

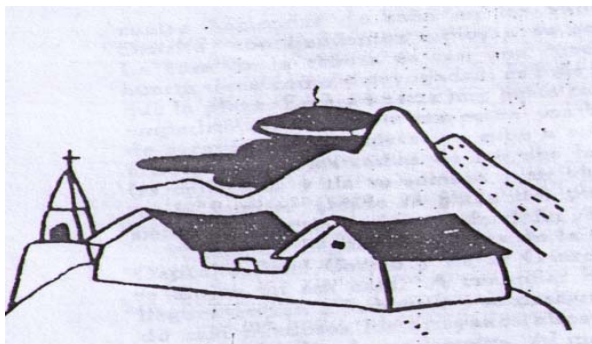
CENSUS-MAKING, RACE & POPULATION IN MID-20th C. PERU

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ABSTRACT

This paper looks at archival material from the 1940 National Census in Peru, including enumerators' instruction manuals and campaign booklets, to shed light on conceptions of race and specifically the reinscription of biological narratives of race that challenge prevailing 'sequentialist' accounts. It also looks at the way in which these narratives inform ideas about 'the Peruvian population,' its 'needs and dangers' that also manifest in these documents. More broadly, by focusing on enumeration instruction manuals and campaign materials, the paper draws attention to the practices 'around' census-making that have received less attention in critical studies in this area that tend to focus on the 'census proper.'

A STORY....¹



The village of Huanipaca (Runa Yupay, J. M. Arguedas 1939:9)

In 1939, a pamphlet was widely 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 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 for the Indigenous of Huanipaca is simple and pastoral; they descend to town for traditional festivals with music and dancing in the central plaza, although those Indigenous working on the haciendas are prohibited by the landowners from participating, and are described as sitting silently drunk or asleep "*en desorden y sin juicio*" ("in disorder and without sense") (p.15).

The school in Huanipaca is the center of village life, located next to the church, as the sketch depicts. 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 of a "cholo." The schoolmaster is well-liked; dedicated to educating Indigenous children of the village, 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

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

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 is "something good," that it 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 is similar to what the Incas used to take stock of people in the Empire – i.e. it had roots in a glorious indigenous heritage.

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:

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)

This story was written in 1939 by one of Peru's foremost Indigenista novelists of the 20th C, José María Arguedas² and was used and distributed by the Peruvian National Census Commission as part of a massive campaign 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 and assuage deep-seated distrust of government. Perhaps most noticeable, however, are the utopian bio-cultural account of Indigenous body, culture, and place that is sharply contrasted with the 'degenerate' fate of those who had left; and the paternal / pastoral emphasis on knowing the "needs" of the "Peruvian population."

At a time when narratives of national progress through "assimilation" or "racial hybridity" (*Mestizaje*) are considered to prevail in the region (Weismantel & Eisenman 1998), how was it that *Indigenismo*, as a utopian project for racial purity and recovered Indian heritage, was deployed as an official discourse of the Peruvian state? More broadly, what conceptions of race were "in play," at a time when the place of "the Indian" vis-a-vis the nation was considered to be a "burning" political question (Rowe 1947:208).

Indigenismo and associated constructions of race have often been framed in terms of partisan politics and competing national imaginaries that attest to divisive, incomplete nation-building projects in post-Independence Peru (Turner 1997; Klarén 2000; Garcia 2005). Shifts in the construction of race in this context tend to be presented sequentially, as part of a (world-wide) displacement of biological by

² Arguedas was a novelist and anthropologist, a self-titled 'modern Quechua' of 'Mestizo' parents raised in the highlands by Quechua household servants. His writing in the 1930s was considered both catalytic and emblematic of a shift in *Indigenismo* 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 Garcia 2005).

cultural accounts in the wake of WWII, resulting in the “historical subordination of phenotype to culture as a marker of difference,” subsequently “silenced” by class (de la Cadena 2000:2; Stepan 1991).³

This paper reads off enumerators’ instruction manuals and census campaign material prepared for the 1940 national census in two ways: In the first section it looks at the reinscription of biological narratives of race that challenge sequentialist accounts; the second section looks at the normalization of these mixed racial narratives in the constitution of “the Peruvian population” as a naturalized social body regulated in terms of internal bio-cultural “dangers” (rather than as part of a unifying national project ‘gone wrong’).⁴

More generally, this paper highlights the historical contingency of conceptions of race and nation that tend to be collectivized as projects of racial homogenization or ‘whitening’ in the Andean countries in the first half of the 20th C. Also, by focusing on enumeration instruction manuals and campaign materials, I hope to draw attention to the practices ‘around’ census-making that have received little attention in critical studies in this area that tend to focus on the ‘census proper’ (Curtis 2001). (As a case in point, the rich archival material in the campaign booklets and manuals is not included in existing research on the 1940 National Census).

