed. It additionally suggested that “new attitudes,” defined in terms of expertise in technical planning, were required to implement the large-scale infrastructural and industrial projects it advocated (p. 10).³³ These were to be fostered through the creation of new institutes for national and regional planning and economic development, in line with ECLA’s advice (Arthur D. Little Report, 1960, pp. 85-87). Just two years after the report was submitted (in 1962) a Peruvian National

³³ Two key infrastructural development projects promoted in the ABL Report were the *Plan Perú Vía*, a pilot development project that aimed to develop the Amazon region on an “integrated” and “scientific” basis (xxi) and the Mantaro River Power Project, each with blueprints and costing information set out in detail. *Plan Perú Vía* included separate plans for agricultural development with requirements for technical assistance to train new colonists in farming techniques in the region and “loans to be given to the ‘right kind of applicants’ defined in terms of experience in working on family-type farm, and individuals who have a good reputation for honesty, integrity, industry, progressiveness, and cooperativeness...” (Arthur D. Little Report, 1960, pp. 85-87).

System of Economic and Social Planning was established by the government of then-President Belaúnde, and expanded significantly by the end of the decade under Velasco, through a budget increase of 25%, the hiring of more technical experts, and the creation of sectoral planning offices in key ministries, which were granted significant authority (Palacios, 1983; Cleaves and Pease Garcia, 1983).

Notably, it was the Peruvian military that was constituted as being the primary source of technical planning expertise; (this was not the case throughout the region, for example not in Colombia, where the military was not considered to have this capacity).³⁴ The Arthur D. Little report had attracted the attention of Peruvian military leaders, including those at the Center for Higher Military Studies (CAEM), such as General Mercado who saw an expanded role for the military as “crucial to each and every point mentioned in the little report” (Nunn, 1979, p. 376). According to Nunn (1975), between 1968 and 1972 “the penetration of military officialdom into realms of administration and management...was deeper and wider than in any other Latin America military regime...” (p. 243). Although the military had played a ‘civilizing’ role since the early part of the century (Nunn, 1975); the particular problem of ‘national development’ had increasingly become a purview of the Peruvian military through the 1950s and 1960s, through the reconfiguration of national security in developmental terms to include economic ‘aggression’ and dependency. This shift is traced in the next section through curriculum development at CAEM,³⁵ where knowledge and expertise for technical development was

³⁴ Thanks to Cristina Rojas for this insight.

³⁵ CAEM had been established in the 1950s, to develop educational programs for senior military officers, (as well as police and select civilian bureaucrats) focused on social, economic and political problems facing Peru set up with guidance from ECLA (Whyte and Alberti, 1977).

institutionalized, as well as through journals including the *Revista Militar del Perú* and *Revista de la Escuela Superior de Guerra*.

The Peruvian military professional as technical development expert

In his 1975 article on the ‘Junta phenomenon’ in Latin America, historian F. Nunn tells a firsthand account of Peruvian Colonels, on the eve of the national census in June 1972, asking primary and secondary school teachers, who had been assembled for an orientation session on supervising the census, “...what is the principal objective of the national census?” The teachers responded that the census would provide information on the size of the population, growth of cities, patterns of internal migration and employment, and the state of health, education and literacy. According to Nunn, the Colonels responded “in a condescending manner” that the teachers had not really grasped the importance of the census and that it was being undertaken for the purpose of “national defense” (Nunn, 1975, p. 237). Nunn asks, what did this mean at a time when Peru was neither at war nor anticipating any conflict with its neighbours? What they were in fact referring to were “internal structural changes in political, social, and economic systems [to] provide the necessary conditions for efficient, impartial and effective government, social stability, internal security and order...a greater degree of economic self-sufficiency...and greater government control over the operations, taxes, and profits of foreign investors...” (p. 238). That is, the conception of ‘national defense’ and the role of the military had changed significantly, in ways that redefined the problem of government and national development.

National security was reconceptualized in this narrative in terms of integration through redistribution and economic self-sufficiency (of the nation, not the individual)

through industrialization and structural reform (Huber, 1980). While this can be broadly linked to post-WWII shifts in national security more generally, for example, it took a distinct form in Peru through reconceptualization of “underdevelopment” as a key national security issue (Stepan, 1978; Nunn, 1995).³⁶ As General Marín (head of CAEM) stated in 1953, in poor countries such as Peru, unlike the U.S., national security must be understood in terms of social rights (to land, housing, health, daily food etc.): “Our security depends on other things, on general well-being, national development...” (Kruijt, 2008, p. 97).

The military constituted a central role for itself in national planning, as the most modern, technologically advanced, organized and developmentally-oriented institution in Peru, the only appropriate institution to address Peru’s problems (Nunn, 1995, p. 9). Military officials increasingly became the bearers of new technical and planning expertise required to implement the necessary structural reforms for development. This was evident in discourses of “new professionalism,” defined by an orientation towards internal (vs. external) security-development, institutionalized through the expansion of military professional education through CAEM, and the development of new curricula on economic planning and development (Stepan, 1978, pp. 129-30). As then-head of CAEM, General Romero Pardo, stated in speech in 1959, “...the expenses generally charged to National Defense, have now a predominantly social character, since they are determined not only in regard to possible armed conflicts, but mainly in terms of the need to support

³⁶ This intertwining of military and domestic concerns was embodied, for example, in the U.S. 1947 national security law that sought to integrate operations. Also, the reconceptualization of security in terms of national development was not unique to Peru; this was apparent elsewhere in Latin America, where a new military professional/academic training institutions were being set up, including Brazil’s *Escola Superior de Guerra* funded by the U.S. and modeled after the U.S. National War College (Stepan, 1978).

and supervise an adequate national development, as well as the order and efficiency that should lead it..." (cited in Astiz and García, 1972, p. 676).

By the 1960s, CAEM was considered the most important center for producing economic and social development strategies for Peru. It was also seen a key step for career advancement, and many military leaders, cabinet ministers and senior civil servants in the 1960s and 70s were graduates of CAEM (Einaudi and Stepan, 1971, p. 24). CAEM, established in 1950, was loosely modelled on its counterparts in the U.S. (National War College) and France (*Ecole Supérieure de Guerre*) (Clayton, 1999). Many of the officers who had graduated from CAEM had had training in the U.S., extended to the region due in part to Cold War concerns with leftist insurgency, and the view that Latin American military capabilities were insufficient to deal with a "Castroite-Communist" threat (Ronfert and Einaudi, 1971). While cooperation with the U.S. declined under Velasco, prior to that, in the post-war period, the U.S. had provided Peru with significant military aid, which increased with the signing of a Military Assistance Program (MAP) in 1952. In part to promote professionalization, an increasing number of Peruvian officers were trained in the U.S. or on U.S. bases in the region. Between 1949 and 1964, over eight hundred Peruvian officers trained at the U.S. Army's School of the Americas, and from the signing of the MAP (1952) to 1968 close to five thousand Peruvian Air Force officers took courses or were trained on U.S. bases (McIntock and Vallas, 2003, p. 19; Clayton, 1999, p. 178).³⁷

³⁷ According to Clayton (1999), MAP was the 'lynchpin' of the modern military relationship between the U.S. and Peru from 1952, when it was signed, through to the 1970s. MAP support included improving the operational capabilities of the military through technology transfer and know-how, but also explicitly promoting the professionalization of the military (Ronfert and Einaudi, 1971). While Peru had historically modelled its military on France, it increasingly engaged with the U.S. in the 20th C, with formal ties

The reconfiguration of the military as having the expertise and responsibility for national development was also manifest in published research. An increasing number of articles on national development appeared in the *Revista Militar del Perú* in the early 1960s equating questions of development with national security. For example, a series of articles written by military commander (and later General) B. Centurion in 1962-3 detailed a key role of the military in combating this particular conception of underdevelopment:

We need to be an army with objectives also measured in terms of kilometres of highways, in thousands of hectares of land used for agriculture, in the number of literate individuals, in the kilometres of irrigation canals, the number of localities that have been sanitized, and zones that have been incorporated into the nation. That is, an army that is a symbol for all those countries like ours in a state of under-development, with a shortage of capital, a deficit of expert, specialized work force, an incommensurable amount of work to undertake, with an elite class that is egotistical and without social emotion, and a population lacking faith, with incentives and hope half destroyed by cheating and exploitation... (cited in Kruijt, 2008, pp. 107-8)

Echoing this, in articles published in the early 1960s, General Mercado Jarrín (later a prominent member of the Velasco regime) stated that national security was implicitly linked to increasing and preserving the “national potential” achieved through the well being of the national community and national identity: “...The concepts of development and security are permanently and tightly linked. Without development, there is no

between the Peruvian and U.S. military growing through 1920s, as Peru enlisted U.S. military assistance in modernizing its navy and air force (see Clayton, 1999).

security, and vice versa..." (cited in Kruijt 2008, pp. 109-110). Mercado Jarrín saw the army as technologically and organizationally equipped to promote national development, pointing to "efficiency reports," organizational flow charts, and planning initiatives which he considered to be indicative of a modern army capable of running the country (Nunn, 1979).

This new role and responsibility for the military was explicit in a report commissioned by U.S. Rand organization in 1971, written by two leading experts on the Peruvian military at that time--Einaudi and Stepan. They described a shift in the "self-conception" of the citizen-soldier in Peru: "...Since World War II, the more traditional, "frontier-minded," military nationalism has been increasingly supplanted by a socially conscious orientation towards national development, or, as Peruvian military doctrine puts it, toward "the attainment of national potential well-being." (1971, p. 12). These "contemporary military men" saw themselves increasingly as "professionals both in applied mathematics and in organization, and therefore as technical innovators whose skills are sorely needed if Peru as a whole is to develop its full potential as a modern nation" (Einaudi and Stepan, 1971, p. 12).

This was also normalized through the reorientation of CAEM's curriculum for training military officers in the late 1950s and 60s, which recast them as technical planning experts vis-à-vis the problem of national development. In the curriculum, the requirement to maintain order was increasingly interpreted as "the need to ensure an order conducive to "national-well-being" ...that is to say, the well-being of all Peruvians..." and from 1957, the curriculum focused on national progress and 'integral development' (Einaudi and Stepan, 1971, p. 25). The first course required in CAEM was

an introduction to sociology and methodology, and a course entitled “national reality,” in which national problems were presented in terms of the need for economic independence and access to social assistance programs (Einaudi and Stepan, 1971, p. 25). This orientation towards national development was also evident in a 1963 CAEM report, which listed the specific problems of national development including improving the lot of workers; reform to the system of landholding; growth and diversification of national industry; expansion of social assistance in areas of health, education, and employment; reform to the state and public administration to improve honesty and efficiency (cited in Kruijt, 2008, p. 101). Final exams in the 1950s and 60s included topics such as “Development Planning for the Amazon Region”; and “Problems of National Agriculture” (Kruijt, 2008, p. 98). In addition to the year long program at CAEM, students would also be frequently sent to study planning and economic development at ECLA in Chile (Einaudi and Stepan, 1971, p. 23).

While military technical planners were responsible for identifying the required structural reforms, at the center of the Revolutionary discourse was the citizen-peasant/worker, through whom reforms were to be deployed.

3.4 Displacing the Indian Citizen-Subject: Producing Citizen-Peasants and Citizen-Workers

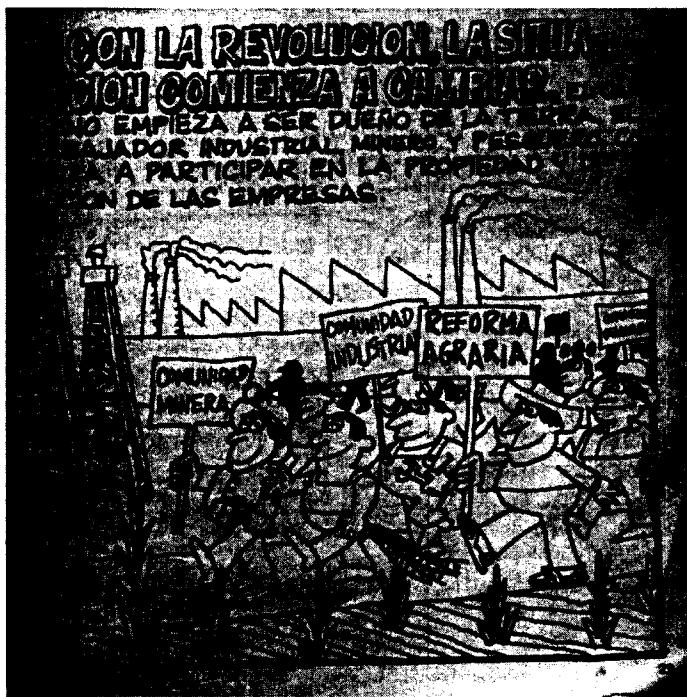


Figure 5. Cartoon showing the language of ‘campesino’ (peasant) and ‘trabajador’ (‘worker’), and the new responsibilities for direct participation in the means of production (SINAMOS brochure, 1972).

Although Tupac Amaru II was deployed as the symbol of the 1968 revolution, the citizen-subject invoked in this narrative was not the Indigenous-citizen to be improved through moral-racial reform but the Peruvian as worker and peasant, to be integrated through increased control over land and/or means of production. While there is a longer history of ‘de-Indianization’ via labour, whereby the Indian is civilized through labour (and “ceases to be Indigenous” (Drinot, 2011a, p. 18)), the abolishment of the ‘Indian’ by Velasco dealt, as De la Cadena (1998a) put it, “the final blow to *Indigenismo...*” and to racial and cultural discourses that had “...until then served as an official vocabulary for talking about rural problems and development...” (p. 45). The “Indian” was explicitly

displaced in official discourse in the late 1960s and 70s. Most infamously, Velasco officially announced the replacement of Indian with the peasant in his speech to the nation on agrarian reform on June 24th, 1969 the Day of the Indian, which was renamed Day of the Peasant as a way of “abandoning unacceptable racist habits and prejudices” (Velasco 1969 in García, 2005, p. 75). While integration thus remained a governmental concern, in this political re-imagining, the population to be integrated was one divided by class rather than race; peasants rather than Indians were to be incorporated as equal citizens on the basis of land reform: “It [was] assumed that once peasants had control over their land and labour, they would regain their dignity and, in a general sense, cease to be “Indians”....The reform measures thus spelled out the path that Quechua peasants should follow if they wanted to receive the benefits of the reform and recognition as national citizens” (Seligmann, 1995, p. 3). Peasants would thus become Peruvian citizens through economic reform including land reform.

From this day on, the peasants of Peru will no longer be pariahs or the disinherited, living in poverty from birth to death and viewing themselves as powerless in the face of a future that appears equally dismal for their children.

From the time of this fortuitous day, June 24th, the peasants of Peru will truly be free citizens, whose right to the fruits of the earth they cultivate, and to a just place in a society that will never again treat them as diminished citizens, men to be exploited by other men, the nation will finally recognize. (Velasco speech, June 24th 1969, re-printed in the Peru Reader, 2005, p. 279)

Efforts were made to institutionalize this through the restructuring of Indigenous communities. The 1970 Statute on Peasant Communities redefined Indians as peasants

and reorganized Indigenous communities as cooperatives in an effort to “modernize” them in way that was compatible with economic development and integration.³⁸ Official recognition as a “Peasant Community” became the only way to access state funds.

Educational reforms were also important to this project (García, 2005; Seligmann, 1995), normalizing the new Peruvian citizen through significant changes to the content of primary and secondary school textbooks in the 1970s, which portrayed the Peruvian population as workers and peasants.

...[V]isual representations focused on children whose parents worked as carpenters, farmers or small shopkeepers...This class-based understanding of national identity also transformed representations of Peru’s racial divisions.

Textbooks understood Indigenous people primarily as peasants and workers, while the oligarchy emerged as the most important internal other. (vom Hau, 2009, p. 140)

As noted, good citizenship in this context was practised by challenging oligarchic and elite capitalist interests through active participation in the economy. A principal means through which this capacity was to be developed was through the National System for the Support of Social Mobilization (SINAMOS) training programs. Most analyses of SINAMOS have tended to assess it only as an instrument for incorporation (see McClintock, 1977; Stepan, 1978; Huber, 1980; Yashar, 2005 for example). In contrast, through a re-reading of key SINAMOS policy and program documents, I argue that

³⁸ It established new membership criteria (only for full-time farmers and residents), and put in place a new administrative framework. It also restructured private landholdings to become cooperatively owned, in contradiction to traditional community structures, although official representation on cooperatives was restricted to those who were literate in Spanish (Yashar, 2005). Seligmann (1995) suggests that despite this restructuring, decisions were often made based on customary practice, and the new administrative councils were considered in the same way as previous bodies for e.g. *varayocs* and *regidores* (pp. 60-62).

SINAMOS also constituted a project for citizen reform and improvement, requiring new responsibilities, attitudes and capacities of citizen for active participation in the means of production.

SINAMOS as a program for citizen improvement and reform

Citizen reform under SINAMOS centered on producing a citizen-worker with the capacity to engage in economic processes through structured participation within government established organizations and cooperatives. SINAMOS was established under Law 18896 in 1971, with a central mandate to achieve the “conscious and active participation of the national population in the tasks demanded for economic and social development,” to secure against the return of previous patterns of politics and elite economic control. It operated through a constellation of new institutions and offices established at municipal, regional and federal levels. This entailed the integration of eight previously distinct government departments and national offices that had been housed in the Prime Minister’s office, the Ministry of Economics and the Ministry of Agriculture respectively. These included the National Office for Cooperation and Development; the National office for the Development of ‘Young Towns’; the National Office for Community Development; the National Fund for Economic Development; the General Directorate for Community Promotion; as well as the Directorates for Peasant Organizations and Agricultural Reform. SINAMOS also operated through a national office to support social mobilization (ONAMS), as well as through regional offices (ORAMS).

SINAMOS implemented its mandate through the programs to orient, capacitate and organize citizens (SINAMOS, 1970, p. 12). In the official opening speech, Velasco described SINAMOS in the following terms:

We want to contribute to the creation of conditions that will stimulate and make possible the direct, effective, and permanent participation of all Peruvians in the development of the Revolution. This participation will find its own organizational modalities and its own mechanisms of action, entirely autonomous and out of reach of the corrupt traditional political leaders who, invoking the name of the people, only serve to eternalize the power of a vile oligarchy. (cited in Seligmann, 1993, p. 30)

SINAMOS had a mandate to train, orient and organize the national population; develop mechanisms for participation, and establish dialogue between the population and government (Woy, 1978, p. 193).³⁹ Its central objective was to ensure that citizens had the capacity to engage in participation, and to create the channels through which participation would be practiced. Although discourses of participation and the Revolution were centered on ‘the peasant/worker,’ the development of capacities for participation was framed in terms of ‘the citizen.’

SINAMOS programs specifically aimed to foster the “creative capacity” of the population to unleash their energy and potential towards development; promote the organization of the population into “dynamic entities of a communal and cooperative nature”; and foster dialogue between government and the national population to generate the “conscious participation” of the people in their basic decisions affecting their reality,

³⁹ Woy (1978) notes that capacituation, although often translated as training, should be understood here as a more general state of “enabling, making fit, or making more qualified” (p. 193).

conceived of in terms of the “working population” (SINAMOS, 1970, pp. 12-13).

‘Participation’ was measured in the exercise of ‘social, economic, and political power’

(SINAMOS, *Dirección de Capacitación*, 1974, pp. 12-13, cited in Woy, 1978, p. 195).

Collectively, these actions were intended to overcome the previously described problem

of “citizen passivity” that had enabled capitalist interests to hold sway.

SINAMOS program documents conceptualized participation as a process of learning or “*aprendizaje*,” based less on formal training but acquired through participation in new organizations in the community and workplace. The means and ends of participation in this context were laid out in early pamphlet entitled published by SINAMOS entitled “*Social Mobilization: For Whom and For What?*” (1970):

A social democracy of full participation is a system based on a moral order of solidarity, not individualism; on a fundamentally self-managed economy, that is, in which the means of production are principally social property managed by workers themselves; and a political order in which the power over decisions is not captured by a small group, but rather rests with autonomous organizations and institutions, formed by all men and women... (SINAMOS, 1970, p. 6)

In SINAMOS manuals such as “*Capacitación y Participación*” (1974), the agent of participation was both the individual citizen, but also the ‘popular masses’ spurred by “immediate” and “concrete” needs (p. 4). The manual also explained that for the citizen to participate, they required a sufficiently adequate knowledge of the local, regional and national problems of development (p. 45).

New programs and projects were created to train and promote citizen capacity, principally through local level SINAMOS operations- in “*Oficinas Zonales*” or OZAMS,

which directly implemented strategies for local mobilization and participation through thousands of small projects and programs with community organizations, unions, universities, and cooperatives. In Lima, neighbourhood committees formed the base of this new structure, consisting of heads of households within city blocks. Members subsequently elected delegates to central committees who in turn elected a Committee to Promote Development (*Comité de Promoción y Desarrollo* – COPRODE). These committees were responsible for community improvement projects, distributing land titles, and also promoting SINAMOS-lead community-development seminars (Stokes, 1995, p. 37).

The ‘promoters’ (*promotores*) of these capacituation programs had to meet specific criteria, including having university or technical training; knowledge of the economic, social and political problems of the country; experience with capacituation activities, and have resided in the respective region for at least one year (Woy, 1978, p. 194). They were required to take a ‘capacituation’ course themselves, covering ‘socio-political phenomena and alternatives to capitalism’; ‘Peruvian prerevolutionary reality’; and the revolutionary process and national development. They were also required to take intensive courses on social mobilization and communication; examinations were administered as a final step to completion (Woy, 1978, p. 199).

Social mobilization fomented through SINAMOS was intended not only to generate support for structural reforms, but also to create direct links with these processes to promote popular sector participation in development planning, and collectively create a “new society with structural participation of the entire Peruvian population” (SINAMOS, 1970, p. 12). Participation, in SINAMOS program and policy documents was often

referred to as structural participation (“*participación estructural*”) of the Peruvian population in the control over the means of production, defined by SINAMOS as a form of participation that offers “real possibilities for Peruvian men and women to gain access to control of society’s most important resources, primarily the control over the means of production...” to be acquired through new role in management and decision making (1970, pp. 12-13). Instilling citizen-workers with the capacity to participate in workplace management and decision-making entailed an explicit cultural dimensions manifest in new ‘creative values’:

The revolutionary process must create a new culture, understood as the participation of all, that permits access to cultural goods for the whole population, and fosters the resurgence of new creative values. This new culture must express a human, just, free and non-alienating society. (SINAMOS, 1970, pp. 15-16)

One of the principal ways and spaces in which this was carried out was through the Industrial Communities program, which provided a way for workers to became co-managers in, and share the profits of the private companies where they worked. Industrial Communities were central to the social and economic transformations at the center of Velasco’s Revolution. The Industrial Law, passed in 1970, required private firms with six or more employees and an annual revenue of more than about US\$22,000 to create a ‘community’ including all employees, which received 10% of net income, and 15% of net income would be re-invested in the business based on collective input. Ultimately, over time, the community was to acquire 50% equity in the firm (Jorgensen, 1975). Industrial Communities had been envisaged in the government’s national plan and were implemented fairly rapidly in 1970—within sixty days after being decreed by Law, there

were over 500 Industrial Communities, and by 1975 this had multiplied to 3,535, involving close to 200,000 “*comuneros*” (SINAMOS Manual, 1976, p. 17).

Organized worker participation in an Industrial Community, as noted early on in the Manual on Industrial Communities (1976), was a practice that “contained the potential to transform socio-economic structures” through a redistribution of wealth and transfer of power to workers (p. 11). Through Industrial communities, workers were given new rights and responsibilities in co-management and profit-sharing; and were required to be established in companies with a minimum of six employees, or in companies which had an annual income of more than one million soles (SINAMOS Manual, 1976). (See Huber (1980) for a discussion on the development of the Industrial Communities Law).⁴⁰ This was implemented through the creation of “Installation Assemblies” consisting of all workers, headed by the worker with the most seniority. The Assembly set out the administrative and legal parameters of the Community, which was then led by an elected Council with members rotating every two years.⁴¹

The structure of the Industrial Communities was in part informed by the conception of social property articulated by Jaroslav Vanek, a professor of economics and

⁴⁰ The private sector, and particularly small and medium-sized entrepreneurs were strongly opposed to the reforms, and created obstacles to its implementation by hiding profits and manipulating management meetings, frustrating workers and ultimately extending union organizing into new industries (see Stokes, 1995). In fact, unlike other military governments in Latin America who were cracking down on unions, under Velasco the Peruvian labour movement was strengthened—specifically the Communist Party Union (CGTP) which Velasco supported in efforts to undermine the APRA-affiliated Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CTP). The number of legally recognized unions doubled from 1968 to 1977, from 2,297 to 4,453 and successful national strikes were held (McClintock, 1989; Stokes, 1995, pp. 32-35).

⁴¹ SINAMOS was responsible for managing and administering Industrial Communities; however, the industrial communities program gave rise to a broader assemblage of organizations: industrial communities had to be registered with the Ministry of Industry and Tourism; a special court for Labour Communities was established to address the many disputes arising within industrial communities between owners and workers (see Huber, 1980, pp. 145-152). As unions were not officially allowed to represent industrial community workers, a loose organization—the National Confederation of Industrial Communities (CONACI) was also formed to represent industrial community workers vis-à-vis the government and entrepreneurial associations.

Director of the Program on Participation and Labor-Management Systems and an early theorist of the participatory economy who had been directly involved in the design of Peru's 'social property' projects (Vanek and Reinert, 1978). Vanek had given lectures and seminars at the Peru's National Planning Institute and the Council of Advisers to the Presidency; he had returned to Peru twice in 1971, and prepared a report recommending creation of self-managed, participatory system in Peru, promoting the concept of social accumulation as a practical solution to problems of redistribution (Palacios, 1983, p. 117). For Vanek, an ideal social property firm was defined by the "full participation" of workers in the direction, management and economic benefits of the firm, the collective ownership of the firm, and "social accumulation" understood as the distribution of income to the workers (Covarrubias and Vanek, 1975). Industrial Communities incorporated the workers in the management of the firm, but retained a single owner. Efforts were made to implement the social property model fully, through the Social Property law passed in 1974, requiring that workers have full managerial control of new firms – i.e. rather than distribute private ownership, as under the Industrial Communities program, it sought to eliminate private ownership altogether (see Jorgensen, 1975 for a detailed account). However, the social property project was strongly opposed and abandoned within a year, once Velasco was removed from power in 1975 (Palacios, 1983).

As part of its mandate, SINAMOS had also promoted the restructuring of the bureaucracy or public administration. This was not framed in terms of accountability, transparency, or efficiency, but as a way to counter the 'elite economic structures' that had captured the state, rather than an inherent or systemic problem: "For many years, the

State was...at the service of the interests of traditional power holders. The public administration, as the executive instrument of the State, was submitted to the pressure of a minority" (SINAMOS Brochure, 1972, pp. 3-4). The SINAMOS brochure sets out how this occurred in specific steps: "1. Powerful groups exercised their dominion over the country; 2. The state, controlled by these minority groups, organized the public administration; 3. As a result of this, the machinery of the state ignores the interests of the majority; 4. In other words: It formed part of a state in which dominant group interests prevailed, and the Public Administration was conditioned in its work. The public employee...felt themselves to be limited in their work at the service of the country..." (SINAMOS, 1972, pp. 3-4).

The new public administration was to have "a new attitude" towards service for those sectors traditionally marginalized. The ideal characteristics of government workers were described in program documents as: working with a profound knowledge about the country's situation; identifying and working in the interests of the population; remembering in all their work that the "*hombre del pueblo*" is active, creative, dynamic, "*participacionista*," and open to dialogue towards social transformation (p. 5-6). Government workers were to treat all people with respect, as 'brothers' of the revolution; they were instructed to "check indolence" and unnecessary delays in services and administrative tasks, and evince a "militant commitment to the great task of constructing a new society in Peru..." (p. 8). Reform came from within government, as it was the capture of economic interests within the state, rather than the mechanisms of government itself, that were fundamentally at stake in this political problem-space. However, the apparent displacement of problems of moral and racial/cultural improvement with class

and the citizen-peasant/worker under the Velasco government in the 1960s and 1970s was neither sudden nor complete. The next section looks at the persistence of projects of moral-racial regulation and reform.

3.5 Persistent Narratives of Civilization and Reform

Despite the re-problematization of development and mobilization of the citizen in terms of class defined by active participation in the means of production, civilizational, moral and racial narratives persisted. These were manifest, for example, in educational reforms, in the growth of social anthropology in Peru and the related continued promotion of cultural projects of *Indigenismo*, as well as in the persistent conception of lowland populations as ‘still Indian’.⁴²

Under the military government post-1968, Indians were simultaneously “evoked and erased” through the persistent use of Inca imagery in revolutionary discourse as well as in educational reforms implemented in the early 1970s (García, 2005). Several educational reform projects were undertaken by the Velasco government, led by the new Commission for Educational Reform, and supported by a new National Institute of Research and Educational Development (INIDE). As Bizot’s 1975 assessment of educational reforms in Peru for UNESCO shows, these reforms were rationalized on the basis of social citizenship and integration of the worker:

In this new vision of education, ‘conscientization’ plus participation would produce citizens who were not only ready to assume their responsibilities but who were aware of their rights...integrated into the nation as a whole, seeing their

⁴² There was a complex discourse invoking particular racial-peasant configurations. As De la Cadena (1998) notes, in contrast to the collective labour of highland ‘campesinos’ (peasants/Indians), those who worked on haciendas without wages were designated as ‘pongos’ (which also meant Indian), whereas coastal agricultural workers were considered ‘yanaconas’ or rural sharecoppers (1998a, p. 35).

labour not as a burden placed on them by oppressive forces but as an enrichment for themselves and a contribution to the welfare of the whole community. But just as it would be incumbent on the new Peruvian society, through a transmutation of the educational process, to help create the new Peruvian man, so the new man would be called on to help in shaping the new society... (Bizot, 1975, pp. 17-18)

The Commission's mandate was specifically to reform the education system to create "the new Peruvian man in a new Peruvian society" through "radical changes in attitudes and values..." Incorporating Freire's idea of *concientización*, its specific stated aims of educational reforms were: "education for work geared to the integral development of the country; education for structural change and the constant improvement of Peruvian society; and education for the self-affirmation and independence of Peru within the international community" (*Ley General de Educación*, 1972 cited in Bizot, 1975, pp. 17-19). This link between education and the citizen-worker was emphasized in the Report of the Committee on the General Law on Education (Law 19326) ... "especially manual work, which the law conceives of as a joint effort towards the self-realization of the person through the production of goods and social services for the common good..." (cited in Bizot, 1975, p. 2).

At the same time, however, educational reforms also promoted bilingual education in areas where languages other than Spanish prevailed, and in 1975 a law was passed recognizing Quechua as an official national language alongside Spanish, although this was reversed in 1979 (García, 2005, p. 75; vom Hau, 2009).⁴³ As noted above, after

⁴³ Three major educational reform projects were initiated at this time: education was decentralized, placing it under local control through the creation of community educational nuclei (NECs); particularly for highland Indigenous communities. A National Policy of Bilingual Education was put in place, promoting

1968, the Ministry of Education published a series of new textbooks depicting workers and peasants (and ‘middle sectors’) as constitutive of the national community; however; they also highlighted a persistent Inca heritage, emphasizing Incan provision of what could be understood as public goods and services (vom Hau, 2009). Education was still considered to be a key instrument in producing a new type of “social morality,” and highland Indians-turned-peasants nevertheless required education in order to be integrated into the nation state. As Velasco remarked in a speech to the nation in 1972:

Educational reform of the revolution aspires to create an educational system that satisfies the necessities of the entire nation; that will reach the great masses of peasants, always exploited and always deliberately kept in ignorance; that will create a new consciousness among all Peruvians of the basic problems of our country; and that will contribute to forging a new type of citizen within a new social morality that will emphasize the values of solidarity, work, creativity, authentic liberty, and social justice as a demand, responsibility and right of each and every man and woman of Peru... (Velasco, 1972, p. 63 cited in Seligmann, 1995, p. 184)

The otherness of lowland Indians was also re-articulated in the distinction of ‘Indians’ in lowland regions who were neither redefined as peasants, nor subject to peasant organizations, but identified by the government as “Native Communities of the Selva” (see Varese, SINAMOS 1974). In 1969, a new Division of Native Communities of the Jungle headed by Peruvian anthropologist Varese was created under the Ministry of Agriculture, within the National Office of Agrarian Reform. The Division was charged

bilingual (Quechua/Spanish) education in areas, including in the lowland regions. In 1975, a law was passed making Quechua an official national language in addition to Spanish (García, 2005).

with developing state policy regarding the territories of Amazon Indigenous populations, and promulgated a Law of Native Communities of the Jungle – (Legal Decree 20653) that introduced reforms to recognize land rights, although implementation was limited (Davis, 1974).

Narratives of *Indigenismo* also continued to be deployed in cultural projects to promote ‘Indian folklore,’ institutionalized by Peruvian social anthropologists – a growing discipline in Peru—and also promoted by North American anthropologists who were increasingly interested in Peruvian society, although notably through the discipline’s constitutive lens of culture vs. race (Osterling and Martínez, 1983). As Indigenist anthropologist and government advisor Luis Valcárcel stated: “...social anthropology has been definitively integrated into the field of Peruvian government policy ...” (1964, p. 13). Culturalist accounts of *Indigenismo* were fostered by a constellation of national and regional cultural organizations, including the Interamerican Indigenista Institute (based in Mexico), with a mandate to promote and coordinate Indigenist policies through the Americas, and the affiliated Peruvian Indian Institute (set up in 1946) which published a scholarly journal entitled “*Peru Indigena*”, as well as various *Indigenista* Congresses held throughout the region (Davies, 1974; Osterling and Martínez, 1983). Notably, in 1959, the Peruvian and Mexican Institutes had signed on to an agreement to implement National Plan for the Integration of the Aboriginal population, defining Peru as a “nation formed by two societies, and two cultures; one is the national Euro-American culture and the other the Andean indigenous culture...” (De la Cadena 1998b, p. 154). The post-war interest in applied anthropology also underpinned projects such as the Peru-Cornell Project and the Puno-Tambopata Program

(part of a broader Andean Program, supported by specialized UN agencies including the ILO, FAO, and UNICEF), which developed a National Integration Plan for the Indigenous Population in 1959, oriented to the “integration” of the Indian population into national life (Osterling and Martínez, 1983, p. 346). Luis Valcárcel, so central to the development of Indigenist projects in the 1920s and 30s, continued to advise the government on Indigenous issues through the 1960s, articulating the same moral-spatial narratives, as illustrated in his essay written in 1964, as part of a collection on Studies on the Current Peruvian Culture (*Estudios sobre la cultura actual del Perú*), which stated that:

The new generation...has acquired an invincible tendency towards evasion; leaving the community...trying to be a *campesino* no more...The deserter of his original cultural environment fails to incorporate himself as a conscious member of the new society; he will remain marginal, with all the consequences of frustration and resentment...Everything that constituted ‘his world’ has gone, but nothing has replaced it...His soul pines for these lost things and is submerged in nostalgia and melancholy which often find their way into music...Programs to promote *campesinos* do not contemplate with sufficient depth the need for technological development that roots rather than distances the man from the countryside. Only a policy that protects the agricultor, assuring him good prices for his products, and wages that justly remunerate the worker will be effective in achieving the objective of maintaining and even increasing the peasant population. This policy is imperative, above all in relation with Andean inhabitants if one considers this key fact: their adaptation since time immemorial

to living at high altitude...The de-population of the Andes would be truly deadly for Peru, which could not remedy this with colonizers from other climates....
(Valcárcel, 1964, pp. 13-14)

Thus, while the language of the *campesino* (or peasant) prevailed, long standing moral and bio-spatial characteristics that previously been drawn upon to distinguish Andean populations continued to inform social hierarchies. The persistence of civilized/uncivilized narratives was also apparent in Einaudi and Stepan's 1971 report prepared for the U.S. Dept. of State by the Rand Corporation. The report defined the Indian as a "peasant of Indian culture," and suggested that since the 1960s, there has been a shift in the attitudes of officers towards Indian conscripts, "...that the process of "civilizing" was no longer as important as in the past, and that the army could entrust the conscripts with complicated equipment, whether tanks or the Engineers' new bulldozers, after a very short time" (1971, p. 55).

3.6 Reflections on Chapter Three

This Chapter has aimed to show how the 'good citizen-subject' was reconfigured as citizen-worker/peasant in official discourse and programming through the 1960s and 70s, and how these new narratives of 'good citizenship' were contingent on a new development problematic. More than just a rhetorical turn or corporatist arrangement, it shows how this was operationalized in government policies and programs such as SINAMOS. The latter is viewed here as a program of reform, providing training and capacitation for citizens to take on new responsibilities required by structural changes implemented and the particular understanding of 'good citizenship' within which these were embedded. It also argued that this apparent displacement of moral-racial reform

with class was neither sequential nor complete; as noted, Amazonian Indian populations were still constituted as Other, for example. Moreover, both the ‘Indian’ and the worker required ‘improvement’ in order to contribute to national progress.

Of course the effects of SINAMOS programs and other efforts by the military government to structure social organization were not determinate. In some cases, efforts to mobilize rural and urban popular sectors through SINAMOS inadvertently strengthened other, autonomous forms of popular organizations that harnessed discourses of citizen participation and citizen-worker rights to more radical projects (see Stokes, 1995). As Li (2007a) notes “one of the inadvertent effects of programs of improvement...is to produce social groups capable of identifying common interests and mobilizing to change their situation...” (p. 26). She contends that it is this very encounter with efforts and initiatives to improve them that becomes the basis for new forms of action—which manifest in different ways in this context. The creation of new demands (for agrarian, as well as social and economic reforms) by the military regime, and the subsequent failure to deliver on them all generated new sources of social conflict (Dietz, 1998). In addition, challenges in implementing SINAMOS and Industrial Communities programs inadvertently strengthened, and created new spaces for independent forms of popular organization that ultimately came to form the core of opposition to the military government (see McClintock, 1989).

