Hybridity and Change: *Gamonales, Montoneros* and Young *Politicos* in South-Central Peru

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The article provides an analysis of three historical forms of political subjectivity in South-Central Peru: the *montoneros*, the *gamonales* and the post-conflict *politicos*. Based upon a historical sociology of *puna–*valley relations, the article suggests that subjectivities should be read not as emanating from either side of the racialised *misti–Indio* divide, but instead as fractals of this.

Keywords: History, social conditions, migration, Huancavelica, fractal identity, hybrid.

Introduction

When I meet Don Arturo, he is sitting in the door of his shop, hands resting on the knob of a cane, wearing a dark suit, an impeccable white shirt, a black tie, soft hat and a pair of over-sized black sunglasses. Seated inside the shop, we talk about his life. As he proceeds, his language and gestures become increasingly aggressive and when I challenge his views regarding *chutos* (derogatory term for members of the communities that lie close to the high tablelands, i.e. dirty Indians), *cholas* (likewise for mestizo women, often market women or traders and believed to be sexually promiscuous) and lazy youth, I start wondering when his fist will be directed at my face rather than the table – which has already suffered several blows – and then, I begin to think about the possible abuses men and women from the communities on the edge of the *puna* [the high tablelands] have experienced in front of this man. He is, I suddenly realise, the incarnation of violent highland bossism, the embodiment of a figure popularly known as the *gamonal*.

My impression is only strengthened as he explains how, by marrying a *señora blanca* [white woman] from Moya, he has done the necessary to maintain the presence of the *raza* española [Spanish race] here in Vilca and how he has served as *gobernador distrital* in Vilca District [governor of the district, an administrative position appointed by the

governor of the Province of Huancavelica], and for these accomplishments, he says, he has never received any thanks or respect. He then tears off his dark sunglasses, to show me his left eye cavity. It is empty, scarred by the exit wound from a bullet that was meant to kill him. 'This is the thanks I got from the *chutos ignorantes* [ignorant dirty Indians]'! On 24 October 1983 Don Arturo survived a Sendero Luminoso neck-shot execution on the plaza of Vilca after which he crawled 13 kilometres to Moya for help.

The contempt, anger and bitterness expressed towards the *chutos* of the district, who according to Don Arturo supported Sendero Luminoso, is I think emblematic of local interpretations of the recent changes in political office-holding in South-Central Peru. During the civil war, the old class of political bosses, often described as *gamonales*, were targeted with violence from Sendero Luminoso and subsequently fled the region, and once the conflict had ended a new generation of younger politicians drawn from the *puna* settlements quickly filled the political space left empty by fleeing *misti* (Spanish speaking elite) authorities. The valley population in general, and Don Arturo in particular, felt that *puna* settlements had used violence to reach their goals and this explanatory model succinctly captures events in Vilca District, where in 1998, a member of the *puna* community of Huancalpi living part-time in Huancayo managed to win the municipal elections, thereby marginalising the *misti* elite of Vilca Town of which Don Arturo is one of the principal representatives.

In fact, and this is quite surprising, the narrative is shared by valley and *puna* residents alike.[1] Don Arturo and the young *políticos* concur on the observation that the violence perpetrated towards *misti* authorities in the 1980s by what *puna* residents refer to as *el movimiento social* [the social movement] was the principal cause behind the political change in the district. In fact, all – urban, rural, educated, illiterate – groups employ the *misti–Indio* doublet in understanding pre-conflict social history, in interpreting the dynamics of the civil war, and they use it in order to analyse post-conflict changes in political office holding.

The *misti–Indio* model also finds resonance in academic publications on the region. Favre (1977) argues that the valley – *puna* or *misti–Indio* conflict emerged in the late nineteenth century as *puna* settlements delinked themselves from the local *gamonal*-dominated economic system by engaging in labour migration to Cañete, while Mallon (1995: 209), apparently following Favre, suggests that *puna* communities were 'autonomous', a peasant class delinked from the elite of Mantaro Valley, thus explaining their engagement in the *montonero* movement (Andean non-regular soldiers) during the Pacific War and the subsequent failure of Cáceres to pacify them. Irrespective of the particular focus of the explanatory model, it appears that valley – *puna* conflict holds a prominent place in both academic and popular narratives.

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1 Conversations with other representatives of Vilca's old political elite confirmed this as well as presentations at the Graduate School of Universidad del Centro at which occasion various of the younger generation of *políticos* and university students participated. On this occasion, I presented the above outlined narrative, a narrative the group of students and professors agreed with.

In this article, I propose a reinterpretation of vertical relations in the northern Huancavelica/southern Mantaro, and on this basis suggest a new understanding of three political subjectivities that have dominated the region during the last 150 years, being *montoneros*, *gamonales* and the young *políticos* of post-conflict Peru. I build on the analytical insights produced by De la Cadena (2000) in her monograph on Cuzco's cultural politics and those generated by García's ethnography (2005) on language education. In both these publications we find attention given to how subaltern strategies mould fractal or hybrid identities, forms of agency and identification that circumvent and undermine the hegemonic racial duality of the *misti–Indio*. Similar arguments are made by Starn (1999) in his claim that social movements such as the *rondas* of Northern Peru that he analysed had broken, contradictory and fractal origins rather than clear-cut, class-based ones.

In the article, I analyse three different periods in the history of Vilca Valley. In the first frame, I provide a historical analysis of the dynamics through which the 'post-colonial dualism' (Thurner, 1997) including *montoneros* and *gamonales* developed as an outcome of the production of and trading in wool. In the second frame, I analyse how migration from *puna* and valley settlements in Vilca District developed during the twentieth century, and in the third frame, I explore the current formation of hybrid or fractal identities on this background. I analyse the political idioms as an outcome of these forms of migrancy and suggest that, much as *montonero*s were hybrid-matter out of place, so do current political idioms display features of hybridity that dissolve the binary opposite of rural and urban in various disjointed fractals.