CRITICAL APPROACHES TO CENSUS-MAKING

Statistical data has been central to social policy and government administration for over a century and has historically been understood as an empirical exercise in counting existing populations, problematized in terms of logistics, accuracy and extrapolation. Social historians and social scientists looked more critically at the practice of census-taking in the 1980s and 1990s, challenging realist assumptions by shifting attention to the role of the census in state-building, social and spatial ordering, and constituting populations—“making up people” (Hacking 1990)—and imagined communities⁵ (Anderson 1991).

There has been a resurgence of interest in the politics and practice of classifying populations in census-making in the new millennium (Christopher 2005; Kertzer and Arel 2001), reflecting in part the (inter)disciplinary tensions between critical theorizing on race and identity, and the persistence of ‘objective’ enumeration of populations into coherent categories. The re-emergence of categories of race

³ The reinscription of race is of particular interest given the current attention in political science to Peru’s ‘exceptionalism’ i.e. the apparent absence of identity-based indigenous movements in stark contrast to its Andean neighbours (Yashar 2005).

⁴ It is well-known that official narratives are never closed, and a rich literature exists on their contestation through popular politics “from below” (see, for example, Mallon 1995 & Nugent 1997). However, without presuming the effects of “authoritative accounts,” they nonetheless provide insight into imaginings of nation and population as well as practices of social ordering and “making legible” (Scott 1998) that are central to modern forms of government.

⁵ It has long been argued that nations are historically contingent constructions produced not only from above but also from below (Hobsbawm 1990; Gellner 1983). Anderson’s seminal definition of the nation as “an imagined political community” (1991:6) 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 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 (164). Racial categories were singular and unambiguous, “...The fiction of the census is that everyone is in it, and that everyone has one—and only one—extremely clear place” (166). 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. still reduces race to class hierarchy, less useful for this paper.

in contemporary projects to promote multiculturalism and ‘affirmative’ discrimination, and more recently the unproblematized return of biological definitions in race-based genetics, and the reinscription of racial hierarchies in post-9/11 politics (Gilroy 2005; Rose & Rabinow 2003), also contribute to renewal in this area of research.⁶

The idea that the census constructs rather than reflects a particular socio-historical reality is widely shared (Kertzer & Arel 2001). From this view, the census embodies a particular epistemology, a way of ‘knowing’ populations, what Scott (1998) aptly refers to 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. The verbal and numerical recording of static, aggregate, and standardized ‘facts’ has a simplifying and unifying effect:

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 easier 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....The builders of the modern nation-state do not merely describe, observe and map; they strive to shape a people and landscape that will fit their techniques of observation. (Scott 1998:81-82)

The census, as epistemological and political project, relies on calculative techniques that came to the fore in the 19th century in an “avalanche” of printed numbers that enabled the systematic collection of data (Hacking 1990).⁷ More than just collecting, it is also provided states with a monopoly on naming—the ability to “produce and impose categories of thought...including itself” that become natural or given (Bourdieu 1999:53). This act of naming or representing has the effect of making the referents that it invokes (nation, population, race) appear as objects that exist apriori; the crucial reifying process of representing the ‘real’ (Mitchell 2000). Census categories contribute to reinforcing hierarchies of subjects, who in turn become objects of intervention and improvement. The census from this perspective is a central technology in the biopolitical regulation of population (Foucault 1997), (this idea is elaborated in the last section of the paper).

Collectively, critical approaches have moved us beyond an understanding of the census as only a reporting of external objects. However, they have tended to focus on the census ‘proper’ – i.e. the categories used, questions asked, and data produced the “day of” etc.. (Curtis 2001). This focus on census as singular event misses the mundane, administrative practices (Ferguson & Gupta 2002) that normalize the categories and language deployed in census-making that extend beyond single administrations and are therefore not reducible to partisan politics or presidential projects. For this reason, I find it fruitful to focus on the materials around census-making including publications,

⁶ The scientific and commercial interest in genetic determinants of race speaks to its re-biologization. As Rabinow and Rose point out “...it would be tempting to say that this highly sophisticated genomics has produced new complexity into the figure of humanity. But it is striking and disturbing that the core racial typology of the nineteenth century -- white (Caucasian), black (African), yellow (Asian), red (Native American) -- still provide a dominant mould through which this new genetic knowledge of human difference is taking shape, as medical researches and gene mappers specify their populations and their samples in such terms, and drug companies seek to target specific pharmaceuticals to groups designated, for example, as “African Americans” (2003:14).