Other program failures also led to unintended results. For example, poor coordination of capacitation programs and resource distribution, attributed in part to the decentralized structure of SINAMOS, were considered to have led to internal conflicts which undermined the effective implementation of some SINAMOS programs (Stokes,

1995; Peattie, 1990). Also, despite extensive training programs, SINAMOS *promotores* did not always present capacitation materials as intended (see Woy, 1978). Some of SINAMOS efforts to organize a country-wide peasant confederation were also resisted, with members of cooperatives instead joining the independent National Agrarian Confederation and the Marxist Peruvian Peasant Confederation (McClintock, 1989, p. 358). As popular organizations grew in unexpected ways, they increasingly pushed for democratic transition and spoke out against the military regime (see Stokes, 1995; Dietz, 1998 for detailed analyses). In this respect, official ‘diagnoses’ and efforts to reform were re-worked into new demands. The Industrial Communities also evolved in ways that were not envisaged by the government, forming independent organizations and unions. This was in part the result of the efforts by owners to resist the new model, for example by under-reporting profits in order to reduce the amount that they were required to re-invest and redistribute amongst manager-workers (Huber, 1983). These tactics led to a growing number of demands on the Ministry of Labour to resolve employee/owner disputes which led to delays, and inadvertently re-affirmed a role, and generated support for union intervention, and was a catalyst for the formation of new unions (Huber, 1983, p. 73).

The contradictory and complex effects of Velasco’s efforts to promote a particular form of citizen participation were also manifest, for example in Villa El Salvador, a shantytown on the outskirts of Lima created by Velasco in 1970 as a way to accommodate a growing number of migrant squatters occupying state-owned land. The government actively encouraged poor families from the Lima slums to populate Villa El Salvador and provided legal title to land and other social and economic benefits, managed through SINAMOS, that created a council to govern what became known as CUAVES,

‘the Self-Managed Urban Community of Villa El Salvador’ (Peattie, 1990). Despite the construction of schools and cooperatives for food and services, inadequate housing, health and employment persisted. As state funding for CUAVES declined in the 1970s during second phase of military rule under Velasco’s successor Bermúdez, the community began to advocate for more autonomous forms of participatory governance, re-articulating the Government’s language of citizen participation and social justice (Burt, 2006, pp. 229-230). It is on these grounds that Stokes (1995) suggests that Velasco’s reforms had the effect of helping popular sectors critically assess their own conditions, sparking “a new spirit of participation”, in directions that were not necessarily foreseen (or desired) by the Velasco regime.⁴⁴ Popular movements organized and expanded through the 1980s, largely focused on issues associated with rapid urban growth (adequate housing, access to water, land, infrastructure etc.), with demands increasingly made on the basis of citizen ‘rights’ (Schönwälter, 2002; Stokes, 1995). There was also a well-documented proliferation of women’s ‘survival movements,’ including popular kitchens (*comedores populares*) and the ‘Glass of Milk’ program (*Vaso de Leche*) in the context of worsening economic crisis (Schönwälter, 2002; Stokes, 1995; Remy, 2005),⁴⁵ supported by, the leftist governments that came to power in Lima in the early 1980s.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ At the same time, the communist party and socially progressive Catholic organizations were increasingly influential in urban politics and shantytown organization, providing alternate sources of support for mobilization support (Stokes, 1995).

⁴⁵ Popular movements, notably urban organizations in Lima, had been shaped mass migration to the city that began the 1940s and 50s, increasing Lima’s population from a few hundred thousand to over eight million by the 1980s (Graham 1991, 92). (It is estimated that 75% of Peruvians now live in urban areas, with one-third of the total population in Lima – a rapid reversal – in the 1940s 70% of Peruvians lived in rural areas (Burt, 2006, p. 223).

⁴⁶ Leftist governments in Lima also prioritized participation in government, facilitated by decentralization under a new 1979 Constitution that re-instituted municipal elections and granted local governments greater political and economic autonomy in areas such as urban planning, health, infrastructure and education (although resource transfer was relatively limited) (Schönwälter, 2002, p. 92).

By the early 1970s, a declining economy in the context of international recession compromised state resources upon which the regime relied to implement its social and economic reforms. This resulted in increasing unrest and decreasing support for the regime, culminating in violent riots in 1975, which were repressed by the armed forces (Kláren, 2000). In 1975, Velasco was ousted by his then-finance minister General Morales Bermúdez, who turned away from the radical reform agenda of the ‘first phase’ of the revolution, to implement a more moderate, fiscally conservative agenda. Protests and strikes against the regime escalated in the wake of declining minimum wage, and growing poverty increasing debt, and subsequent conditions of harsh structural adjustments imposed by private lenders and the IMF.⁴⁷ With fast dwindling support, Bermúdez announced a transition to democracy at the end of 1977, and elections for a Constituent Assembly were held in 1978.

While the focus of mobilization in this context shifted from economic elites to also target the State (Stokes, 1995, p. 71), the discourse of ‘citizen participation’ deployed by leftist popular organizations in this context nevertheless re-articulated the discourses of the Velasco government and SINAMOS programs—in promoting social solidarity to dismantle economic hierarchies and redress poverty. As Stokes (1995) noted: “...The prevalence of the word *participation* in local political discourse again links the radical political subculture to the Velasco period, when the term gained currency...” (p. 72):

...Radical activists believed that participation should change the attitudes of people toward their social and political surroundings in addition to allowing the

⁴⁷ By 1978 real wage was only 55% of what it had been in 1973, and the Peruvian Sol had devalued by more than 55% (McClintock, 1989, p. 350).

poor to acquire the material services their communities needed. Participation should “create consciousness”...or force participants to “become conscious”...and allow people to “see reality”... Creating consciousness and seeing reality meant acquiring a more critical attitude toward the state, social hierarchy, and establishing authorities. These changes in consciousness also implied shedding an individualistic understanding of one’s problems, coming to see one’s personal difficulties as connected to broader social problems... (Stokes, 1995, pp. 72-3)

Reflected in this are assumptions about citizens’ entitlements to state-provided social services. This stands in sharp contrast to later narratives of citizen participation, which assume that individual citizens are responsible for addressing their own social and economic ‘risks,’ and developing the skills and capacities to do so, as discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

CITIZENSHIP, RISK-MANAGEMENT AND ASSET ACCUMULATION

“The revolutionary idea that defines the boundary between modern times and the past is the mastery of risk: the notion that...men and women are not passive before nature”

(Bernstein 1996 cited in the *World Bank Social Protection Sector Strategy: From Safety Net to Springboard*, 2001b, p. 9)

4.1 Introduction: “Letting the Individual Entrepreneur Flourish”

On September 27, 1989, in his speech at the Annual Meeting of the Boards of Governors of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank Group, then U.S. President George Bush thanked Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto for:

...help[ing] us understand a worldwide economic phenomenon...to point out what, in retrospect, may seem obvious: People everywhere want the same things. And when left alone by government, people everywhere organize their lives in remarkably similar ways. De Soto's prescription offers a clear and promising alternative to economic stagnation in Latin America and other parts of the world. Governments must bring the "informal" workers into the regular economy and then get out of the way and let individual enterprise flourish. (Excerpt from speech by George Bush, 1989)¹

De Soto was an economist, a former director of Peru's Central Reserve Bank, self-described Peruvian entrepreneur and President of the *Instituto Libertad y Democracia*. Bush was invoking the central argument of Hernando de Soto's then recent book "*The Other Path: The Invisible Revolution in the Third World*" (1990) – explicitly titled as a counterpoint to Peru's “Shining Path” leftist revolutionary movement (and the more

¹ The Speech was retrieved from The American Presidency Project:
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=17567#axzz1bAVOJqF7>

radical forms of land redistribution it espoused).² De Soto's main argument was that the solution to economic development was to let the 'entrepreneurial spirit,' which he considered to be manifest in the informal economic sphere in Peru and elsewhere, flourish by dismantling Peru's 'mercantilist' regime (of government regulation and control of trade) and allow the accumulation of individual assets, in this case through the formalization of property rights. The ideal citizen envisaged in this context was the competitive entrepreneur with the 'ability to take risks and calculate' (de Soto, 1989, p. 243):

...In Peru, informality has turned a large number of people into entrepreneurs, into people who know how to seize opportunities by managing available resources, including their own labor, relatively efficiently. This is the foundation of development, for wealth is simply the product of combining interchangeable resources and productive labor. Wealth is achieved essentially by one's own efforts. It is earned, little by little, in an active market where goods, services and ideas are exchanged and people are constantly learning and adjusting to others' needs...(de Soto, 1989, p. 243)

By the mid-1990s, the Peruvian government had created a law to formalize property rights and established the *Comisión de Formalización de la Propiedad Informal* (COFOPRI) to implement this, with the support of the ILD. In addition, within a decade, the World Bank further operationalized this idea, through the implementation of an Urban

² De Soto's work was part of a broader assemblage working to extend neoliberal reforms that, as Mitchell (2005) delineated, can be traced back to the post-war 'Free Market Project' set up in the mid 1940s at the University of Chicago, and later taken up by other neoliberal organizations in the 1950s including the Heritage Foundation and the American Enterprise Institute. In fact, de Soto had received funding for his work and the ILD from the neoliberal Atlas Foundation for Economic Research, set up by a close collaborator of Hayek's, Antony Fischer, following de Soto's meeting with Hayek during the latter's visit to Lima in 1979 (Mitchell, 2005).

Property Rights Project in Peru, which aimed to create property owners by granting formal property rights in poor urban settlements.³ De Soto's project was just one among a broad array of neoliberal reforms underway in Peru through the 1990s. However, it is a useful starting point as it captures how socio-economic development was, in part, re-problematized in terms of investment and asset accumulation, rather than alternate ways, for example in terms of levels of social spending, which are significantly lower in Peru than elsewhere in the region (World Bank, 2007, p. 14).⁴ Relevant for the present research, it also shows how notions of 'good citizenship' are connected to practices of individual risk management.

In contrast to previous narratives of 'good citizenship' centered on solidarity, collective ownership and entitlements vis-à-vis a problem of unfair wealth distribution, this Chapter seeks to show how new responsibilities and capacities for 'asset accumulation' became central to social development programming in Peru through the 1990s and post-2000. It also shows how longer standing projects for moral reform are re-articulated in this context, fostered through a particular combination of coercive, disciplinary, and neoliberal tactics. It focuses specifically on how these narratives are operationalized in Peru's conditional cash transfer program '*Juntos*'.

³ The program envisaged new property owners using their property to leverage credit for further investments. However, as Mitchell (2005) noted, subsequent studies of the project found that the property titles had had no significant effect on access to credit for the poor (2005, p. 300).

⁴ While the promotion of land-titling is not new, how it is problematized and portrayed has shifted. This is illustrated, for example by contrasting the promotion of property ownership as investment and asset accumulation, with earlier conceptions. For example, in 1956, Peru's Director of the Commission for Agrarian and Housing Reform (CRAV) cited the benefits of property and specifically homeownership in terms of moral benefits: "not only strengthens the moral fiber of family members and promotes self-fulfillment, but it also facilitates emotional stability, augments work productivity, reduces social conflict and delinquency, all of which translates into security and stability for the country and an increase in national productivity" (cited in Stokes, 1995, p. 26).

The Chapter is structured in the following way: it first reviews the particular conditions of violence and economic crisis in the 1980s in Peru which were the backdrop to the timing and implementation of new types of social programs in the 1990s. However, I do not re-assess specific orthodox economic reforms or President Fujimori's self-coup (*auto-golpe*) in detail. Good analyses of the rise and fall of the Fujimori regime abound, including Conaghan and Malloy (1994); Kay (1996); Levitsky and Cameron (2003); Manrique (1996); Carrion (2006); Conaghan (2005). Instead, I focus specifically on the emergence of new types of social programs in the 1990s aimed at enabling individuals to help themselves, reflecting what Vargas (2010) referred to as a shift from 'assistentialist' state intervention to 'productivity-enhancing' programs. This traced through the broader re-orientation of social development policies and programs towards 'asset accumulation,' which relied upon new metrics and methods to make the 'asset-poor,' as a new collectivity, visible. The last part of the Chapter shows how these narratives of citizenship were operationalized through Peru's conditional cash transfer program, *Juntos*. It focuses on the responsibilities/capacities required of 'good citizens' in this context, as well as the novel ways in which these programs of improvement combined an ethos for individual asset accumulation with a re-articulation of moral-racial tropes of uncivilized conduct, culture and hygiene, and coercive tactics of conditionality.

4.2 Violence, Economic Crisis, and Orthodox Reforms

Severe economic crisis and increasing *Sendero Luminoso* violence through the 1980s was an important backdrop to political and economic shifts in the 1990s and the broader re-problematization of government and development in terms of the market.

The Sendero Luminoso and Peru's 'dirty war'

*On the way out of Aucayacu
There's a body, who could it be?
Surely it's a peasant
Who gave his life for the struggle.
...Today the quota must be filled
If we have to give our blood for revolution,
How good it will be.*

(Excerpt from a ballad by anonymous Shining Path militant, 1984, cited in Gorriti, 2005, p. 341)

The violent war waged by (and against) the *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path) revolutionary movement shaped the political and economic landscape in Peru the 1980s and 1990s. The *Sendero*, founded by Abimael Guzmán in 1970, a philosophy professor at the University of Huamanga in the center-south highland department of Ayacucho, was one of various Marxist parties that emerged in Peruvian universities in the 1960s and 70s (Starn et. al., 2005, p. 320). The *Sendero* promoted peasant revolution, inspired by Maoism and the work of Peru's influential early 20th century leftist thinker, José Carlos Mariátegui. The *Sendero*'s emergence is associated with social and economic marginalization of rural populations, linked specifically to the failure of agrarian reforms in the 1970s to improve the standards of living among rural populations in the south, and the growth of the left and activism among leftist intellectuals and leaders from the University of Huamanga (see McClintock, 1984; Stern, 1998).⁵

As noted previously, one of the unintended effects of the programs enacted in the 1970s under Velasco's military regime was to provide an impetus for more radical leftist organization in the countryside, reflecting the sometimes violent effects of particular

⁵ Despite a shared Maoist influence, the left was divided in Peru, in part along regionalist lines (and legal/insurgent lines), with the urban leftist organizations initially dismissing the Shining Path as "...a sort of poor provincial cousin" (Hinojoas ,1998, p. 76). Various organizations competed to become the 'one' Peruvian Communist Party; unlike other radical leftist groups, the Sendero eschewed alliances with others.

strategies of government on political struggles. Despite their intended aims, the agrarian reform programs had marginalized many rural communities by turning previous large landholdings over to associative organizations (such as the Agricultural Societies of Social Interest and Agrarian Production Cooperatives) rather than to communities and small farmers. Former workers from large *haciendas*, were incorporated in these organizations, which became seen in some cases as a persistence of the previous large-landholding system, thus contributing to mobilization around more radical alternatives for land redistribution (Rénique, 1998, p. 310); (see Mallon (1998) for an excellent analysis of this phenomenon). Radical leftist groups were also considered to have been spurred on by a shift away from the government's original leftist agenda, following the internal coup in 1975 by Velasco's more conservative successor (former Finance Minister) General Francisco Morales Bermúdez, who repressed mobilizations, and sidelined labour leaders and 'progressive' military leaders (Hinojosa, 1998, pp. 69-71).

In 1980, the *Sendero* initiated violent protests and armed offensives in Ayacucho, with the support of many Indigenous/peasant communities in the region, mobilized around the lack of good land, public health and education. However, community support declined with the *Sendero*'s growing efforts to control agricultural production and markets, displace community authority structures, and increasing violence towards communities considered to harbor state collaborators, including public trials and killing of dissenters (Degregori, 1998; Mallon, 1998). Initially, the Peruvian government dismissed *Sendero* activities as a minor conflict in what was then a lesser known part of the country.⁶ However, their increasing offensives, including the displacement of local

⁶ Ayacucho was considered to have benefitted less from the agrarian reforms of the 1970s, in part as it had less large-scale haciendas therefore less land to redistribute (Palmer, 1986).

and state authorities in parts of Ayacucho and the expansion of violence to urban areas including Lima by 1982/3, triggered a military response, leading to the initiation of Peru's "dirty war" giving the government a "platform" to massacre presumed subversives in the region, including journalists, peasants and prisoners (Stern, 1998, p. 2).⁷

Indigenous-peasants as citizens/non-citizens

Previous ideas about Indians and *Indigenismo* persisted in the framing of the conflict in the 1980s and 90s. The *Sendero* eschewed overt ties to any 'Indigenous' or 'Andean' roots; and Guzmán traced a lineage to Marx, Lenin and Mao rather than to Indian rebels (Starn 1995, p. 407). The *Sendero* explicitly rejected some forms of earlier *Indigenista/Andeanism* that isolated the Indian, as evidenced in a public denunciation of Indigenist José María Arguedas in *Sendero* newspaper, *El Diario*:

...the Arguedian arguments lead us to believe that the Indio is the only being with virtuous dispositions, incapable of any fault; and that therefore, we should isolate him and care for him in order to avoid that he be contaminated... (cited in Mayer, 1991, p. 481).

Nevertheless, as Cadena (1998a) noted, leftist political projects in the 1960s were in part inspired by Indigenous leftist projects of the 1920s and 30s. This was evident in the writing of *Sendero* intellectual Díaz Martínez in the late 1960s who combined racial categories with class distinctions, for example in portraying the migration and urbanization of peasant-Indian populations as a 'deformation' that would result in social

⁷ Violence increased through the 1980s under civilian Governments that followed the end of military rule in 1980. Many highland departments were designated as "emergency zones" and placed under military control. U.S.-trained counter-terrorism police units (*sinchis*) were deployed, becoming known for their human rights abuses and excessive violence against communities suspected of harbouring *Senderista* 'terrorists'. Cold war concerns with communism provided a backdrop to these actions. Thousands of Quechua-speaking community members, including teachers and community leaders were killed or disappeared as a result, and women, men and children were routinely beaten and raped (García, 2005, p. 42).

crisis. His work thus re-articulated longer standing tropes that ascribed to Indians the potential to realize a former “biologic-emotional equilibrium” in reclaiming the sierras (Cadena, 1998a, p. 51). She also notes that the view that Indigenous/Andino heritage, as a ‘natural’ social class that could be corrupted by capitalisms and urbanization was the basis for the *Sendero*’s violent repression of peasant fairs and local markets (p.54).

Within the national imaginary and state discourse, highland (Indigenous) peasants involved in the conflict were constituted as subversive:

Many in the privileged classes of Lima...came to think of “ayacuchano” (Ayacuchan) or even “serrano” (mountain-born) as a synonym for “terrorist,” as old anxieties about the irrationality of “the Andean” interlaced with new fears of “international terrorism” of the Reagan-Thatcher years in the stigmatization of the rebels as “crazed subversives” or “demented criminals”... (Starn, 1998, p. 234)

This was mitigated in part with the emergence of military-backed rural militias (*Rondas Campesinas*),⁸ which contributed to a partial repositioning Indigenous-peasants as potentially important to national security and state defense (García, 2005, p. 45).

However, accounts of the violence deployed by militias against Shining Path supporters still invoked earlier themes about particular Indian disposition and “pre-modern” propensity to violence (Franco, 2006; Mayer, 1991). This was exemplified in the 1983 Vargas Llosa Commission Report on the violent killing of eight Peruvian journalists in January 1983, en route to inquire into the reported violent deaths of several dozen *Senderistas*, an event which had caused a national outcry. Vargas Llosa, the appointed head of the Commission, concluded that these “Iquichano” villagers (invoking reference

⁸ Starn (1997) suggests that these *Rondas* numbered more than 3,500 villagers, primarily in departments of Apurímac, Ayacucho, Huancavelica, and Junín (p. 224).

to a supposed pre-Hispanic, war-like group (see Franco, 2006)), had mistaken the journalists for members of the Shining Path and suggested that these killings could be attributed to cultural misunderstandings, as they were part of a:

...’besieged nation’ as José María Arguedas calls them, with thousands—perhaps millions—of compatriots who speak another language, have different customs, and who, under such hostile and isolated conditions, have managed to preserve a culture—perhaps archaic, but rich and deep—that links up the whole of our pre-hispanic past, which ‘official’ Peru has disdained... (Vargas Llosa et. al., 1983, p. 36 cited in Mayer, 1991, p. 468).

This interpretation was later refuted by Peru’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in 2003, which found that the killings were not rooted in a primitive, innate violence, but to contemporary threats of *Sendero* attacks, against which the State had offered little protection (see Franco, 2006).

The conflict came to an end in the early 1990s, marked by the capture of *Sendero* leader Abimael Guzmán in September 1992 by the Fujimori government, which had introduced a new counter-subversive strategy targeting administrative-political organizations of groups and notoriously created a death squad (*Las Colinas*) responsible for a multitude of killings, massacres and forced disappearances. The TRC Final Report concluded that between 600,000 to one million people had been displaced as a result of the conflict, and over 69,000 killed, the majority of whom were “peasant” populations from rural regions of Quechua or other native mother tongue. About 54% of these deaths were attributed to the *Sendero Luminoso*. The TRC Report also documented the systematic state-led massacres and held the state counter-insurgency forces responsible

for grave human rights violations, including extra-judicial executions, torture, forced disappearance, and sexual violence. Among other things, the TRC linked the conflict to poverty and social exclusion, and established that poor, rural peasant populations were its primary victims, explicitly concluding that the conflict revealed a persistent, veiled racism in Peruvian society. The failure of the leftist APRA Government of President García (1985-1990) to end the conflict, combined with economic crisis that worsened through the 1980s, was considered to have helped pave the way for the surprising victory of Fujimori in 1990 and the implementation of orthodox neoliberal reforms in Peru (Degregori, 1998), discussed below.

Economic and political crisis and orthodox reforms

While there had been some retrenchment of Velasco's nationalist economic model in the 1980s, orthodox neoliberal economic reforms were not fully embarked upon in Peru until the 1990s, later than elsewhere in the region.⁹ As noted in the Chapter One, in the conventional canon on Latin American politics, Fujimori represented a classic neopopulist leader and an example of 'delegative democracy', whereby a "personalistic, plebiscitarian leader rules based on a quasi-direct, largely unmediated relationship to a heterogeneous, mostly unorganized mass of people..." (Weyland, 2006, p. 13). Virtually unknown and with few political affiliations, Fujimori had come out of nowhere to win the Presidential elections in 1990, beating internationally renowned author Mario Vargas

⁹ "Heterodox" 'economic stabilization' measures were first implemented in 1959, with pressure from the IMF and focused on balance of payments and prices, which became a central feature of economic stabilization programs in the 1970s and 1980s in Latin America (Thorp, 1991, pp. 84-87). Stabilization policies were again implemented during mid- to late 1960s, under the leftist APRA party, including devaluation, controls on imports and tax increases (Thorp, 1991). Some orthodox neoliberal structural adjustment policies were implemented in the early 1980s, as a result of increasing IMF influence over Peru's economic policy following the rescheduling of debt repayments. However, as Pastor and Wise (1992) suggest, these collapsed due to a failure to successfully promote privatization and attract foreign investment, leading to the implementation of a less orthodox, mixture of ('heterodox') measures by the mid-decade under APRA's President García (Pastor and Wise, 1992).

Llosa, candidate of conservative and coastal elites.¹⁰ Fujimori not only capitalized on the decline of traditional mechanisms of representation and the space opened by the weakened APRA and IU, but also drew support on the so-called ‘disorganized’ sectors and promoted further fragmenting of political fields. Fujimori’s ‘party’ –*Cambio 90*—did not consist of much more than a loose network of personal contacts from disparate sectors. He remained vague with regards to his economic agenda throughout his campaign, although he did promise not to implement further austerity measures, which he subsequently reversed upon taking office. During his campaign, Fujimori presented himself as an outsider, an opponent to the delegitimized traditional political class, drawing upon ethnic stereotypes of the ‘hard working’ Japanese (Roberts, 1995, p. 94). Although Fujimori’s family had arrived in Peru from Japan over sixty years prior, he nevertheless promoted the view that he would have particular advantage in winning tangible Japanese capital investment and a less tangible ‘ethic’—manifest in his campaign slogan: “honesty, work, and technology” (Lee, 2010, p. 48).¹¹

There are detailed accounts of the implementation of orthodox neoliberal economic reforms during this period, and their repercussions—see, for example, Pastor and Wise (1991); Roberts (1995); Wise (2006). Despite election promises not to do so, Fujimori implemented IMF-sponsored “draconian” measures, considered to be some of the severest in the region, with little social cushioning (Roberts, 1995, p. 96). These included a re-orientation to international foreign investment through the trade

¹⁰In addition to economic decline and the persistence of violent conflict, Fujimori’s victory is also attributed to the vacuum created by the collapse of the parties that had traditionally had the support of popular sectors and the Left—APRA and the Izquierda Unida, in the wake of economic crisis in the 1980s.

¹¹Fujimori capitalized on this mixed Asian/Andean heritage to distinguish himself from the traditional *mestizo* elite, and made overt commitments to bringing a Japanese work ethic and efficiency to government, deploying analogies of the “reliable” Toyota, circulating photos in which he was dressed as a samurai, and breaking a brick with a karate chop, but at the same time reminding the populace that he was 100% Peruvian (Lee, 2010, p. 49).

liberalization, elimination of restrictions on imports, and privatization of state-owned companies and agricultural land, marking a shift away from the nationalist focus that had prevailed in the 1970s. There were also reforms to the financial system, including the deregulation of exchange and capital markets, the promotion of a ‘flexible’ labour market, as well as significant cuts to social spending and price subsidies, public sector employment and an increase in tax on government services (see Thorp, 1996; Roberts, 1995; Wise, 2006).

While these orthodox neoliberal measures were considered to have contributed to an initial curbing of inflation, they had enormously high social costs resulting from decreases in wages, and increased unemployment, combined with skyrocketing food prices and higher poverty (Roberts, 1995; Wise, 2006). As a result of the ‘shock’ policies, employment, which had already declined dramatically in the late 80s, declined further by over 13%, with unemployment rising from 81% in 1990 to 87% by 1993, and the number of Peruvians living in poverty rose to 54% (Roberts, 1995, p. 96-7; Wise, 2006).

As part of a broader extension of a market logic, social security systems, including pension and health systems, were fully or partially privatized in the early 1990s (Mesa Lago, 2008).¹² Significant for the present research, there was also a broader re-orientation of poverty alleviation to targeted social investment programs premised on market participation as the solution to poverty and development, in line with new

¹² Peru implemented private pension reforms in 1993 in parallel to a public, pay-as-you-go system, which workers could choose between. Mesa Lago (2008) estimated that only about 23% of the Peruvian population aged 65 and older (between 2000-2005) was covered by a private pensions system (p. 11), and that only about 11% of the “economically active population” was covered by a pension system (between 1997-2002) (Gill et. al., 2005, p. 6). These reforms were criticized for declining coverage, high administrative cost and gender inequality (Mesa Lago, 2007, p. 197).

international programming for social development, as well as novel responsibilities for citizens in this regard.

4.3 From Peasants to the ‘Asset-Poor’

Reforms to social programs in the 1990s in Peru were, in part, both embedded in, and constitutive of, a broader logic of neoliberal government and citizenship. Following this logic, social problems of employment and poverty for example were no longer to be redressed through social assistance but through ‘self-care,’ fundamental to which, as Lemke (2002) pointed out, is the alignment of a responsible, moral citizen with an economic-rational individual (2002, p. 59; 2003). The idea of a national community of citizens is thus “...usurped by a new understanding in which not only are firms to be entrepreneurial, enterprising and innovative, but so too are political subjects” (Larner, 2000, p. 36). This partially displaces conceptions of social citizenship associated with welfare regimes and social policies that seek to counter the destructive effects of unrestrained economic processes (see Foucault, 2008, p. 142), and relocates problems such as poverty and unemployment outside of society, reflecting a new problem-space of government.¹³

Foucault provided insight on this in his lectures on *The Birth of Biopolitics* (1978-79), showing how the economy, and economic processes, becomes the essential element (and end) of society (Foucault 2008, p. 282). This precludes the intended equalizing effect of social policy under welfarism, as the market operates on the basis of inequalities

¹³ In Foucault’s lectures on *The Birth of Biopolitics* (1978-79), he distinguishes between German ordoliberalism, influenced by the ‘Freiberg school’ and American neoliberalism. Unlike liberals, ordoliberalists did not consider the market to be natural, but requiring state intervention to create the conditions for its operation including the legal and social conditions (e.g. through unemployment insurance etc.). In contrast, ‘Chicago School’ neoliberalism reconfigured the social in terms of the market, i.e. the liberal problem of how a space for the market could be created within an existing society became a question of how the principles of a market economy could be “...project[ed]..on to a general art of government...”(Foucault, 2008, p. 131).

in salaries, and wealth-accumulation. Transfer of wealth is reconceptualized in minimal terms, and is not about the socialization of consumption but rather its privatization:

Society as a whole will not be asked to guarantee individuals against risks, whether these are individual risks, like illness or accidents, or collective risks...Society, or rather the economy, will merely be asked to see to it that every individual has sufficient income to be able either directly and as an individual, or through collective means of mutual benefit organizations, to insure himself against existing risks, or the risks of life, the inevitability of old age and death, on the basis of his private reserves. That is to say, social policy will have to be a policy which, instead of transferring one part of income to another part, will also use as its instrument...private property. (Foucault, 1979/2008, p. 144)

Rather than providing individuals with social protection against risks, individuals are accorded an economic space within which to manage their risks; therefore from this perspective social policy becomes a question of economic growth (Foucault, 1979/2008, p. 144). Society, from this view, is an enterprising society—any social benefit or assistance cannot disrupt or distort the market economy, thus limited cash transfers (rather than ongoing protection, for example) become a logical intervention. Accordingly, what were once considered public entitlements are reconfigured as goods and/or responsibilities; social assistance is targeted to specific populations. Solutions are no longer found in the provision of public goods but in enabling individuals' independence. This reverses the previous logic insofar as the public provision of social entitlements, rather than enabling citizens, becomes the problem or a constraint on individual independence (Procacci, 2001b).

This is epitomized in the shift from public social insurance programs of the developmental state to the market-based programs that became the orthodoxy of ‘poverty alleviation strategies’ in the 1990s (which themselves have a particular genealogy—see Rojas, 2004; Escobar, 1995). These operate through a variety of technologies including microcredit projects, the promotion of social capital, and social investment and cash transfer programs, for example, to facilitate individual market participation in lieu of broader, state-funded social protection (Rankin, 2006; see also Weber, 2002; Fine, 1999; Brigg, 2006). As Schild (2000) suggests, in looking at new discourses of citizenship in Chile in the 1990s, “...the thrust of the shift in emphasis, in conceptions of citizenship from clients of public goods to empowered clients is ostensibly to make citizens responsible—through their own individual choices for themselves” (p. 276).

These programs, in many ways, reassign the responsibility for dealing with social and economic problems to the individual. However, they also combine novel elements of what Valverde (1996) referred to as ‘despotic’ forms of moral regulation. Not only do they aim to cultivate new (moral) habits among targeted populations, in this case to accumulate assets, but they rely on novel disciplinary tactics in which the receipt of cash transfers, for example, is contingent on meeting a specific set of conditions. (This is discussed in detail below). As noted in the introductory chapter, this reflects the contradictory elements of liberal government that on the one hand emphasizes autonomy but at the same time seeks to reform specific populations considered to lack the capacity for this. Socio-economic problems are thus attributed not to structural conditions but to “...alleged defects of individual moral character, such as dependency, indolence, irresponsibility, lack of initiative...” (Somers, 2008, pp. 72-3). As Schild (2007) put it,

these new social programs are also “...moral projects that ultimately address themselves to the self-formation of individuals...” (p. 183). This particular responsibilization and regulation of individuals can thus be located within the longer, discontinuous history of citizen improvement and reform.

Social programs are no longer just about redistribution (although some redistributive/entitlement programs do persist) but about fostering individual asset accumulation. This is underpinned by the concept of individual ‘capability,’ elaborated most notably by Amartya Sen in the 1980s, which has had important impacts in shaping the way in which development is problematized, measured, and practiced.¹⁴ In this approach, poverty is no longer understood in terms of income but as ‘capability deprivation;’ development programming is accordingly re-oriented towards public policies that enhance peoples’ assets in order to expand their ‘freedoms’ (Sen, 1999). Freedom in this context is defined by an individual’s ability to make ‘effective’ desired choices to alter their life, and it is this enhancement of capability to do this that becomes the new ‘ends’ of social programming (Jayasuriya, 2006)— those subjects who are not yet free, require development intervention in order to realize their agency/freedom. Sen’s ‘capabilities’ approach now informs the very definition of human development by the UN as “a process of enlarging people’s choices,” which has been normalized in various ways, for example in the revision of the title of the *Journal of Human Development* to the *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities* in 2009, and in the emergence of new organizations such as the Human Development and Capabilities Association.

¹⁴ Sen does not refute that low income is an important determinate of poverty, but re-orient both the ends and the means of development away from income towards freedom(s) (Sen, 1999, pp. 36-38).

These shifts reflect some of the common ‘traits’ of neoliberal government; however this does not imply that these types of programs conform to a singular logic of neoliberalism, or that they have displaced all previous forms of social provision. To the contrary, social development programs are diverse, have different outcomes and effects, and articulate with other processes.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the shift away from entitlements provided by the state to certain groups (e.g. workers) toward the individual in Peru is evident in the constitutional changes made in the early 1990s. The new 1993 Constitution removed reference under Article 13 in the previous (1979) Constitution to the risks covered by social security (illness, maternity, handicap, unemployment, accidents, old age etc.), to guaranteeing “free access to health benefits and pension through public, private or joint private-public agencies” to be efficiently “overseen” by the State. Article 18 in the 1979 Constitution, referring to the State’s responsibility to attend to the basic needs of the person and the family with respect to food and livelihood was also removed. This narrative was implemented through new social programs that centered on the promotion of investment and capital development (social, human, and financial), notably in social investment funds and conditional cash transfer programs. These reframed entitlements for those in need to a question of citizenship--as Minister of the recently created Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion, Carolina Trivelli, stated in a recent newspaper interview there will be “...no more services for the poor but for citizens...” (*El Comercio*, Feb. 22, 2012).

¹⁵ Despite acknowledging this, Barnett (2010) nevertheless warns that even attention to the particularities of neoliberalism, as it is translated and adapted to different contexts, tends to re-confirm the key assumptions about neoliberalism and neoliberalization (pp. 276-7). He also draws attention to the normative framing that underpins these assumptions, structured around binaries such as collective (public) versus individual self-interests that *a priori* equates neoliberalism with increases in poverty and inequality and weakening democracy for example, juxtaposed to ‘positive’ values of solidarity, and equality (p. 271).

Reconfiguring social protection as a problem of investment

Social investment funds and conditional cash transfer programs (or CCTs) are particularly helpful in illuminating the partial shift from social entitlements towards asset accumulation, as well as the role of new metrics and technologies in this process, and the related reconfiguration of ‘good citizenship’. Social investment programs emerged in Latin America in the late 1980s and 1990s, presented as a way to mitigate worsening poverty as a result of structural adjustment policies, considered to represent a partial displacement of orthodox market fundamentalism by neoliberalism “with a human face” (Molyneux, 2008). The repercussions of harsh adjustment policies, including wage freezes, price increases, cutbacks to social services and subsidies for food and fuel had triggered mass protest ('IMF' riots) through the region, through the 1980s (see Alameida, 2007).¹⁶ In Peru, in addition to widespread protests, a growing number of ‘survivalist’ organizations (such as community kitchens and glass of milk programs), were relied upon to make up for the short fall in provisions. These also became sites for new forms of organization and activism, supported for example by feminist NGOs such as *Flora Tristan and Manuela Ramos Centers* (see for example Isla, 1997).¹⁷

As Jenson (2010) notes, social investment programs programs were based on the view that while market participation was still key to development, not everyone was benefitting equally from this, as a result of inequity in peoples’ capabilities to do so (p. 63). Social sector reforms in this context were characterized by targeted programs, decentralization and privatization and/or non-governmentalization of service delivery.

¹⁶ According to Alameida (2007), some of the most significant levels of mobilization between 1970-1990 were in Peru, alongside Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia and Venezuela (p. 133).

¹⁷ As noted, while Peru adopted some form of structural adjustment policies in the 1980s, it was only in the 1990, later than elsewhere in the region, that orthodox structural adjustment policies were broadly implemented.

Unlike orthodox adjustment policies, this reorientation entailed a partial return towards direct re-involvement of the state in development programming under the banner of ‘good governance,’ centered on themes of participation, empowerment and co-responsibility (Molyneux, 2008, pp. 781-9).

Social investment funds start from the assumption that providing targeted, demand-driven, decentralized and partially privatized service delivery is a more efficient and effective way of alleviating poverty (Tendler, 2000, p. 90). There have been several ‘generations’ of funds implemented in the region to date, and various ‘typologies’ of social funds have been undertaken (see Chacaltana, 2002). The first social fund was set up in Bolivia in 1987, with funding from the World Bank; by 2000 the major IFIs (World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, and European Community) had spent more than US\$2 million on eighteen social funds in Latin America, which became the model for their implementation in other regions (Tendler, 2000, p. 87). While varying in form and effect throughout the region, social investment funds generally operate by providing funding to local levels, whereby communities or municipal governments then select projects from a specific ‘menu’ of options (wells, health centers, schools etc.). Project implementation is often decentralized and partially privatized; citizens and community groups are responsible for ‘wisely choosing’ specific development projects, contributing to the cost, overseeing the implementation of selected projects as well as their ongoing operation and maintenance (Tendler, 2000, pp. 89-91; Chacaltana, 2002). These programs thus promote direct community involvement in decisions on how funds are to be allocated, often with civil society organizations and NGOs playing a facilitating role in this context.