In the conclusion, I therefore suggest that the notions of fractal and hybrid identities are not only ways in which we may understand current politics in Peru, but, as demonstrated in the article, they also provide us with important tools for understanding earlier periods of subaltern political agency. However, only through careful attention to regional ethnographies, such as the one presented in this article, are we able to understand how the racialised binary opposite of the *misti–Indio* functioned as a political idiom that silenced subaltern voices, as these were expressed in fractals of race and class through *gamonalismo* and *montonero*s, and as we currently see them in the *jóvenes políticos* of post-conflict Peru.

Indios and *Mistis* in Regional Ethnography

In everyday life in the District of Vilca, categories such as *comuneros*, *campesinos*, and *mistis* are often used. *Puna* residents identify themselves as *comuneros* or *campesinos*, while valley residents refer to themselves as *comuneros* or *mistis*. Inter-group references are different, and in general draw upon Peru's racialised binary structure of *mistis* versus *Indio*s. This manifests itself through the usage of the term *gamonales*, when *puna* residents refer to those who live in the valley and when these latter use the term *chuto* (dirty Indian) to refer to the former.

The usage of these categories is thus similar to what has been described in other parts of the southern and central Sierra (Gose, 1994), and in general it implies that the marker for inclusion in the group of *comuneros* is participation in the symmetrical

exchange of *ayni* [labour] within the group of *comuneros*,[2] universal participation in communal *faena* [work parties] and for the poorer segments the participation in asymmetrical exchange of work for money and food with the local group of *mistis* (*minga*).[3] While *mistis* on the other hand are not expected to participate in either *ayni* or *faena*, they access the majority of the labour they need through *minga*. Vilca *mistis* do however refer to themselves as *comuneros* and to the extent that *faenas* are called in the community of Vilca, they do in general participate in these.

To fully understand the history of the relations between valley and *puna* populations we need, however, to engage the notion of *gamonalismo*, and Mariátegui's original discussion is still worth revisiting. In *7 ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* [Seven Essays on the Interpretation of Peruvian Reality], he presents a definition of *gamonalismo* akin to a concrete abstraction (Smith, 1999: 11): *gamonalismo* refers to the existence of a social group, but also to a social hierarchy and a particular form of social interaction linking *Indio*s and *mistis* in rural Peru with each other and the state. While at the same time it is the product of the unequal distribution of land (*feudalismo*), it is also its main cause (Mariátegui, 1979: 21, note). Thus, according to Mariátegui, *gamonalismo* is a historical and cultural geography of society, the continued reproduction of a binary racialised social landscape, while it is also an embodied and lived form of hierarchic distinction practised by the members of this society. It is in this sense, I suggest, that we think about it as a concrete abstraction, that is, as a social ideology, a specific social group and an abstract social relation.

While Mariátegui's own definition of *gamonalismo* was open-ended, there is no doubt that its reception underwrote the view of Peru as divided between an archaic Indian class of labourers and a modernised class of exploitative *mistis*. Most clearly, this became articulated as Andean social anthropology came under the influence of Marxism, when ethnographers paid particular attention to *gamonales* as a social class based on the possession of landed property (Montoya, Silveira and Lindoso, 1979).

As research paid increasing attention to the agentive potential of Andean peasants (Stern, 1987), a focus on the representational and performative aspects of *gamonales* came into focus (Poole, 1988, 1994; Rénique, 1992). The question was now how violence was exercised by *gamonales* as an idiom of rule that on the one hand created a racialised social order that at the same time authorised the use of violence towards *Indio*s (Poole, 1994). The argument suggested that *gamonal* violence moulded representations of highland inhabitants as uncivilised and pre-political, an important contribution because it enabled anthropologists to question the representation of the Andean (*lo andino*) as a *misti–Indio* doublet.

The same strategy of questioning the *misti–Indio* binary pair was voiced by Starn in his call for a postcolonial ethnography that pushed 'against the confines of dualism'

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2   This definition does not preclude that some market-based access to labour is practised, also between *comunero* households, but some households undertake their productive activities solely with wage labour; these are the ones that are considered *mistis* by the *comuneros*, who themselves practice agriculture.

3   The categories used in Vilca largely follow Mayer's distinction between the symmetrical *waje-waje*, or *ayni* and the asymmetrical *minka* (Mayer, 2003: 110–112).

(Starn, 1995: 549), an ethnography that explores what De la Cadena (2000) calls 'fractal identities' and 'strategies of hybridisation' among Peruvians. De la Cadena herself captures these strategies with the notion of 'indigenous mestizos'. According to her, 'indigenous mestizos' are the urban mestizos that pursue strategies that undo the structure of the *misti–Indio* doublet, a doublet that, she argues, is a specific hegemonic *misti* representation of everyday practices of interaction and social distinction. Hybridisation practised by Cuzco's subaltern mestizos is therefore best understood as a strategy that engages and resists this hegemonic structure of binary racialised identification and its implicit notions of a moral geography of society with proper and different places for different races. De la Cadena argues that in Cuzco from the 1930s onwards urban mestizos created subaltern spaces of authentic political and cultural representation, based on the selection and performance of dignified urban (i.e. literacy, education, diplomas) and valuable rural traits (i.e. local food, clothes, *costumbre*), in ways that sought to undermine the segmentation of society into *misti* citizens and *Indio* subjects, the segmentation upon which the republican order was based, and it in this sense that the concept of fractal identities must be understood. As we begin to scrutinise the duality as a lived social relation, it dissolves into new structures and configurations that may seem 'pathological', 'broken' and 'irregular' (Abraham, 1993: 53).