⁷ The emergence of numbers as an impartial, ‘factual’ way of knowing has been traced by Poovey (1997) to 17th C. Italian double-entry book-keeping, later adopted as “disinterested data” by the liberal state in the 19th C. Her analysis centers on the paradox that ‘facts’ (and numerical facts in particular) only make sense in relation to a systematic body of knowledge, i.e. are not just a “catalogue of unrelated particulars.” (p2).

promotional materials and instruction manuals that were developed over the course of several years in the lead up to the national census in 1940.

The first 'modern' national census in Peru took place in 1876, followed by a sixty-three year hiatus until June 9, 1940. 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" (1942:2). According to Parro, Peruvians' "readiness" for such an undertaking began to manifest in the 1930s: 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; the expansion of popular education and improved economic conditions (Parro 1942:2-4). Although it had been mandated under his predecessor, the 1940 National Census was considered a benchmark of then-President Prado's tenure in office, during a political period characterized by competing national visions of *Indigenismo* vs. *Hispanismo* (Peru as an 'Indian' vs. 'Mestizo' nation) (Klarén 2000).

INDIGENISMO IN PERU 1920-40

Alternately used to define literary, intellectual, and political movements, *Indigenismo* manifest as a shared concern about the relationship of the Indian to the larger political community, but embodied neither a singular ideological or moral (or sympathetic) view towards indigenous populations, with versions tied to particular historical and political contexts.⁸ *Indigenismo* in Peru in the first half of the 20th C. was constituted spatially, centered in the highland city of Cuzco, the colonial capital and heart of the Inca empire, a symbolic "center of Indianness" (de la Cadena 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 had become central to the highland elites' regional-cum-nationalist political projects, consistently understood as a response to the Limeño elites long held association of modernization and progress with the coastal region (which had disproportionately benefited from the economic boom in late 19th & early 20th C) and the associated backwardness of the highlands and (predominantly indigenous) populations therein.

In both imaginaries, "racial improvement" was an unquestioned prerequisite for national progress, however, for coastal elites this would be achieved through a homogenization of the Peruvian population via *Mestizaje* or transcultural 'whitening' (de la Cadena 2000). Indigenistas counter-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 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). They envisioned a "New Indian" returned to an idealized former glory and way of life:

⁸ Devine Guzman's (2005) working definition of Indigenism captures the "amorphousness" of the term: "Indigenism...is the collection of theoretical, political and cultural production created in response to the questions of how and why Indian peoples should be included in or excluded from the nation-state, and the dominant ideas about the nation-state..." (2005:93). It tended to be promoted by regional (mestizo) elites, without necessarily a direct relationship to the experiences of indigenous populations at that time.

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 Indigenista intellectuals 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” (Garcia 2005:148). 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. (Valcárcel synthesizes 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 with socialist thinking in the early 20th C., recasting “the Indian problem” from one of biological determinism to socio-economy and culture.⁹ These types of displacements are commonly presented as sequential and relatively contained (de la Cadena 1998; Klarén 2000).

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 2003:191). Mexican writer Vasconcelos’ seminal book *The Cosmic Race* (1925) 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. The implicit paradox in this—which on the one hand promotes integration, homogeneity and hopefulness for racial improvement, and on the other reproduce a racial hierarchy in which indigenous populations are excluded as inferior—is captured 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).

“OFFICIAL-IZATION” OF INDIGENISMO IN NATIONAL POLITICS

The ‘officialization’ of *Indigenismo* during this period is commonly framed in terms of partisan politics, attributed to a shift in national politics in the 1919, with the victory of a populist President Leguía, a member of the growing entrepreneurial class who broke with the traditional parties that were politically

⁹ This was articulated originally by Peru’s leading Marxist of the 20th C. José Mariátegui in his well-known work *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (1928).

dominant during the “Aristocratic Republic” from 1895-1919 (Klarén 2000). In order to accrue the political support of regional elites (to counter coastal elites aligned with traditional parties), Leguía invoked *Indigenismo* as a centerpiece in his campaign. Although Indigenous were excluded from voting, Leguía capitalized on a growing sympathy for Indigenous exploitation, which had emerged in the late 19th C and early 20th C, what well-known Peruvian historian J. Basadre referred to as the “the rediscovery of the Indian” describing it as the “single most important event in twentieth century Peruvian history” (in Klarén 2000:245). Leguía won the election and assumed power with the slogan *La Patria Nueva* (The New Fatherland), beginning what is commonly referred to as Leguía’s *Oncenio* or eleven year rule.¹⁰

Leguía aligned himself with the more radical strain of *Indigenismo* (associated with Valcárcel et al), initiating a set of legislative reforms including issuing a new constitution (1921) that gave official recognition to the “Indian Race” and Indian Communities. He appointed Indigenista elites to key political positions and a Bureau of Indian Affairs was created within the Ministry of Development. Leguía began to position himself personally as a leading Indigenista, (even referring to himself occasionally as “Virachocha,” a white Inca god) (Davies 1973:196).