Peru's social investment fund, FONCODES (*Fondo Nacional de Compensación y Desarrollo Social*), was created in 1991 by the Fujimori government with a US\$425 million 'trade sector' loan from the Inter-American Development Bank and later support from the World Bank to finance social investment projects in welfare, construction of schools, health posts, water and sanitation systems, nutrition, and basic education (Kay, 1996, p. 56).¹⁸ Its mission is to improve the conditions and quality of life of the poorest, generate work, attend to basic needs and promote the "participation of the poor population in the management of their own development" (FONCODES website, 10/04/2010). In its first four years in operation (between 1991 and 1995) FONCODES funded an estimated 16,000 projects (approximately US\$285 million) (Schady, 2000b). Projects were wide-ranging, including nutrition programs, credit provision, and construction and infrastructure projects; by 2006, it had funded over 40,000 projects with over US\$2 billion in funds (Schady, 2000b).¹⁹

In line with other investment fund approaches, FONCODES is aimed at populations and communities considered to be vulnerable to risks. It is structured as "demand-driven" targeted investments in which 'users' collectively decide upon which projects to pursue. Eligible communities collectively select projects from a menu of options and draft and submit a funding proposal to be approved. FONCODES thus functions as intermediary and facilitator, not executing the projects but approving, funding, and helping with 'co-management'. Funding is released to a *nucleo ejecutor*, consisting of a group of elected community members (Schady 2000b). FONCODES is

¹⁸ The World Bank and IDB both gave significant funding for FONCODES; from 1991-1996 the total of US\$890 million spent by FONCODES, an estimated 58% of that came from international donors (IDB, 1998, p. 25).

¹⁹ See Francke (2006) for a critique of FONCODES with respect to institutional problems and weak links with other organizations including NGOs and municipal governments.

based explicitly on a private sector management model; in fact the IDB conditioned the disbursement of some of its funding on the appointment of a manager with private sector experience (Kay, 1996, p. 79).²⁰ It also valorizes notions of responsible choice and has an explicit mandate to build the capacities of citizens to be able to do this, coordinated by the program's 'Managerial Unit for the Development of Institutional and Citizen Capacities'. Program documents on the FONCODES website define capacity development as the process of "...internalizing knowledge and abilities that allow people, groups and organizations to resolve problems, fulfill their roles and take decisions to improve the quality of life..." (FONCODES website 15/04/2010).²¹ As Malpass and Barnett et. al. (2007) note, 'choice' is a privileged concept in the restructuring of public policies, whereby the opportunity and ability to make 'informed choices' in selecting and purchasing a good (vs. entitlement) is linked with self-empowerment and responsive government.²²

Conditional cash transfer programs also operate on a shared logic of targeted assistance, and an underlying assumption that people are responsible for investing in their own future, and are thus part of a broader re-orientation of social policy strategies towards 'responsibilization' (Jenson, 2010, p. 62). However, unlike social investment

²⁰ Two other key agencies in social investment that were also established were the National Housing Fund (FONAVI) and the National Nutritional Assistance Program (NAP). As Kay (1996) put it, "flanked by local FONCODES or FONACI technocrats armed with laptop computers, the president could boast of forging a new, efficient model of "direct democracy, in which the executive is in direct contact with the people, without the intermediation of political organizations..." (p. 81).

²¹ The very poorest communities are often not able to prepare the necessary project applications for FONCODES projects, and the regional experience with social investment funds has shown that they have not been as successful in reaching the poorest (IDB 1998, p. 5).

²² Social funds have been generally found to be unsuccessful in addressing poverty or providing employment and income. Tendler (2000) summarizes key findings on this, that suggest that Social Fund expenditures are often directed at communities that are better-off; that "donor evaluations do not bear out the claim that Social Funds do well in reaching the poor," and that they have created few jobs or additional income (p. 94). Nonetheless, they continue to be reputed as offering more effective service delivery than traditional government programs, redressing the apparent 'permanent problem' of the inability of government to do so (Tendler, 2000, p. 95).

funds that target communities, conditional cash transfer programs provide periodic cash payments to targeted individuals and households, on the condition that certain provisions are met. Conditional cash transfer programs emerged in the mid-1990s, first in Brazil and Mexico, and proliferated post 2000 to become one of the most popular anti-poverty social policy instruments Latin America, operating alongside social investment funds. There are currently more than fifteen conditional cash transfer programs in region, and it is estimated that more than 120 million people live in households that receive transfers (De los Rios and Trivelli, 2011, p. 2). They are a key technology in normalizing and operationalizing individual (and primarily women's) risk management, described as "...endow[ing] the traditional poor and excluded with resources and tools that facilitate their ability to overcome poverty..." (De los Rios and Trivelli, 2011, p. 4). In addition to improving the behaviour of the poor in responsibly managing their health and education, conditional cash transfer programs are increasingly being considered as way for the poor "...to enhance their financial and physical assets, and invest in their own economic development....[to] build the financial capital necessary to pull themselves out of poverty" (Zimmerman and Moury, 2009, p. 7). They are thus not only promoted as a more effective way of redistributing wealth directly, but also considered as a means to build "human capacity," a point highlighted in ECLAC's 2011 report on recent experiences of conditional cash transfer programs in Latin America and the Caribbean. In addition to cash transfers, they often include psycho-social support programs, discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Targeting ‘at risk’ populations

While CCT programs vary, for example in how they define and identify target populations, in the types of benefits they provide and how transfers are made, they nevertheless share a common structure (Cecchini and Madariaga, 2011). A shared defining feature of CCT programs (and social funds) is the targeting of social assistance to specific ‘at risk’ populations—based on new knowledge and technologies that differentiate the ‘deserving’ from the ‘undeserving poor.’ This idea of targeted vs. universal programs had begun to be discussed by economists in the 1970s. Akerlof’s (1978) research on the “economics of tagging,” which put forward an economic argument for the advantages of differential awards to specific “needy groups” rather than a universal welfare approach, provided important justification for targeting in broader debates on ‘new public economics’ and efficiency in the distribution of public goods. In the 1980s, there was increasing attention to the problem of providing benefits to those who did not need it (i.e. the problem of ‘imperfect information’ in public economics), how to identify the ‘actually needy,’²³ and the possibility of geographic and demographic targeting, which began to inform mainstream development policy documents (see for example, Besley and Kanbur’s “*The Principles of Targeting*” (1990) World Bank Working Paper). A late 1990s strategy paper put out by the “Social Protection family” within the World Bank articulates this problem, explicitly redefining social protection in terms of targeted assistance for risk management:

...Social protection consists of human-capital oriented public interventions (i) to assist individuals, households, and communities better manage risk, and (ii) to

²³ Although O’Malley reminds us that risk-based ‘targeting’ of benefits was also a feature of late welfarism in the west (used as a tool to scale back coverage), and therefore not just a feature of neoliberalism (1996, p. 195).

provide support to the incapacitated poor...The definition offers a framework for analyzing a country's overall efforts to help its citizens manage risk and to care for the incapacitated poor... Probably the most important advantage of using this definition is that it grounds our analysis directly in household behavior. Any and all interventions should be judged on how they help individuals; families or households manage risk better and how they cater to the incapacitated poor. The definition is also useful in that it re-emphasizes institutional issues, forcing us to look at how families, communities, the market and the public sector work in *assisting individuals to manage risk* [emphasis added]... (Jorgenson and Van Domelen, 1999, p. 3)

This was elaborated in the 2001 *World Development Report: Attacking Poverty*, which concluded that poverty was to be tackled through a three-pronged strategy based on “empowerment”, “security” and “opportunity.” Security and opportunity were seen to work in tandem in this context, with opportunity defined as “expanding economic opportunity for poor people by stimulating overall growth and by building up their assets and increasing returns on these assets...” which in turn would ensure security, understood as managing risks ranging from health, economic, natural disasters, violence and so forth (WDR, 2000/1, p. vi). This also converged with a re-orientation of welfare policies in the West towards what Giddens referred to as the “social investment state”; and OECD emphasis on the ‘active society’ (see Dean, 1995; Walters, 1997; Jenson, 2010; Mahon, 2010; Jayasuriya, 2006).²⁴

²⁴ The OECD’s conception of the active society equated reliance on social security with inactivity and called upon everyone to become ‘active’ primarily through paid employment (i.e. participation in the market), expanding conceptions of the workforce to encompass everyone (Walters, 1997, pp. 224-226). Jenson (2010), focusing on the ‘diffusion of ideas after neoliberalism,’ also points to a convergence around,

Risk is assumed in this context to be both a capacity and a condition, a threat to poverty but also the solution. As noted in an influential World Bank paper by Holzmann and Jorgensen (1999), targeted forms of assistance are seen as allowing at-risk individuals to decrease their vulnerability which in turn will allow them to "...take more risk and engage in higher return activities" (Holzmann and Jorgensen 1999, p. 1010). Citizens are thus exhorted to "balance opportunity and risk," harness human capital, and foster individual accumulation of assets and "portfolio diversification" i.e. acquire and manage diverse forms of capital—physical, financial and human (Holzmann and Jorgensen, 1999, pp. 1007-1012). Increasingly this is to be done through the use of formal financial tools and services, access to which is now included as a World Development Indicator by the World Bank.

The way in which individuals are to manage these risks (ranging from earthquakes, floods, and illness to unemployment and environmental degradation) is through asset accumulation. Holzmann and Jorgensen (1999) set out the following typology of risks: catastrophic risks that have a severe impact on individual income, including unemployment and "skill redundancy", death in family, old age, disabling accidents or illness. These are defined as catastrophic in that they require a "continuing flow of transfers" to the individual. These are contrasted with non-catastrophic events such as a bad crop, or transient illness or unemployment. A second category of risks are identified as "co-variant" (vs. "idiosyncratic") shocks, which hit individuals or a community at once. Examples of such shocks are drought, inflation, and financial crisis.

and dispersion of, practices of social investment. She notes that while it was first deployed narrowly in development programming in the 1980s as a way to mitigate the repercussions of structural adjustment, it has been diffused and adapted to other contexts, including through OECD and the European Union as well as other non-institutional channels (Jenson 2010, pp. 71-75).

They also distinguish between single vs. repeated shocks, which are correlated to previous ones (e.g. illness or death resulting from drought). Due to incomplete information, they suggest that while not all shocks can be addressed only through market-based solutions, these should nonetheless prevail. They also caution that any public provision of insurance against risk must be wary of the “moral hazard” of reducing individual efforts or lead to taking “too much” risk (p. 1023).

The inability to either manage or take the risks required to accumulate assets is at the heart of the poverty problematic. Programs are thus targeted to ‘at-risk’ individuals who are “more exposed to risk and have less access to effective risk management instruments than people with greater assets and endowments...”(World Bank, 2001b, p. x). Particular to Peru, ‘at-risk’ individuals also include those most affected by the political violence of the 1980s and 1990s; the first community selected to benefit from the *Juntos* was Chuschi, the area where the Shining Path first targeted violent attacks in the 1980s (see Jones, Vargas, and Villar, 2007).

Within this problem frame, and in line with prevailing ‘good governance’ agendas, the state is envisaged as having five possible roles: facilitating the creation of market institutions; establishing regulatory framework for this e.g. transparency requirements, consumer information; providing ‘risk management instruments’ where the private sector fails – e.g. unemployment insurance; providing social safety nets / transfers in context of recurrent shocks and income distribution, only “if market outcome is considered unacceptable” (Holzmann and Jorgensen, 1999, pp. 1019-20). As the World Bank’s Social Protection Sector Strategy (2001b) suggests, this type of ‘social risk management’ (SRM) problematizes previous practices of ‘passive’ income distribution as

“costs” rather than “investments.” Basic social services are justified not on the basis of social rights, but investing in future “productive capacity,” providing people with “the capacity to climb out of poverty, or at least resume gainful work...” (World Bank, 2001b, p. 9).

Financial and market technologies operate as “key risk management instruments” with “poor entrepreneurs” encouraged to promote savings accounts and establish links with private financial services and work towards “owning assets” through new policies and programs including conditional cash transfers (World Bank, 2001b, p. 24). The ‘good citizen’ in this context, must be able to strike a balance between responsibly managing risk, but not become risk averse—that is, not taking the risks necessary to acquire assets in the assumed context of a marketplace. The goal of social protection is thus reoriented towards helping these vulnerable individuals and households “manage their risks” as they are seen to be facing extreme forms of risk and having little capacity to manage these by themselves (Holzmann and Jorgenson, 2000). The early initiation of savings accounts is highlighted as an important strategy to handle risks in this context.

The accumulation of assets and capacities for fiscal responsibility as a way to manage risk has become a central organizing principle for development policy and programming in Peru. In the 2007 World Bank publication entitled *An Opportunity for a Different Peru: Prosperous, Equitable, and Governable*, the four policy recommendations to alleviate poverty and address vulnerability were: “to help the poor broaden their asset base”; “increase access to financial services” (including expanding ATM services and providing training for financial literacy); “facilitate access to income and catastrophic insurance for the poor,” and fourthly increase access to safety net

programs to minimize and prevent risks to income (Sanchez-Paramo, World Bank, 2007, pp. 536-7). Prior to looking at how this was operationalized through Peru's social investment and conditional cash transfer programs, the next section first contextualizes this shift within a wider convergence in policy and programming around asset-based development. This provides a concrete example of the way in which ideas and practices diffuse and are translated and transformed in different contexts, and locates Peru's CCT program, *Juntos*, within a broader field of intervention structured around the problem of asset accumulation.

“Banking the unbanked”²⁵: From ‘needs-based’ to ‘asset-based’ development

In 1991, Michael Sherraden, the founder and director of the Center for Social Development (CSD) in the School of Social Work at Washington University in St. Louis, published a book entitled *Assets and the Poor: A New American Welfare Policy* that started from the assumption that asset accumulation is necessary for development, but that key asset-building tools (such as 401Ks and tax benefits for education in the U.S. context) were less available for low-income families. The book articulated a project to change welfare policies in the U.S. through building individual assets for the poor using new technologies, notably Individual Development Accounts (IDAs), that targeted low-income households and matched savings (up to a limit). Although relatively unknown to the general public at that time, Sherraden became increasingly influential in changing the direction of social welfare policy in the U.S. and internationally (and in fact in 2010, Sherraden was named one of *Time Magazine’s* 100 most influential people in the world).

²⁵ This phrase is quoted from a paper co-authored by Y. Moury, the head of Proyecto Capital at *Fundación Capital*, (which runs the *Juntos* pilot project) on the positive effects of savings resulting from conditional cash transfers (Zimmerman and Moury, 2009, p. 6)

The asset-based approach, which echoes that of De Soto²⁶ in focusing on ‘unrealized assets’, takes as a given the need to move away from bestowing social entitlements such as public education and pension programs on ‘passive recipients,’ and focusing instead on individuals’ capacity to generate and accumulate financial assets, which can then be leveraged for other forms of asset building (for example human capital through education). Sherraden identified nine positive effects of the asset-building approach. Three of these were concrete fiscal benefits, including improving household stability, enhancing the welfare of offspring and developing human capital and other assets (Sherraden, 1991, p. 148). However, the remaining benefits attributed to asset-building were behavioural and dispositional improvements—creating an orientation toward the future, enabling focusing and specialization, providing a foundation for risk taking, increasing personal efficacy, social influence and political participation (p. 148).

Asset-building converged with contemporary knowledges and theories of development, including, as previously noted, the ‘capabilities’ approach to development.²⁷ A loose assemblage of organizations and institutions had emerged generating knowledge on asset building and implementing programs in the U.S. and

²⁶ Hernando de Soto’s *The Other Path* (1990) provided an important ‘blueprint’ for the redefinition of development as asset accumulation, arguing that the path to development to allow the poor to accumulate assets that ‘count’ through the recognition of private property and commercial activities. He pointed to the high barriers and costs to formal land-titling, housing or commercial/industrial activities that foster informal economies, and highlights the financial costs (rather than causes) of informality, arguing for legal and institutional reforms to ensure regulation and recognition of property rights and commercial activities that will allow people to accumulate assets and compete in the market. For de Soto, this redresses the dependency fostered by social assistance and will foster a new breed of entrepreneurs (1990, p. 243).

²⁷ By the end of the 1990s and early 2000s, asset-building as a new social policy solution was also promoted at the highest levels in U.S. politics by both Democrats and Republicans, including Bill Clinton’s 1999 proposal to expand IDAs to a “...new level, with new retirement savings accounts that enable every low- and moderate-income family in America to save for retirement, a first home, a medical emergency, or college education...” (President Clinton, State of the Union address, Jan. 27, 2000 cited in Sherraden, 2005, p. 10).

internationally by the late 1990s and early 2000s.²⁸ Federal legislation was also created in the U.S. supporting IDA-type programs, such as the Assets for Independence Act (AFIA); it is estimated that there are over 500 IDA based asset-building initiatives underway in the U.S. (Rosen 2010). The CSD collaborated with various other institutes including the U.K. Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), which led asset-building policies and programs in England.²⁹ The CSD also collaborated with the New America Foundation (NAF), a non-profit public policy institute that funds research and work on economic, energy, tax and trade policy to set up the Global Assets Project (GAP), to implement asset-building/IDS projects internationally, including the *Proyecto Capital* in Peru, discussed in a later section.³⁰

Formal asset-building was also integrated in mainstream international development program, as an approach and new measure of poverty. As Moser and Felton (2007) note, "...development economists have increasingly advocated using assets to complement income and consumption-based measures of welfare and wealth in developing countries..." (p. i). Assets in this context were similarly defined (in line with

²⁸ For instance, in 2008, the CSD initiated a pilot project--the 'American Dream Demonstration Project'—based on the IDA model. The project created IDAs for over 2,300 low-income individuals and provided an incentive to save by matching every dollar they saved with a matching contribution, with spending supervised to ensure it is used as to build assets, for example to get a mortgage, start a business, job-training etc. (Center for Social Development website). An evaluation after two years of implementing the project showed that, of the 1,326 participants at that time, the average savings per participant was only US\$236, but the nevertheless lauded as successful, in part based on participants *indication* that they wanted to save to purchase a home, fund a small business or post-secondary education (Midgley, 2005, p. 45).

²⁹ In 2001, for example, IPPR's proposal for a Saving Gateway based on IDAs was taken up by the Labour Government and became a flagship program promoted by Gordon Brown, which was to be implemented in 2010, adding 50 pence to every £1 saved in special accounts by targeted low-income participants, with conditions such as restricted withdrawal. However, the program was cancelled shortly before its planned implementation in 2010.

³⁰ A variety of asset-building pilot programs have been implemented in North America, including Learn\$ave program in Canada implemented by Social and Enterprise Development Innovations (SEDI), with funding from the federal government. Learn\$ave offered low-income participants a matching grant of \$3 for each \$1 saved, to a maximum of \$4,500; the savings had to be used within one year for education, training or to start a small business, and participants were required to attend financial management training sessions (Leckie et. al. 2010, p. 71).

Sen) as “the resource endowments and capabilities that people have to sustain their livelihoods and enhance their welfare,” encompassing human, social, physical, natural and financial capital assets (Moser, 2008, p. 5). Asset-building initiatives have been linked to and built upon programs to provide credit (microfinance), promote sustainable livelihoods (employment in both formal and informal sectors), and foster social and human capital (Moser, 2008). A notable example is the Ford Foundation’s adoption of an asset-building approach as a basis for its current grant-making program related to poverty and development. Drawing explicitly from Sherraden’s model the program material states that:

At the Ford Foundation, we extend the concept of building upon people’s existing assets and see these capacities as a starting point in the development process. We believe it is important to help low-income people develop additional assets that will enable them to be productive participants in economic and social life. As Michael Sherraden writes...“People think and behave differently when they are accumulating assets, and the world responds to them differently... (Ford Foundation, 2002)

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) also began to incorporate an assets-based approach in its anti-poverty programming. A 2001 IDB policy paper *Portrait of the Poor: An Assets-Based Approach* (2001), showed this reframing of the problem of inequality in asking “...why are some people able to accumulate the most productive assets, while others are prevented from doing so?” (Attanasio and Székely, 2001, p. 2). In addition to the IFIs and major bilateral development organizations, IDA-based savings projects began to be promoted by private

initiatives, such as the Gates Foundation’s “Financial Services for the Poor Initiative”.

Currently savings-linked CCT initiatives based on the IDA model have been initiated in Peru, Columbia, Ecuador, Chile, Brazil and Mexico (Rosen, 2010)—the Peruvian case is discussed later in this Chapter in more detail.

Making visible the asset-poor

Making something visible and measurable in a certain way is not a purely technical exercise, but belies a particular framing or problematization (Barry, 2005). Producing the ‘asset-poor,’ as a particular collectivity at which asset-building interventions are targeted, has required new ways to define and measure poverty that go beyond conventional income- and consumption-based measures of wealth. The concept of asset-poverty was elaborated by Haveman and Wolff (2004), although they credit Oliver and Shapiro (1997) for first introducing it. The asset-poor is defined as someone who has insufficient access to financial (“wealth-type”) resources to allow them to meet their basic needs, over a limited period of time – for Haveman and Wolff it is three months. The measure does not take into account the annual income of the individual, but includes net worth (“the difference between total marketable assets and total liabilities (or debt)” (p. 151) as a primary measure, and “liquid assets” as a secondary measure – referring to the ready cash or financial assets available to the individual. These new measures produced, in some cases, quite different categories of ‘the poor’ than conventional income-based measures. For example, in the U.S. from 1992-2001, while overall asset poverty slightly increased, income poverty fell substantially (by 18%), reflecting different ways of counting, for example by including ‘home equity’ (Haveman and Wolff, 2004, p. 160).

Some of these new metrics and methodologies developed for the North American contexts were adapted for application in international development programs. Moser (1998) proposed an asset vulnerability framework to get beyond income-based measures of poverty to include the “capabilities of poor populations to use their resources to reduce vulnerability” (p. 14), and new asset mapping methods were elaborated to make the asset-poor visible, in order to be able to target asset-building projects. For instance in Canada, the Coady International Institute at St. Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia created a methodology, and subsequently a diploma program, for applying Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) through ‘asset mapping.’ This methodology is oriented towards making assets visible through a process of itemizing and connecting various economic, individual, and community resources (assets) to be better leveraged by individuals and the community to mitigate the risks they face (Mathie and Cunningham, 2008).³¹

The concept of asset-building in all of these approaches relies on, and is articulated through, the logic and language of financial management and investment, wherein improved equity rather than income redistribution, is the main objective. The excerpt below from a World Bank conceptual note on an asset-based approach to risk management (1999) provides an explicit example of this:

The vicious cycle of vulnerability can be portrayed as: Limited asset base => management of risk leads to inefficient allocation of assets => low returns => low

³¹ As with other projects for citizen improvement and reform, the Coady International Institute’s training manual simultaneously invokes the immanent capacities and responsibility of citizen-clients to self-improve in this case through asset accumulation, and the need for training/capacitation in order to realize this. Their ‘citizen-led’ ABCD method is premised on capitalizing on assets for development without outside assistance, exemplified in the training manual’s assignment to “write a story about a community development initiative that was driven by the community with little or no outside assistance from external institutions...” (emphasis in original, Mathie and Cunningham, 2008, p. 13).

consumption => low savings and investment (and dissavings) => limited (declining) asset base => lower returns, consumption, saving... The key issue is how, with a given level of wealth, households perceive risk, set their management objectives, and allocate their assets in response to risk in the short term, and how these short-term decisions affect households' welfare and social welfare in the longer term. Households reallocate their assets in response to risk and it is important to consider both the expected returns (E) and variability of returns (V) to their asset portfolio. Households with low E and V are vulnerable because even small risks can cause relatively large negative impacts on their welfare. Households with higher E, but also exposed to risks must protect themselves from falling into poverty. Both types of households allocate their assets to provide self-insurance and finance in an inefficient manner, sometimes with negative externalities. These asset reallocations lead to lower short-term returns and have an impact on longer-term vulnerability by limiting savings and investments in income-generating assets. (Siegel and Alwang, World Bank, 1999, p. 54)

This capacity and responsibility of 'good citizens' to accumulate assets in order to mitigate social and economic risks are instilled and institutionalized through social investment and conditional cash transfer programs, which became the hallmark of social protection reforms in the region through the 1990s.

4.4 Conditional Cash Transfers and Responsible Citizenship

Conditional cash transfer programs in particular are premised on both an individualized responsibility to make 'smart' economic choices and accumulate assets in order to manage risks, as well as novel forms of disciplinary tactics and moral regulation through

conditionalities. Schild (2000) and Luccisano (2006) provide excellent critical analyses of the implications of this shift to social investment in the Chilean, and Mexican contexts respectively. However, there has been little critical analysis of Peru's conditional cash transfer program, *Juntos*, to date.³² Certainly several studies have been undertaken to assess the impacts of *Juntos* on households, access and use of transfers, compliance with conditions, and more recently the gender dimensions (see De los Rios and Trivelli, 2011; Jones, Vargas and Villar, 2008; Vargas, 2010). However, these are largely oriented towards evaluating these programs in terms of their stated objectives and impacts. There has been little to no attention to the assumptions that underpin these programs, the moral and developmental narratives as well as roles and responsibilities of citizens that are embodied therein. In this section, I focus on Peru's conditional cash transfer program *Juntos* to show how citizenship, risk and new responsibilities for asset-management are imagined and mobilized.

Juntos

Juntos is similar in structure to other conditional cash transfer programs introduced in Latin America in the mid 1990s, including Brazil's *Bolsa Familia* and Mexico's *Oportunidades* programs, providing periodic cash payments to targeted poor populations with children under 14 years old, on the condition that certain provisions are met. Not only are the poor made responsible for their condition of poverty and improvement, but there are also seen to be potential benefits for banks through "...guaranteed deposits, increased client volume, and the prospect of long-term client profitability" (Zimmerman

³² While CCTs implemented in different countries share the same structure, they vary in design (see Cecchini and Madariaga, 2011; Bastagli, 2009). As Bastagli (2009) points out that not all CCTs share identical objectives, and there are differences in the scope of targeting and coverage as well as the amounts transferred, compliance conditions, and verification processes.

et. al., 2009, p. 7). Responsibilization, including through changes in behaviour and disposition, is a key part of conditional cash transfer programs, and specifically associated with acquiring the capacity to ‘build assets.’ Echoing Sherraden’s model, the expected “positive asset effects” are not only improved economic outcomes but “positive psychosocial impacts, including a greater future orientation, an improved outlook on life, and improved financial literacy and greater social empowerment...” (Zimmerman et. al., 2009, p. 6).

Juntos has become one of the primary social programs in Peru. It was launched in 2005 under the Toledo government, initiated first in the 120 poorest districts and Departments, expanded to reach more than 470,000 households in over 630 districts by 2010 (*Juntos* website, 06/26/2011). Its mandate is to reduce poverty by providing cash transfers and “break intergenerational transmission of poverty” through the promotion of human capital, targeted to ‘at risk’ populations. This is implemented by giving a monthly cash transfer of 100 soles (about US\$30) to eligible households on the condition that mothers comply with specific requirements related to health, education and nutrition (Jones et. al, 2007, p. 3). Once a list of targeted potential eligible recipients is identified, it is then validated publically at a community meeting, facilitated by ‘promoters’ to ensure that potential recipients are eligible, that is, that they do not have household members working in the formal sector or owning more ‘assets’ than originally calculated.³³

The *Juntos* conditionality structure is relatively complex. Recipient mothers sign an agreement (*Convenio de Compromiso Voluntario*) with the state for a maximum of

³³ In evaluations of *Juntos*, criticisms were raised regarding the tendency of promoters to ‘steer’ rather than facilitate, as well as the divisive effects potential denunciations regarding eligibility (Jones et. al., 2008, p. 261).

four years; in cases of non-compliance, they face a penalty of three months suspension of payment. The specific conditions that must be met in order to receive cash include: obtaining identity documents for themselves and their children; 85% rate of school attendance for children under fourteen;³⁴ completion of vaccinations, routine check-ups and pre/post natal care; and attending capacity building and awareness-raising programs on child rearing and educational development (Juntos website, 02/07/2011; Jones, Vargas and Villar, 2007). Recipients are also encouraged to purchase more high-protein foods such as meat and cheese. As a child of a recipient in one district noted: “They tell us to eat well and that our mothers have to buy food with that money, they tell us not to let them spend the money on liquor or coca but only on food...” (cited in Jones et. al., 2008, p. 264). Unlike other programs in the region in which recipients are given funds directly by program *promotores*, *Juntos* recipients are given identification cards, which are used to obtain monthly payments from the *Banco Nacional*. The Bank maintains a list of eligible recipients, to prevent fraud; if recipients are found to be non-compliant, cash transfers are suspended or ended. If targeted, recipients are eligible to stay in the program for five years. Rather than providing individuals with social protection, *Juntos* thus seeks to create the economic opportunity for individuals, and specifically women, to manage social and economic risks.

In October 2009, *Juntos* became one of the first pilot conditional cash transfer programs in the region to implement a *Proyecto Capital* - “Personal Capitalization Account” program modeled on Sherraden’s IDAs. *Proyecto Capital* is a regional project of *Fundación Capital*, a regional non-profit organization that aims to help poor women

³⁴ This is despite the fact that enrolment rates for primary school are already very high--over 90% even in rural areas (World Bank 2007, p. 30).

“develop the discipline” to save money in formal institutions which could then be invested in “productive assets” (*Proyecto Capital* website; De los Rios and Trivelli, 2011, p. 9). It is supported by various institutions including Edge Finance (a Peru-based private micro-financing firm with the motto “Asset Building for a Billion People”), and the Ford Foundation. *Proyecto Capital* specifically sets out to address poverty by promoting: “(i) poor people’s savings as a tool for productive investment and reduction of vulnerability (a key tool for accumulation of diversified assets and the basis of all other financial services), and (ii) risk management (illness, death, accidents, theft, natural disasters, etc.), the prime factor aggravating poverty...” (*Proyecto Capital* Concept Paper, 2007, p. 10).

The pilot project provides training and financial incentives for *Juntos* “clients” to deposit their cash transfers in individual bank accounts. Its overall aim is to foster habits and create incentives for poor women to regularly save in formal institutions and acquire the capacity to invest in “productive assets” to “improve their liquidity management instruments” and “financial inclusion” (*Proyecto Capital* website; De los Rios and Trivelli, 2011, p. 9-10; Zimmerman et. al., 2009, p. 10). The training includes workshops on the banking system—how it operates, its products and services, and also guidelines on how individuals might improve their “management of flows of income.” The financial incentives provided by *Proyecto Capital* are short term and include matching grants (directly deposited) for the initial deposit, and slight subsidies on interest rates. It also includes a bi-monthly raffle of food gift baskets, awarded to two mothers in each district, with eligibility contingent on a positive balance in their savings account (*Proyecto Capital*, 2010). The pilot was initially targeted to just under 4,000 families, but is currently being expanded (De los Rios and Trivelli, 2011).

Juntos thus normalizes a dual shift in responsibility: a shift in the responsibility for socio-economic problems poverty and unemployment from external, structural causes to individual behaviours and attitudes, and a concomitant shift in the responsibility to resolve these problems from the state to the individual:

...One of the longer-term aims of *Juntos* is to change the paternalistic relationship between the citizenry and state-funded social programs and to present access to basic services for children as a joint responsibility of both parents and the state... citizens have to demonstrate their demand for access to quality services. In order to do this, there is a need to reconceptualize the way the population views government services, from one of largesse to that of fulfilling its responsibility to meet citizens' economic and social rights...(Jones et. al. 2008, p. 269)

...In order to get money, we have to know how to work...whatever it is, we have to do it in order to get money, we can't only look to the State, everyone has to know how to work, men, women, and even children, if not, who will give us money? (*Juntos* health promoter in Huancavelica, cited in Díaz et. al., 2009, pp. 105-106)

The previous 'reliance' of the poor on state assistance is construed as a marker of irresponsibility and inability to manage the risks one faces. The state is no longer seen as a social provider, but reconstituted as a facilitator, providing training for self-improvement, nevertheless retaining the authority to select 'deserving' clients, and set the terms and conditions of participation – setting the conditions of cash transfers under *Juntos*, for example. The state is also responsible for continuous monitoring to verify that

recipients of cash transfers (together with health and education workers and the bank) are meeting their responsibilities and complying with the conditions set. These roles have required the deployment of new technologies and tools, which are also constitutive of this re-framing of the problem in terms of risk management and asset accumulation, rendering program targets visible and calculable in specific ways.³⁵

New technologies, metrics, and forms of expertise

Like other CCT programs, *Juntos* uses a combination of targeting techniques, including geographic targeting, means testing, and community validation. It borrows some of the new tools developed as part of the FONCODES programs to target ‘investments’ to vulnerable populations. This includes the composite ‘poverty maps’ produced and used by FONCODES to produce categories of poor and ‘at risk’ populations, based on criteria such as access to school, water, sanitation, housing, nutrition and literacy.³⁶ Provinces and districts that receive higher scores on the index are eligible for investment; mapping also ensures that funding is not ‘leaked’ to non-eligible populations and that investments are allocated appropriately. Targeting technologies developed over the course of the program, and by the mid-1990s included geographic targeting of districts, combined with computation of project prioritization based on poverty levels, lack of services and “absorptive capacity” of communities. Once a project is proposed, an on-site visit is required to verify the poverty level of the community, and provide additional information to refine the targeting process. This is also combined with ‘self-targeting’ tools to ensure that the project is oriented only to the poor (World Bank, 1998, p. 5).

³⁵ Funding for *Juntos* is allocated at the national level, with some funding and technical assistance from international sources, including the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank.

³⁶ While poverty has been mapped in Peru since the early 1970s, the tools used have been re-deployed by FONCODES to identify how investments should be allocated regionally and to mitigate ‘leakage’ (see Schady, 2000b).

The *Juntos* program borrowed and further refined these tools to target specific populations and regions. Geographic targeting is used to determine which are the poorest regions and districts in Peru, as well as those that suffered the greatest violence during the conflict, with variables drawn from national poverty maps and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report on the conflict (Vargas, 2010). This is combined with individual targeting, based on a social demographic questionnaire implemented by the National Institute of Statistics. A score is derived that determines whether the individual is under or above the poverty line. A process of community validation is also undertaken, to validate that those targeted are in fact legitimate beneficiaries, with households and recipients added and removed on this basis. As of August 2010, *Juntos* was being implemented in 638 districts (14 regions) and over 460 thousand homes (Molyneux and Thomson, 2011, p. 202). However, despite these techniques, the problem of 'leakage' – transfers to 'undeserving' recipients was deemed to be a problem, not only for *Juntos* but other targeted social programs. Accordingly, in 2004 the Peruvian government developed a uniform method of household targeting *Sistema de Focalización de Hogares* (SISFOH) in an effort to overcome this. SISFOH collects data on household socioeconomic characteristics, including the poverty status of individuals. It operates through an inter-ministerial Committee of Social Affairs, a Central Targeting Unit managed by the Minister of Economy and Finance, and Local Targeting Units, managed by provincial and district level governments responsible for providing and updating household data (see Llanos and Rosas, 2010).

In addition to targeting, the monitoring of compliance is critical to the functioning of the conditional cash transfer system. The need to track ongoing compliance of close to

one million cash transfer recipients required that *Juntos* develop additional technologies. A new information system was developed, using barcodes on recipients' national identity cards (required for participation) that allow for direct access to data on each beneficiary, and a Peruvian IT firm (EFT) was contracted to develop a database to store and manage the information on cash transfer recipients. In order to provide a visual tracking and sorting function, EFT in turn contracted the U.S. firm Corda Technologies to adapt their PopChart and OptiMap (mapping) technologies (used internationally for diverse applications ranging from tracking breast cancer to airline bookings) to develop a “web-based dashboard” that tracks ‘up to the minute’ performance indicators on the number of targeted recipients receiving transfers and ongoing compliance with *Juntos* conditions, including with respect to school attendance and medical checkups (interview, Lima, 2008; Corda and EFT websites 10/28/11). These technologies thus help normalize and operationalize this particular problem-solution, generating the data and providing the cyber-tools that make it possible to apprehend and act on it, including distinguishing between categories of citizens who are already capable of accumulating assets from those targeted populations requiring tutelage in order to do so.

Cultivating responsible citizens: Moral regulation and reform in Juntos

...They punish us, so that we become more responsible..." (*Juntos* participant comment in response to a question about the suspension of cash transfers when conditions are not met, cited in Díaz et. al., 2009, p. 111)

Implementing *Juntos* relies on a wide assemblage of workers ranging from community associations, teachers, healthcare workers, bankers, and non-state organizations for implementation and capacity-building, with support from various international agencies.

Educational and health workers are called upon to take on new roles in monitoring and reporting on the fulfillment of the conditions of school enrolment, attendance, and health services required in order to receive the cash transfer. To implement *Proyecto Capital*, partnerships have also been established with the National Bank, which agreed to automatically create non-cost savings account through which the *Juntos* transfer is made.

A particular type of expert, the “promoter” is central to the operation of *Juntos*, thus helping operationalize this particular strategy for social development. Promoters are responsible for facilitating project implementation, compliance promotion and verification, as well as providing the tutelage and training to instil the necessary capacities for responsible citizenship, which entail changes in both behaviour and attitude. Responsible citizenship in this context is contingent on specific capacities, notably to accumulate assets and use formal financial tools and services, as well as the capacity to develop the right ‘attitude’ and behaviours towards parenting, housekeeping, saving and investing. In this respect, promoters re-articulate the role of the cultural and sanitary brigade workers in the first part of the twentieth century, in trying to inculcate specific behaviours and attitudes. However in the present context, they seek to foster a different set of ‘good’ behaviours premised on new knowledge about public health, pre/post-natal care and nutrition as well as contemporary problems and practices of asset accumulation. These experts are also positioned as enablers and facilitators who seek to foster rather than impose new regimes, in contrast to the morally enlightened brigade-iers.