The same analytical strategy is pursued by García (2005) in her recent monograph on rural parents' negotiation of identity through educational choices. García argues that Quechua-speaking parents systematically pursue Spanish language education for their children, so that they may manage what she, following Roseberry (1994), calls a 'language of contention' (García, 2005: 101). This pursuit of different literacies – technical, bureaucratic and linguistic – through 'politics of hybridity' point 'beyond the defence and maintenance of indigenous languages to the additional appropriation of other, more global options, as tools to reconfigure Indian identity' (García, 2005: 141), so as to contest 'the boundaries of both mestizo and indigenous identities' (García, 2005: 143), thus creating 'indigenous citizens'.

In both these cases, we see how careful attention to histories of relations and practices reveal subaltern strategies that we may identify as fractal identities or hybridisation, forms of identification that undo the binary opposite of *Indio* subjects and *misti* citizens, thus enabling the creation of new spaces of political representation.

In the following section, I provide a reading of the regional history of Northern Huancavelica, in which I suggest that *montoneros* and *gamonales* may be understood as earlier incursions of such processes of hybridisation, stressing an understanding of *gamonalismo* as a relationship and a historical process rather than as a fetish. Against this background I then show at the end of the article how this analysis enables us to understand the hybrid nature of the current generation of post-conflict *políticos*.

Gamonales, Montoneros and District Secession in Vilca Valley

The Vilca River rises east of the peaks of the Cordillera Occidental in South-Central Peru. As it carves the valley of the same name it flows some 90 kilometres north-east and north thereafter to merge with the larger Mantaro river that dominates central

Peru. The valley displays many of the features typical of highland Peru. From the riverbed at around 3,000–3,200-metre altitude where the colonial *reducciones* of Moya and Vilca (Lavallée and Julien, 1973; 1974: 38) are situated, mountains rise on both sides, some covered by scrub and others by maize fields. Above the maize, potatoes and *olluco* are cultivated at altitudes close to 4,000 metres above sea level where the *puna* starts, the grazing land used for livestock, primarily sheep.

The material foundation of Vilca Valley's indigenous elite during the colonial period and until the end of the eighteenth century (Fisher, 1970: 257, in Bakewell, 1984: 121) was made up by the proximity to the mercury-mining towns of Huancavelica, which formed an important market for meat and hides from Moya and Vilca (Brading and Cross, 1972: 560, in Smith, 1989: 241 n. 9). Inter-regional trade (Smith, 1989: 52) in agricultural produce (Favre, 1969: 71), from the different agricultural regions (Cañete and Mantaro) surrounding Huancavelica and passing through the valley, was also important. The transversal road that linked Inkawasi in Cañete – the largest known Inca site on the coast – with the Southern Highlands (Hyslop, 1984: 90–98) passed through the valley.

As mercury production declined during the end of the eighteenth century, the regional economy disintegrated and, in combination with the anti-kuraka (Lead of indigenous noble lineage) legislation following the Túpac Amaru insurrection, led to a change in the composition of the elite in the old *reducciones*. Thus by the early nineteenth century, a local, creole elite had taken over in the towns of Moya and Vilca where an indigenous nobility had previously ruled (Favre, 1977).

The *estancias* on the *puna* to the north-west of Vilca Valley – the *puna* referred to as South Western Mantaro in the literature – underwent a similar development. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Huanca nobility staked land claims in this area (Mallon, 1995: 179),[4] but, in a process similar to what took place in Vilca Valley, the Huanca nobility was marginalised towards the end of the eighteenth century by an emergent Creole elite that formalised control of the *puna*, shaping what became known as Haciendas Tucle and Laive (Smith, 1989: 50–58).

For the creole elite of Vilca Valley, networks of inter-regional trade became increasingly important during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Imported goods such as textiles and iron tools were sold in rural communities, peasant wool was collected and bulked, and these different activities were articulated through the extension of credits to peasant producers.[5] That is, elite power was based on commercial activities combined with agricultural production on the alluvial plains, herding on the *puna* and participation in local government. This is the historical intersection of forces that gave rise to the archetypical figure of highland bossism, the so called *gamonal*.

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4   These claims can be interpreted as a process of Huanca expansion towards land that the Asto communities of Vilca Valley claimed (D'Altroy, 1992: 51). A similar territorial conflict has been described in the northern part of Mantaro Valley between the *kurakas* of Tarma (Tarama) and those of Jauja (Xauxa) (Munguía and Perales, 2004: 517). Astos were the inhabitants of the Pre-Hispanic polity that covered what is today northern Huancavelica, west of the Mantaro river.

5   This finding by Smith is supported by research in other Peruvian regions such the region of Tarma by Fiona Wilson (Wilson, 2003) and that of Azángaro by Nils Jacobsen (Jacobsen, 1993).

The question, however, remains whether this picture of vertical relations during the second half of the nineteenth century is not too simple. The literature on the region suggests that *gamonales* were becoming delinked from, and in some cases even fighting, the increasingly independent peasant sector in the *zuni* (the agricultural zone just below *puna*) and *puna* zones. Favre (1977) argues that this was due to large-scale migration to Cañete where peasants found freedom as wage labourers, whereas Mallon (1987) suggests that highland peasants–pastoralists were 'autonomous' and 'nationalist' as an result of their peasant livelihoods and class position.