Just as the intellectual revival of *Indigenismo* had little bearing on or reflection of highland indigenous existence, Leguía’s reforms are considered to have had little impact, reflecting limited resource investment and the disjuncture between representations of indigeneity and a concrete interest in everyday life (see Devine Guzman 1998). The promotion of indigenous reforms was also dramatically 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 1920.¹¹ 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).

The end of his regime in a coup d’état led by Col. Sánchez Cerro, marked a period characterized by populism and the emergence of APRA as the central opposition party. As regional political and intellectual leaders moved to center-stage in national politics, the pro-*mestizaje* (anti-imperialist) position was taken up by anti-state parties.¹² Cerro was assassinated by an Aprista in 1933, and the Presidency was assumed by Gen. Oscar Benavides, who capitalized on a strengthening economy to implement a moderate economic conservative agenda (still based on export-lead growth) and increase state spending on social programs. Starting in the mid 1930s, Benavides laid the plans for the census and created the national commission, a project pursued by his (hand-picked) successor Manuel Prado y Ugarteche elected in 1939 (Klarén 2000 pp.277-9).

¹⁰ Leguía’s “*Oncenio*” was defined by his prioritization of export-lead development; the initiation of large-scale road-building and infrastructural development projects (that relied on forced labour); the expansion of the public service; record levels of U.S investment in Peru; and the accumulating significant debt. During his tenure, Leguía dramatically increased his own power, relying on caudillo-style politics and clientelist networks, ultimately becoming one of the most notorious dictators in Peru’s 20th C. history (Klarén 2000 pp.242-244).

¹¹ All men between the age of 18 and 21 were required to work six unpaid days per year on road building in their region, whereas those between 21 and 50 had to work 12 days per year; those who could afford it could pay their way out of it, therefore the burden of forced road building fell literally upon the backs of the poorest, primarily indigenous populations, thousands of whom died as a result of exposure and brutal labour conditions (Davies 1973:197-8). *Conscripción vial* was strongly opposed by many Indigenistas, and fractured Leguía’s support base. However, his persistent promotion of *Indigenismo* in politics, literature and art sustained it in official discourses on the nation and national population. (See Davies 1973; Klarén 2000 for discussion on this).

¹² Under Sánchez Cerro, indigenists of the Sierra moved further into positions of political power and influence through the 1930s, continuing the promotion of indigeneity and ‘cultural purity.’ Institutionally this manifest in the creation of a Peruvian branch of the Inter-American Indigenist Institute (1941), of which Valcárcel was appointed President, providing a national platform from which to promote programs for indigenous ‘improvement’ through education.

Prado 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 1973:203).¹³ Prado’s *Indigenismo*-informed vision of the nation was presented in a national speech in 1939, in which he explicitly describes the 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 through education promoted by the so-called *Brigadas de Culturización Indígena*. Prado frames the government’s legal recognition of indigenous community land as evidence of their will to protect the well-being of Peru’s “aboriginal race.” Recognition was also part of a process of making indigenous populations and communities ‘legible’ (Scott 1998), requiring not only the establishment of land registries (*catastro de las tierras*) but, as Prado states in this speech, gathering related statistics as a “national necessity” to be undertaken by the government, in order to be able to 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 (Parro 1942).

In parallel, to “secure the rustic indigenous heritage” the government would also take charge of indigenous education, to prevent the “trap” of illiteracy” underpinning their “backwardness.” “Brigades for Indigenous Culturization” were dispatched to provinces with the highest indigenous populations—Cuzco, Puno, Ayacucho, Ancash, Junín and Cajamarca. These Brigades, which Prado also referred to as “roving nuclei of civilization,” were charged with providing 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 a high standard “morality and honour” as the Brigades are also charged with ensuring Indigenous learning on 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-a-vis the national destiny, creating appropriate habits of hygiene (personal, home, appearance and apparel); improving their homes and the selection of nutritious foods, fighting 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 who loves his country, who participates in the organized life of the country and its activities” (Excerpt from Prado Speech, 1939).