Citizen reform under *Juntos* (and *Proyecto Capital*) seeks to help citizens to acquire the necessary skills to invest the cash transfer ‘wisely,’ defined by asset

accumulation to offset future risks. This promotion of ‘consumer choice’ is considered to be a key advantage of cash transfers over in-kind transfers, combined with a perceived economic efficiency (World Bank, 2007, p. 45). As noted, however, *Juntos* works through a combination of forms of power that include ‘shepherding’ and guidance to induce new behaviours and practices of self-government, as well as novel strategies of moral regulation to inculcate particular behaviours and habits.

Reforms under *Juntos’ Proyecto Capital* program aim to change individual behaviours, to be able to mitigate poverty by: improving personal financial management; ‘smoothing’ patterns of consumption; encouraging access to the financial system and financial services; reducing vulnerability through better management of risks; encouraging asset building and increasing financial security; increasing personal negotiation skills, civic engagement and self esteem; as well as teaching and increasing financial literacy of participants (Rosen, 2010, p. 29). It requires citizens to self-improve by becoming financially literate, generate assets and engage with formal financial instruments and services, such as banks and savings accounts. Self-improvement is also required to foster the appropriate attitude and disposition towards savings; as described in a 2009 policy brief (co-authored by Yves Moury, the head of *Proyecto Capital* at *Fundación Capital*, which runs the *Juntos* pilot project) on the positive effects of savings resulting from CCTs:

A nudge toward improved monetary savings behaving behaviour could do more than bank the unbanked. The linkage to a formal bank account, and the incentive to save in it, could potentially change the poor’s attitude toward the banking

system and toward their ability to invest in themselves and their family.

(Zimmerman and Moury, 2009, p. 6)

Yet at the same time, the strict (coercive) conditionalities upon which cash transfers are contingent implies that recipients are unfit to make responsible choices independently and thus require continual monitoring and verification. It simultaneously circumscribes ‘good conduct’ not only in terms of health and education, but also to specific practices of ‘asset-accumulation’ targeted at populations considered to lack the capacity to do so independently.

Los Rios and Trivelli’s (2011) assessment of the Peruvian pilot project concluded that learning to work with the financial system increased the self-worth and self-esteem of women, enabling them to “...regain a sense of citizenship...”, pointing for example to the comment by 38 year old transfer recipient Emperatriz Taco Cori in Espinar that “..I know how to save...I’m more of a woman than I was before...no one can take my money away, and no one can deceive me” (p. 13). However, it also noted that the vast majority of women continued to keep alternate traditional savings reserves. Despite the overall aim to build assets by leveraging capital, they found that most ‘clients’ in fact did not consider seeking loans due to concerns with high interest rates and inability to repay them (p. 13). A 2010 evaluation of the project in two districts found that while bank savings had increased, they were relatively low (between 0 to US\$30.00) per person (*Proyecto Capital*, 2010). The Preliminary findings from a 2010 evaluation of *Proyecto Capital* in Coporaque (one of the pilot sites) found that while participants were saving a portion of their CCTs, it was unclear whether they were saving because they felt it was required in order to receive the transfer (as bank tellers encouraged participants to set some aside); it

was also unclear if the savings represented ‘asset accumulation’ (or just a different way of managing finances) (Rosen, 2010, p. 30).

These narratives of moral responsibility are also highly gendered. It is often claimed that CCTs ‘empower’ women, for example by increasing their roles in decision-making and through related improvements in self-esteem (Vargas, 2010). However, as Molyneux and Thomson (2011) note, the impact of conditional cash transfer programmes on women and intra-household relations remains “under-explored.” Mothers are certainly the central target of these programs, considered to be primarily responsibility for ensuring their children’s welfare. In most cases mothers are the recipients of cash transfers and are the ones required to attend capacity-building sessions on health, hygiene, nutrition and financial savings. (Notably, unlike most other CCT programs in the region, it is a ‘household representative’ (mother or father) who is an eligible recipient (Cecchini and Madariaga, 2011)). Notwithstanding, complying with the conditions of the cash transfer most often falls to women. This narrative of citizen responsibility in this is thus gendered—the cash transfer is given directly to mothers on the assumption that they are likely to be more responsible in ensuring their children’s well-being, and therefore can entrench traditional gendered roles, specifically the role of women as mothers, and patriarchal divisions of labour.

In research on CCT programmes in Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, Molyneux and Thomson (2011) found that despite some positive perceptions of the impact of these programs on women, there were also negative effects. These included increased workload for women, and a lack of respectful treatment of women, particularly indigenous women, including accusations that recipients were “being lazy” or intentionally having additional

children to extend the transfer (p. 208). They also documented reports of women being scrutinized in terms of the hygiene and clothing, and threatened with cancellation of the transfer if they did not “improve their standard of living” (p. 208). This reflects both continuities and breaks with the ways in which women have previously been made visible in social policies and programs. As Molyneux (2006) notes, despite giving women a greater status in managing income and decision-making in the household than they have historically been accorded, CCT programs demonstrate a persistent ‘maternalism’:

...Women are incorporated into programme design...in a way that depends upon the gender divide for its success. Thus, even as women might be marginally “empowered” within these structures (through managing the subsidy), such programmes in effect reinforce the social divisions through which gender asymmetries are reproduced...[T]hey depend upon women fulfilling their ‘traditional’ social roles and responsibilities...in effect making transfers conditional on ‘good motherhood...These programmes unambiguously rest on normative assumptions concerning ‘women’s roles’ so that the work women undertake, in ensuring that children’s needs are met, is taken for granted as something that mothers ‘do’. The social relations of reproduction therefore remain unproblematised, with the work performed simply naturalized. (Molyneux, 2006, p. 438)

Therefore, while there is an implicit individualization of risk management embodied in conditional cash transfer programs, at the same time they re-articulate women’s ties to the family structure, positioning them as a ‘conduit’ to improve family well-being

(Molyneux, 2006, p. 439; Lucissano 2006).³⁷ In addition, not only are women specifically made responsible for family well-being, but men, and specifically poor men, are concomitantly constituted as irresponsible, a concern that Bedford (2007) raised with respect to gender policies promoted by the World Bank more generally. As Bedford (2007) suggests, in ‘gender and development’ policies that seek to involve men and promote “complementary” partnerships between men and women (in contrast to the earlier focus on ‘women in development’), men are made visible as irresponsible and delinquent. (For further discussion of the gendered dimension of CCTs see Lucissano, (2006), Molyneux, (2006), Molyneux and Thomson, (2011), and Vargas, (2010)).

4.5 Resurgent Narratives of Uncivilized Conduct and Culture

“...Now we are not like we were before, we are changing. Clean and ordered...before we weren’t like that...” (quote from a Juntos participant in Andahuaylas, cited in Díaz et. al., 2009, p. 112)

Despite the apparent purely socio-economic basis for targeting and training recipients, persistent moral narratives are never far below the surface. Although Indigenous populations are not explicitly targeted in either program, they nevertheless constitute the significant majority of extremely poor populations in Peru, and therefore make up the majority of targeted recipients.³⁸

³⁷ Lucissano (2006), in a provocative critique of Mexico’s *Oportunidades* conditional cash transfer program, shows how the program not only regulates women’s participation as creditworthy consumers, but inserts them into the economy not as citizens with rights, but as mothers with traditional social responsibilities.

³⁸ According to the most recent World Bank Country Partnership Strategy for Peru (2012) an estimated 31% of Peru’s population is below the poverty line (less than US\$4/day), heavily concentrated in rural areas (p. 5). Indigenous populations, considered to account for approximately one third of the total population and concentrated in rural areas, have higher rates of poverty than the national average, notably in the southern highland region where 73% are considered to live below the poverty line (p. 5).

The requirements for particular standards of hygiene, cleanliness and education that are conditions of cash transfers can be understood as a reconfiguration of previous programs of improvement, which made, in some cases more explicitly, the association between Indigenous/poor/non-citizens as idle and dirty. This is captured in a response of one *Juntos* participant, during a focus group on the program who stated that “... now we are no longer idle, we clean the house, before we were dirty...now we see that other women are cleaning and so we are ashamed to go around dirty... following the lectures we changed...” (Testimonial from a focus group with recipients from Rosaspata, cited in Jones et. al., 2007, p. 16). Reform in this case was ‘facilitated’ through new standards and benchmarks for public health and education, a way of making individuals responsible for addressing their own conditions of poverty, rather than through paternalistic programs for ‘culturalization’ to become Peruvian, earlier in the century.

A similar discourse of improvement was evident in a testimonial from another recipient in Andahuaylas who stated, in response to a question on the impacts of capacitation under the *Juntos* program, that it was: “...To tidy our houses, before we lived in disorder, nor did we have good kitchens, or windows...now everything has changed, now we have latrines, also it is more ordered...we are improving, we are no longer like were before...” (Recipient from Huantana, Andahuaylas, cited in Díaz et. al., 2009, p. 105).

There is also a persistent narrative of hygiene that emerges in focus group interviews, for example in the statement from one participant in Liriopata: “...We have changed even with regard to hygiene. Children have to be clean. Before, mothers were all dirty. Even if they have work, they go aside for a little moment and they comb

themselves, wash themselves..." (cited in Vargas, 2010, p. 32). Similarly, as a participant in Motoy put it: "...Now everything is clean, we have improved stoves, larders ... We used to cook on the floor, we suffered because of the smoke, but now we are happy ... We are learning with public talks and we are changing. Things were not like this before ... Now we are good..." (cited in Vargas, 2010, p. 32).

What is significant in these testimonials is the way in which poverty and lack of income are not solely conceived of as socio-economic conditions (that could impact anyone in society), but are also rooted in a persistent backwardness. This is also manifest in some of the accounts of the programs and its successes/challenges given by promoters health care workers involved:

...I believe that in three or four years, when the mothers really understand, because the population is in reality very uncouth, with their own customs and it is difficult to have an impact on their nutrition, and way of life. The problem is that we can't convince them that they really need to include meat-based products in their food for the children to grow. It is hard to get them to give up their consumption of soup... (Health worker, San Antonio de Cachi, cited in Díaz et. al., 2009, p. 105-106).

These underlying assumptions about the lack of capacity and values of those targeted were similarly echoed by an obstetrician seeing transfer recipients in the province of Ayacucho:

....the majority of the people are illiterate and very reluctant to listen to suggestions. They don't understand their lives, or value their own health or the health of their children. For instance, we've previously had problems convincing

pregnant women to give birth in a health center; the people were too scared to go to them. Once the *Juntos* programme was implemented, they agreed more readily, since in this area, the best way to have people go along with something, is to provide benefits in return for doing so....(Cited in Jones, Vargas, Villar, 2007, p. 9)

These narratives were also evident beyond these social policy programs. Cueto's (2001) account of the way in which the cholera outbreak in Peru in the early 1990s was characterized and addressed also provides a useful example of both the individualization of problems (vs. deterioration of government health programs and services, for example), and its imbrication with persistent racialized narratives of hygiene. This particular cholera epidemic broke out in 1991 in Peru (and elsewhere in the region), killing close to 3,000 people that first year, with over 300,000 cases recorded (Cueto, 2001). Lack of clean water and infrastructure for sanitation; inadequate disposal of excreta, and use of sewage for irrigating crops, resulting from poverty, economic recession and deterioration of health services as a result of austerity measures were central to its spread. In state discourse and media communication, the epidemic was attributed to a lack of personal hygiene resulting from "carelessness, ignorance, laziness, indolence..." equated with filth and dirt, rather than look at the limited health infrastructure and lack of clean water (Cueto, 2001, p. 124-125). Underlying this narrative was the limited expectation or necessity of state intervention, with the Peruvians "gradually accept[ing] that providing adequate health for the people did not pertain to the State but was rather a matter of individual responsibility..." (p. 129).

Parallels can also be seen between these contemporary discourses of hygiene and civilization, with those in the early 20th century, as hygiene became an increasing preoccupation. For example in Lima's Municipal Records of 1904, the report by the Inspector of Hygiene, in reference to medical visits to poor homes that had been commissioned by the municipal government, stated that "...the visiting doctor has taken it upon himself to instruct the inhabitants on the necessary methods of cleaning and sanitation..." (*Memoria de la Municipalidad de Lima*, 1904, p. XXXVI). This reproduced a hierarchical social narrative in which the houses of the poor, which were reported as having the worst conditions of hygiene, were blamed on a "characteristic" (cultural) feature of indolence and moral inferiority (Mannarelli, 1999, pp. 272-4).

Contemporary cash transfer programs, in depicting 'the asset poor' as lacking the capacities and habits of risk management required to be an active citizen, similarly legitimized a new project of moral reform. An important difference between early and contemporary discourses of hygiene and civilization, however, is the locus of responsibility for reform. Earlier in the century it was the responsibility of the state to cultivate moral and cultural improvements. As Peru's Minister of Public Health (G. Almenara) stated, in a public ceremony in 1938, marking the opening of a hospital: "...social welfare as the best guarantee of health and prosperity, and making of the defense of these principles a function of the state..." (Drinot, 2011a, p. 215). In conditional cash transfer programs, this responsibility is shifted to the individual, with the state providing facilitation and training to cultivate the capacity in those deemed to be lacking. This is illustrated explicitly in the UNDP Human Development Report on Peru (2009) which states that:

...The *Juntos* program promotes observable changes in behaviour...generally linked to greater access to basic education and preventative health services, as well as improvements in the children's nutrition and in the consumer capacity of participating families. In this way, the direct cash transfer empowers the demand for services from the poorest of the population....*contributing to create a responsible citizenry* [emphasis added]. For this reason, the literature argues that programs for conditional cash transfer incorporate a new rationale for social protection, seeking to break with traditional and paternal short-term assistance programs in order to engage the *citizen as agent of his own development*...[emphasis added] (Peru Human Development Report, UNDP 2009, p. 137, my emphasis)

4.6 Reflections on Chapter Four

This Chapter does not aim to suggest that social investment funds or conditional cash transfer programs are or are not measurably successful against their stated objectives, but rather that they operationalize a particular problem of development and program of reform and improvement, contributing to a reconfiguration of what it means to be a 'good citizen.' While a neoliberal ethos of individual risk management and asset accumulation certainly underpins *Juntos*, a combination of disciplinary techniques and moral reforms are also central to its operation.

While not the focus of the present research, the effects of the social investment and cash transfer programs with respect to their intended outcomes have been mixed (see Jones et. al., 2008; Perova and Vakis, 2009; Vargas, 2010; Schady, 2000a, 2000b for detailed evaluations). Some suggest that *Juntos* has resulted in increases in school

attendance in some areas; vaccination rates in some cases; visits to health clinics; and that cash transfers, which represent about 13% of monthly consumption on average, have had some positive impacts on poverty and welfare (Perova and Vakis, 2009; Jones et. al., 2008). Vargas (2010) found, for example, that cash transfers have, in some cases, seemed to increase decision-making power of women, in receiving and deciding about what to do with the cash transfer, while others have criticized the re-traditionalization of gender roles in these programs.

Perova and Vakis' (2009) analysis suggests that *Juntos* has had an overall small impact on school registration and no effect on school attendance overall, although there were some positive impacts in disaggregated data (by age and gender), and in household expenditure on school supplies. They also suggest that it had negligible impact on overall employment status, and concluded that while overall *Juntos* had resulted in moderate impacts in reducing poverty, increasing use of health services, and improving nutrition and diet, no impacts were found on final outcome indicators such as malnutrition or anaemia. A key problem identified was that of insufficient health facilities to deal with increased demand, and higher workload generated through increased paperwork related to meeting the program requirements (Perova and Vakis, 2009, pp. 25-28). Other problems have been identified related to "gaming the system" for example through illicit deals between parents and teachers, recipients being charged to have their forms filled out, and the use of cash transfers to purchase alcohol (Jones et. al, 2008, p. 262).

More relevant to the present research is the centrality of capacity-building in *Juntos* programming, which implicitly problematizes the idea of 'passive' income distribution, justifying the provision of basic social services not on the basis of

entitlements or social rights, but investing in future “productive capacity” as a way to climb out of or fend off poverty. Conditional cash transfer programs such as *Juntos* explicitly encourage “poor entrepreneurs” to work towards owning assets, with the implication that they have lacked the capacity to fulfill this responsibility, and therefore need ongoing monitoring in order to make appropriate choices through which to manage social and economic risks enterprisingly. In this narrative of ‘good citizenship,’ the individual’s capacity to manage risk becomes the measure of development, displacing other ways of measuring and addressing socio-economic well-being. (Despite, for example, ECLAC’s conclusion that poverty reduction that had occurred in the region was mainly due to increases in social spending (Bouillon and Tejerina, 2007, p. 15).

As mentioned, while a neoliberal logic of government underpins *Juntos*, it cannot be simply reduced to a generic form of neoliberal government. Rather, I suggest that it entails a novel practice of responsible citizenship, in which longer standing requisites for moral reform are re-articulated with new requirements for individual asset accumulation, fostered through a combination of facilitation and coercive tactics of conditionality. Persistent racial and spatial hierarchies also re-emerge in civilizational narratives about who does/does not evince the capacity for good citizenship in this context.

The problem-solution of development within which *Juntos* and other conditional cash transfer programs are embedded, also potentially displaces other ways of problematizing poverty, such as a lack of funding for social provision. Social spending in Peru is among the lowest in Latin America in health, education and social protection and covers a much lower proportion of its population (World Bank, 2007). Yet the way in which the problem is framed in terms of investment and asset accumulation precludes this

as a central criticism. The orthodoxy of asset-building in mainstream development programming within Peru and internationally thus circumscribes debates about, and alternate conceptions of, this social development problematic. Looking at these programs, not in terms of their stated objectives and outcomes, but rather at new narratives of good citizenship within which they are embedded, is one way of opening a critical discussion on other possible ways of doing things. This extension of the individualized responsibility to manage risk to new areas of intervention is traced in the next Chapters, through narratives of vigilant citizenship and social accountability.

CHAPTER FIVE

EMPOWERING CITIZENS THROUGH SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY

“...Empowerment is the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives...”

(World Bank, 2002a, p. 11)

“It is a citizen right to measure and evaluate the results and impacts of public policies...”

(Article 16, *Carta Iberoamericana de Participación Ciudadana en la Gestión Pública*, June, 2009)

“...It seems that everybody has a scheme, a social program, an organizing strategy or an issue campaign for turning political subjects into democratic citizens, for transforming the apathetic into the politically active, the indolent into the productive, and the dependent into the self-sufficient...”

(Cruikshank, 1999, p. 25)

5.1 Introduction: Accountability through Ongoing Citizen Oversight

The logic of individualized risk management, discussed in the previous chapter, has also been extended beyond ‘asset-accumulation’ to other spheres, including through novel responsibilities to directly oversee government budgets and services, as means and ends of accountability. In a book entitled *A New Social Contract for Peru* (2006), the “crux” of the problem of poverty and poor social services is identified as rooted in the failure of citizens to hold service providers and public administrators to account. The argument here is that none of the providers, nor their managers or administrators, had “incentives” to offer better services (p. 2). The book was edited by Peruvian academic Daniel Cotlear, and was part of a larger project on “accountability for social reform” or RECURSO (*Rendición de Cuentas para la Reforma Social*). The project was jointly funded by the World Bank and the United Kingdom’s Department for International Development (DFID), with the support and input of Peruvian government officials at all levels,

including the Municipality of Lima as well as consultants and officials from the IDB, USAID, the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) (since renamed as the German agency for international Cooperation (GIZ)), and UNICEF.¹ It was explicitly oriented towards providing advice to the Peruvian government on social and political reform.

This particular problematization of government and development draws directly on the World Bank's framework for accountability set out in the 2004 *World Development Report: Making Services Work for Poor People*, which suggests that government services could be improved by "...increasing poor clients' choice and participation in service delivery [to] help them monitor and discipline providers..." (WDR, 2004b, p. 1). This new relationship between "the citizens or clients of the system," "service providers," and the state is collectively referred to in the report as "the accountability triangle" (WDR, 2004b, p. 30). This diagnosis of the problem in terms of new forms of citizen-driven accountability is mirrored in other national, regional and international agendas for development. The World Bank report entitled *An Opportunity for a Different Peru: Prosperous, Equitable, and Governable* (2007), similarly concluded that the state has "...fallen short of doing what the average citizen cares for: introducing transparent performance standards to which public employees can be held publicly accountable, and giving people and their civil organizations access to disaggregated information on the state's purchases..." (Guigale, 2007, p. 6). Similarly, DFID, in an analysis of its programming in Peru (2000-2005), identified the promotion of active

¹ This heterogeneous arrangement provides a micro-example of how the local, national and international are enmeshed across people, programs and funding making it hard to usefully distinguish between 'national' and 'international' spaces of government in this context. The book's editor, Cotlear, embodies this confluence – he is a Peruvian economist, trained at the Catholic University in Peru, with graduate degrees from Oxford and Cambridge; he was previously Advisor to the Ministry of Agriculture in Peru, and Sector Leader in Human Development at the World Bank (Cotlear 2006: xvii).

citizenship as a priority premised on the need to strengthen “mechanisms of citizen oversight and participation” in order to encourage accountability, in addition to other formal institutions of representation (DFID, 2005, p. 50). This aligns with new roles envisaged for citizens in social development programs more broadly, as described in the World Bank document *“From Shouting to Counting: A New Frontier in Social Development”* (2004a):

...A new manifestation of citizenship based on the right to hold governments accountable by expanding people’s responsibility ... It’s not just about people protesting and making noise. This new approach to citizen action actually involves systematic analysis and intelligent use of data, making sure their governments spend effectively and keep their promise...Citizens monitor performance using critical information about budgets, spending priorities, expenditures. They track inefficiencies...They measure performance...*(From Shouting to Counting, The World Bank, 2004a, p. 2-4)*

These practices also constitute the parameters for conceptions of ‘citizen empowerment,’ with empowerment defined as “the expansion of assets and capacity among the poor to participate, negotiate, influence, control and hold accountable the institutions that affect their lives...” (*Empowerment and Poverty Reduction: A Sourcebook*, World Bank, 2002a, p. 6). In Peru, these additional responsibilities of ‘good citizenship’ are produced and operate through an assemblage of new laws, institutions and programs created to provide spaces ‘*de encuentro*’ between vigilant citizens and the state, and to train citizens how to be vigilant.

This Chapter aims to show how these citizen responsibilities—to demand better services and directly oversee government budgets—are made possible through an increasing orientation towards ‘social accountability’ as part of efforts to improve governance and social development.² It suggests that while accountability has long been identified as problem for Latin American governments, including Peru, practices of social accountability and citizen vigilance are distinct from other practices of citizen participation, responsibilizing citizens in new ways and constituting a new terrain of intervention and reform.

Whereas the next Chapter focuses specifically on how citizens are responsibilized through training programs to instill the capacities required to practice vigilant citizenship, this Chapter looks at the problematization of government and development in terms of social accountability, how the citizen is constituted in this context, and the assemblage of laws, programs, and practices through which it is constituted in Peru. In line with the approach taken in the dissertation, this Chapter does not take social accountability or citizen vigilance as ‘natural’ or self-evident problem-solutions, but looks at how these are imagined and mobilized in programs and policies, and the types of spaces and subjectivities that are produced or reworked in this process.

This Chapter is structured in the following way: the first section looks at the centrality of the problem of accountability, locating it within ongoing debates on democracy and development in Latin America, and the logic of new performance management within which the current problematic is embedded. The second section

² The suggestion is not that this displaces the orientation towards asset-accumulation discussed in the previous chapter, deployed to mitigate socio-economic risks, but rather that the same logic (of individual responsibility to manage risk) is extended to redress additional (in this case political) risks, i.e. to ensure good governance.

focuses on social accountability as a particular practice of accountability defined by a direct engagement of the ‘ordinary citizen’ in ensuring efficient performance. Using World Bank programming as illustrative example, it traces how this came to the fore through a longer lineage of discourses of ‘citizen participation,’ which became increasingly central to development strategies through the 1980s and 1990s, based on different types of ‘facilitative’ expertise and new participatory methodologies. The Chapter then shows how the problem of social accountability currently operates as an organizing principle in mainstream development programs for good governance and citizen empowerment, and how the citizen is mobilized in this context. The final section provides an overview of the assemblage of laws, spaces, and programs through which social accountability and vigilant citizenship have been operationalized in Peru in the post-2000 period, and also how the state is made visible in specific ways as part of this process.

5.2 Re-Imagining the Accountability Problematic

In 2000, there was significant pressure on Peru’s transition government headed by Valentín Paniagua to address problems of corruption and accountability following Fujimori’s removal from office, including from non-state organizations and citizens groups that had mobilized against the Fujimori regime (see Conaghan, 2005). The transition government put in place a constellation of new institutions and programs explicitly to increase citizen oversight, identified as a priority in the new National Accord. The reform agenda set out in the Accord specified four overarching objectives: democracy and the rule of law; equity and social justice; competitiveness and an efficient, transparent and decentralized state. The policy document drafted to implement the

Accord prioritized a commitment to promote direct citizen participation in public decision-making. Direct forms of citizen participation were identified as important to government accountability in generally, but also as a means to realize other policy priorities listed in the Accord, including reducing poverty and managing and evaluating health and education services (*Acuerdo Nacional*, 2002, p. 2). The Accord was signed by the-President Toledo in 2002, who declared that citizen participation would be a “fundamental principle in new approach” to governance (Reuben and Belsky, 2006; Monge, 2006, p. 48).

That the problem of accountability was a central axis of government reforms in Peru in the post-2000 period did not seem unusual in the wake of the corruption of the previous Fujimori government, which was brought down amidst great scandal on these grounds in 2000.³ Nor was this attention to accountability particularly new, having been a priority of civil society organizations, government, and international social development and ‘good governance’ agendas, as discussed below, for some time. However, what was novel was a shift in the way in which the problem of accountability was articulated, problematized, and resolved through new practices of ‘social’ accountability, which rely on the responsibilization of citizens for individual, direct, and ongoing oversight to ensure the efficient management of public resources.

I suggest that this not only extends the logic of individualized risk management to new area of intervention and citizen reform, but also reflects a reflexive governmental

³ Fujimori had been forced from office after Congress voted on his “moral incapacity” to govern, and left the country for exile in Japan. At the center of the regime’s political manipulation machinery was the head of the SIN (National Intelligence Service) and Fujimori’s right-hand man, Vladimiro Montesinos, who was found to have kept hundreds of secret videotapes revealing vast networks of corruption that included the judiciary and media (see Conaghan (2005) for an excellent account). Immediately following Fujimori’s removal, Valentín Paniagua was appointed head of an interim, transition government.

rationality, whereby risks to citizens and the population are relocated within the mechanisms of government itself, an idea developed by Dean (1999). Whereas previously the population was secured by the government from internal dangers (moral-racial, developmental, economic), social accountability and practices of citizen oversight are based on an assumption that the greatest problem of government is itself. The problem of accountability thus becomes intrinsic, a pathological problem within the state, no longer only associated with particular politicians, political parties or weak institutions that might be remedied through electoral change or improving internal institutional processes. Instead, it requires ongoing oversight by ‘ordinary’ citizens. It is also ‘reflexive’ in the sense that the means of policies (such as accountability and empowerment through transparency and oversight) are also the ends. The citizen in this context has the immanent capacity (and moral authority) for oversight, but requires cultivation through training in order to be realized. Citizens are thus exhorted to acquire the skills and capacities to allow them to hold the state directly to account.

The emphasis on citizen participation in Peru’s National Accord was consistent with the shift towards individualized forms of citizen participation in the 1990s, constituted largely as a technical consultation exercise for more efficient distribution of goods and services vs. representing a particular interest group or broader social or political project (Remy, 2005; Panfichi, 2007). These were entrenched in legal reforms, for example in the 1993 Constitution that included for the first time the right of citizen participation in the management of public resources. It also created mechanisms to do so, including the right to invoke a referendum, and revoke the mandate of government officials. In 1994 the Law 26300 on “the Right to Citizen Participation and Control” was

approved, which included the right of citizens to demand fiscal accountability, as well as to remove public servants and intervene in the initiation and approval of laws and constitutional reforms, although these have rarely been invoked (see Remy, p. 34).⁴ At the same time, more overtly coercive steps were taken to curtail not only formal political opposition but also the popular organizations that had grown through the 1970s and 1980s. This was done in several ways, for example through recentralization and further undermining labour organizations by added restrictions on collective bargaining and agrarian cooperatives, stifling rural organizing (Monge, 2006).⁵

The reforms after 2000 built upon these mechanisms; however, they also articulated new responsibilities that went beyond just ‘giving input’ to include ongoing monitoring, oversight and evaluation of government budgets and services. These practices are collectively referred to in Peru in terms of ‘vigilant citizenship’. This problem of social accountability and vigilant citizenship is produced through a diverse assemblage of new laws, spaces and programs, discussed in the last section of this Chapter. These are supported by international development agencies for which direct forms of citizen oversight have become a ‘common sense’ solution to problems of accountability.

⁴ According to some analyses, the incorporation of participation also responded to increasing pressure from international donors and aid agencies to increase participation of citizens and non-governmental actors and in the development and implementation of public policies (see Panfichi, 2007). Despite Fujimori’s efforts, heterogeneous organizations at regional and provincial levels, including NGOs, leftist militants, and church activists, still tried to initiate alternate participatory engagement in municipal management (Panfichi, 2007).

⁵ Peru’s political system has historically been centralized, with power in hands of local strongmen and under authoritarian regimes. With the exception of a brief period in the 1960s, it wasn’t until the 1979 constitution that substantive decentralization occurred with the creation of relatively autonomous regional governments (Monge, 2006). Shortly following the self-coup, Fujimori undertook a sweeping recentralization of government, dismantling regional governments (elected in 1987), and designated ‘transitional councils of regional administration’ intended (but never actualized) to create locally-elected councils to bypass traditional political mechanisms.

The problem of accountability in debates on democratization and development

Issues of accountability have been central to political debates on democracy in Latin America over the past two and a half decades (Munck, 2004; Schmitter, 2004; O'Donnell, 1994). These debates have tended to take the problem of accountability as an explanatory category, focusing on the forms and failures of horizontal and vertical mechanisms including the failure of checks-and-balance mechanisms, centralized power, weak legislature, politicized institutions, corruption, the disconnect between state and society, and decline of (and lack of trust in) political parties that collectively underlie the 'thin' democracy and 'low-intensity' citizenship that have come to characterize the region (see O'Donnell, 1994; Schmitter, 2004; Mainwaring and Welna, 2003; Altman, 2002; Garretón and Newman, 2001). Accountability in this context is the idea of being responsible and answerable for ones actions—a defining characteristic of democracy. It also operates as a 'catch-all' term for various other concepts, as Bovens (2007) suggests, "in contemporary political and scholarly discourse "accountability" often serves as a conceptual umbrella that covers various other distinct concepts, such as transparency, equity, democracy, efficiency, resourcefulness, responsibility and integrity" (p. 449 cited in Newman and Clarke, 2009, p. 101).

Debates on legal and political forms of accountability in Latin America have accordingly centered on the problem of deficit or failures of formal mechanisms of accountability, primarily in terms of (weak) institutional arrangements. Improving traditional state "pillars" of accountability has primarily entailed reforms to electoral systems, legal and judicial institutions, and civil service (Goetz and Jenkins, 2002). O'Donnell's (1994) influential work on accountability in Latin America, specifically his

distinction between horizontal and vertical forms, continues to structure current debates, whereby the latter refers to the roles of citizens and civil society in exacting accountability of the state (principally via elections), in contrast to intrastate mechanisms (that include principal-agent relations, as well as “sanctioning actors” (e.g. the judiciary), and “oversight actors” (Mainwaring, 2003, p. 20).

The view among political scientists that a ‘lack’ of accountability was one of the central problems of weak democracies, particularly in Latin America (Goetze and Jenkins, 2005; Mainwaring and Welna, 2003) converged with the emergence of ‘good governance’ as an axis of development programming through the 1980s and 1990s, in which accountability was constituted as both a symptom and cause, to be addressed through a host of ‘new performance management’ technologies (Goetz and Jenkins, 2002; Craig and Porter, 2006). These encompassed a range of ‘management’ practices (and norms and values) that came to the fore in public administration in the 1990s that privilege private sector performance measures and techniques, rationalized in terms of a generic idea of management that pathologizes other public sector cultures and practices (Power, 1997; Christensen and Laegreid, 2002).

Accountability as a problem of performance management

Newman and Clarke (2009) suggest that new performance management (NPM) is not a singular program of reform applied ‘from above’ but is more usefully thought of as a persistent managerialism operating through dispersed arrangements of practices and technologies. Management in this sense is a mobile concept, “divorced from specialised experience and knowledge about particular subjects, equally applicable to the private and public sectors, and primarily concerned with the efficient use of resources...” (Power,

1997, p. 92 quoting Self, 1992, p. 169).⁶ Not just a natural response to bureaucratic inefficiency and mismanagement, it is also a neoliberal governmental strategy that returns much of the responsibility for managing risk to citizens, in contrast for example with previous models of professional self-regulation as the means to ensure performance. As Power (1997) notes "...taxpayers and citizens, rather like shareholders, are the mythical reference points which give the NPM its whole purpose" (p. 44). Under this logic, conduct is governed according to new forms of managerial/private sector regulation involving a range of technologies of calculation and performance including audits, budgets, performance benchmarks etc. deployed as a means to restore trust in firms, service providers, public services, thus presupposing a "culture of mistrust in professions and institutions that they themselves contribute to, produce and intensify..." (Dean, 1999, p. 169).

Through the logic of NPM, new forms of accountability render programs, spaces and subjects amenable to representation in financial terms, to maximize efficiency and cost-effectiveness over other (non-financial) priorities, through the use of apparently 'objective' numbers and accounting methods (Rose 1999). Power's book *The Audit Society* (1997) provides considerable insight into the practices and effects of governing through accountability. He shows how accounting systems, and audits in particular, do not just describe an already existing economic system but help constitute it as fact, making it possible to see and intervene only in economic terms (Power, 1997, p. 94). Part

⁶ Kerr (2008) suggests that this type of managerialism and specifically the idea that project management could be based on a universal, transferable methodology (for example the generic logic framework pivotal to the management of contemporary development projects), was foreshadowed in military planning techniques associated with World War II and through the Cold War period. Citing Thorpe (2004), he points to the systems of schedules and priorities independent of the particular object or program that served to organize resources (financial and human) to produce the atomic bomb (i.e. the Manhattan Project).

of this is an effect of numbers themselves, which convey a legitimacy unrelated to any particular innate property of the particular object at hand. This in turn has the effect of turning previously or potentially politicized issues into questions of cost.⁷ In the current context, the imposition of performance measures is turned inwards on the operations of the state bureaucracy itself. Particularly important here is the permeability of accounting practices and their ambiguity that allows them to become attached to a wide array of practices and policies.⁸

This universal Latour-ian ‘mutable-mobile’ quality of accounting practice enables it to colonize different types of organizations and spaces. Power (1997) suggests that as a result, the values and practices of accountability (and for him specifically the audit) “penetrate deep into the core of the organizational operations, not just in terms of requiring energy and resources to conform to new reporting demands but in the creation over time of new mentalities, new incentives and perceptions of significance” (p. 97). Program evaluation or ‘performance’ becomes singularly about fiscal accountability, i.e. is constructed in the image of the practice itself. This focus on process rather than outcome contributes to its epistemological murkiness. As Power notes, rendering

⁷ As Porter (1995) pointed out in looking at the rise of objectivity through quantification, the imposition of standards and measurements have been indispensable in transforming information into a valid objective of knowledge (p. 22).

⁸ Power looks at this specifically in the practice of audit, understood as one of a range of new mechanisms to realize accountability that has permeated organizational life. He traces the “audit explosion” from the early 1980s in the UK, when the word audit became used with greater frequency across a range of contexts: from financial audits to environmental, teaching, medical and management to name a few. He looks at the operational and normative elements of the audit, and shows how its very ambiguity allows it to be attached to an array of practices and policies: The power of auditing is the vagueness of the idea and to comprehend the audit explosion it matters less what different audit practices ‘really are’...than how the idea of audit has assumed such a central role in both public and private sector policy...the idea of audit shapes public conceptions of the problems for which it is the solution; it is constitutive of a certain regulatory or control style which reflects deeply held commitments to checking and trust... Auditing may be a collection of tests...but it is also a system of values and goals which are inscribed in the official programmes which demand it...” (Power, 1997, p. 7).

something auditable or accountable “...says little about [its] fitness for any other purpose...” (Power, 1997, p. 119, 145).

This process manifests itself in the rise of a host of new technologies, organizations and agents of expertise dedicated to ensuring accountability as a generic means and ends, removed from any particular context. An illustrative example of this is *AA1000 Series Sustainability Assurance and Stakeholder Engagement Standards* set up by AccountAbility, a global non-profit network. AccountAbility was created in 1995 with the aim of promoting “accountability innovations” for sustainable development (www.accountability21.net). Borrowing from the International Standards Organization (ISO) model, it created the AA1000 Series Sustainability Assurance Standards in 2003, intended to “provide organisations with an internationally accepted set of principles to frame and structure the way in which they understand, govern, administer, implement, evaluate and communicate their accountability.” The standards based on founding principles of “inclusivity” and “responsiveness” and are considered to provide “... a comprehensive way of holding an organisation to account for its management, performance and reporting on sustainability issues by evaluating the adherence of an organisation to the AA1000 accountAbility Principles...”(AA1000 Assurance Standards, 2008, p. 6). “Sustainability assurance” from this view is based on a series of benchmarks and performance indicators that basically measure the extent to which an organization or department has made itself accountable or amenable to audit, preferably by citizen-stakeholders. The focus is on process and performance monitoring rather than outcome; citizen engagement is central to this as a guarantor of cost effectiveness and efficiency. As with other standard-setting instruments, the AS1000’s value is in its very detachment

from any particular project or context, in its mobility and universal applicability (and immunity from self-evaluation). In the same way that the ‘civil’ interaction in the market was considered a hallmark and instrument of civilization, fostering virtues of diligence, and self-control (Hindess, 2005a), interaction through NPM programs both demonstrates and inculcates related values of honesty and prudence.