This latter claim is, however, based on what we may call a Mantaro-centrist reading of vertical relations. Given that these communities were Astos, rather than Huancas, that their political and economic relations were with the towns of Vilca Valley rather than those of Mantaro, it would appear from the perspective of social histories of the Mantaro Valley that these communities were autonomous, when in fact, they were deeply involved in relations of asymmetric reciprocity, first with the Asto *kurakas* of Vilca Valley and later on with the *misti* elites in the same urban centres. Heeding this caveat in the social history of this region casts a new light on the *montonero* movement of this *puna*. In the view of this author, it is highly probable that the *montonero*s of South Western Mantaro are best understood as alliances of Vilca Valley towns and *puna* communities based on vertical relations of asymmetric reciprocity. Conflicting claims between valley and *puna* settlements regarding the origin of Pedro Vaquero, a local *montonero* icon, support this conclusion and seem to suggest widespread support for the *montonero* not only among the *puna* communities but also among the *misti* elites in the valley.[6]

The development of these vertical alliances should be understood in relation to the struggles over access to pasture on the *puna*, that is, that *montonero*s grew out of vertical relations of alliance and conflict that kept the *misti*-dominated towns of Moya and Vilca locked into relationships with *puna* communities in their common struggle with hacienda owners, notably the owners of Fondo Tucle. These alliances gave *puna* communities support in the struggle for access to pasture and gave *misti* elites access to wool from the community-based household production for the expanding textile market in Huancayo.

In fact, a re-reading of nineteenth-century social history of this region seems to suggest that in the interstices of the *misti*–*Indio* doublet, identities such as *gamonales* and *montonero*s emerged, moulded, on one hand, by subaltern struggles for domestic wool production in conflict over pastures with the expanding hacienda-based system and, on the other hand, by the struggle between the producers themselves and their midlemen from the *reducciones* of Vilca Valley.

When the railroad between Huancayo and Huancavelica opened in 1920, with the station of Tellería only one hour by mule south of Moya, it obliterated the usage of the transversal road to Cañete. The journey between Huancayo and Huancavelica was shortened from a trek of at least two days, requiring the ownership of animals and

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6 Oral history from Vilca tells that Pedro Vaquero was a *pastor* (herder) working for a *misti* named Juan Bautista Hidalgo Contreras who worked as a delegate for Cárceres in Huancavelica.

access to pasture,[7] to a railway journey of only four or five hours. Consequently, long-distance trade and the movement of goods and people through Vilca and Moya changed dramatically. This, together with the pro-community politics during the *oncenio* provided the impetus for a chain reaction of secession of Moya's annexes all the way to Acobambilla at the bottom of the valley.

Again, the role of the Huancayo textile industry in fuelling the production of wool is crucial for understanding the alliances that shaped subaltern politics such as secession during this period.[8] Despite the steady fall in global commodity prices, regional wool production continued to expand, since it was driven not by North Atlantic mills but by the development of an integrated complex of textile production and retail houses centred in Huancayo. This industry benefited from the expanding demand for industrial cloth generated by rising incomes in peasant and mining households, supported by the massive increase in mining activities in central Peru, notably la Oroya and Cerro de Pasco (Mallon, 1983: 189; Long and Roberts, 2001: 122–131).

While large-scale producers were weakened in southern Peru (Jacobsen, 1993: 331), the expansion of the Huancaino textile industry supported continued intensification of hacienda-based wool production on Hacienda Tucle well into the 1940s (Smith, 1989: 93–94) and domestic producers also benefited from this. As regional demand for wool continued to increase, valley elites struggled with each other in what appears as increasingly unstable alliances with *puna* communities in order to maintain control over *puna* pastures.

In 1927, the *misti* elite and political authorities of Vilca town, including the father of Arturo Araujo as one of its most important members, created such an alliance with *comunero* (*alcaldes de vara* [authority in the indigenous community]) and *misti* (*agentes municipales* [government-appointed authority]) authorities from Viñas, Huancalpi, Capsaro and Acobambilla, and thereby managed to gain control over land that its annexes had lost early in the century to the mother-in-law of Daniel Varán, a resident of Moya.[9] However, in the 1930s, Inocente Matos, another resident of Moya, assisted the community of Acobambilla in acquiring its independence as district from Vilca, thereby rolling back the newly established influence of the Vilca elite in the upper Vilca Valley. By facilitating Acobambilla's claim to the *puna* pastures, lost by Daniel Varán to the Vilca–Huancalpi alliance in the land trial of 1927, Inocente Matos simultaneously created his own claim to a part of these pastures, since in return for his legal work he gained access to *puna* pasture (Stepputat, 2004: 247).

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7 This I infer from the work of Trawick (2002) on the development of the pasture–animal nexus.

8 Favre reads this process of secession as the outcome of *puna* residents' participation in migrant labour on the coast. Such migrancy may have provided the capital necessary for the urbanisation of the *puna* settlements, but it fails to explain the active involvement of Moyano and Vilquino *mistis* in the processes of litigation.

9 *Ayacucho, trece de diciembre de mil nuevecientos y veintisiete, Juan de Mata Peralta, Escribano del Estado*. This 25-page document covers the process of litigation in 1927 as well as additional documentation relating to the 1907 litigation between Varán and Vilca.

Matos, a lawyer, authoring community claims through a practice that authorised his own access to land and produce, and Varán, a private landholder acquiring land through marital alliances, are both referred to as *gamonales* in local lore. Once again, and in alliances quite similar to those that were shaped during the late nineteenth century, we see *gamonales* engaged in the defence of household production on the *puna* through struggles that changed the political status of *puna* residents from *Indio* subjects living in *anexos* (rural sub-district) to state-recognised members of independent indigenous communities that could engage the owners of Hacienda Tucle in the struggle of access to *puna* land.