Indigenismo had become increasingly performative under Prado, who actively promoted the celebration of Indigenous folklore and Inca culture, instituting an official production of the Incan Festival of the Sun (Inti Raymi) in Cuzco. In fact, Prado requested Arguedas (the author of *Runa Yupay*), whom he considered to be an Indigenista and folkloric expert, to create the official dramatized version of Incan ritual (Garcia 2005; De la Cadena 2000:169). As de la Cadena (2000) and Weismantel and Eisenman (1998) point out, these types of performances relied on “fabricated Indianness” whereby those “with the greatest claim to non-Indian status, are most involved in teaching Indians how to be Indians, whether by instructing performers, or by performing an exaggerated Indianness themselves”

¹³ Unlike his predecessors, Prado was more active in implementing reforms, allocating more than 1 billion soles to expand rural education, training rural-based Indigenous schoolteachers, opening primary schools to promote Indian education as a means to cultural ‘improvement’ and integration. Additionally, he created a Bureau of Indian Culturalization within the Ministry of Education, and re-activated the *Brigadas de Culturización Indígena* (Brigades for Indigenous Culturization) (Davies 1973).

(Weismantel and Eisenman 1998:132). Arguedas was thus a key figure in literally constituting the material and symbolic links between nationalism and indigenism at this time, attesting to the inseparability of 'fact' and 'fiction' in official representations of race and nation. His tale, *Runa Yupay*, was a centerpiece in the campaign material prepared for the national census in 1940, a benchmark of Prado's tenure in office (Klarén 2000:285).



Photograph by Figuero Aznar, Cuzco (1910-1930s) a Theatre Group rehearsing "What the Traveler Dreamed" in D. Poole *Vision Race & Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (1997), p.193.

INDIGENSIMO, RACE & CENSUS...

The debate between Indigenista and assimilationists is generally presented in terms of partisan politics i.e. dichotomy and division. Often overlooked in this debate is the shared etymology and etiology of both versions (Indigenista and assimilationist), 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 C. Attributes were 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 to improve the 'genetic stock' (Stepan 1991).¹⁴ These were not competing theories of races so much as a shared "logic and language" harnessed to particular political projects. Indigenistas and assimilationists both advocated programs of reform through education—inherited improvement in cultural form. For assimilationists this was to be incorporative (urban, spanish) for Indigenistas for cultural recuperation (locally and in native language).¹⁵

The primacy of cultural inheritability/improvement is considered to be a hallmark in the shift from biological conceptions of race to cultural ones in the first half of the 20th C (Garcia 2005; Stern 2003). As explicit hierarchies of biological race became increasingly taboo in the wake of World War II,

¹⁴ See Wilson (2004) for an in-depth analysis of racism and discourses of hygiene in 19th C. Peru.

¹⁵ The idea of incorporating Indians via education has a long history in the region; in the 1870s President Manuel Prado also identified education as the key means via which Indians would be incorporated into "Peruvian Life" (Davies 1973: 187).

race was “recoded” in cultural and socio-economic terms, apparently absolving its proponents of ‘racism,’ opening space for ‘legitimate’ debate around ‘acquired’ attributes of culture and education (de la Cadena 1998:160). Peru is considered to have undergone three “post-biological” conceptual periods of race: In the first, from 1910-1930, race is primarily conceived of in term of moral disposition; in the second 1930-60, cultural and class analyses predominate over biological, biotypological and moral accounts, and in the third period 1960-1980, distinctions are drawn in primarily in economic terms, reflecting leftist opposition to culture and race as false consciousness (de la Cadena 1998:144). This sequentialism pre-empts the reduction of race to class—in colonial/post-colonial contexts the latter was “coded racially” from the outset, as Stoler (1995) puts it “race already [made] up a part of that “grid of intelligibility” through which the bourgeoisie came to define themselves” (p.53). However, the notion of defining breaks or ruptures between biological and cultural discourses from the 1920s-1940s is not borne out in census-making practices. The census reports and instruction manuals are characterized by a discursive *bricolage*, manifest in a simultaneous emphasis on culture and an overt discomfort around the inclusion of phenotypic categories of race, yet persistent, implicit references to innate racial biotypes.¹⁶

The enumerators’ instruction manuals provide insight into this layering. (Over 26,014 enumerators were trained over an 8-10 day period as part of the preparations for the census;¹⁷ 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” (Parro 1942:4)). In the first pages of the instruction manual, the category of ‘race’ was heavily caveated, explaining that they weren’t 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” (Census Report V.I, 1944 p.19). Accordingly, enumerators are asked to classify populations according to four categories :White/Mestizo, Indian, Black or Yellow. The manual states explicitly that the census will not foster “inter-racial competition,” and in Parro’s post-census report, he states that racial questions were possible, as “racial prejudice was ...practically disappearing” (1942:14). 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 wasn’t “clear” than they should be recorded as Mestizo (*Instrucciones*

¹⁶ 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 to combine categories of White and Mestizo – disaggregated in other censuses specifying race including those undertaken in Guatemala (1940), Cuba (1943), Brazil (1940), Dominican Republic (1935), and Panama (1940) for example.