Transparency International (TI), an influential international NGO with affiliated chapters in over one hundred countries including Peru, provides another illustrative example of how transparency and accountability are normalized as neutral objective measures and goals. TI’s aim is to fight corruption by raising awareness, promoting reforms and preventative tools, as well as monitoring and evaluating corruption globally. It has become a standard bearer for assessing levels of corruption and transparency, using a new tools and methodologies, such as the Transparency International Sourcebook and the Corruption Perception Index. It also supports a range of country-level programs (including citizen vigilance programs in Peru). As Hindess (2005b) contends, TI’s approach to combat corruption contributes to a neoliberal strategy of government, by aiming to regulate it indirectly through market-like tools and techniques, such as auditing (p. 1390). Its role in this is one of tutelage, providing advice and assistance, to help foster the appropriate reforms, as part of broader efforts oriented towards good governance. While TI’s commitment to anti-corruption activities is not in question, it contributes to legitimizing a particular problem-solution framework of transparency and accountability. (Best (2006) also contends that transparency, in its deployment as an objective, neutral measure, also operates as a contemporary standard measure of ‘civilization,’ establishing a hierarchy among states).

While measures to improve accountability have been implemented as a central part of good governance programs through the 1990s, the constitution of individual citizens as directly responsible for ensuring accountability, through newly defined practices and programs of ‘social accountability’ came to the fore of development programming in the post-2000 period (Cornwall, 2002; Ackerman, 2005a; Cornwall and Coelho, 2007). These ascribe novel responsibilities to citizens, requiring “the use of new data collection tools combined with enhanced space and opportunity for citizen engagement with the state...,” leading to a “...new generation of social accountability practices...based on “solid evidence” and “direct dialogue...” (World Bank, 2005a, p. 6). This is also captured in the 2004 World Bank booklet entitled “From Shouting to Counting” which asks “[w]hat’s new about social accountability? Expanding citizens’ responsibility to hold governments accountable...” (p. 2).

From Accountability to Social Accountability

This “new landscape” of accountability (Goetz and Jenkins, 2005) is thus marked by a shift away from state reform and increasing attention to new actors and activities involved in ensuring accountability, defined as the efficient use of public resources.⁹ As Newell and Wheeler (2006) suggest: “...the right to claim accountability [has become] a political project with citizenship at its core” (5). A small but growing body of academic research on ‘social accountability’ in Latin America emerged in the late 1990s and early 2000s, presenting social accountability as an instrumental but overlooked innovative political alternative whereby non-state actors increasingly fill in the gaps left by weak

⁹ Social accountability here does not refer to the mechanisms considered endemic to liberal democracy, encompassing protests, advocacy campaigns to investigative journalism, lawsuits etc., but refers to new forms of direct citizen engagement that have become a central axis of development programs and government reforms.

institutionalized mechanisms of accountability (Cornwall and Coelho, 2007, p. 1; Peruzzotti and Smulovitz, 2002). Peruzzotti and Smulovitz (2002; 2006), whose work on social accountability remains a referent point for emerging debates, see it as an “alternative form of political control” in Latin America. They define social accountability as “...a non-electoral, yet vertical mechanism that enlarges the number of actors involved in the exercise of control. In contrast to electoral mechanisms, society ones can be exercised in between elections, do not depend on fixed calendars, and are activated ‘on demand’...” (2003, p. 210). They suggest that societal accountability, as an alternate bottom-up form of vertical accountability (in addition to elections, and in complement to horizontal intrastate mechanisms), has proliferated with the emergence of new social actors and the foregrounding of “rights-oriented politics” over the past several decades, in the context of a decline in traditional vehicles for political representation, notably political parties (Peruzzotti and Smulovitz, 2006; Przeworski, 2006, p. 328). Despite its heterogeneous forms, social accountability within these debates is understood in instrumental terms as a way to deepen democracy and the extension of citizen rights to include the ‘right’ to accountability.

This conceptualization does not disrupt existing debates on democratic accountability but looks at civic actions as “new resources” of accountability that might also compensate for well-known deficits, and ‘activate’ horizontal mechanisms (Peruzzotti and Smulovitz, 2006, p. 10; 2003). As noted in the introductory chapter, it thus embodies some of the ideals of participatory forms of democracy as discussed by Barber (1984) and Pateman (1970), for example. This conceptualization of social accountability has also become a central pillar in social development programs

(Ackerman, 2005a; Newell and Wheeler, 2006). The World Bank (2005a) has defined social accountability as: “affirming and operationalizing direct accountability relationships between citizens and the state. Social accountability refers to the broad range of actions and mechanisms beyond voting that citizens can use to hold the state to account, as well as actions on the part of government, civil society, media and other societal actors that promote or facilitate these efforts” (World Bank 2005a, p. 4). It is considered key to increasing good governance, instrumental in combating corruption, ensuring effective services, transparency and the efficient use of resources (World Bank, 2005a). Social accountability is distinguished from other forms of accountability by the participation of “ordinary citizens” in exacting it, rather than government institutions or independent watchdog organizations, and as such is understood as the “short route” to accountability, contrasted with slower, “blunt” feedback mechanisms such as elections (World Bank 2005a, p. 17).

Social accountability is conceived of not only as a citizen responsibility but also as a citizen right. This is evident, for example, in the Preamble to the Ibero-American Charter on Citizen Participation in Public Management signed in June 2009 in Portugal at the XI Ibero American Conference of Ministers of Civil Service and State Reform.¹⁰ The Charter’s preamble states that improved public management is integral to the deepening of democracy, defined in terms of rights to information, freedom of expression, and the generic right of people to participate, collectively and individually in public management. Individual citizen participation in public management is framed explicitly as a right in this context:

¹⁰ Member countries are Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Spain, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Dominican Republic, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

The right of citizens to participate in public management is appreciated as a right of all Iberoamerican inhabitants, with respect to the public administration within the country in which they reside in ... (*Carta Iberoamericana de Participación Ciudadana en la Gestión Pública*, 2009, p. 2)

In addition, the Charter also states that citizen participation in public management not only strengthens active citizenship but also allows citizens to realize their capacities and foment a “new culture,” in which the citizens acquire the ability and disposition to inform themselves about public affairs (p. 4). The Charter is explicit that citizen participation in public management is both an active right and civic responsibility (Art. 6 p. 4), and commits member states to adopt policies to develop programs for the formation and training of citizens for this, emphasizing in particular the importance of promoting of training for Indigenous populations (Article 8).¹¹

This new role for citizens is made intelligible in part through the logic of individualized risk management and their constitution as active participants/clients in development processes versus passive beneficiaries. This reconfiguration of the development subject is traced in the next section, focusing on World Bank programming as an illustrative example--as Bedford (2007) put it, “[...]nyone seeking to understand contemporary development policy must understand the Bank...Bank staff are...regarded by many as *the* development experts, as guarding development’s brain trust..” (p. 290).

¹¹ Citizen participation is conceived of in the Charter as an ongoing activity—part of policy formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, to be undertaken at all levels of government (national and subnational) (Art. 11, p. 6). “*Es derecho de la ciudadanía medir y evaluar los resultados e impactos de las políticas públicas...*” (Art. 16 pp. 6-7). The Charter assigns citizens specific responsibilities in order to realize this right: they need to know and be able to use mechanisms created for participation; be able to adequately inform themselves on aspects of public interest; listen to the reasons provided by public administration officials, and respect public decisions that prioritize the general public interest (Article 39, p. 12).

Centering people in development

The language of participation more generally did not enter mainstream development discourse until the 1980s, and increasingly took hold through the 1990s. Prior to the 1970s, international assistance programs were oriented towards financial investment and macro-economic growth. It was not until the 1970s onwards that the World Bank for example, increasingly began to redefine itself as a ‘development’ agency, initially oriented towards poverty alleviation through the promotion of ‘productivity’ and, as stated by Bank President Robert McNamara in 1973 “...the more equitable distribution of the benefits of economic growth” (World Bank, 1973).¹² This orientation to “the poor” reflected a concern with new problems previously not within the Bank’s purview (see Finnemore (1997) for detailed account of the emergence and impact of ‘poverty alleviation’ under McNamara). This new approach found its justification in the disciplines of sociology and anthropology that were just beginning to inform Bank programming at this time, underpinning the positioning of people as central subject/objects in development projects.

The World Bank had been previously staffed primarily with economists; however in the early 1970s there was small but significant reorientation towards other knowledge from the social sciences – sociology and anthropology in particular. In 1973, then-Vice President of Bank Operations, Warren Baum, disseminated a paper to Bank staff in different departments entitled “*A Report with Recommendations on the Use of*

¹² This shift was manifest in a well-known 1973 speech given by then-Bank President Robert McNamara to the World Bank Board of Governor’s at their Annual meeting, held in Nairobi in which he stated that “...the basic problem of poverty and growth in the developing world can be stated very simply. The growth is not equitably reaching the poor. And the poor are not significantly contributing to growth...” He proposed that the solution to poverty was to re-orient development policies “...in order to provide a more equitable distribution of the benefits of economic growth...” He also emphasized rural development as a key means to increase the productivity of small-holder agricultors, through programs offering credit, extension services, inputs, land reform etc. (World Bank, 1973).

Anthropology in Project Operations of the World Bank Group" co-authored by Glynn Cochrane, an anthropologist at Syracuse University. It recommended that more social input, and anthropological input in particular was required within the World Bank as a way to redress some of the problems identified in the Bank's Quarterly Review of Projects (1968-72) including social problems associated with economic development projects underway at the time. Over the next five years, the Bank hired its first social scientists, although there was no explicit programming for 'social development' at that time; 'participation' through the 1970s and early 1980s primarily referred to local involvement in project implementation, as a means to better outcomes (Davis, 2004, pp. 2-3).

The first in-house sociologist, Michael Cernea, was hired by the Bank in 1974 to its Rural Development Department, followed by the first anthropologist in 1978. Increasing attention to social factors was justified in terms of better project implementation, rather than as problems or priorities of development in and of themselves. This is evident in a World Bank Staff *Working Paper* by consultants H. Perrett and F. Lethem entitled "Human Factors in Project Work" published in 1980, which proposed a framework to incorporate "social and behavioural factors" into project development as a way to improve implementation: "... social inputs properly tailored to project resources and needs are not "icing on the cake" but basic ingredients of successful projects and are of direct and practical use in development banking..." (Perrett and Lethem, 1980, p. 9). This was to be undertaken through new forms of expertise—as this same *Working Paper* recommended, social factors could only be incorporated effectively by increasing in-house expertise by hiring staff "with dual professional capabilities (such

as social and economic, or social and technical)" and "identify[ing] and groom[ing] consultants" with expertise in social and technical fields (1980, p. 8).¹³

The consideration of 'social factors' was operationalized through new Bank lending practices. Previously, loans had been heavily oriented towards technical and infrastructural investments; but by the late 1970s, so-called 'poverty lending' rose to 30% of the Bank's total spending, of which 55% was oriented towards small farmers (Van Waeyenberge, 2006). The problem of development was nevertheless still understood in terms of modernization, combining evolutionary and functionalist perspectives underpinned by dichotomies of traditional-modern, with measures such as level of industrialization and rationalization as key benchmarks (Pieterse, 2001). Notably, there was a fairly ambivalent role ascribed to the market at this time –it was not assumed that market initiatives were contingent on private ownership, and Bank projects promoted a range of ownership/control type of projects. Attention to 'social factors' grew through the 1980s, fostered through new reports and operationalized in new institutional directives. For example, an informal Sociology Group within the World Bank created by Cernea created in the early 1980s successfully advocated for the inclusion of new guidelines for social appraisal in project design to be included in existing guidebooks in the Banks Operational Manual (1984) (Francis and Jacobs 1999). In 1984 the Bank's operational manual included a section on the "Social Factors Bearing on the Feasibility, Implementation and Operation of Projects; and the Pursuit of Objectives Such as Poverty

¹³ At the time that this report was published, the number of sociologists and anthropologists employed by the World Bank was still relatively small: only four full-time sociologists or anthropologists for project work, an estimated ten others for various "generalist capacities" and an increasing number of consultants (Perrett and Lethem, 1980). The suggested tools elaborated in this document consisted of expert-based "social diagnosis" and "feasibility analysis" and identification of social and behavioural problem areas related to projects (Perrett and Lethem 1980, p. 78).

Alleviation” (Davis, 2004). World Bank staff were first directed to address the social aspects of development programming and operations in 1984, and additional social scientists were brought in to address primarily rural development issues.¹⁴

However, it was not until the mid-1980s that World Bank development projects were reconceptualized in terms of “social development” (Hall, 2007). Cernea’s 1985 book, *Putting People First: Sociological Variables in Rural Development*, called for a shift away from purely technical or economic approaches to development to focus on the social and cultural dimensions of the targeted populations. Still, the integration of social analysis in project design promoted in this book justified “putting people first” as handmaiden to economic development projects: “The sociologist must help chart the operational steps for creating the institutional changes necessary for both the social and cultural sustainability of the financially launched development” (Cernea, 1985, p. 10), in the context of orthodox structural adjustment programs.

Participation as new development strategy

In the World Bank, an orientation to ‘participation’ was increasingly manifest in new texts, programs and publications on cultural and behavioural factors of development in the 1980s. These shaped the Bank’s efforts to incorporate “people’s perspectives” into projects and programs in order to, as then Vice President of Operations Policy, S. Husain put it “narrow the gap between professionals and the intended beneficiaries” (in Salmen, 1987, p. v).¹⁵ There was a noticeable shift in intervention at this time in when and how

¹⁴ An anthropological ex-post analysis of fifty-seven World Bank projects showed the economic benefits of paying attention to “sociocultural compatibility” – finding that the so-called compatible projects had twice the higher “economic rate of return” than the projects that were not (Cernea, 1985, p. 11).

¹⁵ In 1975 in the UN’s Economic and Social Council had recommended that governments “adopt popular participation...as a basic policy measure in national development strategy” to “encourage the widest possible active participation of all individuals and national non-government organizations...in the

‘beneficiaries’ were incorporated into development projects. Salmen’s (1987) book, *Listen to the People: Participant-Observer Evaluation of Development Projects*, published by the World Bank, suggests that participant-observer evaluation “...[is] designed to interpret the real world of the intended project beneficiaries—their perceived needs, hopes and frustrations—so as to contribute to the decision-making needs of project managers...and create a relationship of trust between evaluator and beneficiary...”(p. 6), in order to improve projects. Participant-observer evaluation involved a range of techniques including interviews and direct observation to solicit this input. This particular orientation to participation was also operationalized through a re-organization of the Bank’s structure in 1987 whereby social scientists were incorporated into the “Environmental Units” set up for each region (Hall, 2007). Anthropological and sociological input was increasingly institutionalized in project design, explained in terms of improving the implementation of large-scale projects that characterized the project portfolio (Davis, 2004, p. 5)

Paul’s (1987) World Bank Discussion Paper on community participation in development projects provides a useful example of how this problem was understood. Paul suggests that the objectives of community participation (CP) include empowerment, building beneficiary capacity, increasing project effectiveness, improving project efficiency, and project cost sharing (v). Empowerment and capacity building were of relatively less importance in the forty Bank projects Paul reviewed (only 8% included them as stated objectives, and in these cases was achieved through the participation of

development process in setting goals, formulating policies and implementing plans” (cited in Cohen and Uphoff, 1980, p. 213). While this was related to issues of legitimacy, as discussed earlier these conceptions of participation were distinct from previous ones embodied for example in the promotion of political culture in their orientation towards a particular set of skills and actions rather than population-wide values and attitudes (see Walters (2002).

NGOs in projects). The paper set out a definition of participation as “an active process by which beneficiary/client groups influence the direction and execution of a development project with a view to enhancing their well being...” (Paul, 1987, p. 2).

These conceptions of participation stand in contrast to the more radical alternative approaches that had come to the fore in the 1970s and 1980s, inspired by the work of Freire (1970) and other Latin American intellectuals that involved transformation of structures of oppression through radical institutional and legal change.¹⁶ These more radical discourses of self-sufficiency and mobilization were also nascent within the growing movement of second-wave feminism (Cleaver 1999; Cornwall and Brock 2005, p. 6). In mainstream development practice, this more radical discourse was re-articulated with new imperatives for ‘self-development’ in the 1980s in the context of a shift away from the welfare state and new roles for the individual in realizing development. Cornwall (2000) and Dagnino (2007) both highlight the convergence of discourse of participation from radical 1970s ‘self-development’ and neoliberal conceptions of ‘do it for yourself,’ self-provisioning approaches to development in the 1980s and 1990s. Institutionalizing these approaches within the Bank was relatively slow; the first social development unit was created in 1993, with a staff of six people. In 1994 the Bank created a Fund for Innovative Approaches in Human and Social Development (FIAHS) mandated to provide over US\$4 million to advance social concerns and tools (Davis, 2004, p. 9). That same year (1994), a Participation Learning Group was created to support participatory projects within the World Bank. Their report on *The World Bank and Participation* proposed an influential strategy to increase participation in

¹⁶ Freire (1972) conceived of participation and participatory approaches as a way to reflect critically on ones own situation, as a first step in effecting change.

programming. This was the first instance in which participation was identified not just as an instrument to support project implementation, but as an end in itself. It set out the first definition of participation adopted by the Bank, as “a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them” (World Bank Participation Sourcebook, 1996, p. xi). This conceptualization (and prioritization) of participation was echoed in other policies and programs. For instance, the UNDP’s 1993 Human Development Report entitled “People’s Participation,” opened with the statement that “people’s participation is becoming the central issue of our time” in the context of democratic transitions and the view that they should “participate in the events and processes that shape their lives” (UNDP HDR, 1993, p. 1).

New tools and forms of expertise

Through the late 1980s and early 1990s, new tools for social and participatory approaches emerged – not only within the World Bank but in other mainstream agencies, including the U.K.’s Overseas Development Administration’s (now DFID) Social Development Handbook (1993), and increasing use of “Beneficiary Assessments” and Participatory Rural Appraisal, such as those promoted by Robert Chambers (1995) among others.¹⁷ These set out specific tools and interventions to enable people to engage, plan and act in determining development agendas. Techniques included group-based learning and planning, using a variety of new instruments including visual representation and mapping with the aim of making the information accessible to a wider range of ‘participants’. These placed value on direct input, oral histories, diagrams and maps, household profiles

¹⁷ Chambers’ work was heavily drawn upon in the integration of participatory development discourse and practices within mainstream international development projects. His criticism of development projects for ignoring the rural poor and not recognizing them as ‘knowledgeable partners’ was widely disseminated.

and so forth. In addition to new tools and techniques, a shift in expertise was also explicitly required to ensure that development workers no longer operated as ‘experts’, but as “convenors and facilitators” (Kapoor, 2002, p. 104).

Reading off Chambers’ work, Triantafillou and Nielsen (2001, pp. 74-5) show how the facilitator instils the capacity for participatory approaches/appraisals. First, facilitators must show locals how to conduct their own analysis, investigations, and presentations of themselves in order to “learn about themselves”; facilitators must then show participants how to critically examine their own lives in order to “install self-awareness.” They must also promote new ways of communicating and sharing information, and help the ‘target groups’ to ‘help themselves’ after the facilitators have left (pp. 74-75). This involves the deployment of a range of techniques from focus groups, mapping, matrix-ranking and new types of diagrams, embedded in various bodies of knowledge about health, education, sociology and agriculture for example (Triantafillou and Nielsen, 2001, p. 75).

Through these techniques, the developer-expert was reconstituted as facilitator-expert, implementing projects through new forms of intervention that are less fixed, but based on a circumscribed conception of participation, requiring the personal investment of participants and facilitator to provide their judgements and opinions. Participation and ‘social development’ increasingly became concepts around which policy and programming was organized. Participation in development projects was considered orthodoxy from the mid-1990s onwards (Mohan, 2007). Between 1995 and 2000, World Bank Country Assistance Strategies with provisions for increased participation in Bank projects increased from 24% to 73% in 2000 (Davis, 2004, p. vi). Through the latter half

of the 1990s, narratives of social development and the practice of participation as an end in itself were increasingly institutionalized within World Bank programming, including in a restructuring of the senior management structure (Miller-Adam, 1999). In 1996, under then President Wolfensohn, a Social development Task Force was created and a stand-alone Social Development Department the following year. These were part of a broader shift that saw the emergence of Poverty Reduction Strategies, and the adoption of a Comprehensive Development Framework which prioritized country ownership (see Francis and Jacobs, 1999). These shifts can also be located within the context of growing protest against IFI's structural adjustment policies in Latin America and elsewhere through the 1980s, which helped delegitimize orthodox measures (see Macdonald and Ruckert, 2009; Friesen, 2009).¹⁸

The increasing centrality of participatory approaches in social development projects was evident among mainstream development institutions more generally; the Declaration of the Copenhagen World Summit for Social Development (1995) included a pledge to support “people-centered and participatory development”...as well as promote accountability and build the capacity of all development actors. “Citizen participation” became a methodological and program panacea for development orthodoxy as a whole (Craig and Porter 1997; Chambers 1995; Cornwall and Brock 2005); as Cornwall and Brock (2005) stated “...participation and empowerment, words that speak of the laudable aim of enabling poor people to have voice and choice, have now come to symbolize the legitimacy to pursue today’s generation of development blueprints...” (p. 1055). This was operationalized, for example, through ‘resource kits’ on participatory approaches and

¹⁸ Friesen (2009) provides a good account of the various national and transnational organizations and campaigns that have mobilized against international financial institutions and architectures, and how these have articulated with the politics of human rights.

social assessment, first published and disseminated in 1997. The resource kits contained modules with detailed instructions on incorporating ‘social assessment’ methods in developing a framework for stakeholder participation at the early stage of the project; a method (stakeholder analysis) to identify who the stakeholders were for a given project, and plan their participation. They also included participatory methodologies for how to consult with and apply these techniques through Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), Self-esteem, Associative Strength, Resourcefulness, Action planning and Responsibility (SARAR), and Beneficiary Assessment (BA).

In addition to new instruments, citizen participation was practiced through a diversity of new decentralized government arrangements, rationalized on the basis of bringing government closer to people, and spaces ranging from public consultation fora, to ‘user groups’ and participatory budgeting, for example (Cornwall, 2002). Craig and Porter (2006) referred to this inclusive neoliberalism as a hybrid of ‘positive liberal’ emphasis on empowerment and participation combined with persistent neoliberal market logic. Good governance thus came to be defined in terms of managerial accountability, market-based services that “empowered” people to participate, and the provision of accountability and inclusion of various instruments (including the World Bank’s Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers), operating to create coherence between market neoliberalism and a social democratic ethos of participation.¹⁹

These concepts and the various forms of citizen participation in development projects have been thoroughly assessed (Nelson and Wright, 1995; Chambers, 1995;

¹⁹ Craig and Porter (2006) suggest that by early 2000s, Poverty Reduction Strategies were linked to a range of devices promoting participation, empowerment and mitigation of social risk through service delivery and decentralized government. Responsibilities for key government functions, including policy, audit, and finance were relocated to sub-national (regional and local) authorities, as well as to private sector consultants and non-governmental organizations (p. 96).

Slater, 1992), critiqued (Cooke and Kothari, 2001), as well as salvaged (see Hickey and Mohan, 2004). I do not rehearse these here, but instead look at a particular reconfiguration of citizen participation within the social accountability problematic and the ‘new accountability agenda,’ which Goetze and Jenkins (2005) suggest has come to characterize social development and good governance programming. A 2007 survey of six OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) donors found that social accountability has become an integral element of development agendas (O’Neil et. al., 2007, pp. 13-15). I focus specifically on the new managerial responsibilities of direct ongoing monitoring and oversight assigned to citizens in this context.

5.3 Social Accountability as New ‘Developmentality’²⁰

In 2005 the World Bank published a *Sourcebook on Social Accountability: Strengthening the Demand Side of Governance and Service Delivery*, laying out a conceptual framework for social accountability and tools and best practices through which to promote it. The Sourcebook identified three broad areas for implementing social accountability initiatives: Through citizen participation in the preparation and analysis of public budgets; citizen oversight of the government’s expenditures in order to “monitor the flow of financial or physical resources and identify leakages and/or bottlenecks in the system”; and monitoring and evaluating public goods and services, to ensure their “relevance, accessibility and quality” (World Bank Social Accountability Sourcebook, 2005a, pp. 10-11). This envisages a facilitative role for government and non-governmental organizations, in order to “demystify the technical content of the budget, raise awareness about budget-related issues, point out discrepancies between government

²⁰ “Developmentality” is a term used by Ilcan and Phillips (2010) to refer to “governmental discourses in the field of development” (p. 845).

policy priorities and resource allocations, and undertake public education campaigns to improve budget literacy..." (pp. 10-11). These operate through a variety of new tools and programs including citizen report cards, social audits, oversight committees, and public expenditure tracking programs for example. Many of these are underway in Latin America, ranging from social audit programs in Argentina; formulation, monitoring and oversight of budgets in Costa Rica; social audits for construction projects in El Salvador; monitoring of land and housing policy in Argentina; citizen audits on the quality of democracy in Costa Rica, and a Citizen Report Card System in Peru (World Bank, 2003).

The latter was implemented with the support of the World Bank, with the aim of improving public services through 'improved client demand,' that would give providers 'reliable information' on the quality of their services. It also sought to ensure that the "users of social programs stop being considered, and viewing themselves as, "beneficiaries" ...and become "clients" with sufficient capacity to express their opinions and demand higher quality in the goods and services they receive..." (Cevallos, 2003, p. 60). The Report Card System was implemented for five social programs through a new evaluation survey, completed by over 5,600 users following training, which required them to assess their level of satisfaction with various aspects of the service. The results were then conveyed to the 'providers' in workshops, meetings and focus groups (Cevallos, 2003, p. 64-5). While this type of survey is not new, it is redeployed here as a technology that problematizes social services in terms of accountability (rather than other factors such as funding or distribution), contributing to the normalization of the citizen-client subjectivity, with new responsibilities for ensuring service effectiveness. This is captured in the World Bank's Social Accountability Sourcebook (2005a) that states that

“...[c]itizen monitoring can ensure the rational use of resources and provide a safeguard against leakages while citizen evaluation can provide feedback on problems or shortcomings in service delivery and propose collective solutions...” (p. 15). The Report Card System was just one part of a broader arrangement of programs, sites and tools, discussed later in this Chapter.

There is also a growing, loose network of expertise and institutions producing typologies of different forms of social accountability and tools to implement it. This includes the Community of Practice on Social Accountability (COPSA) coordinated by the World Bank’s Participation and Civic Engagement Group, set up to bring together ‘practitioners’ of social accountability across regions and organizations to exchange lessons learned. Other initiatives include the research consortium Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability (Citizenship DRC), created in 2001 with funding from DFID, based at the Institute of Development Studies (University of Sussex) to undertake research and curricula development on ‘citizen-driven’ social accountability, in conjunction with other institutes, universities and nongovernmental organizations in other countries. New multilateral initiatives created to enable ‘citizens’ to access information and ensure transparency and accountability (including of development assistance spending) are also part of this arrangement. This includes, for example, The Open Aid Partnership (OAP) created jointly by the United Kingdom, Sweden, Spain, the Netherlands, Estonia, Finland and the World Bank, with the aim of “increasing aid transparency and citizen engagement for better results.” To realize this, it plans to create a web-based ‘Open Aid Map’ to improve the efficiency, accountability and transparency of development assistance and through this, promote direct citizen

feedback initiatives ('citizen feedback loops') in order to "enhance transparency and accountability' (World Bank, 2011 data.worldbank.org/news/open-aid-partnership). The OAP collaborates with other relatively new multilateral initiatives which also have social accountability mandates, including the International Aid Transparency Initiative (IATI) and Open Government Partnership (OGP), which has a mandate to promote transparency empower citizens, fight corruption and harness new technologies to strengthen governance, rationalized on the basis that "citizens want more transparent, effective and accountable government" (OPG website, 11/05/2011).

Empowering citizens through social accountability

In the social accountability problematic, the capacity to directly holding government programs and services to account is not only perceived to be a means to ensure efficient, effective government, but is also constituted as a means and ends of citizen empowerment. As noted, the World Bank defines "empowerment" as the capacity to hold accountable, specifically "the expansion of assets and capacity among the poor to participate, negotiate, influence, control and hold accountable the institutions that affect their lives..." (*Empowerment and Poverty Reduction: A Sourcebook*, World Bank 2002a, p. 6). It considers empowerment via social accountability as one of the key "pillars" of poverty reduction and development (*ibid.*).

...The degree to which a person or group is empowered is influenced by agency (the capacity to make informed choices) and opportunity (the institutional context in which choice is exercised). By providing critical information on rights and entitlements and by introducing mechanisms to enhance citizen voice and influence on policy makers and service providers, social accountability initiatives

enhance these two key determinants of empowerment. Of particular importance is the potential of social accountability to empower social groups who are systematically excluded from political, social, and economic development, such as women, young people, ethnic or other minorities, and the extreme poor.... In order to be effective, social accountability mechanisms often need to be preceded or complemented by efforts to enhance both the willingness and the capacities of key actors... (World Bank, 2006, p. 18-19 *The Road to 2050: Sustainable Development for the 21st Century*)

This articulation of empowerment through accountability is also evident in the orientation of bilateral programs such as DFID, and new multilateral initiatives including the OGP and the Transparency and Accountability Initiative (TAI). ‘Empowerment through accountability’ is a development priority for DFID, which has committed to supporting 40 million people to “have choice and control over their own development and to hold decision-makers to account” by 2015 (DFID website, 09/11/11). They consider that working on empowerment and accountability addresses the “barriers that prevent poor people from accessing services and benefitting from resources which they could use to lift themselves out of poverty.” Deploying a similar discourse as the World Bank on choice and control, DFID defines empowerment and accountability to encompass “interventions that enable poor people to have the resources and capabilities to exercise greater choice and control over their own development and hold decision-makers—including governments and service providers—to account” (DFID, 2011, p. 2). DFID also provides support to OGP and TAI multilateral initiatives that also promote empowerment via accountability. As noted, the multilateral initiative OGP, launched in September 2011,

calls upon governments to make a written commitment to “promote transparency, empower citizens, fight corruption, and harness new technologies to strengthen governance” (OGP website, 11/10/11). Similarly, the TAI’s motto is “empowering citizens to hold their governing institutions to account” and self-describes as one of the “fastest growing public movements in recent years” aiming to “strengthen democracy and development through empowering citizens to hold their governing institutions to account” (TAI website, 11/15/11). It is co-chaired by the UK development agency DFID and the Open Society Foundation, and lead by a mix of bilateral agencies, private foundations and NGOs including the Ford Foundation, the Hewlett Foundation, Hivos People Unlimited, the International Budget Partnership, and RevenueWatch.

How is the empowered citizen mobilized in this discourse? This question belies a particular conceptualization of empowerment, not in terms of a dichotomy between those with power and those without, but as a strategy of government. The dichotomy is based on a view of power as a quantitative capacity that can be deployed for different ends, and the assumption that people (as independent moral agents) can be transformed from a powerless state to an ‘empowered’ one in a variety of ways—as a consumers, women, patients, through the market, the workplace, the gym, development projects, at school, in politics, and through ‘self-awareness’ for example.²¹ In contrast, thinking about empowerment as a particular strategy of government precludes the possibility of an ahistorical, ‘empowered’ subject or singular way in which people are empowered, but

²¹ It is worth reiterating the point that, in contrast to imagining empowerment and power more generally as an ahistorical, quantitative capacity, Foucault offered an alternative conception of power, as operating in heterogeneous forms everywhere all the time. From this view, it therefore becomes important to understand particular forms of power in specific contexts (Foucault, 1983). Just as there is no ahistorical, ‘essential’ form of power, there is no essential form of freedom or empowerment (see Foucault, 1983; Hindess, 1996; Cruikshank, 1999).

illuminates the ways in which programs of empowerment are also programs of reform, neither necessarily emancipatory nor coercive. This allows for more critical reflection on projects of empowerment; rather than assuming empowerment to be an inherently positive, measurable state of being, or development panacea, it raises questions about how empowerment is contingently problematized, how it is known about, measured, worked upon, and constitutive a particular type of empowered citizen-subject.

The imbrication of empowerment and citizenship is perhaps best explored by Cruikshank, in *The Will to Empower* (1999), which shows how strategies to empower constitute subjects and particular forms of good conduct in different ways, depending on changing problems and knowledge about those who are to be empowered (pp. 65-72). Cruikshank crucially shows how power operates not only through excluding or marginalizing through lack of action, but also through intervening and acting, i.e. through processes of inclusion. This reiterates the point that producing citizen-subjects under liberal rule is rarely coercive, but operates on cultivating individual aspirations and interests that are in line with those of society more broadly. Different practices of citizenship therefore circumscribe the ways in which it is possible to be a citizen at a given time or place. Empowerment can therefore be considered to be a governmental technique that both constitutes and transforms citizens. Unlike other analyses, this does not assume the governed/governors to be necessarily in opposition (McKee and Cooper, 2007), or that citizen vigilance is self-evidently good, for example. Empowerment operates on a logic of shaping peoples' capacity to govern themselves to become active citizens, that is acting in their own interests, with varying conceptions of what their interest are (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 69).

Empowering citizens through practices of accountability re-inscribes the linkages between practices of accountability with moral virtue, which has a longer history. Poovey (1998), for example, traced the link between government and accounting to mercantile capitalism and the codification of double-entry book keeping in 17th century Europe, which made it possible to “speak of a public system of accounting.” (1998, p. 36). She shows that, beyond its epistemological effects, this system had social effects whereby the apparent standardization of accuracy and transparency were associated with the moral virtue (of the merchant, the merchant class, and system as a whole), part of the process by which numbers and numeracy become the preferred “way of knowing” for liberal government in the 18th century. However, accounting did not just progressively evolve from double-entry book-keeping. As Miller and Napier (1993) suggest, it has had different meanings and practices attached to it at various times, linked to other practices and particular problems, enacted through shifting subjectivities, such as the book-keeper, the professional accountant, and, as I suggest here, the vigilant citizen. Contemporary practices of social accountability in Peru are not, therefore, considered to be part of a linear historical trajectory that can be traced back to the Inca khipu, for example.²²

The early association between accounting and moral virtue has been reconfigured in the 20th century, deployed more broadly as a technology to regulate individual conduct and help constitute a particular type of governable subject (Miller and O’Leary, 1987, p.

²² Inca (ac)counting practices are nonetheless extremely interesting. In 1956 in Puruchuco, the administrative center of the Inca empire, archaeologists uncovered a set of twenty-one knotted strings, speculated to have been used by Inca “accountants” to keep track of tribute and taxes in the Inca empire, known as a khipu (Mann, 2005). It became considered as evidence of the Inca’s efficient bureaucracy that relied on coordinated flows of labour, goods and tribute. The oldest khipu found to date is potentially 4500 years old; they appear to have continued to be used by the Inca under early colonial administrations (Mann, 2005). Whether it served as a method of accounting is still debated – some argue that it constituted a form of writing, others that it served as a type of rosary or mnemonic device. This debate persists, and for some reflects not only a lack of historical-archaeological information, but epistemological differences in ways of knowing and representing knowledge between European and Incan cultures (Brokaw, 2003).

239). Accounting in this sense is not just the numerical calculation, but “a process of attributing financial values and rationales to a wide range of social practices, thereby according them a specific visibility, calculability and utility” (1987, p. 316). The links between accounting, accountability and moral virtue have been re-inscribed in advanced liberal forms of government, “...translating “public” objectives such as value-for-money, efficiency, transparency, competitiveness, responsiveness to the customer into ‘private’ norms, judgements, calculations and aspirations” (Rose, 1999, p. 151), albeit in different ways.

In contemporary narratives of vigilant citizenship, the empowered citizen-subject is defined by her capacity to use prescribed tools to acquire and manage specific types of budgetary and financial information to identify problems related to public expenditure and service delivery.²³ Empowerment occurs through very specific forms of engagement, also constituting a former of social ordering:

... [C]itizens are mobilizing...to demand better services. Not by shouting, but by counting. Making sure their governments spend effectively, and keep their promises. It's not just about people protesting and making noise. This new approach to citizen action actually involves systematic analysis and intelligent use of data, making sure their governments spend effectively and keep their promises. These citizens are demanding accountability from their public institutions. At the heart of this is getting and using critical information about budgets, expenditures...performance, etc. the new breed of citizen voice is thus about

²³ While drawing upon a shared discourse, this reconfigured the ‘conscientization’ techniques associated with Freire, in which poor people are empowered through particular ‘radical’ pedagogical practices oriented towards challenging top-down teacher/student relations and broader political-economic structures of oppression; or feminist discourse on empowerment as a struggle against specific patriarchal structures, for example.

using information in a way that can lead to results....(*From Shouting to Counting*, World Bank, 2004a, p. 3)

Empowerment in this view is also contingent on a capacity to “make effective choices” and transform these into “desired outcomes” (Alsop et. al., World Bank 2006), however the social accountability problematic circumscribes these choices and desired outcomes to efficient public expenditures and the ‘performance’ of services in fulfilling their objectives. Empowerment in this sense does not include making choices about overarching policy approaches, or choosing not to be vigilant, or public protest, for example.

In this narrative, the capacity to act as an empowered citizen is also enabled through and determined by individual asset ‘endowments’, not just financial or material, but also psychological and informational – from specific types of literacy to the “capacity to envision” (Alsop et. al., 2006, p. 11):

...psychological assets are particularly crucial both to interventions and to measurement of asset-based agency. Actors need a raised level of consciousness if they are to translate their assets into choices—that is, to become “agents”...