All these strategies make up what today is understood as the institution of *gamonales* in Vilca Valley. When several generations of scholarship from Favre (1977), through Mallon (1987, 1995) to Stepputat (2004) argue that it was the conflict between *mistis* and *comuneros* that generated secession in Vilca Valley, they gloss over the very important element played by asymmetrical reciprocity, and the reasons why both *mistis* and highland communities maintained them. These relations provided *misti* middle men with wool, manual labour and livestock on the hoof, and small-scale peasant producers with access to the expanding textile industry in Huancayo. It was this industry's demand for wool and the labourers' demand for meat that fuelled the conflicts on the *puna* between household and hacienda economies, and shaped the asymmetrical vertical relations between producers and intermediaries in Vilca Valley; it constituted an important element in the shaping of the *montonero* movement and it fuelled district secession and the formation of independent communities. Newly formed district councils acquired taxation rights; thus local elites in Vilca, Acobambilla and Viñas could themselves negotiate the terms and amount of tax that they had to pay, as well as levy taxes on the district residents in terms of labour obligations. At the same time, residents of the highland communities acquired powerful local allies in their daily struggles with the owners of Hacienda Tucle.

However, the political brokering undertaken by *mistis* in front of administrators and magistrates in the provincial capitals of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Huancayo rendered the isolation of *puna* residents a social fact in legal discourse. The *gamonales* were based on a strategy of legitimation that held that an absolute distinction pertained between town *mistis* and *puna chutos*, a difference that necessitated and required Vilca's elite's interventions. Today's residents of Vilca town claim that there was a legitimate relationship between the political work carried out by the town residents and their claims to *puna* land and produce. Informants in Vilca still narrate how, following the death of a tax collector who had lived in Vilca, his common-law widow was given lands that were claimed by the *puna* communities. Vilquinos therefore attacked the house of the widow on the main square of the town and looted it. The military police arrived from Huancavelica and ransacked the town staying for approximately fourteen days.

In stories such as these, we see how Vilquino *mistis* narrate themselves as having formed the nexus between the postcolonial state and its subject population isolated in communities on the *puna*. In their versions of local history, Vilca monopolises agency and access to state institutions, while it bears the brunt of state violence, thereby in a narrative move similar to the legal ventriloquism undertaken by Matos in 1927 authorising its claim to *puna* land and produce.

However, historical processes should not be understood with reference to binary opposites; what we need to explain is how such opposites themselves are the products

of specific material and social processes. In the case of the Vilca Valley, the binary distinction between *misti* and *Indio* emerged during this period as the hegemonic discursive framework through which legal ventriloquism took place, a practice through which domestic wool producers could be coupled with and protected by intermediaries in towns such as Moya and Vilca.[10]

They were, however, not the only representations that circulated. The social memory of *montonero*s continued to provide a different interpretation, one in which *puna* residents not only produced and resisted, but in which they acted politically in matters of state politics, thus undermining the representation of them as isolated and uncivilised. It is in this sense that we may understand both *gamonales* and *montonero*s as representing fractals or local hybrids of the *misti–Indio* doublet, strategies that carved out spaces for subaltern political action.

Mobile Livelihoods in the Twentieth Century

While district secession in the short run provided particular *misti* intermediaries with access to highland produce, it proved in the longer run to be a counterproductive strategy. It led to the loss of formal political control of the *puna* upon which the valley towns' economy was based, and, together with the reorganisation of regional trade, this induced a substantial migration of Vilquinos to the urban centres of the Sierra from the 1930s onwards. In this section, my analysis is based on 73 biographies collected in the district to show how valley and *puna* migrancy changed during the period from the 1940s to 1990s and how these changes tell the story of the demise of *gamonales* and the emergence of a new group of district *políticos*.[11]

In the period from the early twentieth century until the 1970s, emigration from Vilca district was overwhelmingly intra-regional, step-migration undertaken by valley households that combined income generation with the search for secondary education for younger household members. This often led to the establishing of entire households outside the district, first in Huancayo and later on also in Lima (Sørensen, 2002). *Puna* migration, on the other hand, was overwhelmingly cyclical, or seasonal inter-regional migration[12] to the coast (Favre, 1977; Peloso, 1999), pursued in order to provide cash income to the rural household. These general features of migration from the district can be discerned in Table 1. As we look at the data for all three generations, we see that valley migration is focused on the Sierra towns and Lima, while *puna* migration

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10   This finding is quite similar to that described by Wilson (2003).
11   Material is analysed the following way: All respondents are classified according to age and locality. I distinguish between the *puna* (Huancalpi) and the valley (Vilca town and San Ramón) and between three age groups: 20–39, 40–59 and respondents of 60 or older. The classification is based on age at the time of the interview. The sampling was made in the three localities along the following lines: in Vilca and San Ramon one case was collected from each urban block, in Huancalpi a sample was made on the basis of a list of *comuneros*.
12   For a definition of circular migration see Martínez (1969: 66) and Collins (1988) and for step-migration see Dietz (1976) and Martínez (1969: 68).

is much more diversified, less frequent and mostly directed towards agro-industrial regions such as Cañete and the Selva.

Also we may see that, while valley migration remains at the same level through the different generations, *puna* migration has changed considerably for the last generation, that is, those born after 1960,[13] where migrants engage in much more frequent and diversified forms of migrancy.

When looking at the data for educational levels (schooling coefficient[14]) in the two locations, we note a tendency towards homogenisation as we move from the oldest to the youngest generation of the valley and *puna* cohorts. Whereas older valley residents are significantly better educated than their corresponding *puna* cohort, the youngest *puna* group in the data set has closed the gap between the two locations for this age group; there are no differences in educational level between the *puna* and the valley groups.