¹⁷ This number 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 1942:3-5). 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 in which to complete their census forms, each allocated 500 people). Fines were to be levied for those who deliberately didn’t participate or didn’t provide the required information (500 soles for incomplete information, or one day in prison for each 10 soles and 6 months to 1 year in prison in the case of failing to failure to comply or intentionally withholding information) (Parro 1942:2-5).

para el Empadronamiento general de la Población 1940:53). (In an early analysis, 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).¹⁸

These ‘apologist’ caveats for physical/phenotypic categories were followed by unproblematic 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” (Guía para los Maestros y demás colaboradores del Plan Censal, 1940:56).

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 B. below, which describes house with five rooms, made of clay and brick, construction complete and fully inhabited, with the enumerator observing details such as the aged condition of the numbers on the door).¹⁹

Figure B. Sample of urban housing schedule, Census Report V.1 (1944).

Presencia del medio de formación en el momento de la inscripción (Zona urbana)

ZONA 18 MANZANA 33 CALLE *Portes Paz* No ORDEN INMUEBLE *5.*

Total de puertas del inmueble *5.* No de pisos *2* MATERIAL DE CONSTRUCCION *adobe y ladrillo* Características *para construida y totalmente habitada*

Nombre del Propietario *Nicolás Costa* Su nacionalidad *Costa Rica*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Puertas	Destino	No Orden	No Int	Nombre del Jefe de Familia	Ocupacion	No puertas
<i>0712</i>	<i>Garage</i>					
<i>716</i>	<i>Terrandas</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>Luis Alvarez</i>	<i>Abogado</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>720</i>	<i>id</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>Manuel Lopez</i>	<i>Empleado</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>id</i>	<i>id</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>179</i>	<i>Pedro Garcia</i>	<i>Electricista</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>724</i>	<i>id</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>Juan Alfaro</i>	<i>Comerciante</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>728</i>	<i>Habitacion</i>					

OBSERVACIONES *Las puertas tienen, además, placas de numeración antigua.*

¹⁸ Of course, self-ascribed racial identities are also fluid, and there is a large body of research on this, particularly on the strategic self-ascription as “Indian” or “Mestizo” under colonial rule, that reflected race-based rules for tribute payment and land allocation/protection (see Radcliffe & Westwood 1996).

¹⁹ The attention to door numbering was explicitly required in the instruction manual, that 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 (Census Report, Annex 44 p.617). Rose-Redwood (2006) has written on the history of house numbering as a technology of government—a form of fixing spatial orders, part of the biopolitics of population (and inseparable from the establishment of private property relations) (p.470).

This type of overt and unproblematic naturalization of cultural (acquired) distinctions and the tentative, qualified approach to 'actual' categories of race could be read as evidence of the discursive shifts considered to be unfolding at the time. However, innumerable instructions and explanations in the manual relied on assumptions about innate physiological difference, mutually constituted with those of 'place.' These belie the reinscription (vs. 'fading away') of biological forms that reflects more than just "sedimentary traces" (Goldberg 1993:81) of past significations that this "hybridity" is often considered to reflect. In the first excerpt below this manifests in an intrinsic "climo-physiology;" in the second in the exclusion of Indigenous populations of the Amazonian ('jungle') region from the census, considered beyond the scope of improvement, explained in terms of prevailing "common sense":²⁰

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....

(*Census Report 1944 V.1. p.cxxxv*)

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.

(Parro 1942:8)

At a time of "cultural fundamentalism" (de la Cadena 2000:5), this bio-spatial fixing challenges 'tidy' sequentialist accounts that articulate clean breaks between narratives of race, or understand persistence as something 'left over.' More than just acknowledging the mutually constitutive relation between 'biology' and 'culture' writ large,²¹ processes of reinscription or recoding have a bearing on contemporary assumptions about the absence of identity-based political mobilization in Peru, that has emerged as a central question for political scientists working on the region (Yashar 2005). Accounts which presume the displacement of the 'Indian' by 'peasant' or 'class,' can't adequately explain the centrality of indigenous symbols in contemporary presidential elections; or the surprising 'return' of indigenous identity in recent national census results;²² or self-ascribed "indigenous-mestizos" (de la Cadena 2000) who blend indigenous cultural heritage with 'mestizaje,' measured in terms of education and economic success. (De la Cadena (2000) usefully describes this distilling of Indian-ness to cultural heritage in terms of "de-Indianization").