...Furthermore, actors with low levels of psychological assets are also less likely to make choices that can build or strengthen the other assets that form the basis of their agency... (Alsop et. al. 2006, p. 11-12)

Therefore, in order to undertake, and be empowered through, practises of oversight, the vigilant citizen-subject must acquire the capacities, attitudes and skills necessary to practice these ‘natural’ responsibilities of rational economic oversight. Despite needing capacity-development, citizens are nevertheless constituted as having the immanent

capacity and moral authority to undertake these new responsibilities on the basis of being an ‘ordinary citizen.’

Mobilizing the ‘ordinary’ citizen

It is through the participation of the ‘ordinary citizen’ that social accountability is distinguished from other forms of accountability. The “participation of the ordinary citizen” is a phrase which runs through World Bank documents and programs on social accountability, including the Sourcebook (World Bank, 2004a; 2005a). This aligns with the location of ‘ordinary people’ at the center of new processes of governance more generally, which as Clarke (2010) has pointed out, is “seen as a counterbalance to the dangers and ‘dirtiness’ of politics” (p. 640). The ‘ordinary person’ or citizen in the narrative of social accountability is constituted as source of moral authority, concerned principally with efficient use of public resources, able to actively and rationally oversee government expenditures, and as a client/user providing constructive feedback to improve services. Clarke (2010) cites Brown (2006) in suggesting that this governmentalization of the ‘ordinary person’ is part of a de-politicizing process that “...involves removing a political phenomenon from comprehension of its *historical* emergence and from a recognition of the *powers* that produce and contour it...depoliticization always eschews power and history in the representation of its subject...” (Brown, 2006, p. 15 in Clarke, 2010, p. 647; emphasis in original).

It is this equation of the vigilant citizen-subject as an ‘ordinary person’ that enables them to be constituted as a self-evident source of moral authority for the new responsibilities of oversight of government, with a singular interest in efficiency and performance. As the World Bank’s report on *A New Opportunity for Peru* concluded, the

state has “...fallen short of doing what the average citizen cares for: introducing transparent performance standards to which public employees can be held publicly accountable, and giving people and their civil organizations access to disaggregated information on the state’s purchases” (Guigale, 2007, p. 6). The remainder of the Chapter delineates some of the contemporary arrangements through which the problem of social accountability and vigilant citizenship are constituted in Peru.

5.4 The Social Accountability Assemblage in Peru

The problem-solution of social accountability has been produced and normalized through a variety of new laws, spaces, and programs for direct citizen vigilance in managing public policies, programs and funds. A range of legal reforms made particular practices of citizen vigilance a mandatory part of regional and government processes, and created new spaces for doing so. The 2002 Law of Decentralization (*Ley de Bases de la Decentralization N.27783*) provided the guidelines for fiscal decentralization through a staged transfer of resources and responsibilities of social services to regional and municipal governments.²⁴ Article 17 of this law in fact specified that regional and local governments were obligated to not only promote citizen participation in the formulation and implementation of its development plans, budgets and public management (*gestión pública*), but also required governments to guarantee citizen access to the necessary information, and specified that participation must be channelled through institutionalized spaces for consultation, coordination and vigilance.

²⁴ Up until 2002, Peru was considered to be one of the most politically centralized countries in the region (Polastri and Rojas, 2007, p. 737). While the 1993 Constitution prioritized decentralization, it was only after an amendment in 2002 requiring the creation of regional governments that regional elections were held. Peru has twenty-six regions, led by a Regional President, Regional Council and Regional Coordination Council, made up of provincial and district representatives. There are 1,829 municipalities (194 are provincial, and the remainder are district municipalities) (Polastri and Rojas 2007, p. 738).

Related to this, the Law of Regional Government (*Ley Orgánica de Gobiernos Regional* N. 27867) included a list of the principles upon which public management was to be based—participation, transparency, ‘modern’ management and accountability. Participation was specified as citizen participation in the formulation, monitoring, oversight and evaluation of government management, the implementation of plans and budgets (Article 8.1). This in turn requires citizen access to government plans, budgets, objectives and outcomes of regional governments, mandated in new requirements for transparency, including the implementation of electronic internet portals. Similar requirements were mandated for municipal governments, through the Law of Municipalities (*Ley Orgánica de Municipalidades* N. 27972), which specified the requirement for “participation and citizen control” (Articles 111 and 112) mandating that local citizens be engaged either individually or collectively in public administration, and specifically in the formulation and development of plans for development, and budgets. Municipal governments were also required to ensure that citizens had access to the necessary information for this. Articles 113-119 of the Municipal Law specified the spaces and mechanisms through which the citizen could practice these forms of oversight including through citizen committees, *juntas* and management committees, local organizations and *cabildes abiertos*.

New spaces of active citizenship

Citizen vigilance has been operationalized in Peru through new structures and organizations, most notably the hybrid governmental/non-governmental *Mesas de Concertación de Lucha contra la Pobreza* (Permanent Roundtable for the Fight against Poverty) (*Mesa*) created at the national level in 2001. The *Mesa* was explicitly created

with the aim of opening up dialogue on social policies; improving the efficiency of poverty reduction programs and institutionalizing citizen participation in the design, decisions, accountability and oversight of public budgets and programs (*Mesa*, 2001; Reuben and Belskey, 2006). It was made up of eight members from the central government, three representatives from municipal government, and twelve civil society representatives (including social organizations, NGOs, at least one union representative and two cooperative organizations representatives). It was initially proposed by CARITAS, a Catholic charity, and was created with support from various government ministries and donors (including Ministries of Health, Agriculture, and Economy, as well as DFID and the World Bank) (Remy, 2005). The *Mesa* model was subsequently replicated at regional, provincial and district levels in 2002. There are currently over 1,400 *Mesas* throughout the country with over 1,200 at the district level (*Mesa* website, 23/10/11).

One of the main functions of the national *Mesa* is to promote citizen vigilance through the creation of vigilance committees and training of vigilant citizens. In the *Mesa*'s conceptual framework, vigilant citizenship is both a citizen right and responsibility, and encompasses the exercise of rights to participate in the control of public administration (*Mesa*, 2004a). Citizen vigilance, according to the *Mesa*, serves several ends: It affirms citizenship based on the exercise of rights and civic duties; builds bridges with between citizens and the state with the aim of promoting development; helps consolidate democracy and promote good governance, and promotes transparency and ethical public administration to eradicate corruption or abuse of political power (*Mesa*, 2004a).

The *Mesa*'s role in this context is to promote citizen vigilance by creating a new space of encounter or interaction ('*de encuentro*') between vigilant citizens and those being invigilated (state authorities) (Gutiérrez, 2004, p. 7). Under the *Mesa* framework, citizens are required to oversee a range of government projects: to ensure compliance with state/international commitments; oversee government budget commitments with respect to social services, education, and health; oversee the design of public policies (social, economic, monetary, state reform, decentralization), and the management and implementation of programs and projects from municipal to national levels. In its first year, the national *Mesa* initiated monitoring and oversight of several national social programs, including a national food assistance program (PRONAA), which provides support to the community kitchens, *Programa de Caminos Rurales*, and FONCODES, the social investment fund. It also designed a system for citizen vigilance and monitoring at regional and local *Mesas*, supported by funding from the World Bank, as well as other governmental and non-governmental organizations. In addition to the *Mesa*, legal requirements for citizen oversight of government budgets and programs were also operationalized at the regional and municipal level through the creation of Regional and Local 'Coordination Councils,' established in 2002, and vigilant committees were also set up to oversee the mandatory participatory budgeting processes.²⁵ The *Mesa* also played a key role in training and capacitating vigilant citizens, which is discussed in detail in the next Chapter.

²⁵ Other sector-specific initiatives were also created to enable participation in government processes, including new institutions such as the National Council for Consensus-Building in Agriculture (CONACA – Consejo Nacional de Concertación Agraria); a National Education Council (CNE Consejo Nacional de Educación), and the National Health Council (CNS) (see Panfichi, 2007; Cotlear, 2006).

Making the State ‘legible’

Social accountability and the practice of citizen vigilance in Peru are contingent on citizens having access to specific types of financial/budgetary information, and thus also constitute the state in particular ways. One way of thinking about this is as a reversal of processes of ‘legibility’ and simplification. Scott (1998) provided a sweeping account of the ways in which states, through simplification and selective measurement, rendered nature and space ‘legible’ through abstraction, mapping, and privatization, and the uniform re-ordering of urban spaces and cities.²⁶

The modern state through its officials, attempts with varying success to create a terrain and a population with precisely those standardized characteristics that will be easiest to monitor, count, assess, and manage. 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. (Scott 1998, p. 81-2)

The problem of social accountability requires vigilant citizens to encounter the state vis-à-vis particular types of information--government budgets and expenditures, rather than other types of information, such as records of policy decisions related to resource distribution for example. That is, reversing Scott’s lens, the state is made visible in such a way that it is only possible to practise oversight in economic terms relatd to questions of cost and expenditure. This is realized through new laws for access to information and

²⁶ Scott (1998) looked specifically at high modern projects of the 20th century that aspired to large-scale ‘rational/scientific’ social engineering and administrative ordering with the aim of improving the human condition (such as the high modernist city e.g. Brazilia, Soviet collectivization; villagization in Tanzania etc.). These projects shared key elements – the ‘high modern’ aim of administrative ordering, a powerful state, and weak civil society. In all cases, projects depended upon processes of standardization and simplification as a way to bring order and exert control over populations.

new technologies such as ‘transparency portals’ that help produce the social accountability problematic and circumscribe forms of acceptable engagement and ‘good citizen’ conduct. A new law of Transparency and Access to Public Information (*Ley de Transparencia y Acceso a la Información* N.27606) required all public institutions (national, regional, local) as well as organizations delivering social services to provide public information on plans, budget allocations and expenditures. It also required Peru’s Ministry of Finance to make public information on expenditures, investments and debt (Reuben and Belskey, 2006). Peru is now considered one of the most advanced countries in the region in terms of ‘financial transparency,’ in Latin America (World Bank, 2007), in large part based on its Integrated System for Financial Administration (SIAF) that provides public information on government budgets and expenditures, with the specific aim of increasing transparency and efficiency in the use of public funds. The SIAF was set up by the Ministry of Finance in 2001, supported by the World Bank (through a Results and Accountability (REACT) Development Policy Loan (DPL)), and the Inter-American Development Bank. It included an internet transparency portal titled *Consulta Amigable*, which provides information on national, regional, and municipal government budgets and expenditures, as well as financial statements of all public agencies, and information on public debt. In addition to the original budgets, in 2008, the *Consulta Amigable* also began publishing the ‘modified’ budget (*Presupuesto Inicial Modificado*) or PIM, used by government agencies as they executed their budgets, i.e. a living document. A manual for *Consulta Amigable* users has also been created on how to access this information. For example, in a quick ‘friendly consultation’ I was provided with an excel file with information on monthly expenditures by the national government on sports

programs, broken down by month see Fig. 6 below. (This was a relatively simple random search that could be refined to generate much more detailed information, for example on specific program expenditures within a municipality).

Figure 6 – Sample search results from *Consulta Amigable*

Consulta Amigable Consulta de Ejecución del Gasto						
Fecha de la Consulta: 20-noviembre-2011						
Año de Ejecución: 2011 Incluye: Actividades y Proyectos						
TOTAL	88,460,589,913	109,925,955,815	76,069,307,835	73,841,727,615	72,469,718,699	67.2
Nivel de Gobierno E: GOBIERNO NACIONAL	62,593,785,792	68,011,775,520	50,044,328,743	48,660,863,686	48,115,840,462	71.5
Programa 046: DEPORTES	161,388,150	215,159,316	175,078,169	173,852,573	173,161,975	80.8
Mes	PIA	PIM	Ejecución			
			Compromiso	Devengado	Girado	Avance %
1: 'Enero			3,298,055	3,248,120	3,245,482	
2: 'Febrero			14,066,314	14,011,164	12,895,524	
3: 'Marzo			16,287,605	18,416,765	17,529,652	
4: 'Abril			17,127,382	15,264,801	17,161,622	
5: 'Mayo			21,397,179	20,917,681	20,974,998	
6: 'Junio			21,480,745	21,451,838	21,127,486	
7: 'Julio			24,002,399	23,899,748	15,670,723	
8: 'Agosto			15,037,810	14,348,277	20,802,742	
9: 'Setiembre			20,958,547	28,356,837	18,744,810	
10: 'Octubre			15,635,293	8,824,289	20,436,324	
11: 'Noviembre			5,786,838	5,113,054	4,572,611	

(Peruvian Ministry of Finance – *Consulta Amigable* website, 11/10/23)

The Ministry of Finance website, in explaining the purpose and outcomes of the transparency portal, reproduces the social accountability problematic, stating that “transparency on the comportment of public administration, with the will of citizens, permits greater supervision and social accountability of government. Simultaneously, it facilitates citizen participation in state decision-making... Transparency is also important in order to ensure efficiency in the management of public administration...” (Ministry of Economy and Finance website, 22/10/11). It also explained that the transparency portal creates strong incentives to foment transparency on the part of bureaucrats, and that the portal is a mechanism to avoid inefficient and misuse of public funds--addressing a

‘vicious cycle’ whereby the apathy of citizens vis-à-vis the lack of transparency foments impunity and lack of credibility in public management.

This generates a kind of vicious cycle in which the apathy of citizens vis-à-vis the lack of transparency encourages greater impunity and loss of confidence and credibility in governance. In Peru, the relationship between the state and citizens has been largely characterized by this vicious cycle... (Ministry of Economy and Finance Transparency Portal website, 22/10/11)

Economic transparency and accountability is thus considered to contribute to the empowerment of citizens: “...More economic and fiscal transparency contributes to greater empowerment of citizens, as most of the information will give them a better ability to control authorities and to participate in public life...” (Ministry of Economy and Finance website, 18/09/2011). Currently, nearly all government ministries as well as regional governments have ‘transparency portals,’ many set up with the capacity to respond directly to citizens’ questions specific to budgets and expenditures.

The World Bank provided significant support and funding for social accountability reforms in Peru. This included funding through Programmatic Social Reform Loans (PSRLs), the collection of programs known as ‘RECURSO’ – (*Rendición de Cuentas para la Reforma Social*, or Accountability for Social Reform), as well as Development Policy Loans entitled “Peru Results and Accountability (REACT) loans. The latter are geared towards defining standards and goal setting for families in education, health and nutrition services; the development of “robust monitoring systems” on educational and health performance, as well as “individualized data for parents on the health, nutrition and learning status of their children;” and actions to improve targeting

and increase the participation of the poor in budget processes and program monitoring (World Bank, 2009, p. 10). These are part of what Cotlear (2008) referred to as the World Bank's third phase of funding for social development in Peru underway since the 1990s. Whereas the first phase focused on targeted coverage of social services, by the end of the 1990s and early 2000s, accountability became the central focus, first to improve the rules and requirements for accountability, and then in this third phase focusing on promoting citizen monitoring and oversight of public services (Cotlear, 2008). Social accountability is also supported by the Trust Fund for Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development (TFESSD) set up by Finland and Norway and operating through the World Bank, as well as the Inter-American Development Bank and Japanese Social Development Fund.

At the same time, as part of this assemblage, new organizations have emerged to monitor and report on the extent to which the state was rendering itself legible in terms of budget transparency for the 'ordinary citizen,' also contributing to the normalization of the problem of social accountability and solution of citizen vigilance. For example, the non-profit organization *Ciudadanos al Día* (CAD) set up in 2002 with funding from the World Bank, aims to empower citizens through the promotion of state accountability, efficiency, and inclusiveness, and a more informed, demanding and engaged citizenry (CAD website 16/10/11). It does this through a variety of programs, including the publication of annual manuals of Good Practices in Public Management for citizens and new public servants, and awarding prizes for Good Practices in Public Management to various government departments and programs each year, based on criteria of transparency, efficiency and citizen access. It also evaluates Peru's budget transparency

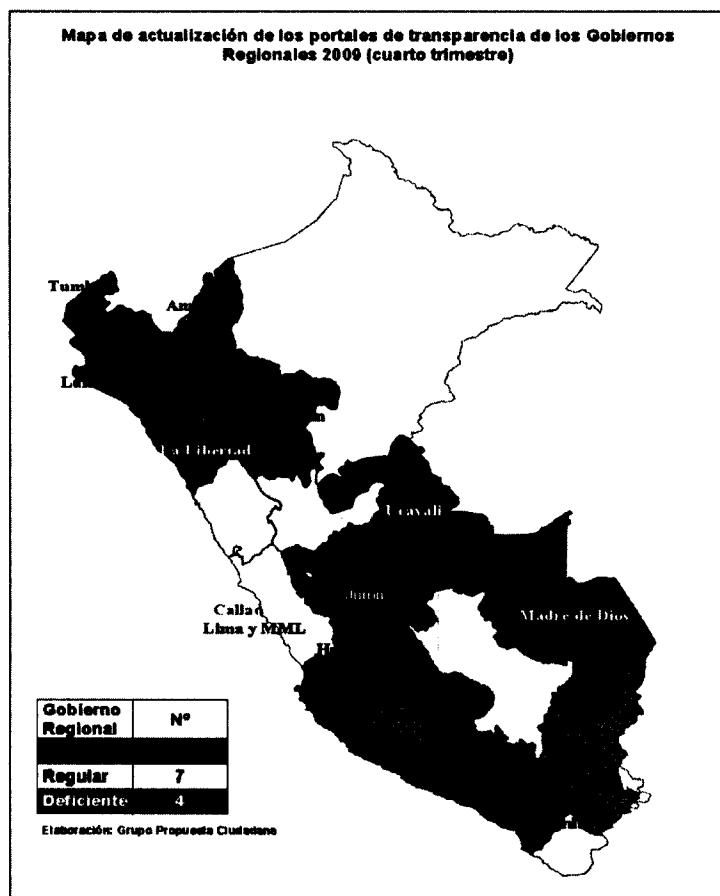
vis-à-vis international benchmarks and standards including the Latin American Index of Budget Transparency (ILTP), and has contributed information on Peru to Global Integrity's Open Budget Surveys, a U.S. based non-profit that provides "open-source metrics, reporting, and techniques for assessing transparent and accountable government" (Global Integrity website 23/10/11).

A second example is the network *Grupo Propuesta Ciudadana* or Citizen's Proposal Group (GPC), formed in 2003 to implement programs to monitor, oversee, and evaluate the Government's commitment to make itself more accountable through decentralization and the creation of transparency portals, through its *Participa Perú* program. (GPC also provides training for citizen vigilance, discussed in Chapter Six). GPC consists of eleven Peruvian non-profit organizations including research and capacity building organizations oriented to promoting economic and social development, in this case re-articulated in terms of the problem of social accountability.²⁷ With funding from USAID, the OSI Development Foundation, the Revenue Watch Institute, the Church Development Service (EED), Catholic Relief Services and Oxfam America, GPC developed and implemented a system (*Vigila Perú*) for systematic monitoring and oversight of the implementation of transparency portals by national, regional and local governments. (It also monitors broader decentralization processes including the transfer of public funds and programs to regional and local levels, and fulfillment of budget and program commitments). Operating through fifteen regional teams, in the first four years

²⁷GPC membership includes: *Asociación ALTERNATIVA*; *Asociación ARARIWA*; *Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo Regional (CEDER)*; *Centro de Estudios para la Participación -(CEDEP)*; *Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas" (CBC)*; *Centro de Estudio y Promoción del Desarrollo (DESCO)*; *Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado (CIPCA)*; *Centro Ecuménico de Promoción y Acción Social (CEDEPAS)*; *Centro Peruano de Estudios Sociales (CEPES)*; *Instituto de Diálogo y Propuesta (IDS)*; and the *Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP)*.

(from 2003-2007) GPC's *Vigila Perú* had published over 150 regional reports evaluating evaluated the degree to which commitments to decentralize and provide access to information on budgets and expenditures via transparency portals had been realized. They deployed new indicators and maps to this end, for example the 'transparency portal' map in Fig. 7 below, indicating which regions had effectively implemented portals, and which are deficient.

Figure 7. Mapping Transparency



(GPC, 2009, p. 3)

Peru's *Defensoría del Pueblo* or national Ombudsman's Office, responsible for defending fundamental rights, also publishes annual reports on the status of implementation of transparency portals by municipal and regional governments. These

monitor and assess the extent to which these governments meet their legal obligation to present monthly budgets and expenditure data on-line. They also assess the extent to which transparency portals meet the new Transparency Portal Standard (PTE) established in June 2010 by Supreme Decree, to ensure uniformity in information, appearance and accessibility (*Defensoría del Pueblo*, 2011, p. 25). Collectively, these programs contribute to producing and institutionalization this particular accountability problematic, a numerically legible state, and practice of citizen vigilance.

5.5 Reflections on Chapter Five

The effects and impacts of these various programs and practices have of course been varied and unpredictable, and in many cases programs for social accountability through direct citizen oversight are still in early stages of implementation. The legal requirements for vigilant citizenship have been implemented to greater and lesser degrees in different regions and governments in Peru, and there is ongoing debate as to their impacts. For example, *Mesa* activity is considered to have declined in many areas (see Panfichi, 2007), and local and regional coordination councils have been criticized with respect to limited participation and actual authority (see Reuben and Belsky, 2006).²⁸ While most governments now have transparency portals providing public access to budgets and expenditures, access to the internet and telecommunications services in Peru remains low, with an estimated 56 internet users per 10,000 inhabitants (2005) (World Bank, 2007). There is also an ongoing vibrant academic debate within Peru on the merits and potential of these new forms of participation, focusing on whether these represent important new

²⁸ Some Regional and Local Coordinating Councils for citizen oversight (CCLs and CCRs) have been criticized for limited range of participants; slow implementation attributed in part to concerns with encroachment on authority; vagueness and inconsistencies in how participation and oversight is supposed to unfold; and overlapping mandates with other citizen oversight bodies including the *Mesas* (see Reuben and Belsky, 2006).

ways to ensure good governance and a deepening of democracy, or further undermine traditional mechanisms of democratic representation (see for example Remy, 2005; Panfichi, 2007; Tanaka, 2005, 2006).

However, this Chapter has sidestepped these debates and early assessment of whether programs are meeting their intended aims, and instead looked at how narratives of ‘good citizenship’ are re-articulated through the social accountability problematic. It suggests that the ‘ordinary citizen,’ as rational *homo economicus*, is constituted as the source of moral authority, responsible for mitigating this risk through new practices of direct, ongoing, oversight of budget expenditures and whether programs meet their own objectives. While these reflect shared traits with a neoliberal logic of government, in the individual active participation for a-political ends of performance and efficiency, this Chapter has shown how these represent distinct practices of participation, that operate through a constellation of new laws, technologies and programs for ‘vigilant citizenship’ in Peru. As noted in Chapter One, in one of the few studies to date on vigilant citizenship in Peru, Gamero et. al. (2004) suggest that there are an estimated seventy-nine institutions in Peru, concentrated in Lima, undertaking some form of citizen vigilance. Of these, about half were created by non-state organizations and the remainder initiated by the state (Gamero et. al., 2004, p. 21).

These new practices of ‘good citizenship’ have also come to define ‘empowerment’ in projects for social development more broadly. As noted, one of the effects of this is to circumscribe what ‘counts’ as legitimate engagement with state institutions. The empowered citizen is thus one who acts as manager, not directly challenging political issues or policy approaches, but tracking budgets to make sure that

expenditures reflect original amounts committed, and also demanding that service providers fulfill their obligations'. The good citizen in this context is armed with information about budgetary commitments, which she then must deploy to ensure government accountability. These responsibilities require a variety of new skills, capacities and attitudes that are being instilled through training programs, implemented by a variety of state and non-state organizations. These programs of citizen reform are the focus of Chapter Six.

Chapter Six

PRODUCING VIGILANT CITIZENS

6.1 Introduction

This Chapter returns to the beginning again, in a small rundown room in the district of Chorillos, just outside of Lima, where Mariano facilitates a capacity-building workshop on “*la vigilancia ciudadana*” for ten men and women on behalf of the Metropolitan Lima *Mesa*. This workshop lasts about eight hours, and involves imparting the idea of oversight (*vigilancia*) as a citizen right and responsibility, the specific actions it entails, its benefits for improved governance, as well as the formal steps they must follow to undertake it. By the end of the session, a *Comité de Vigilancia* is formed, as well as a plan of oversight, with each of the members committed to spending two to three hours per week monitoring a particular government project, budget or service, according to specific benchmarks, indicators and criteria, standardized in a form. It is one of many training programs for vigilant citizenship implemented in Peru over the past seven or eight years.

The previous Chapter provided a snapshot of the broader assemblage through which vigilant citizenship is produced. This Chapter focuses on the programs, workshops, manuals, graphics and tools deployed to train citizens in how to be vigilant, which are currently being implemented primarily by non-state organizations as well as the *Mesa* in Lima. It does not set out to evaluate these training programs on their own merit, that is, in terms of their success in achieving their stated objectives. Rather, its aim is to show how the vigilant citizen is imagined and produced through these programs, as a novel

subjectivity and practice of ‘good citizenship’, focusing on the responsibilities and capacities that define it and how these are instilled.

In doing so, it seeks to draw attention to, and denaturalize, vigilant citizenship as a common sense solution to problems of governance and development centered on accountability.

It suggests that this is articulated in part through a neoliberal governmental logic in which responsibilities for ensuring government transparency and efficiency are displaced to the citizen, constituted as a new right and responsibility. In looking at training programs as programs of reform, this Chapter locates these within the longer discontinuous history of citizen ‘improvement’ in Peru. The argument is not that vigilant citizenship is part of a monolithic neoliberal project of government, but rather that it constitutes a particular neoliberal subjectivity, within a multitude of sometimes contradictory narratives that cannot be reduced to a single governmental end, but one that nevertheless shapes what counts as ‘good conduct’ and legitimate forms of (inter)action whether realized or not.

As noted in Chapter One, training programs and the related texts, images and materials are understood as technologies of citizenship that help produce a certain kind of ‘active’ citizen-subject, based on particular moral and epistemological assumptions about the problem of government and appropriate roles for citizens. As Cruikshank explained, “...technologies of citizenship do not cancel out the autonomy and independence of citizens but are modes of governance that work upon and through the capacities of citizens to act on their own. Technologies of citizenship are voluntary and coercive at the same time; the actions of citizens are regulated, but only after the capacity to act as a

certain kind of citizen with certain aims is instilled..." (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 4). How the capacity to act as a vigilant citizen is instilled is the focus of this chapter.

The empirical focus of the Chapter is on four training programs and the technologies they use to 'capacitate' citizens, including images, texts and training manuals, as well as manuals designed to direct the training/facilitator. The Chapter is divided into two main sections: The first part of the Chapter outlines how the organizations implementing the training programs are conceptualized in this process, as trustees of a technical/pedagogical project, rather than an overtly political one. The second part of the Chapter looks in detail at the narrative of vigilant citizenship embodied in these training programs, including how vigilant citizenship is rationalized as a new right and responsibility, and the skills, attitudes, and behaviours and codes of 'good citizen conduct' that this entails. While there is remarkable consistency between the training manuals, texts and tools used across programs, there are also some ruptures and contradictions in these narrative that are discussed in the final part of the Chapter.

6.2 Non-State Organizations as Trustees of Vigilant Citizenship

Non-state organizations are the primary deliverers of training programs for vigilant citizenship in Peru. There is an extensive literature on the roles of non-state organizations (also referred to here as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and non-profit organizations) in processes of development and democratization more generally. This encompasses the transition from 'traditional' humanitarian assistance to the growth ("associational revolution") of NGOs in development initiatives through the 1980s and 1990s, evident in the influx of donor funds, considered as a panacea to fill gaps left by neoliberal downsizing of public social services, and a preferable partner over 'weak' and

‘failing’ states (Brigg, 2001; Edwards and Hulme, 1992);¹ their new roles as local sources of knowledge and expertise in the implementation of participatory projects and partners in ‘community-based’ development (Lewis, 2008; Fisher, 1997; Bebbington et. al., 2008);² their ambivalent roles in both enabling and challenging neoliberal agendas as well as offering alternatives to mainstream approaches (Edwards 2008; Bebbington et. al., 2008; Craig and Porter, 2006); the overtly political role of NGOs (Macdonald 1997); the rise in transnational non-profit organizations and networks and the promotion of human rights and rights-based development (Risse, 2002); and changing roles of NGOs in the context of new security agendas (Fowler, 2008). There has also been substantial debate on the extent to which NGOs and CSOs have been effective in fulfilling the roles ascribed to them (see Bebbington et. al., 2008; Edwards, 2008).

Latin America experienced an exponential growth in development-oriented NGOs, which grew from an estimated 250 in the early 1970s to over 25,000 by early 2000 (Foweraker, 2005, p. 125). There is a very extensive and diverse body of research on NGOs, as part of ‘civil society,’ specific to Latin America, which is beyond the scope

¹ Lewis (2008) points to the intersection between managerial approaches in international development oriented towards ‘performance optimization’ and the increasing implementation of projects with and through NGOs, attributing the increasing role of NGOs to the “ascendancy” of neoliberalism and associated policies of privatization, ‘good governance’ and overall shift away from ‘state-led’ development models to new roles for NGOs as agents of change and modernization (pp. 40-41). The orientation to issues of democratization and accountability in the 1990s was also turned inwards, with increasing pressure for NGOs to conform to results-based frameworks, concrete measures of performance and value for money, and new guidelines for good practice, for example the Commonwealth Foundation’s (1995) *Non-Governmental Organizations: Guidelines for Good Policy and Practice* (Lewis, 2008).

² Within the World Bank, formal engagement with non-state organizations as part of its development programming strategy can be traced to the early 1980s, including the first ‘Operational Note’ in 1981 on “Involving Nongovernmental Organizations in Bank-Supported Activities” (World Bank, 1981) that reflected the assumption that NGOs could operate as neutral brokers, facilitating outreach with ‘local people’: “...Nongovernmental organizations and other organizations of civil society (NGOs) are important actors in the development process. These organizations can make important contributions toward ensuring that the views of local people are taken into account, promoting community participation, extending project reach to the poorest, and introducing flexible and innovative approaches. The Bank therefore encourages borrowers and staff members to consult with NGOs and to involve them, as appropriate, in Bank-supported activities...” (World Bank Operational Note, 1981). By the early 1990s, 21% of World Bank projects involved (in some form) non-state organizations, rising to 81% by 2009 (World Bank website, 11/10/11).

of this research to do justice to here. This spans from studies on the impacts of NGOs and ‘popular sectors’ in challenging authoritarian governments in the 1960s and 70s and subsequent roles (and problems) in ‘consolidating’ the ‘third-wave’ of democratization (see Oxhorn, 1995; Avritzer, 2002); the growth in Indigenous organizations and engagement in formal political processes, notably in the Andean region (see Stavenhagen, 2001; Yashar, 2005); the increasing deployment of discourses of citizenship and citizen rights beyond formal legal provisions to the ‘right to have rights’ by popular movements, trade unions and identity-based movements, viewed through the lens of new social movement theory and its attention to identity vs. class-based models,³ as well as those organizing around social issues such as access to housing and health care as well as the environment (Dagnino, 2008; Alvarez et. al., 1998). Questions of citizenship and claims to citizen rights are intertwined with these initiatives, as Dagnino (2008) explains:

Citizenship and the concept of rights have been particularly attractive because of the dual role they play in the debate among the various conceptions of democracy that characterize contemporary political struggle in Latin America. On one hand, the struggle organized around the recognition and extension of rights has helped to make the argument for the expansion and deepening of democracy much more concrete. On the other hand, the reference to citizenship has provided common ground and an articulatory principle for an immense diversity of social movements that have adopted the language of rights as a way of expressing their demands...(Dagnino, 2008, p. 62)

³ Alvarez et. al. (1998) remains one of the most insightful works on new social movements in Latin America.

At the same time, as noted in Chapter One, there has been critical attention to the ‘perverse confluence’ suggested by Dagnino (2007; 2008) between participatory and neoliberal projects—the perversity lying in the opposing aims but overlapping concepts, points of reference, and practices for example in participatory budgeting (2008, p. 57). Related to this, scholars have also drawn attention to the role of NGOs in projects of neoliberal government, imbricated with narratives of active citizenship, in which citizens collaborate with NGOs to address their own social and economic problems (see Postero, 2007; Hale, 2002). Postero (2007), for example, has shown the heavy reliance of Bolivian municipalities on NGOs, in many cases supported by international funding, to educate citizens about their new rights.

Peru has a tremendous diversity of non-state organizations working on a wide range of issues and areas—from religious initiatives to research, service delivery, neighbourhood organizations, human rights, environmental concerns, labour mobilization, as well as women’s, children’s and Indigenous rights. These initiatives variously define themselves as grass-roots movements, activist, non-profit, and community-based, as well as private initiatives, and policy think tanks, to cover but a few. In line with other countries in the region, there was a growth in NGOs activity in Peru through the 1970s, oriented towards providing basic needs for urban settlements in Lima, through support for neighbourhood associations and ‘survivalist’ organizations such as community kitchens. Schönwälter (2002), in his book on urban popular movements in Peru, outlines these shift in types of social organizing in Peru, from a narrower cross-section of worker, peasant and student organizations in the first half of the 20th century, to a surge in urban popular movements following the transition to

democracy in 1980, demanding land and basic infrastructure, and the proliferation of women's movements and particularly 'survival movements' in the wake of growing economic crisis (such as community kitchens etc.) through the 1980s.⁴ Related to this, Remy (2005) suggests that the forms of citizen participation envisioned by the Left in the 1980s, metamorphosed under Fujimori into neoliberal forms, as a means to consult as a technical planning exercise. Remy (2005) has also mapped the contemporary topography of civil society and citizen participation in Peru, tracing the origins of contemporary forms of participation to the transition from the Fujimori regime and the process of decentralization that ensued, as well as to the broader decline in political party legitimacy. Peru has, according to Remy, more institutionalized mechanisms for citizen participation than anywhere else in Latin America, including Bolivia. She points to the legally mandated participatory budget processes and the systematic inclusion of citizens and civil society in the National Accord, as discussed in the previous chapter. In her analysis, Remy (2005) distinguishes between citizen participation as users – i.e. providing input, versus oversight or vigilance.⁵

While popular organizations and union activities were coercively curtailed in the 1980s and 1990s, there was nevertheless a significant influx in foreign funding of NGOs in Peru in the 1980s and 1990s; development projects focused primarily on sector-based issues and educational programs for example in health, literacy and nutrition. There was also a growth of organizations (state/non-state) promoting human rights and 'rights-based

⁴ Schönwälter (2002) outlines the "shifts in identity" through which these movements have been distinguished, from a '*poblador*' (settler) identity in the 1950s to '*vecino*' in the 1970s and '*ciudadano*' (citizen) in the 1980s and beyond, and the reframing of demands in terms of 'citizen rights' (2002, p. 27).

⁵ Remy (2005) defines citizen participation as any mechanism via which citizens (attempt to) insert themselves in public decision-making processes. She divides this into four categories: institutionalized mechanisms – either legal or by invitation; and non-institutionalized forms—including unsolicited proposals, and protest.

development' (Youngers, 2006).⁶ The 1990s and particularly post-2000 saw an increase in programmatic orientation towards the promotion of accountability and democratic reform (Remy 2005), as well as attention to Indigenous rights and intercultural education (see García, 2005).

While the diverse and ethnographically rich analyses of NGOs in Latin America and Peru specifically are not reducible to a particular approach or perspective, in most of the analyses cited above, NGOs are assumed to operate within a distinct sphere of 'civil society.' This is based on an assumed state/civil society divide, with underpinnings in liberal political philosophy, whereby civil society is taken as a separate 'natural' sphere outside of formal politics and the institutions of the state. This analytical starting point means that associational life is seen as operating, in a separate sphere from that of the state, often instrumentally and frequently towards positive ends, leading to questions about its relation with the state, as weak/strong, oppositional, co-opted and so forth. In contrast, the lens of governmentality blurs this conventional separation between state and civil society, and NGO or non-state programs are considered to be part of governmental strategies. This does not relegate them to an 'arm' of the state but is based on an understanding of government as a diverse set of activities, techniques and procedures for directing human behaviours. This idea is succinctly captured by Dean (1999) in his claim that "[g]overnment...is an undertaking conducted in the plural. There is a plurality of governing agencies and authorities, of aspects of behaviour to be governed, of norms

⁶ Smaller human rights committees were created at local levels, with significant support from the Catholic (and Protestant) Church, many coming together under the umbrella organization *Coordinadora Nacional de Derechos Humanos* in the mid-1980s (Youngers, 2006). Many of these original groups evolved into larger, more permanent institutions (predominantly based in Lima) promoting human rights, and in many cases are supported by international funds from the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and bilateral organizations including USAID.

invoked, of purposes sought, and of effects, outcomes and consequences..." (p. 10). From this perspective, non-state organizations are part of different governmental arrangements, oriented towards a variety of different ends. In the present case, this arrangement also includes state/semi-state organizations, aid agencies, legal frameworks, as well as new measures and technologies for transparency, such as web portals, indicators and reporting templates through which the problem-solution of social accountability and vigilant citizenship are produced. Training citizens to be vigilant constitutes a particular way of achieving governmental objectives through freedom that works by enabling, empowering, and 'capacitating,' rather than by dictating or demanding. These programs can be linked to a (neo)liberal governmental strategy, not only in governing through freedom, but in shaping choices and behaviours through a range of providers from non-profit to public, through the use of instruments of accounting and audit (Dean, 2007, pp. 101-102).