How can we interpret these generational patterns of social and spatial mobility? What migratory strategies were pursued and why did they change? The migrancy of the Huancalpinos and the valley residents in the period from 1940 to the early 1960s was markedly different. From the 1930s, Vilca residents increasingly migrated to Huancayo and later to Lima, working in the expanding textile industry.

In this period, residents of the *puna* communities trekked to the valley of Cañete where they worked in cotton picking. Many older Huancalpinos remember having made these treks with their fathers and male kin when they were coming of age, and this pattern of seasonal migration continued well into the 1960s. Unlike their valley counterparts, Huancalpino migration was not directed towards urban centres of mining, construction and secondary education, but towards agro-industrial zones, and furthermore those involved were male individuals rather than entire households. What

Table 1. Migratory Destinations by Age Group and Location

Respondents			Migratory Destinations						
Age Group	Location	*n*	Mean	Sierra	Costa	Selva	Lima	Exterior	All
All	Valley	40	2.2	67.1	10.1	03.4	18.0	01.1	89
	Puna	30	0.8	39.1	39.1	08.7	13.0	00.0	23
20–39	Valley	15	2.1	56.3	15.6	06.3	21.9	00.0	32
	Puna	13	1.1	33.4	46.7	13.3	06.7	00.0	15
40–59	Valley	15	2	60.0	10.0	03.4	23.4	03.4	30
	Puna	9	0.4	00.0	50.0	00.0	50.0	00.0	4
60–>	Valley	10	2.7	88.8	03.8	00.0	07.4	00.0	27
	Puna	8	0.5	100	00.0	00.0	00.0	00.0	4

13 In this, I have included only places were people have lived for periods longer than two months. This criterion explains the absence of circular migration to Cañete, which was not of this length. Focus on migration of a longer duration thus leads to a foregrounding of *puna* immobility versus valley migration, a finding contradicted by informal ethnographic interviewing.
14 School coefficient is calculated as follows: 0 for no school, 1 for primary school attended, 2 for secondary school attended, 3 for technical school or college attended and 4 for university attended. Fractions are calculated as years finished (e.g. 1.3 equals third grade of primary school).

I am arguing is that, as Vilca during the 1930s lost most of its *puna* to Viñas and Acobambilla, Vilquino families started to imagine and organise their lives outside the district in what has become identified as step-migration – that is, the slow stepwise movement towards larger urban centres.

The story of Arturo Araujo is representative of this process of *misti* step-migration during the middle of the twentieth century. Born around 1920, he attended primary school in Vilca for five years, after which he was sent to Huancayo where he attended secondary school for four years during the 1930s. He stayed and lived in Huancayo until around 1943. From 1943 to around 1963 he moved around between different mining towns (La Oroya, Choclococche, Campo Arminio) working as an *obrero* (worker in modern construction industry), and in construction in Lima and Huancayo.

By early 1960, when the republican structure of governance was under siege in most parts of southern Peru (Rénique, 1992), Huancalpinos entered primary school in increasing numbers, although most of them failed to finish. While the difference in educational levels between the valley and the *puna* populations in the district was decreasing, the migratory patterns of the *puna* and valley cohorts remained qualitatively different. Valley step-migration towards Lima was expanding, which according to Vilquinos in Huancayo was caused by the prolonged period of drought that hit Peru between 1948 and 1952, and the earthquake of 1947.[15] Despite this, Arturo choose to return to Vilca and soon after formed part of the district political leadership, just as his father had done, and became *gobernador distrital*. Arturo did not end his migrancy as a resident in one of the major urban centres as most others of his generation, although today all but one of his children live as professionals in the cities of Lima, Huancayo and Arequipa. However, the prolonged period of life in different urban centres – whether we consider this step-migration or circular migration – opened the way to the professionalisation of his children, most of whom have secured work in Peruvian state institutions. Remarkably, however, during this period, the *puna* population did not change its migratory pattern despite drought, although Lima did become a destination for Huancalpinos.

Not until we reach the period of the agrarian reform in the late 1960s does there appear a notable change in *puna* migrancy. Important in this change was the collapse of agro-industrial labour markets, which in many cases brought inter-regional and seasonal migration to an abrupt halt. At the same time, the rapid expansion of the Peruvian educational system (Degregori, 1990) made a new realm of livelihood resources available to Huancalpinos, which together with the adjudication of land in suburban Huancayo for the community of Huancalpi enabled a change of *puna* migrancy.[16]

The effect of this was that the educational gap between valley and *puna* closed. A process spanning 40 years led to a marked homogenisation between the valley and

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15   That the period of drought from 1948 to 1952 should have affected middle men and wool traders with access to irrigated land more severely than the direct producers of wool contradicts what we know about the social distribution of suffering within domestic economies linked to larger economic structures (Sider, 1986).

16   As part of the agrarian reform the Sociedad Agrico lade Interés Social (SAIS) Cahuides was established in Mantaro Valley. As an outcome of the educational policy of the SAIS towards its *socios* in the community of Huancalpi, the community was given land on the outskirts of Huancayo for building purposes.

puna communities (see also Figure 1 for a representation of the relationship between age and schooling), moulded by the reorganisation of *puna* migrancy together with the step-wise depopulation of Vilca town.

What I argue is that, as we retrace the history of the district from the 1940s to the 1980s, it is the changes in the political economy of Peru and the ways in which these changes articulated with livelihood practices that enable us to understand changes in the modalities of subaltern politics in the district of Vilca. Just as asymmetrical reciprocity between different ecological levels in the period of 1880–1940 shaped *montoneros* and *gamonal* politics, so too the dual-household strategy that linked urban Huancayo with rural Huancalpi shaped the emergence of a new group of educated young men from the *puna*, which won the mayoral election in 1998.