The census (re)produces and normalizes bio/cultural internal hierarchies, not 'instead of' constituting a 'national social body,' but as foundational to it; this process is best captured in the census campaign

²⁰ Instead, their numbers were calculated based on "an estimate [from] the reports of ...traders, priests, army officials, explorers, rural police and the like..." (Parro 1942:8). (Since then, the limited socio-historical research that has focused on the 1940 census has tended to be limited to debates about the 'accuracy' of figures and calculations, and speculation about the 'actual' numbers of indigenous populations (see Gootenberg 2001; Kubler 1952; Rowe 1947).

²¹ The sharp distinction between biology and culture, or natural/social has been thoroughly problematized for example by Latour (1993), and Wade (2003) among many others.

²² Based on a conversation with M. Remy at the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP), January 2007.

materials through the lens of biopolitics, that focuses on the management of ‘population’ vis-a-vis these ‘internal dangers.’

THE CAMPAIGN & SECURING ‘THE PERUVIAN POPULATION’



“Without the Census the Country won’t 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?*” 1939, p.22)

The census campaign materials, as exemplified in the poster and quote above, reflect a “population-based” rationality of government, that constitutes the “Peruvian population” as problem and object of government—bringing into view a particular set of problems and “field of action” or intervention, that tends to be taken as self-evident in analyses of “state-building” and “modernization” (Dean 1999:94-101). This view reflects Foucaultian conceptions of biopower and specifically biopolitics. Biopower works through two ‘poles’—the disciplining of the individual body or “anatomy-politics” (through observation, surveillance etc.) *and* through the regulation of human as species i.e. the management of population or ‘biopolitics,’ in terms of biological life-processes—fertility, health, hygiene, longevity, (re)production etc. (Foucault 1997:244-247).²³

²³ For Foucault, the emergence of ‘population’ in this sense is pivotal in the shift to a modern ‘mentality’ of government: “...population comes to appear above all else as the ultimate end of government. In contrast to sovereignty, government has as its purpose not the act of government itself, but the welfare of the population, the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health, etc.; and the means that the government uses to attain these ends are themselves all in some sense immanent to the population; 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 1991:100).

This perspective is useful in this context: The census is exemplary of the individualizing and totalizing dimensions of biopower and the disciplinary and biopolitical technologies entailed—observing individuals in terms of race, social, and economic practices to produce patterns and pathologies of ‘the population’; this perspective illuminates the ‘productive’ forms of power embodied in the census as a key instrument in constituting a natural social body/‘Peruvian population’ beyond the state (rather than just “unveiling” it as a strategic form of state domination); it also illuminates the way in which recoded racial hierarchies, highlighted previously, are normalized within the mechanisms of the state.

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. Stoler (1995), who 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, usefully points out that:

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 web of the social body, threaded through its fabric.

(Stoler 1995:65)

The census and associated campaign materials produce categories to which individuals are assigned, dividing populations into sub-groups alternately considered to contribute to or present an obstacle to the well-being of ‘the Peruvian population’ and against whom latter must be secured (through interventions in health, hygiene, education etc.). The manual and materials prepared for the campaign are laden with references to its aim to “find out about the Peruvian population,” in order to “attend to its needs”. This is markedly different from census-taking projects in the 18th and 19th C that were not concerned with the populations’ ‘needs’ but counted to catalogue resource potential (economic, military etc.) (Gootenberg 2001; 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).²⁴

As noted in the Introduction, campaign materials generated as part of the census process have received little attention in critical research on census-making. In the Peruvian case, the scope of the campaign was remarkable— it included hundreds of pages of printed materials, as well as 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 (Census Report 1944, VI p.LIV). To this end, the Service for Publications and Propaganda was created in 1938, to produced 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. *Runa Yupay*). The Service relied heavily on the media but also on schoolteachers as key proponents of these materials.

²⁴ It is beyond the scope of this paper to identify a regional or meta-historical moment of emergence of ‘population’, however, the census materials provide empirical evidence that this shift in “mentality” of government had occurred.