Vigilant citizenship, defined as the direct, ongoing oversight of budgets and services, is a relatively new practice in Peru and the region as a whole. As noted earlier, while there is a large body of work on citizen participation more generally (see Remy, 2005 and Panfichi (ed.), 2007), there has been little critical attention to the practice of 'vigilant citizenship. One of the only books to date on vigilant citizenship in Peru edited by Gamero et. al. (2004), suggests that Peru, and Lima specifically, is the site of more programs of "*vigilancia ciudadana*" than anywhere else in the region to date. This book documents the various vigilance or oversight initiatives underway in Peru and attempts to draw definitional boundaries to distinguish it as a particular form of participation. It starting point is that vigilant citizenship is a good thing that "...constitutes a significant advance in the development of democratic life" (Gamero et. al., 2004, p. 11). It is seen as

a transformative action of empowerment and capacity development that improves relations between citizens and the state that brings legitimacy and efficiency to government. The authors suggest that in the past few years, citizen vigilance has come to assume increasing importance in Peru and the region more generally, in the wake of corruption and misuse of public resources during the 1990s. Citizen vigilance is taken to be synonymous with social oversight, social control, *veeduría ciudadana*, and citizen control, and includes individual and collective action. The book offers a broad definition for citizen oversight, as “a modality of active citizen participation in which citizens must take the initiative to ensure effective government” (2004, p. 13). This “modality” is described as consisting of using various sets of tools to oversee the ‘behaviour’ or conduct of the state. This profusion of terms indicates that the concept remains unspecified, linked to a heterogeneous set of practices. Nevertheless, what these terms and programs commonly refer to is the way in which citizens, via a variety of new tools and mechanisms, are exhorted upon not just to participate in, but oversee on an ongoing basis the actions of the state, with respect to public spending, accountability, and fulfillment of budgetary and service delivery commitments. Gamero et. al. (2004) estimate that there are close to eighty organizations in Peru with some form of vigilance activity (including training), and one hundred and fifty two in Latin America. Of those in Peru, approximately half are non-state (ranging from non-profit organizations to foundations and research institutions), whereas the remainder are considered to be government programs⁷ or operating in partnership. While there are more in Lima than elsewhere, they are dispersed throughout the country (Gamero et. al., 2004, p. 21). Some

⁷ Gamero et. al. (2004) also seems to include certain forms of provision of information by Government ministries and departments as a practice of vigilance.

of the key non-profit organizations involved in the training and implementation of *vigilancia ciudadana* in Peru include:

- *Asociación Civil Transparencia*
- *Asociación Promoción de Juventudes*
- *Foro de la Sociedad Civil en Salud*
- *Forum Solidaridad Perú*
- *Movimiento Manuela Ramos*
- *Programa Laboral del Desarrollo*
- *Flora Tristán Centro de la Mujer Peruana*
- *Consortio Justicia Viva*
- *Ciudadanos al Día (CAD)*
- *Veeduría Ciudadana de la Comunicación Social*
- *Comisión Andina de Juristas (CAJ)*
- *Estudio para la Defensa de los Derechos de la Mujer*
- *Grupo Propuesta Ciudadana (GPC)*
- *Centro de Estudios Sociales y Publicaciones (CESIP)*
- *Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado (CIPCA)*
- *Asociación Servicios Educativos Rurales (SER)*
- *Centro de Asesoría Laboral del Perú (CEDAL)*
- *Programa VISO – (Programa de Vigilancia Social en Empresas Transnacionales)*
- *Coordinadora Nacional de Comunidades Afectadas por la Minería (CONACAMI)*
- *Fed. de Mujeres Organizadas en Centrales de Comedores Autogenstionarios y Afines de Lima y Callao (FEMOCCPAALC)*

The training programs for vigilant citizenship are often one part of broader organizational mandates. Nevertheless, I suggest that the responsibilization of vigilant citizens has transformed a small part of the terrain of government and constitutes a significant new site for intervention and reform. The Government Ministry that most actively promotes vigilance programs and training for citizens is the Ministry for Women and Social Development (MIMDES), which funds vigilance programs and training largely through the *Mesas*. (The majority of non-state organizations participating have some support from international bilateral and multilateral donors, including the World Bank, DFID, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and USAID, reflecting a convergence around the problem of accountability and solution of citizen oversight, noted in Chapter Five).

Non-state organizations and the *Mesas* are the primary purveyors of training, capacity-building expertise and programming oriented towards producing vigilant

citizens. There are important differences and distinctions among the various organizations that train citizens for oversight. Some are considered to be grassroots organizations with deep roots in the Peruvian Left and community organizing from the 1980s, others are newer networks or ‘professional’ and research organizations. Whereas the *Mesas* train citizens for oversight in institutionalized spaces, other NGOs promote diverse forms of oversight, on different social issues of particular interest (such as health and education) as well as broad oversight of government processes more generally (*Grupo Propuesta Ciudadana* and *Ciudadanos al Día* (CAD) are examples of the latter). Despite this diversity, there is significant convergence in the way in which citizen vigilance is promoted in the various training manuals and programs, presented as both a right and responsibility, as a means to accountable and efficient government but also an end in itself, a marker of good citizenship.

Four programs for vigilance

This section provides an overview of the four organizations providing vigilance training programs in Lima, which were the focus of the present research: the *Mesa de Concertación Para la Lucha Contra la Pobreza de Lima Metropolitana* (*Mesa*), the *Forum Solidaridad Perú* (FSP), the *Asociación Civil Transparencia* (*Transparencia*), and the *Grupo Propuesta Ciudadana* (GPC). While they represent different types of organizations, with different histories and mandates, there was significant convergence in their programs and training materials for vigilant citizenship. They were selected as a focus of the research as they represent a range of the types of organizations delivering citizen vigilance training programs (hybrid state/non-state; non-profit development

organization with roots in the left; and relatively newer, umbrella organizations). They were also implementing training programs whilst I was undertaking research in Peru.

The *Mesa* in Metropolitan Lima was set up in 2001 as part of the process of expanding the national *Mesa de Concertación* to regional and local levels. As noted in Chapter Five, the national *Mesa* was created in 2001 with the mission of involving the state, private sector and civil society to promote more transparent and efficient forms of governance and poverty alleviation in each district, province and region in Peru (Espinoza 2007).⁸ The regional Lima *Mesa* is governed by an Executive Committee of nineteen people, including three representatives from the national government, one from the regional government, two from local government and the remainder from non-state sectors (Church groups, NGOs and business associations). The *Mesa* is composed of five regular commissions or working groups, one of which is the *Comisión de Vigilancia*, initiated in 2002, made up of three elected members from among the Executive Committee. The Vigilance Commission's work has been oriented to capacitating and implementing citizen vigilance programs in Metropolitan Lima; it provides courses through its zonal and district committees.

Mesa capacitation programs for vigilant citizenship generally consist of two to three workshops, of about 6 to 8 hours each. The first session focuses on the concepts of democracy and citizenship, including notions of democratic attitudes and conduct, principles and values and citizen rights and responsibilities. The second is oriented specifically to vigilant citizenship, what it is, the legal framework underpinning it, and

⁸ The *Mesa* is funded by the Ministry of Women and Social Development, the World Bank, the European Union and Propoli, as well as DFID. The Ministry support was part of a broader initiative to support the decentralization process through the “development of capacities that favour efficient local management and transparency in social programs” (*Mesa*, 2004a, p. 5).

the steps that must be followed in order to practice it. The final workshop focuses on putting in place vigilance plans for specific projects or programs. (At the time of the research, these focused primarily oversight of the urban workfare program *A Trabajar Urbano*, as well as mandatory participatory budget processes).⁹

A second organization that provides training for vigilant citizens is the GPC, a network of eleven Peruvian non-profit organizations referred to in the previous Chapter. In 2004, as part of its '*Vigila Perú*' program (under *Proyecto Participa Perú*), the GPC produced a guide to citizen vigilance, with funding from the Open Society Institute (OSI) and the German Evangelical Church Service for Development (EED). *Vigila Perú* aims to develop the capacities of citizens and organizations to oversee the processes of decentralization at national, regional and local levels. Vigilance work is structured around key indicators that assess the decentralization of budgets, transparency and access to information, and levels of citizen participation and inclusion. They also measure the transparency of the budgetary process as well as policies, programs, and the overall fulfillment of commitments outlined in law of decentralization. At the national level, GPC vigilance is directed towards the central government, specifically the National Council for Decentralization (*Consejo Nacional de Decentralización* CND), the Congress, and the Ministry of Economy and Finance. At the regional level, *Vigila Perú* oversees Regional authorities as well as the Regional Councils (*Consejos Regionales* or CR), and Coordinating Councils (*Consejos de Coordinación Regional* or CCR). Locally,

⁹ The workshops in which I participated were run by the *Mesa* in the district of Chorillos, a poor district in Lima's southern cone, with about 274,300 inhabitants (Mesa, 2007). They were oriented towards citizen vigilance of *A Trabajar Urbano* projects including recuperation of wetland areas and rehabilitation of canals, as well as building of a retaining wall as part of a larger sports complex.

they oversee municipal authorities, Municipal Councils (CM), and Local Coordinating Councils (*Consejos de Coordinación Local* or CCL).

The third organization implementing training programs for citizen vigilance, *Transparencia*, is a non-profit civic organization established by a group of Peruvian academics and professionals in 1994. While its initial focus was on the oversight of electoral processes, its mandate expanded to include programs on ‘citizen education,’ including a more recent focus on training vigilant citizens, with a program slogan of “look, listen, act, be vigilant!” *Transparencia* is volunteer-based, with a 27-member General Assembly and Board of Directors that serves an advisory role (*Transparencia* website, 14/03/09). In 2001, they joined with other organizations—the *Asociacion de Exportadores* (ADEX), *Comisión Andina de Juristas* (CAJ), the *Instituto Prensa y Sociedad* (PIYS)—to form the National Council for Public Ethics (PROÉTICA), which serves as the Peruvian chapter of Transparency International. One of the reasons that *Transparencia* provided a useful case study was its heavy emphasis on training citizens, including the publication of five training manuals for vigilant citizenship, for use by teachers and promoters.

A fourth organizing implementing citizen vigilance training programs is the FSP established in 1990 by non-Peruvian missionaries concerned with political violence. It self-identifies as a left-leaning non-profit organization focused on raising awareness and advocating on various political, economic and social justice issues. Its programs have been organized around themes of “international solidarity,” fostering North-South relations and solidarity among citizens globally. It seeks to empower citizens to be able to mobilize and bring about social and political transformation in areas of democracy, social

justice, culture and environment, and ethical management of public goods. It works through citizen networks in urban and rural settings. Similar to the other organizations, FSP only began developing programming to promote citizen vigilance after 2001. One of the early projects supported by the FSP was the construction of a National Network of Committees for Citizen Vigilance (*Red Vigilancia Ciudadana*). Committees were trained under the FSP's Citizen Oversight Capacitation Program (*Programa de Capacitación del Proyecto de Vigilancia Ciudadana*), from 2002 to 2004, and nineteen Vigilance Committees were formed in the Northern, Southern and Eastern Cones of Lima, as well as other regions of the country. The Program's aim was to strengthen the capacity of committee members who themselves belonged to various social organizations in Lima, to improve their ability to oversee local public administration and service delivery (interview, Jan. 2007). The committees each consisted of five members, and linked with one another with at district, conal, metropolitan and national levels. The FSP also set up vigilance committees in poor urban neighbourhoods in Lima in the North Cone (Comas, Carabayllo, Puente Piedra), Eastern Cone (San Juan de Lurigancho, El Agustino, Santa Anita, Ate Vitarte) and the and Southern Cone (Villa Maria del Triunfo, San Juan de Miraflores, Villa El Salvador). Unlike the *Mesa* that focused much of its training on oversight of institutionalized mechanisms, the FSP promoted diverse forms of oversight, on *ad hoc* social issues (including health, garbage pick-up, and sanitation). Similar to the *Mesa* training workshops, the FSP trains participants in the steps required for vigilance or oversight, how to organize a vigilance committee, set objectives and plans, access and analyze information, formulate proposals and evaluate their effects (interview, Jan. 2007).

These four organizations converge in their aim to train citizens to practice vigilance, and in this regard can be considered as ‘trustees,’ in terms of “the intent which is expressed, by one source of agency to develop the capacities of another” (Cowen and Shenton, 1996, cited in Li, 2007a, p. 5). As Li (2007a) suggests, the aim of a trustee is not to force or dominate, but rather develop and direct capacities towards some action; this encompasses the work of a range of actors and agencies from colonial officials, and missionaries to bureaucrats, aid workers and NGOs (p. 5). While their aims may be sincere (i.e. cannot be understood in terms of hidden agendas or interests), they nevertheless help structure what constitute legitimate actions, and in this case reinforce the boundaries around the practice of ‘good’ vigilant citizenship within the social accountability problematic. The organizations see themselves as playing a pedagogical rather than political role, imparting knowledge and skills required to practice vigilant citizenship, constituted as a technical exercise. Their moral authority in this context is derived from their location as outside of profit and formal politics, fixing them as disinterested, and in a privileged position to facilitate empowerment and participation (Fisher, 1997, pp. 442, 443).

6.3 Training Vigilant Citizens

Vigilance as a technical practice

One of the arguments of this chapter is that these training programs (re)produce the interpretative grid through which the problem and practice of social accountability and vigilant citizenship are ‘made sense of’ as a particular technical/managerial problem, outside of the perceived domain of politics and political contestation. As Li (2007a) suggests, ‘rendering technical’ is crucial to the translation of a particular ‘will to

improve' into an actual program, setting the boundaries of the intelligible field of intervention, including the boundary between those who are in a position to 'diagnose deficiencies' and those who are subject to direction (Li, 2007a, p. 7; Rose, 1999). It also has another important effect of de-politicization. As Li notes, "...for the most part, experts tasked with improvement exclude the structure of political-economic relations from their diagnoses and prescriptions. They focus more on the capacities of the poor than on the practices through which one social group impoverishes another..." (p. 7). This point was also articulated by Ferguson in his important book *The Anti-Politics Machine* (1994), in which he shows how development discourse and programming constituted Lesotho as a particular type of object of knowledge, around which interventions were organized. Not only did this have the effect of expanding bureaucratic state power, it also depoliticized the problem of poverty and the state (Ferguson, 1994, pp. 255-56).

Barry (2005) further nuances the distinction between politicizing/depoliticizing and technical versus political. He points out that politics in general tends to open up particular avenues for challenge or contestation, for example in this case if budgetary commitments are not filled, but at the same time closes off other forms of disagreement--i.e. has 'anti-political' effects (Barry, 2005). He also notes that the practice of politics is to some extent always technical, (pointing, for example, to the myriad of instruments, forums, spaces, polls and tools involved in electoral democracy), and that the material devices themselves help constitute what counts as political or what can be contested. Conversely, technical devices, such as methods for measurement and calculation, which tended to be located outside of the sphere of political debate in addition to having anti-

political effects, can also “provide the basis for an opening up of new objects and sites of disagreement” (Barry, 2005, p. 89).

In the present case, the training technologies, including texts, images and trainers’ manuals, present the problem-solution of social accountability and vigilant citizenship as a technical practice of oversight, limiting contestation to whether authorities are ‘doing what they said they would do.’ That is, practices of vigilance are oriented either towards ensuring that budget commitments are met (a question of procedure and accounting), or that programs meet their stated objectives and are ‘responsive’ to the citizen-as-client, in terms of wait times, length of queues, regularized services and so forth. For example, the trainers’ manual used in *Mesa* vigilance workshops, suggests that the facilitator explain early on in the workshop that citizen vigilance is for ‘correct’ administration and ensuring that programs achieve their intended aims (*Mesa*, 2004b, p. 11). The trainers’ manual thus reproduces the boundaries set by the social accountability problematic:

...[I]t is fundamental that we demand efficiency and transparency from the authorities and public servants, we, as citizens, are the first in demonstrating our attitudes and actions are democratic...transparent and honest...(*Mesa*, 2004b, p. 27).

The delimitation of the practice of vigilance citizenship to managerialist forms of oversight is also normalized within the definition of vigilant citizenship; as the first paragraph in GPC’s manual for participants states: “Vigilant citizenship is a mechanism for participation, through which citizens intervene in public management with the aim of contributing to its transparency” (GPC, 2004, p. 1). It explains that vigilant citizenship is motivated by the concrete interests of citizens in the “responsible management of public

affairs”: “Citizen vigilance is important not only as a concrete way to exercise our rights, but additionally as a good form of participation and commitment as a citizen to an efficient, transparent and honest public administration system...” (GPC, 2004, p. 3).

The *Mesa* manual is similarly explicit on this, explaining that the importance of vigilance is to achieve “better execution of programs and projects”, an “effective use of resources” (*Mesa*, 2004, p. 1). This was operationalized in the *Mesa* training workshops in Chorillos. Mariano presented participants with the definition of citizenship in the *Mesa*’s training manual as an “attitude of commitment, to exercise ones rights and fulfill our responsibilities,” with the latter defined as “a responsible citizen is one who participates in decisions that will favour and support the realization of community well-being...” (*Mesa*, 2004c, *Tema 1C*, p.1). Workshop participants are told that to realize it they must observe, verify and record public administration in order to “prevent inadequate implementation of policies and programs” and “propose necessary corrections and improvements”. These improvements also extend to the tools for public information themselves; one of the obligations (and benefits) of vigilance highlighted in the manuals is to identify deficiencies or gaps in the information and make recommendations on how to improve these tools (GPC, 2011, p. 7). This belies a certain circularity, insofar as vigilance is contingent on access to particular forms of public information, and at the same time is the mechanism through which this is promoted and improved. Cartoon images throughout the manuals illustrate how citizen vigilance is oriented towards providing a solution to technical issues, as depicted in the images of vigilance over queuing times and scheduling in Fig. 8 below:

Figure 8. At medical clinic: “How long have you been waiting to be attended to?” (FSP, 2005, p. 25).



“Collaborating to provide objective information”

This managerialist orientation (and anti-political effect) is reinforced through the framing of the relationship between the vigilant citizen and the authorities, the object of oversight, as one of collaboration and cooperation. The GPC participants' manual for example explains that to “responsibly exercise vigilance” means establishing cooperative relations with government authorities, which in turn requires a “responsible attitude” among citizens (GPC, 2004, p. 7). This is also conveyed in the cartoon images throughout the manuals, which show vigilant citizens in collaborative stances such as shaking hands with figures of authority, (the latter distinguished below by a suit and tie), or in orderly meetings with public officials.



Figure 9. 'Cooperative relations' (GPC, 2004, p. 3, 5)



Figure 10. (*Mesa*, 2004b, p. 36)

The practice of vigilant citizenship is defined by providing 'objective' monitoring, oversight, evaluation and information, thus reinforcing (and potentially containing any challenges to) the status quo. As one *Mesa* vigilance committee member put it: "people have to learn...that the vigilant citizen goes to dialogue with the authorities, to observe, to propose and comment on how things are being achieved..." (Espinoza, 2007, p. 34). Similarly, another vigilant citizen committee member stated that vigilance training resulted in a "different attitude, from confrontation to cooperation..." (*Mesa* workshop participant, November, 2007).

Nevertheless, in spite of great consistency between the manuals, in terms of how the problem and practice of vigilant citizenship is articulated, there are also some ruptures in this narrative. Notably, the FSP manual entitled *Vigilando ejercemos nuestros*

derechos: Guía para planificar las acciones de vigilancia ciudadana (2005) presented a slightly different message about the legitimate forms of interaction with authorities. Similar to the other organizations' training materials, vigilant citizenship is understood to be both a right and responsibility with the aim of ensuring efficient, transparent management of public resources. However, the FSP manual promotes additional strategies including political mobilization to influence policy and challenge power relations. This represents a less orderly and less compliant relationship with authorities than is promoted in other training programs. The FSP manual provides information and strategies to influence politics in different ways, not just to ensure government that is fulfilling its commitments, but also to *change* its policies and programs using a variety of strategies from participation in formal spaces to public information campaigns, as well as mobilization and protest – as per the image included in the FSP manual, below:



Figure 11. "We want a clean district;" "Collect the garbage" (FSP, 2005, p. 33)

FSP thus promotes vigilance, as a form of participation *and* mobilization, not just to ensure accountability, but also to "change policies, positions and programs..." (FSP,

2005, p. 32). To this end, the manual also includes a table of strategies for mobilization, again diverging from other training programs (p. 34). Vigilance, for FSP, is just one tool to effect relatively more radical change. In a FSP presentation on “*La Incidencia y la Vigilancia como herramientas de cambio*” (Oct. 2006) it was emphasized that *incidencia* (including vigilance), was also about changing the existing relations of power to make them more equitable and concretely changing policies and social programs – as depicted in the FSP image below.

Figure 12. (FSP Presentation, *Mobilization and Vigilance as Tools for Change*, 2006)

This can be seen as a small example of the ‘perpetual reversals’ (Foucault, 1983) that are part of the struggles within strategies of government, and which can potentially lead to unpredicted transformations in the way in which things are practiced and understood; this is discussed further in the final section.

The vigilant citizen-subject

Prior to the arrival of participants in the November workshop, Mariano, the District Coordinator of Citizen Vigilance Committees in Chorillos and affiliated with the Lima *Mesa*, wrote the following question on large piece of paper and hung it on the wall: “What is Vigilant Citizenship?” This was the opening question posed to the participants,

which he answered immediately by putting up a second sheet stating that “It is everyone’s right and responsibility.” Next to this, he had hung up an official *Mesa* poster stating that “we must be good vigilant citizens”. Vigilance was presented as both a means and end in these materials – a means to good government measured in terms of transparency, accountability and efficient use of resources; and, as stated in the *Mesa* manual, a way to “foment the respect for the rights and responsibilities of citizens as active contributors to their own development” (*Mesa*, 2004d, p.2). The Manual used in the workshop stated that it is the “right and duty of citizens and civil society to oversee public management and projects of the state which are for the public or common good” (*Mesa*, 2004a, p. 12).

The practice of vigilance is thus generative and reflective of an explicit set of values and mode of ethical conduct. For example, the *Transparencia* manuals described vigilant citizenship in terms of ‘*convivencia*’ or co-existence and as being an “active and necessary” part of society, the city and the country. The need for vigilant citizenship is explicitly framed in terms of the recent political experiences of the 1990s, reminding participants of the authoritarianism of the 1990s, which needed to be changed “above all by the creation of responsible citizens” (*Transparencia* 2004a, p. 5). The envisaged impacts of vigilance and the values it embodies are conveyed in the *Transparencia* manual through stories of everyday interactions, such as that of Gloria and her daughter buying bread at the local bakery. The bakery always had bread ready at a certain time, at which the shop became crowded with customers. The story explains that a long queue would form in the bakery to make the purchase, and Gloria and her daughter would patiently wait their turn, along with others. Just in the moment they reached the counter, a

man who had not been in line stepped in front of Gloria. Gloria protested but the man became bothered, explaining that he was rushed. One by one, others in the line-up started to complain, the man was shamed into leaving the bakery without his bread. The facilitator follows up this moral tale with questions about why the man lacked respect, how did it reflect certain values and abuse of these, and how it could be extended to other situations (pp. 7-8). Several key values are then identified in the manual: responsibility; democracy (defined in the text as the political system which seeks to make it possible for citizens to develop autonomy and power of decision over their lives within established rules of the game); dialogue (defined as a oral or written exchange of information based on respect and listening); creativity (defined as a person's extraordinary capacity to resolve problems); in addition to respect and solidarity towards a common good; as well as the capacity to self-direct and self govern (pp. 9-10).

Instilling the right skills and capacities

Program training materials and the trainers' manuals provide insight into the specific skills and capacities that are required to practice vigilance. For example, the GPC *Vigila Perú*'s manual (2004) sets out the following list of skills and appropriate attitudes required on the part of the citizen (paraphrased below from p. 8 of the manual):

- An awareness of citizen rights in order to recognize the extent to which the government has fulfilled its commitments;
- A technical capacity to access specialized information related to the design of public policies, to analyze the information and systematize and evaluate it;
- A capacity to communicate to disseminate results of the vigilance process to the vigilance committee and public authorities;

- An organizational capacity to articulate individual and collective aims and maintain oversight over the longer term; and
- A commitment to responsibly exercise vigilance, i.e. ensuring professionalism and objectivity in the management of information and establishing relations of cooperation with the authorities being overseen.

There is significant overlap in this regard with other training programs and texts. In the 2008 *Mesa* workshop in Chorillos, Mariano imparted a similar set of capacities and skills, closely following the *Mesa*'s trainer's manual, which stated that to participate in processes of vigilance, it was important that citizens "...know their rights and responsibilities, demand that they are met, which we can only do if we are motivated and capacitated, if we are organized, plan our actions and take part in vigilance processes..." (*Mesa*, 2004e, p. 25). Specific skills to be conveyed included the ability and the responsibility to oversee and report; to have impeccable personal conduct, and a familiarity with the legal norms and commitments of particular projects and programs. Role play is used in the workshops to practice performing these skills, which are presented in a matter of fact way, as given rights and responsibilities; as the third section of the *Mesa* manual states "... we are citizens and in the exercise of our duties and rights are charged with: informing, being present, observing, carefully verifying, reporting and alerting..." (*Mesa*, 2004a, p. 46). Acquiring these skills and values is also conceptualized and conveyed in the training materials as inherently empowering:

The formation of vigilance committees should be framed within the principles and values which we have developed in the previous modules and above all with the capacity to conduct a different type of movement...creating A CULTURE OF

VIGILANCE....organizing to be vigilant is a form of citizen empowerment...
(*Transparencia*, 2004c, p. 4).

Empowerment is therefore expected to occur through vigilant citizens' efforts to make government transparent and accountable, and by demanding services responsive to citizens.

6.4 Practicing Vigilant Citizenship: Delineating the Field of Action

The manuals, texts, workshops and training technologies serve to standardize the way in which vigilance is to be practiced, through the formation of a formal vigilance group or committee. The manuals also provide detailed instructions and role play exercises on how the committee should operate, by first defining appropriate objectives, developing a workplan and evaluation process, as well providing the indicators and criteria for vigilance and reporting. The *Mesa* trainers' manuals and workshops, in specifying detailed directions on how to implement vigilant citizenship, structure the range of acceptable actions. The *Mesa* trainers' (and training) manuals specify that a vigilance committee needs to be formed, consisting, at a minimum, of a coordinator, a treasurer, someone responsible for organizing and systematizing the information generated through vigilance, and teams of vigilant citizens (*Mesa*, 2004b, p. 30). As a first step, the Committee needs to identify the objectives of vigilance actions: "*Que vamos a vigilar?*" Examples provided in the manual include actions to ensure the transparency of municipal government by ensuring that on-line public access to timely information on budgets and expenditures was available, or vigilance to ensure that specific local services and programs, from community kitchens to garbage collection, are operating as mandated.

In the 2008 Chorillos workshop, the potential vigilance actions proposed to the incipient committees were based directly on these examples. Potential vigilance activities included ensuring that: the municipality was adequately meeting its access to information obligations for budgets and expenditures; garbage collection in the district was meeting its service commitments; nutrition and poverty programs were reaching the poorest families in specific neighbourhoods; and whether the urban welfare projects under the *A Trabajar Urbano* program (later renamed to *Construyendo Perú*) were being implemented appropriately and meeting their objectives. The *Mesa* training manual emphasized that it was the vigilance committees' responsibility to be informed about existing commitments and services, for example, the access to information requirements of municipal government, garbage collection schedules and so forth. Once a target activity or project for vigilance was decided, a plan for vigilance was drawn up, outlining the specific steps to be undertaken by individual vigilance committee members. A template was given to participants for this, listing the problem and objectives of vigilance, and in the columns below, the specific steps to be taken, the tools or instruments to be used, the responsible team/committee members, and the resources required, in most cases this included money for transport and writing materials for example (see Fig. 13 below).

Figure 13. Sample vigilance plan (*Mesa*, 2004b, p. 53)

Problema detectado	La municipalidad ha autorizado el funcionamiento de centros de atención en lugares que no benefician a los más necesitados.				
Objeto de vigilancia	Verificación del proceso de admisión de centros de atención bajo criterios de focalización y participación.				
Objetivos de la vigilancia	Lograr que la Municipalidad incorpore criterios de participación y focalización en el proceso de admisión de los centros de atención.				
Actividades de vigilancia	Medios e instrumentos	Responsables	Metas	Recursos	Cronogramas
Mapeo de centros de atención	Ficha de mapeo	Equipo de mapeo	Mapeo de zonas	Pasajes	X X X
Observación de funcionamiento de centros de atención	Guía de observación	Equipo de observaciones	5 centros observados	Pasajes Materiales	X X
Solicitud de padrones de beneficiarios	Solicitud	Responsables de información	1 solicitud	Pago de trámite	X
Entrevista a miembros del comité de gestión	Cuestionario	Equipo de entrevistadores	3 entrevistas	Pasajes Materiales	X X X
Elaboración y difusión de reportes	Radio local Reportes	Responsables de información	1 difusión radial 1000 reportes		X

The tools to be used ranged from district maps, observation guides, and letter of notice or solicitation to public authorities, to questionnaires and formal access to information requests. Specific outcomes for each activity are specified, for example, how many observation period, questionnaires and interviews are expected to be carried out as part of the vigilance process. During the workshops, exercises were undertaken with participants to reinforce these steps, and participants were asked to identify potential local programs or projects to oversee (be vigilant over). Several mock vigilance scenarios were rehearsed and by the end of the session, a *Comité de Vigilancia* had been formed, as well as a draft plan of oversight, with each of the members committed to spending two to three hours per week to vigilance activities, mostly at the sub-district level.

The manual set out details of the type of information that would need to be obtained, and additional guidelines for citizen conduct during implementation, specifying that for a given project (for example oversight of workfare projects under *A Trabajar Urbano*) vigilant citizens must:

- Know the number of beneficiaries and/or participants in each project they are to oversee, and the amount allocated to materials, tools etc. required by the project;
- Verify the number of beneficiaries and /or participants in the project, their conditions (level of poverty) and compensation provided;
- Ensure that those implementing the project (directors, bureaucrats, authorities etc.) do not use the program for political or personal gain;
- Propose and suggest alternative solutions for each problem encountered. Ensure reports are credible and substantiate any irregularities or poor management practices;
- Know about and verify the support of organizations and institutions committed to sustaining the project or program, to ensure objectives are realized; and
- Provide a weekly report on your work to the Conal Vigilance Committee.

(Adapted from the *Mesa* Manual, 2004a, p. 53)

The same type of managerial oversight was also turned inwards. As a final step, the vigilant citizen and vigilance committee is also exhorted to apply the same instruments and technologies of accountability to assess their own practice. Most of the manuals included a chapter on ‘evaluating vigilance actions,’ specifying the aspects of vigilance to be evaluated, and according to which criteria, including the committee’s planning process, how information was managed and collected, the nature of the interactions with authorities and services providers and the overall benefits realized. This self-evaluation is depicted in the image below from the FSP Manual: *Vigilando ejercemos nuestros derechos*, (2005) – notably one of the outcomes is “feeling more like a citizen,” reinforcing the equation of vigilance with good citizenship.



Figure 14. “We feel more like citizens” - Captions paraphrased from left to right

“we have strengthened our organization”; “we have succeeded in getting the municipality to collect garbage on time”; our district looks cleaner and our children can play in the streets”; “we have learned to be more democratic”; and “we feel more like citizens”). (FSP, 2005, p. 36).

These various steps, measures and templates promoted through training serve to structure the possible actions that can be taken, the types of questions and information to be generated and how this is to be reported and evaluated. These training texts and tools thus embody and operationalize what it means to practice ‘good citizenship’ in this context. They thus function as what Dunn (2005) referred to (in reference to EU standards for slaughtering meat), as “fact factories” - “...not only do they impart knowledge about how things should be made, but also, by specifying particular forms of data collection, recording, and analysis, they act as engines for generating knowledge about products, processes and people...” (p. 184).

Concomitantly, in specifying certain practices, measures, and types of information to be generated, other questions are silenced, for example questions related to the conditionalities of social programs, the wages of workfare participants, the scope of redistribution mechanisms and funding of food programs and other services. This does not preclude these questions being asked through other means and spaces, however they are outside the scope of ‘good’ citizenship in this context. Training programs for vigilant citizenship thus reinforce the particular problematic of social accountability and the discourse of individualization and citizen responsibility for active and continual vigilance of the specific types of information deemed as relevant within this framework.

By 2006-2007, more than 500 people were estimated to have received training for vigilance activities in from the *Mesa* in Metropolitan Lima (*Mesa*, 2007). There was variation in the size and composition of vigilance committees at district/sub-district levels, while a minimum of four vigilant citizens was required to form a committee, some districts had committees with as many as 40 participants (Espinoza, 2007). *Mesa* vigilance activities in the early period of implementation were specifically oriented to overseeing two programs that were paradoxically themselves emblematic of the shift towards individualized risk management and new responsibilities for direct citizen participation as a technical/consulting process – the urban workfare program *A Trabajar Urbano* (or *Construyendo Perú*) and the mandatory participatory budget process (*Presupuesto Participativo*).

A Trabajar Urbano, a workfare program for urban employment, was created in 2001, and implemented in 2002. Its aim was to provide short term employment in public works projects for the urban poor, paying a monthly wage of about 300 Sols (or about

CAD\$114). Projects to be funded were selected through a competition, decided locally; they had to be labour-intensive, with labour costs making up at least 75% of the total project costs, and tended to be small-scale construction projects such as the building of retention walls, walkways and parks. By 2006 *A Trabajar Urbano* programs were operating in 504 districts. In 2006 the program was renewed as *Construyendo Perú*, and between 2006-2010, ninety-one districts in the Department of Lima participated in the program, with over 3,000 projects completed according to the Ministry of Employment (*Construyendo Perú* website, 07/02/2011).

The structure of the *A Trabajar Urbano* program and specifically the project selection process was explicitly designed to promote local participation via Inter-Institutional Committees (*Comités Inter-institucionales*) set up to evaluate projects vis-à-vis local plans and priorities. These committees created a space within which the *Mesa* could implement citizen vigilance initiatives. The *Mesa* had signed an agreement with the Ministry of Labour on how citizen vigilance of its programs would be implemented. The key role of the *Mesa* in this context was to provide training and capacitation for vigilance, technical assistance, and spaces for dialogue between state and non-state organizations. A format for vigilance (“*Formato de Vigilancia*”) was formally elaborated by the Lima *Mesa* and the Ministry, the agreed upon aspects of the program to be subject to vigilance were political neutrality, budgets, and achievement of objectives – and indicators of each were developed to assess political neutrality, including in selecting workfare participants, ensuring participants had access to health insurance, that costs were kept in line with budgets, and that workers were treated fairly (see Appendix 1).

The mandate of the *Mesa*'s Vigilance Committee in this context was to inform public officials of irregularities encountered in the implementation of *A Trabajar Urbano* projects. If the authorities ignored these complaints, the Committee would inform the general public. The Committee was required to provide a monthly report on the projects underway, and problems encountered that month. To do this, a Vigilance Committee was to be established in each conal *Mesa* and assigned the projects to oversee by the *Mesa Metropolitana*, which were then distributed to the respective conal and then district committees. Problems uncovered as a result of citizen vigilance were reported to the supervisor of the *A Trabajar Urbano* program. Based on some of the early vigilance reports submitted to the *Mesa*, vigilance activities generated information on whether the specified steps required by *A Trabajar Urbano* projects were met. These included making public the project budget; holding the required public meetings; appropriate selection and fair treatment of participants; meeting project timelines; proper charges or expenditures, and whether projects had been completed. The Vigilance Committees were given a standardized format to assess of each of these criteria, based on a symbol-based scale ranging from 'very good' to 'irregularities' or 'not reported'. Some of the common observations made by Vigilance Committees related to the lack of appropriate equipment for the construction workers, poor site maintenance (such as litter), or that the project was or was not going according to planned timelines. Other problems identified included that of 'participant impersonation' were also identified, whereby a family member was given work under the program; or that the project budget was not made available to the public (*Mesa*, 2007). Collectively, vigilance was oriented towards verifying that the program was meeting its own mandate and following its own rules and operational procedures.

As noted above, the *A Trabajar Urbano* program was itself embedded in a particular logic of active citizenship. Benefits were not given as social entitlements but as a way to conditionally reform individuals' work habits and instill the responsible form of conduct associated with the active citizen defined in terms of self-reliance in this context, as one who manages their own 'risks' (see Rose 1999). This was evident, for example, in a 2003 evaluation of the *A Trabajar Urbano* program undertaken by the Ministry of Economy and Finance that explicitly referred to the program as promoting the capacity of participants to manage social risks, including employment (Chalcaltana, 2003, p. 5). The self-evident need for ongoing oversight of the implementation of programs thus articulated two related narratives—of individualized responsibility for managing one's own social and economic risks, in this case a lack of income, as well as new citizen responsibilities to mitigate the risk of poor governance of these programs, defined in terms of transparency and efficiency, through direct oversight. This creates a mutually reinforcing story-cycle, for example the failure of welfare programs to redress chronic or worsening poverty and unemployment becomes attributed to the failure of citizens not only to accumulate assets but to directly ensure accountability and good performance. This is reproduced through the prescribed vigilance activities, bounded by the agreed upon parameters limited to whether the project fulfilled its commitments within prescribed budgets and timelines, limiting the possibility of posing questions about the merits of the approach in addressing problems of poverty and unemployment.

This was also the case for citizen vigilance of participatory budget processes, the second area to which the *Mesa* oriented its initial vigilance activities in Metropolitan Lima. Mandatory participatory budgeting at national, regional and local levels was also

part of the bundle of legal reforms promoting direct forms of citizen participation post-2000, established through the 2003 Framework Law for Participatory Budgeting (28056).

There is a vast literature on participatory budgeting processes in Latin America which I do not review here, including its promotion across the political ideological spectrum.¹⁰

Unlike many of the participatory budgeting processes implemented elsewhere, the Peruvian process was distinct in that it was nationally mandated and entrenched in law.