But in order to understand the nexus between livelihoods and political subjectivities we must understand the ways in which livelihoods are not only resources or 'portfolios', but also express the experiences and motivations of a generation of younger men, who since the 1980s have manoeuvred within larger social and semantic fields in order to gain control over municipal government in Vilca. These mutual imbrications of livelihoods and political subjectivities enable us to understand the differential logics at play in *puna* and valley relations with the city, and most importantly it calls to our attention the fact that *puna* residents maintained strong links with the country when in the city, while valley residents did not. The dual-household strategy developed by *puna* residents should therefore be seen as the foundation for the kinds of micro-politics that *puna* households pursue, an issue I will discuss in the next section of the article.

Between Country and City – Unpacking *Gamonales* and Reinterpreting Post-Conflict Ethnography

Today Huancalpinos control the district government of Vilca through their own political networks. Most of them trade livestock on the hoof in the market in Chilca,
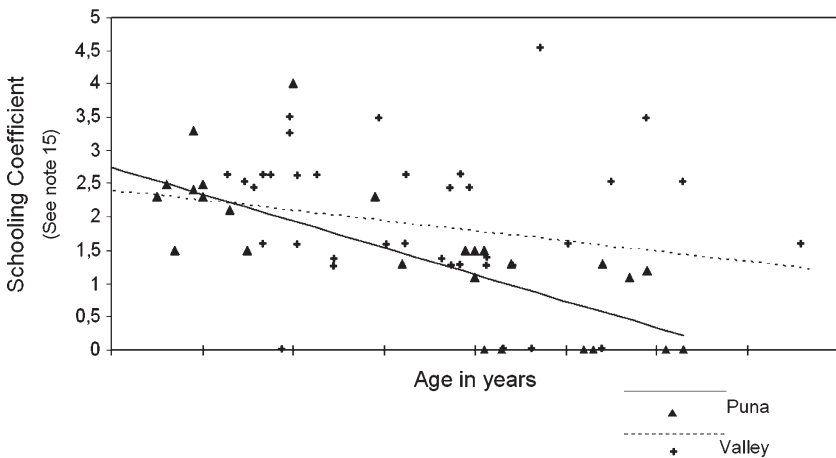

Figure 1.   Schooling Coefficient/Age for Puna and Valley Cohort

Huancayo, bypassing middlemen from Vilca town; their children attend primary school in Huancalpi and in cases where they continue education, this takes place in Huancayo rather than Vilca. But unlike most of the *misti* families who migrated during the middle of the twentieth century and followed a step-migration strategy leaving Vilca town permanently, Huancalpinos have followed a dual-residence strategy based on the continued presence in both their *puna* village and the city of Huancayo.

What can account for such radical difference between two groups that in most respects are quite close? My argument is that, despite the engagement in different forms of hybrid identification through *montonero* and *gamonal* politics (insurrection and district secession) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the *misti–Indio* model of identification moulded livelihood strategies of *puna* and valley populations during most of the twentieth century precisely because it was hegemonic. It is only through this perspective of hegemony as a material and discursive framework for talking about and acting upon social relations characterised by domination (Roseberry, 1994) that we are able to account for the almost total depopulation of Vilca town today and for the extensive mobility between Huancalpi and Huancayo. In terms of resources, households in the two cohorts both control arable land – in fact the Vilca Valley households control almost twice what *puna* households do – while Huancalpinos have on average almost double the livestock of the valley population – 58 units on average versus 23 – reflecting the substantial difference in access to natural pasture. Yet these differences cannot in any meaningful way account for the differences in migratory practices.[17]

Stepputat's (2004) discussion of cultural politics and civic fiestas in post-conflict Canchabamba (Acobambilla) explores many of the issues related to the cultural politics of indigenous mestizos in rural areas. He provides a detailed description of the performances linked to the creation of stateness in a rural town. What I propose is that we read these performances as not only the production of state, but also the production of a specifically urbanised state. That, in fact, these performances of the urbanised state in a small rural town represent an inversion in position as well as in content of the performative reproduction of the country in the city described by De la Cadena in the case of Cuzco and that these are two functionally equivalent modalities in the construction of the indigenous mestizo.

Quite significantly, this mode of hybridity is the source of conflict and rumour. In Acobambilla, the mayor was being accused by some local *comuneros* of stealing because he had moved the town hall with parts of the archive and some of its stationery to his residence in Huancayo. Others scorned him for his inclusion of indigenous performances borrowed from the *Inca Rayni* performances in Cuzco in the town's civic fiesta, another index of the indigenous mestizo nature of the performances organised by young *políticos*. In the sense that hybridity creates conflict, the mayor of Acobambilla is similar to the man who won the elections in Vilca. The Vilca mayor also divided his time between the district and Huancayo. His connection to the *anexos*, to the *cabecera* and to Huancayo could be discerned in the production and distribution

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17 In fact, they seem to contradict Smith's findings for Huasicancha (1989: 102).

of more than 40 swings, merry-go-rounds and see-saws, icons of urban childhood and modern pedagogical principles, which he meticulously divided between the *anexos* and the *cabecera*, despite efforts made by residents in Vilca town to usurp additional units based on their claim to *cabecera* status.