As with other mechanisms for direct citizen participation, participatory budgeting was conceptualized as a way to simultaneously empower citizens and redress problems of accountability and performance in public administration. As Horjik (2009, p. 44) suggests, in explaining the participatory budgeting process in Peru, “...[o]rdinary citizens...have to be knowledgeable about the rules of the game and the basic principles of project budgeting. They have to be capable and willing to negotiate over these budgets among themselves and vis-à-vis government...[participatory budgeting] has the potential to strengthen citizens’ agency...when his/her capabilities are enhanced...Through public deliberation and the transfer of real decision-making power to ordinary citizens, their capabilities are extended from vote to voice...” considered to have a “transform citizens:...giv[ing] ordinary people the capability of voice...” (p. 44). Similarly Wampler (2007), in his Guide to Participatory Budgeting published by the World Bank, asserts that it creates opportunities for “engaging, educating, and empowering citizens” in addition to promoting transparency and limiting inefficiency and corruption and improving state

¹⁰ The virtues of performance, accountability, and active participation are espoused by radicals and conservatives alike (including, for example, in participatory budgeting processes such as that of Porto Alegre)--Dagnino (2007) writes on this convergence. As Rose (1996) suggests “[t]he ethical *a priori* of active citizenship....is perhaps the most fundamental, and most generalizable, characteristic of these new rationalities of government, and one that justifies the assertion that what we are seeing here is not merely the vicissitudes of a single political ideology—that of neoliberal conservatism—but something with a more general salience, which underpins mentalities of government from all parts of the political spectrum...” (p. 60).

performance (p. 21). In this Guide, participatory budgeting is directly referred to as a “citizenship school” “...as engagement empowers citizens to better understand their rights and duties as citizens as well as the responsibilities of government...” (Wampler, 2007, p. 22). (Of course, the particular aims and impacts of participatory budgeting processes are varied; see Salinas Lanao (2007) and Hordijk (2005) for detailed analyses of the mixed impacts of specific participatory budget processes in Peru; and Cameron (2009) in the Andean region. Also see Monge (2006);¹¹ Grompone (2005) and Remy (2005) for analysis of some of the challenges faced in implementing participatory budgets in Peru).

Peru’s Law on Participatory Budgeting defines the participatory budget process as a way to ensure the fair, rational, efficient and transparent allocation of public resources (Article 3). The Ministry of Economy and Finance publishes annual guidelines on how to implement the participatory budget process, including how to identify participants, training and workshops, technical evaluations, confirmation of agreements and subsequent accountability and vigilance measures. Citizen vigilance is a mandated part of the participatory budget process, done in conjunction with the local and regional Coordinating Councils, tasked with ensuring that participatory budgeting takes place, and that budget commitments are subsequently implemented, although its responsibilities and composition are not precisely defined (Ministry of Economy and Finance, 2007).

¹¹ Monge (2006) highlights general problems of underrepresentation of certain sectors in processes of participation; the persistent primacy of a logic of protest and confrontation and negotiation versus consensus-building; however he is optimistic about the potential of these mechanisms to ultimately increase participation and thereby strengthen representative democracy. This view that participatory processes are compatible with representative democracy puts him at odds with those who consider them to have contradictory effects (see Tanaka, 2005). There is a growing body of critical analyses of all of these mechanisms, highlighting problems of resistance to perceived encroachment, low levels of interest and engagement, limited access to participate (and concomitant overrepresentation of some groups etc. (see also Cotlear, 2006; Reuben and Belsky, 2006).

(Although not addressed in detail here, participating in the participatory budget process itself requires new sets of skills and training, related to reading budgets and the ability to engage in structured debate and negotiating).

Consistent with vigilance training for other projects, the *Mesa* training programs for oversight of participatory budget processes aimed to provide citizens with the tools to understand how the participatory budget process was intended to unfold, and undertake vigilance to ensure that citizens had access to the necessary budgetary information required for participation, and monitor the implementation and expenditure of the commitments made (*Mesa*, 2004b; 2000e). Similar to oversight of workfare projects, the practice of vigilance of participatory budgets was limited to oversight of its implementation on its own terms, potentially displacing or contributing to a delegitimizing of alternate lines of questioning and forms of contestation, for example about overall allocation and redistribution of resources and the wider political-economic structures.

6.5 Reflections on Chapter Six

The citizen produced through these vigilance training programs is constituted as a particular type of responsible moral agent, charged with ongoing oversight to ensure good governance, defined by taken-for-granted measures of performance such as efficiency and transparency. Their failure to act as ‘good citizens’ in prescribed ways, and mitigate the risk posed by the state is constituted as a causal factor in the currently conceived crisis of governability. Good citizen vigilance entails ordered relations with authorities; empowerment is a concomitant end and outcome, achieved through the prescribed forms of intervention that preclude, in this sphere, more radical challenges to the economic or

political order. Vigilant citizenship thus helps normalize a particular problem-solution of development, centered on accountability. However, the impacts and effects of programs are never determinate, nor do they necessarily conform to plans. The implementation of many of the vigilance training programs discussed was still incipient or in early stages, and the varied effects of practicing citizen vigilance in Peru is beyond the scope of the present research. Nevertheless, early analyses of some of the programs provide some insights into the challenges, incoherencies, and contradictions that emerged.

Instabilities and contradictions

Early evaluations of vigilance activities promoted by the *Mesa* showed variation in impacts across districts and regions, but also some consistent challenges in implementing vigilance activities. Broadly, these ranged from a lack of financial resources to enable the vigilant citizen to travel to the site where vigilance activities were to be implemented (most often bus fare); a lack of information provided by municipal and/or program authorities; little attention to the recommendations proposed by vigilance committees; a lack of capacity and clarity in the responsibilities of vigilance and requirements for reporting; and a lack of organization and time to undertake vigilance (*Mesa*, 2007; Gutierrez, 2004; Espinoza, 2007).

These problems not only reflected practical challenges, but also instabilities in the narrative of ‘good citizenship.’ Vigilance was constituted as a right/responsibility of all citizens, however evaluations noted that undertaking vigilance was challenging from conditions of poverty, given the costs of transport and limited time. This was reflected in the composition of participants in vigilance committees, who according to a 2007 *Mesa* evaluation, were disproportionately not formally employed, either retired or working

from home or part time, although those that had the time did not necessarily have the resources necessary for transportation, telephone calls or internet access for example (see Espinoza, 2007). It was also noted that participants tended to have been part of other organizations previously—women’s groups, citizen security groups, cultural and social groups and neighbourhood organizations, reflecting the redirection of people’s existing repertoires of actions towards different ends. In some cases, the relatively high turnover of membership in vigilance committees was largely attributed to these time commitments and economic costs. These problems points to a disruption in the narrative that ‘social risks’ such as poverty and poor services can be redressed by enabling individual citizens to assert their right/responsibility and ‘client-power’ to provide accountability and actively demand service delivery. The very conditions of poverty that limit time and the availability of resources to be used for more than meeting basic needs, constrain the ability of individuals to perform ‘good citizenship’ in this context.

A second disruption in the narrative of ‘good citizenship’ was evident in initial evaluations that showed that vigilance was not always orderly and collaborative, as envisaged. Evaluations pointed to non-cooperative, conflictive relations with local authorities particularly vis-à-vis accessing requested information or in following up on recommendations or findings from the oversight process (Espinoza, 2007). There was also some frustration expressed by vigilance committees about the lack of cooperation from local authorities in the vigilance activities related to participatory budgets processes, in which some participants cited belligerence and/or disinterest on the part of authorities (Espinoza, 2007). Conflict was also identified as resulting from the vigilance process itself, as vigilant citizens reported problems, which in turn in some cases led to

confrontation with the managers of the respective program, challenging the view that a shift from ‘shouting to counting’ would lead to more collaborative relations between citizens and public officials.

The lack of follow-up and ongoing support for vigilance activities following the initial training was also cited as problematic in some cases, in addition to constraints on accessing the necessary budgetary and project information required to perform vigilance. In many cases, access to information was contingent on access to the telecommunications services, including the internet and ‘web portals.’ However, access to these in Peru is still relatively low, even by regional standards. The World Bank report on *An Opportunity for a Different Peru* (2007) found that there were only as estimated 7.6 fixed telephone lines and 8.6 cell phone lines for every 100 inhabitants (although this was somewhat higher in Lima—13.8 and 23.3 lines respectively), and that for every 10,000 inhabitants there were only 56 internet users (pp. 756-757).

Despite the standardization across most training texts and tools, early evaluations found that slightly different conceptions of vigilant citizenship were conveyed between training workshops run in different districts of Lima. For example, a member of the vigilant committee created in 2006 in the district of Villa El Salvador explained that vigilant citizenship was about making local government fulfill its commitments, whereas for a member in the district of Comas, it was about the right and responsibility of citizens to control public resources (Espinoza, 2007, p. 72). An evaluation of vigilance of participatory budget processes by the *Mesa* found that there were also some differences in interpretations of what vigilance entailed. For example, interviews with members of different vigilance committees showed that some perceived it as being about denouncing

authorities for the mismanagement of funds, rather than, as one *Mesa* Committee member put it, “accepting that vigilance is something constructive...” (quoted in Espinoza, 2007, p. 34). Some participants also came to the training workshops with the erroneous impression that it would be paid work, rather than voluntary. While these differences may be relatively minimal, and do not challenge the political imaginary or parameters of the social accountability problematic, they do point to unscripted spaces of re-interpretation, between facilitator and participant, where inconsistencies and reversals may occur.

Silences and visibilities

Cartoon images of citizens practicing vigilance permeate the manuals and texts, showing the attitudes, comportment and conduct of ‘good vigilant citizens’ in a variety of settings—engaging cooperatively with authorities, in organizing a vigilance committee, monitoring and evaluating local services and budget expenditures. The images in these text are not just representative, but normalize particular ideas about who Peruvians are, what they should look like, and what they should be doing. The language deployed in these training materials does not differentiate between citizens in terms of race, culture or class; the assumption is that all Peruvian citizens have the immanent capacity, right and responsibility to practise vigilant citizenship. However, racial-cultural distinctions are nevertheless coded in the images of ‘citizens practicing vigilance’ interspersed throughout a majority of materials, notably in citizens’ clothing.

Clothing has historically operated as a marker of race, class and status as a citizen in Peru (De la Cadena, 2000). Most of the images in different manuals, (see examples in Fig. 15 below) show a ‘mix’ of vigilant Peruvian citizens, including people in typical Indigenous clothing, including women wearing ‘*mantas*’ (square woven cloths around the

back and shoulders), ‘*polleras*’ (wide, often layered skirts) and ‘*monteras*,’ traditional hats with styles varying from region to region. Similarly, some of the men are wearing ponchos, and many of the men and women are wearing typical rubber sandals (‘*hojotas*’).

Figure 15. – Performing vigilant citizenship



(Mesa, 2004b, p. 11)

(Mesa, 2004b, p. 48)



(Mesa, 2004b, p. 34)

As has been suggested in other chapters, the Peruvian citizen has been contingently constituted in relation to ‘the Indian’ based on varying moral, racial, cultural and spatial narratives. Indigenous clothing is intimately intertwined with these narratives, alternately denoting a ‘lack’ of civilization and ‘fitness’ for citizenship or representing a link with a revalorized cultural heritage. Related to this, the discarding of ‘typical’ clothing in the movement of Indigenous populations from ‘natural’ spaces in the highlands to cities is also contingently depicted as part of a processes of modernization and/or degeneration, as described by Arguedas in Chapter One.

In this case, the images in the training texts seem to project the possibility of being both a ‘good citizen’ *and* Indigenous, defined culturally (for e.g. through markers of clothing), disassociated from other (social hierarchical markers) such as literacy, education, and income, or association with a particular space (i.e. the highlands). This can be linked to what De la Cadena (2000) describes as the process of de-Indianization as a “struggle against the wretchedness implicit in the dominant definition of Indianess” (p. 320), through the rejection of ‘the Indian’ as a social condition (of incivility, illiteracy, misery), combined with recognition and celebration of some elements of Indigenous culture – i.e. Indianess is distinguished from Indigenous culture, with the latter performed through traditional celebrations, rituals and clothing, thus simultaneously reproducing and contesting racial hierarchies. García (2005) has also suggested that the promotion of inter-culturalism, notably through bilingual education more widely promoted (and resisted) through the 1990s and 2000s also integrates an idea of national citizenship in

which it is possible to be both Indigenous (Quechua) and Peruvian.¹² Nevertheless, irrespective of inclusive, inter-cultural imagery, the capacities and skills required to practice vigilance, including the ability to understand budgets, access information, write reports, and engage with officials, seems to implicitly restrict the practice of ‘good citizenship’ to those with sufficient education, favouring economically better off, urban populations.

These questions do not somehow relegate narratives of ‘vigilant citizenship’ to a façade or cover-up for ‘true’ interests. Vigilant citizenship is a practice of government that seeks to shape individual conduct and set the boundaries of appropriate forms of engagement with the state. With the aiming of making ‘better’ citizens, training programs for citizen vigilance are part of a longer history in which education and training are deployed as tools for nation-building and development, imbued with the potential of changing “the Peruvian mentality” (see De la Cadena, 2005, pp. 276-278). In its orientation to ensuring ‘good performance,’ defined in terms of transparency, accountability and efficiency, it extends a neoliberal logic of government, operating through a diversity of technologies encompassing programs for training and capacitation, a variety of laws, and hundreds of new spaces and structures at national, regional and local levels in Peru. One of its effects is to legitimate, as well as orient resources and energies towards a fairly narrow range of actions—the oversight of budget and program commitments, precluding alternate questions and forms of contestation. However, like all strategies government, not only will vigilant citizen programs, in their implementation, ‘congenitally fail’ (Miller and Rose, 1992), but they will also give rise unpredicted

¹² For a broader discussion of images and racial discourse, see Poole’s excellent book, *Vision, Race and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (1997), which looks at the European-Andean encounter through visual images taken of Peruvians from the late 19th century to the 1920s.

disruptions that may transform their original intent. Moreover, vigilant citizenship is one among an array of activities unfolding in Peru, ranging from labour strikes, to popular movements, and protests. These points are reflected on in the final chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FINAL REFLECTIONS

My aim in this project was to show how ‘the citizen’ and citizenship have been imagined, invoked, and reformed in different ways in the context of changing problems of government and ideas about development and progress. Using the analytical tools offered by governmentality, I focused on specific programs and related technologies through which these were operationalized, as well as the knowledge and assumptions that made them intelligible. Rather than offer causal explanations, evaluations of current programs, or policy prescriptions, I juxtaposed different narratives of the Peruvian citizen in order to illuminate how this has been reconfigured at different points in time in 20th and 21st century Peru. I do not suggest that these varied strategies and programs of reform automatically or exhaustively determine subjectivities but focus on the ‘subject-effects’ they aim to bring about – specifically the shifts in attitudes, capacities and comportment. A primary contribution of this type of analysis is to ‘denaturalize’ and contextualize present day practices of citizenship, specifically vigilant citizenship. This is relevant given the widespread consensus on the merits of direct forms of citizen oversight, evident in the expanding number of programs put in place to foster it, and the lack of critical attention it has received to date.

As I have tried to show, through the first decades of the twentieth century, the question of citizenship and ‘the Peruvian citizen’ was in large part understood as a problem of moral-racial integration, requiring the reform of Indigenous populations to render them ‘fit’ for national integration. This particular narrative and practice of ‘good citizenship’ was evident in, and produced through, various technologies ranging from

census campaign materials, to new institutions, as well as programs to improve the hygiene and provide cultural education, for example. The problem of national integration and efforts of reform were based upon changing ideas about the potential for racial improvement that were prevalent in the region at that time. These combined neo-Lamarckian notions of inheritance (the potential for racial and cultural improvement through changes to way in which people lived) with emerging sanitation sciences, providing a counter-narrative to concerns about racial degeneracy (Stepan, 1991). In Peru, these were refracted in part through the lens of *Indigenismo* that was particular to Peru, circulated in large part through the work of academics at the University in Cuzco, and which gained currency in the context of regionalist politics. Unlike other countries in the region, *Indigenismo* constituted indigenous people as the ‘true Peruvians,’ the foundation upon which the Peruvian nation was to be built, but requiring cultural improvement to overcome the presumed ‘degeneracy’ resulting from colonialism (De la Cadena, 1998a). While the everyday living conditions of indigenous populations were not markedly improved as a result, this problematic nevertheless had important effects, in its operationalization through a range of new institutions, laws and reform programs which embodied this particular conception of the ‘good Peruvian citizen.’ The programs of reform in this period relied upon on a particular type of expertise and form of tutelage that combined projects of moral/cultural reform through education with new practices of hygiene. This was exemplified in the state and non-state ‘Brigades,’ which explicitly linked the various improvements of indigenous populations with national progress.

These programs of reform contrast with the ways in which citizens were mobilized in the second part of the twentieth century, specifically under military rule in

the late 1960s and 1970s, as questions of progress and integration were reconfigured as a problem of economic development. This different problematic was traced through the reorientation of official discourse and programs away from moral and racial improvement towards the promotion of citizens-workers and ‘peasants’ involvement in the means of production, through land reform and a restructuring of industrial sectors. New programs, such as SINAMOS, were implemented to instill in individuals the capacities required for these new roles. In this context, the problems of development were predominantly approached as questions of structural reforms that could foster economic modernization. This reform agenda and the knowledges upon which it was based were not entirely new. As noted, economic reform, including land redistribution, had long been advocated by leftist thinkers in Peru including Mariátegui, and the turn towards technical expertise can be traced to the influence of late 19th and early 20th century positivism (see Baud, 1998). However, in Peru, these came to systematically inform government policies and programs for economic reform in the 1960s and 1970s, which entailed a particular form of active citizen engagement in the means of production. In contrast to the influence of the public health official and/or moral-religious teacher in the early part of the century, it was the expertise of technical planners that was valued in this context, embodied in the economist, heavily informed by the emerging sub-discipline of development economics. This was promoted through institutions such as ECLA that helped establish national planning agencies and provide technical training, including in Peru. In addition to drawing upon the expertise of regional and international consultants, planning expertise in Peru was developed and dispersed through the military apparatus, notably the military

training school CAEM, where shifts in curriculum reflected and helped normalized this particular development problematic.

The latter chapters of the dissertation juxtaposed this with the different ways in which ‘good citizenship’ was imagined and practiced in the late 20th and 21st century in Peru, centered on the responsibilization of individuals to manage various ‘risks’. This was traced through programs for conditional cash transfers and citizen vigilance or oversight of government budgets and services, which I suggest share a strong ‘family resemblance’ with neoliberal governmental strategies, but also re-articulate longer standing practices of moral regulation, and novel combinations of disciplinary and coercive tactics. This hybridity was particularly evident in strategies for addressing poverty through conditional cash transfers, targeted at those considered to lack the capacity to independently ‘accumulate assets.’ Receiving cash transfers is contingent on changes in specific behaviours and attitudes of recipients, considered to be emblematic of responsible citizenship, articulated through persistent civilizational narratives.

In the final chapters, I suggest that the responsibility of citizens to mitigate risks has been extended to additional spheres through new practices to ensure accountability. This entails novel responsibilities and practices of citizenship, whereby the vigilant citizen is exhorted to undertake direct, managerialist forms of oversight of government budgets and services. Risk in this context is located within the mechanisms of the state itself. In this context, practices of citizen vigilance become an important means to ensure that the state fulfills budget commitments and that services are delivered to set standards. Programs for producing vigilant citizens help normalize and operationalize this set of novel citizen rights and responsibilities, as well as related metrics of performance

management and a development problematic centered on social accountability. Practices of vigilance are also conceived of as a means and ends of citizen empowerment. My focus, in the present research, was not on whether these programs met their objectives, but rather on the new capacities required of citizens in order to fulfill this particular role. For this reason, I focused on the training programs and associated materials, implemented by a mix of state and non-state agencies and organizations, with support from international aid organizations. I argue that these training programs and manuals contribute to the constitution of vigilant citizenship as new terrain of improvement and reform. In this context, it is the facilitator who is relied upon to provide a specific type of expertise premised notions of self-help, using techniques oriented to fostering and enabling the conditions and immanent capacity of individuals to assume these new responsibilities. The facilitator is not a neutral agent, but contributes to normalizing this problematic whereby the citizen is constituted as autonomous (moral) authority, yet requiring new skills, habits and attitudes in order to enact this. The facilitator in this context, unlike the Brigades missionaries and technical experts, seek to foster or rather than impose change, helping participants better understand and help themselves to become responsible citizens, fostering immanent qualities, behaviours and the capacity to enact certain rights and responsibilities.

The problem of social accountability and practice of vigilant citizenship are located within circumstances particular to Peru. These include recent experiences with authoritarian government and extensive corruption of the Fujimori regime in the 1990s, the widespread mobilization against it, as well as longer standing distrust of traditional mechanisms of representation. Moreover, the institutions and laws created post-2000 as

part of the National Plan structured the way in which citizen oversight has been operationalized. Vigilant citizenship operates through a diversity of technologies encompassing programs for training and capacitation, a variety of laws, literally hundreds of new spaces and structures at national, regional and local levels in Peru. In these and other respects, vigilant citizenship in Peru cannot be reduced to a larger singular (externally imposed) project extending through the region. Nor, however, can it be understood as just a ‘natural’ or obvious response to Peruvian politics, in isolation from the broader arrangement of institutions, actors, and technologies constitutive of the social accountability problematic that extends across borders, or related practices of citizenship with which they intersect.

The focus of latter part of the dissertation was on showing how technologies for citizen vigilance inscribe and legitimate specific conceptions of ‘empowerment’ and mode of critiquing and interacting with state institutions, the latter made visible in ways amenable to specific performance measures of transparency and efficiency. In undertaking and implementing their rights and responsibilities of vigilance, individuals are thus implicated in what I have suggested is, at least in part, a particular neoliberal strategy of government.¹ However, showing the persistence of, and links between, a neoliberal rationality in these specific programs does not imply that this is an all encompassing logic, or that it operates in coherent ways. As O’Malley (2009) put it, neoliberal regimes are “multitudinous and multifarious, with varying degrees of authorisation and regional or temporal identity and character” (p. 6). Some of these

¹ This idea, that people can become implicated in particular strategies of government ‘at the level of practice’ is developed by Walters (2012, p. 64). He makes the point that this does not necessarily entail an ideological shift, but that people can become “...implicated in neoliberal strategies at the level of practices, routines, habits and little technologies; that is their very ubiquity, banality, and embedding in mundane material objects and arrangements that is the key thing here...” (p. 64).

limitations, as well as contributions of the approach taken, are discussed in the next section.

Multiplicities, limits, and future directions

There are still relatively few analyses of either earlier or present-day politics in Peru or Latin America more generally that use the tools offered by governmentality. For this reason, it is worth reflecting on some of the advantages and limitations of this approach. Broadly, I have found the analytical tools associated with governmentality provide a way to raise a different set of questions (not necessarily better or worse) than other approaches. In particular, they offer a way to understand *how* the activities and problems of government, as well as efforts to resolve them have, as Burchell et. al. (1991) put it, been made ‘thinkable’ and ‘practicable’ (p. ix). These questions are distinct from those raised in many prevailing debates in political science on the region that tend to assume a clear separation of distinct spheres of the state, market and civil society, and start from classic frameworks of democratization, authoritarianism, cooptation, and incorporation for example. Leading Peruvian historian, Paulo Drinot (2011a), affirms this point in his analysis of labour in the first part of the 20th century. In a recent turn to this approach, he states that governmentality provides a useful analytical framework for “moving beyond the cooptation or incorporation paradigm. From the perspective of governmentality...state agencies...are neither mechanisms of cooptation nor simple expressions of autonomous bureaucratic rationalities or elite interests. Instead, from the perspective of governmentality, the agencies, and the state they constituted, are best understood as elements in, or dimensions of, a project of rule, or governmental aspiration, invested by a broad range of social actors.... .” (p. 9).

The dissertation also raised somewhat different questions about persistent issues of citizenship and national integration with respect to Peru, that continue to be framed in terms of absences and exclusion, democratic deficits, and state failure. In his recent edited collection on *Fractured Politics* (2011) in Peru, Crabtree suggests that debates on politics in Peru continue to focus on the failure to integrate as a nation and the ‘poor quality’ of democracy. ‘Fractured politics’ and the failure to integrate citizens into the Peruvian nation is largely attributed to the persistence of elite politics, clientelism and the failure of efforts through the century to integrate citizens and realize radical socio-economic and state reforms (Crabtree, 2011). Despite the view that there has been progress post-2000, seen in the transition to democracy, the orientation towards accountability and citizen participation, as well as sustained economic growth, Cotler (2011) in the same edited collection, also maintains that “the ‘national’ question in Peru has yet to be resolved” (p. 65). Similarly, Cameron (2011) suggests that “[t]he need for integration and, in particular, for the inclusion of the majority of the country in the life of the republic, is the dominant theme of 20th-century Peruvian politics” (p. 30). Citizenship in these debates is discussed and defined largely in terms of absences, as a legal status and associated set of rights. These are of course important questions. There are very good reasons for Peruvians to have little faith in the trustworthiness of political officials and state institutions, particularly in light of their recent political history. Moreover, despite high rates of economic growth, about one third of Peruvians live in poverty and there are still many in Peru who lack birth certificates (i.e. proof of citizenship) required in order to access basic services, the right to vote etc. (World Bank, 2012). Levels of social protection and access to social services remain very low in Peru in comparison to

elsewhere in the region; for example, only 45% of the poor having access to water and sanitation services (World Bank, 2012, p. 12). Tackling poverty, increasing access to social services, and ensuring legal documentation are very important challenges in Peru.

Without detracting from these challenges, however, it is nevertheless relevant to ask different types of questions about how these problems are defined and understood, and the assumptions that underpin the strategies that are being pursued in order to resolve them. Despite the failures and absences highlighted by Crabtree and others, there are a multitude of policies, programs underway in Peru, including programs for citizen oversight, seeking to address specific problems. In this case, rather than asking about whether citizen vigilance is effective in keeping state budgets on track and improving services, I ask how programs, tools and techniques to train vigilant citizens are constitutive of a particular way of problematizing social development, and more specifically, how the citizenship is reconfigured in this context, the new capacities, actions and attitudes entailed. To show how this particular practice of citizenship is not an obvious, natural or only solution, I have juxtaposed it with other ways in which questions of citizenship, integration, progress, and development in Peru have been understood and acted on by authorities in very different ways over the past century.

In providing a way to ‘de-familiarize,’ I consider the tools of governmentality to offer a particularly useful way to illuminate those things that tend to be taken for granted, which are not being called into question or explicitly targeted as a point of contestation. This possibility, of providing a way to question those things that are, more or less, taken for granted, seems to be a key advantage of this approach. I thus suggest that the extension of analytical tools offered by governmentality studies is a fruitful line of

inquiry that can potentially enrich and expand current debates and bodies of analysis. As noted, despite criticisms, this approach does not necessarily downplay or neglect agency and resistance, but instead can show how these are shaped by, and potentially transformative of, specific ways in which shifting problems of government and development are conceptualized as well as their associated solutions. This does not detract from the innovative and often very effective forms of contestation and resistance that are ongoing (on which there is a rich body of literature), but instead suggests that these do not transcend time and place or embody unchanging ideas about what is being resisted, or on what grounds.

Despite these advantages it is nonetheless important, as Walters (2012) suggests, to not overvalue governmentality or use it to affirm conclusions *a priori*. A focus on neoliberal governmental strategies alone risks succumbing to an implicit inevitability and undermines the advantage of governmentality as a critical tool which works best, as Osborne (2004) suggests, by showing the provisionality of particular arrangements. More recent efforts to promote attention to the novelty and hybridity of governmental strategies (see Barnett, 2010; Valverde, 1996; Walters, 2012, for example) provide insights in this regard.²

I suggest that a limitation of the present research is that, in focusing on how various governmental programs of reform sought to realize specific ends, I paid less attention to their unpredictable effects or the ways in which they are being potentially reworked and resisted. Not only do practices of vigilant citizenship exceed the parameters envisaged by the programs, they by no means exhausts the multiple ways in which

² I also take seriously Ferguson's (2009) related point that one must be wary of inevitably assuming that neoliberalism, where identified, is necessarily bad or must be opposed.

citizenship is articulated or contested in Peru. While some of the contradictions and variances were hinted at in each chapter, they were not fully explored. This was in part due to the relative newness of citizen vigilance programs at the time of the research, but also due to the focus on official discourses at different points in time, rather than in-depth, ethnographic research on the effects of a particular configuration. The disruptions and contradictions that emerge as programs for vigilant citizenship are implemented over time will undoubtedly be a fruitful area for future research. I look forward to exploring in more detail how specific initiatives for citizen vigilance are being implemented, and their intended and unintended effects, and how this particular narrative of good citizenship is being reworked and reoriented in unexpected ways.

Attesting to the failure of government efforts to succeed in efforts to sustain social order and shape citizen behaviour in desired ways, social conflicts continue to define the political landscape in Peru. Peru's *Defensoría del Pueblo* (Ombudsman's Office), reported that between January 2006 and September 2011 they had identified 540 social conflicts, with an estimated 195 people killed and 2,3012 injured as a result (*Defensoría del Pueblo*, 2012, pp. 7-8). Increasingly, a large proportion are considered to be socio-environmental issues related to extractive industrial development and access, control and use of natural resources, notably mining and oil and gas sectors; in September 2011, these constituted over 40% of all conflicts registered by the *Defensoría*. In addition to protests, the strategies and techniques of vigilance are also being deployed to monitor the activities of companies involved in resource development, in ways that go beyond the formal mechanisms for participation that have been put in place (see Barrientos and Alvarado, 2006). These types of actions speak to the ways in which programmatic efforts to

‘improve’ can be reclaimed or subverted by the very people they target, becoming the basis for new forms of contestation. Examining these potentially transformative effects is also an important avenue for future research.

In addition, not only are the narratives and practices highlighted in this research neither sequential nor complete, they are never the only ones ‘in play.’ For example, longer standing narratives that constitute Peru’s indigenous populations as obstacles to national progress and development are being re-articulated in recent efforts to repress mobilization against resource extraction. This was explicit, for example, in an article written by then-President García and published in the national newspaper *El Comercio* in 2007. Entitled “*The Syndrome of the Dog in the Manger*,” the article made the claim that “lazy” Indigenous populations were an obstacle to realizing Peru’s economic progress. The context for this was the massive protests by Indigenous populations in the Amazon region against government measures to fast track oil and gas extraction, which violated international obligations under the ILO Convention to consult Indigenous peoples on issues related to development in their territories. In the article, President García equated this resistance with that of “the dog in a manger” in reference to Aesop’s fable of the mean-spirited dog that slept in a manger only to prevent others from doing so. Again, in the lead up to the violent police suppression of these mobilizations in Bagua in June 2009, García made another public statement against the protests, stating that: “...These people...are not first-class citizens...Who are 400,000 natives to tell 28 million Peruvians that you have no right to come here? This is a grave error, and whoever thinks this way

wants to lead us to irrationality and a retrograde primitivism..." (cited in Bebbington, 2009, p. 13).³

Simultaneously, different conceptions of 'good citizenship' are being expressed, for example through narratives of environmentalism and new citizen responsibilities related to mitigating climate change. Somewhat paradoxically, just weeks after the Bagua massacre, Peru's Minister of the Environment Antonio Brack stated that 'Peru can contribute enormously to the world in preserving biodiversity, native cultures and forest management...' (Latin American Herald, 31 July 2009). The Indigenous environmental citizen in this context is reconfigured through new responsibilities related to the management of forest carbon, most notably through programs to reduce emissions from deforestation and degradation (REDD) implemented as a way to allay climate change (Baldwin and Meltzer, 2012). This is underpinned by assumptions about the imminent capacity and moral authority of 'the Indian' to conserve nature, re-defined in terms of carbon. However it also requires that new capacities be instilled, including the ability to measure the forest in terms of quantities of carbon stored, in order for this to be realized. While this entails different types of training programs, it also intersects with narratives of vigilant citizenship, embedded in a shared logic of individualized responsibility to mitigate risks through ongoing oversight, in this case of carbon stocks.

Collectively, these contestations and varying configurations of citizenship provide a glimpse into the heterogeneity of 'other things going on' that are not captured in the narrower focus on specific strategies and practices. These also help illuminate the complex ways in which strategies of (neo)liberal government intersect with persistent

³ The result was a violent confrontation in which the police are said to have killed fifty-four Indigenous protesters (some estimate the number to be much higher). Twenty-three policemen were also killed, and 169 protesters injured (Bebbington, 2009).

moral and racial narratives as well as violent and coercive tactics of government. While the narratives and practices that I have traced in the present research do not operate in isolation, they nevertheless show how the ‘good citizen’ in Peru has been imagined, produced and practiced in different ways in relations to changes ideas about national integration and progress. In doing so, they show the contingency of the ‘good citizen’ as well as of the different problem-solutions of government and development that have come to the fore at different times. As noted in the introductory chapter, to show that something is contingent is a useful, if preliminary, critical tool as it implies that particular ways of understanding and doing are not necessary or inevitable. Re-examining historical narratives in the first part of the dissertation was thus a way to illuminate the contingency of current practices, to put them into ‘relief,’ a way to make them less obvious or familiar. This in turn makes it possible to ask questions about the assumptions that underpin contemporary programs, what types of actions and behaviours are legitimated and fostered and conversely what is precluded. This thus serves as a modest but useful starting point to imagining other ways of doing things.

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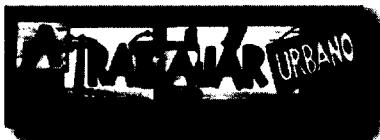
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APPENDIX 1: MCLCP- VIGILANCE FORM- A TRABAJAR URBANO



FORMATO DE VIGILANCIA SOCIAL

PROGRAMA A TRABAJAR URBANO



Mesa de Concertación
Para la Justicia contra la Pobreza

Distrito: N° de
Convenio:.....

DETALLES PERSONALES	
Apellidos y Nombres:.....	DNI:.....
Forma de contactarse (Telf/ Dirección):	
Indique si actúa en forma personal o en representación de algún comité o persona jurídica:	

¿Ha presentado Ud. su queja, denuncia, observación, sugerencia a otra persona o institución? Si ()
No () ¿A qué persona o institución? El presente formato es una: sugerencia (), observación (), queja (), denuncia (), otro(especificar).....

DETALLES DEL PROGRAMA	
<i>Neutralidad Política</i>	<i>Cumplimiento de Objetivo</i>
1. Proselitismo político 2. Propaganda política	9. Empleo a personas de bajos recursos
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Beneficiarios	<i>Presupuesto de los Proyectos</i>
3. Convocatoria 4. Selección	10. Aporte del Programa
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Compensación económica 6. Seguro	11. Cofinanciamiento
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Reemplazos 8. Capacitación	<i>Obras</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	12. Avances de acuerdo al cronograma
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Sostenibilidad</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	13. Mantenimiento de obras o servicios
<input type="checkbox"/>	14. <u>Otros</u> (especificar):
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

PERSONAS RELACIONADAS CON LOS HECHOS

Number	Group	Project	Year

DOCUMENTOS QUE SUSTENTAN LOS HECHOS:
1.....
.....
2.....
.....
3.....
.....
Observaciones:
.....

Oficina del Programa que Recepta:

.....

Recibido
por:.....

Fecha de
recibo:.....

Derivado
a:.....

Fecha de
derivación:.....

Firma

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF INTERVIEWS

- Researcher, *Instituto de Estudios Peruanos* (IEP), Lima, January 12th, 2007
- Researcher, *Servicios Educativos Rurales* (SER), Lima, January 12th, 2007
- Director, *Forum Solidaridad Peru* (FSP), Lima, January 15th, 2007
- Analyst, *Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo* (GRADE), Lima, January 16th, 2007
- Professor, *Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú* (PUCP), Lima, January 16th, 2007
- Analyst, *Grupo Propuesta Ciudadana, Vigila Perú*, Lima, Jan. 17th, 2007; November 21, 2008
- Researcher, *Consorcio de Investigación Económica y Social* (CIES), Lima, January 18th, 2007
- Professor, Political Science, *Universidad del Pacífico*, Lima, January 23rd, 2007
- Coordinator (Area of Democracy and Citizen Participation), *Comisión Andina de Juristas*, Lima, Feb. 6th, 2007
- Member, *Asociación Civil Transparencia*, Lima, November 20th, 2007
- *Forum Solidaridad Peru* (FSP), Lima, November 22nd, 2007
- Analyst, *Consejo Nacional para la Etica Pública* (PROÉTICA), Lima, November 22nd, 2007
- Participant, *Taller de capacitación en vigilancia ciudadana, Mesa de Concertación para la Lucha contra la Pobreza de Lima Metropolitana*, District of San Juan de Lurigancho, Lima, 2008
- Participant, *Taller de capacitación en vigilancia ciudadana, Mesa de Concertación para la Lucha contra la Pobreza de Lima Metropolitana*, District of San Juan de Lurigancho, Lima, Fall 2008
- Participant, Workshop, *Seguimiento de Program Presupuestal, Mesa de Concertación para la Lucha contra la Pobreza de Lima Metropolitana*, District of Santa Anita, Fall 2008
- Participant, Workshop - *Seguimiento de Program Presupuestal, Mesa de Concertación para la Lucha contra la Pobreza de Lima Metropolitana*, District of Santa Anita, Fall 2008
- N. Maeza, Member, *Mesa de Concertación para la Lucha contra la Pobreza de Lima Metropolitana*, November 19th, 2007; November 14th, 2008; November 17th, 2008
- Member, *Comité de Vigilancia, Mesa de Concertación para la Lucha contra la Pobreza de Lima Metropolitana*, District of Ate Vitarte, Fall, 2008
- Participant, *Taller de capacitación en vigilancia ciudadana, Mesa de Concertación para la Lucha contra la Pobreza de Lima Metropolitana*, District of Chorillos, 2008
- Participant, *Taller de capacitación en vigilancia ciudadana, Mesa de Concertación para la Lucha contra la Pobreza de Lima Metropolitana*, District of Chorillos, 2008
- *Servicios Educativos El Agustino* (SEA), Lima and Member, *Comité de Vigilancia, Mesa de Concertación para la Lucha contra la Pobreza de Lima Metropolitana*, Distrito de Ate Vitarte, November 15th, 2008