As a *puna* resident, the Vilca mayor was therefore accused of abandoning the town, not protecting its *cabecera* status. This was also displayed by Don Severino, an elderly Vilquino wearing an alpaca scarf casually around his neck, whose self-imposed daily routine consisted of searching the empty wind-blown streets for sheep droppings – *chuto* matter out of place – finalised by a visit to the secretary of the district, during which he, in a loud voice, expressed 'great dissatisfaction' with the amount of sheep droppings, which clearly demonstrated that the town was 'regressing into a state of ignorance'. Most town residents shared this and similar remarks during conversations. A similar concern was expressed during two open *cabildos abiertos* [council meetings] when the residents of Vilca town accused the mayor of having turned off the public lighting in the streets of Vilca – animal dung and darkness, or one might say *puna* life conditions, had descended on Vilquinos.

The Vilca and Acobambilla cases demonstrate that, despite differences in the current alignment of local political forces, indigenous mestizo mayors in highland districts pursue similar strategies and are epicentres of similar conflicts and objects of scorn and rumour. This is so because they are not pure and proper; they are hybrids, hence subject to attacks from both valley and *puna* residents. Yet they are also able to secure resources for municipal development, mostly in terms of construction, such as roads, clinics, schools (Wilson, 1997), icons of the city in the country.

In somewhat similar ways, the issues regarding hybridity and cultural politics of indigenous mestizos manifest themselves among migrants and internally displaced persons (IDPs) from the Vilca Valley who today live in the city of Huancayo. Many in the poorer segment of IDPs and migrants from Vilca Valley's communties are members of the organisation Asociación Comunidad de Migrantes Quechuas 'Jatarai Ayllu' [The Quechua Migrant Community Association 'Rise Up Family']. The name itself mimics earlier forms of legal ventriloquism, maintaining both Spanish and Quechua in the name, drawing our attention to the complex ways in which hybrids of language and belonging are being created in post-conflict Huancayo. An organisation of Quechua migrants bearing a Spanish name that points to the sphere of Quechua family *ayllu* [strength], while also pointing to the historical genres of *Asociación Comunidad* [formal organisation], demonstrates the ways in which the cultural politics of hybridity and fractals unfold in South-Central Peru.

Stepputat and Sørensen (2001: 778) rightly point out that 'fluidity' and 'blurredness' surrounds this group of Quechua-speaking families in Huancayo, yet, while they argue that the 'blurredness' relates to the issue of whether members are IDPs or migrants, I claim that it reaches beyond the confines of development and relief discourses, and points towards a hybridity inscribed not only in these global discourses but more importantly in the regional transformations of livelihood strategies. As the authors conclude: 'As organisations, *Jatarai Ayllu* and the regional association of desplazados (IDPs, auth. note) were caught in the gap between relief and development. Individually [however] the leaders had alternative strategies for their future between the city and

the countryside' (Stepputat and Sørensen, 2001: 782), more specifically a future envisioned as a dual household in which different livelihood resources were accessed through households in urban, peri-urban and rural localities. The gap in which the organisations, their leaders and their members were caught related to the strictures of resettlement programmes; that is, resettlers were supposed to maintain purely rural lives, as rightly pointed out by Stepputat and Sørensen. Yet they miss the real issue. This is that, in the context of post-conflict life between the Mantaro and Vilca valleys, they were expected to return to their former lives as *chutos*, a category that they resent and which during the last 40 years they had managed to transcend, in order to emerge as indigenous mestizos – Quechua-speaking migrant families organised as a political association in Huancayo.

Conclusions

In a recent essay, Gavin Smith (Smith, 1999) suggests that we pay attention to which kinds of questions remain unanswered within different paradigms. Following this line of reasoning, I have tried to read a regional ethnography though the lens of recent contributions to the cultural anthropology of the Andes that introduce the concepts of fractal and hybrid identities. This encounter has cast light on the ways in which the *misti–Indio* doublet has silenced fractal and hybrid forms of identification or alternatively aligned them around one or the other side of the binary opposition. This I have exemplified by the literature on *montonero*s and *gamonales* from Vilca Valley. Once we understand these as concrete abstractions rather than as social groups, we can rewrite ethnographies so as to combine an analysis of the ways in which hegemony is reproduced, while also looking at the ways it is subverted and contested, valuing 'the apprehension that a specific social situation and its negation might coexist' (Webster, 1981: 632).

This argument is not meant to denigrate the peasant movements and political parties that for more than half a century have worked to change the social face of Peru from republican to democratic governance. What I suggest is that we need to study hybrid forms of identification and understand how these are shaped by livelihood strategies in the past as well as the present. As I have demonstrated in this article, such an analytical perspective continues to provide important insights on social struggle in general and the specific cultural forms they take in particular localities.

The anguish felt by Don Arturo in the face of political changes in his native district, reflects not only the loss of political power to a *puna* village, but also the emergence of a new form of popular hybridity shaped by the visible and politically significant mobility of Peruvians, whose cultural, political and economic networks between city and countryside have helped empower them in both places, thereby shaping new hierarchies of identification and inclusion. As Gerald Sider has noted, 'brokers get broken' and Don Arturo has experienced it. What remains to be seen is how the new generation of *políticos* in contemporary Peru will move between city and countryside. To merely signal that they conduct 'post-party politics' (Levitsky, 1999) or build on 'neo-populism' (Barr, 2003) teaches us very little about the nature of relations in which they are engaged. More research on district politics is surely needed.

This leads to a final observation on the infamous *gamonales* and the heroic *montoneros*. Based on the material presented in this article, I suggest that we try to understand these as structurally similar to the young *políticos* of post-conflict Peru. That is, as hybrid and fractal identities that emerge at the interstices of social spaces such as the valley and *puna*, the city and the countryside, and that we understand these as enigmatic markers of the interior–exterior of these social systems.

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