Specific campaign materials included:

- A 24 page booklet entitled “**Ten Chats with Children;**” all teachers were required to hold these “chats” or *charlas* with their students by the end of November 1939. The chats aimed to engage the students in discussions about the purpose of the Census and “what it would tell us” about Peru. They emphasized that participation in the Census and the resulting knowledge it will convey is key to “being Peruvian” to not only be able to identify the territory and its people, taking into account that the Peruvian “is as much the India [...] who only speaks Quechua as the inhabitant of Lima [...] who speaks Spanish,” but also to know something of the conditions of the population and their problems.
- A 48 page was booklet oriented to schoolteachers on the census to “facilitate their cooperation” and instruction to students on the Census including lesson plans for different ages;
- A 16 page brochure entitled “**What is the Census and What Purpose Does it Serve?**” for broad distribution to the general (urban) public;
- The 54 page story by Arguedas entitled **Runa Yupay**, distributed to Indigenous communities throughout the highland regions, described by the Commission as presenting a “vivid picture” of Andean life in which the schoolteacher promotes progress, channelling the noble collective aspirations to reassure the Indigenous population about the intent of the census as a means of “reaffirming the national personality” (Census Report V.1 1940 p.644).
- A 44 page book entitled “**Indigenous Peoples in Peru Through History**” that showed the “demographic setbacks” faced by Indigenous populations during and since conquest and the role of the census in helping the state redress this.
- Two series on the “**Typical Occupations of Peruvians**” for wide distribution. The first is a 32-page booklet entitled “Typical Occupations of Peruvians” that aims to “describe in a brief and attractive way some of the typical occupations of Peruvian aboriginals that despite transformations and new forms of work persist as a reaffirmation of tradition and collective ingenuity” (p.644). The second is described as being written with the same “heartfelt sentiment” as the first to describe indigenous scenes and customs that form part of the work regime in different regions of the country (this includes portrayals of ‘the Potter’ (el Alfarero); the Shepherd; the Chicha-maker (la Chichera); the Rope-makers (Torcedores de sogas); etc.).
- A 48 page booklet entitled “**Why Undertake the Census of Population and Occupation?**” distributed primarily in the highlands, highlights the importance of the census and lists the distinct questions that will be asked. It includes a “Letter to Indigenous Communities” from Parro himself that “reminds them” that the Incas also took censuses and “called attention to the advantages of the census” and that the successful implementation of the census will ensure that no one has to “miss the patient and ingenious labour of the legendary quipucamayoca del Tahuantisuyo” (latter in reference to Incan census-taking).
- A 38 page book entitled “**The Census and Sanitation Problems**” that links the census with public health concerns and solicits cooperation of doctors and other health workers. It includes a listing of the specific physical and mental ‘defects’ they are concerned about; endemic diseases; female fertility; and water services.
- A 16 page **Pamphlet for Soldiers** with the similar stated aim of informing them as to the purpose of the census and their duties in this regard. It includes a statement that the census is a “duty of the citizen, to be fulfilled with enthusiasm and joy at the prospect of serving the fatherland for the good of all” (pg. 13). It includes the following slogan: The census is knowledge; The census is order; The census is exactitude; The census is work; The census is justice; The census is prosperity.

- A 22 page booklet entitled “**What is Peru?**” distributed widely across the country to present “interesting aspects” of Peru including its “natural regions,” what it produces; its different populations; the importance of the census to Peru’s progress; the State and collective needs; State obligations; the State and social provision; conditions of life in each region; the census and civic conscience.
- A 45 page booklet entitled “**The Census Will Open New Paths to National Progress.**” This focuses explicitly on questions of race, and how the census will determine the racial composition of Peru (p.15). It provides an analysis of “demographic backwardness” (retroceso demográfico) or decline of Indigenous populations post conquest.

These materials, while not necessarily achieving their intended effects of “soliciting cooperation,” are explicit (in fact blatant) in articulating the population as central problem of government and the latter’s need to “find out” about and “attend to its needs.” Among the campaign materials produced, one of the most overt expressions of this is the “**Ten Chats with Children,**” that 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...” (*El Censo es el punto de partida para el mejor conocimiento de muchos problemas*). It asks schoolchildren why the state should undertake the census, and (in case the children don’t 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” (1939:7), 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, so that the population has sufficient food, which roads need to be build etc. (p.6-7).

The campaign materials are also infused with paternal and pastoral discourses around governing family. Another of the *Ten Chats with Children* entitled “The State and Collective Needs” explains that the state has to do what the “Father of each one of you has to do with respect to the family; like the family, the Peruvian population grows and as it grows, the parents have increasing worries (is the house sufficient to accommodate everyone ? etc.)...Similarly the state, when it establishes that its population is growing, must increase services, including schools, hospitals, sports fields, roads and water etc..” (p.8-9). The final speech in story of Runa Yupay, the “Letter to Indigenous Communities” actually directly invokes this pastoral metaphor of a shepherd attending to its flock

How can the shepherd care for his sheep if he doesn’t...count them? Undoubtedly, he can’t, as he won’t know if they increase or decrease; won’t know how many have been born or died and why they have died or why they remain in the wilderness. In the same way, the state, to attend to the needs of its inhabitants, has the obligation to find out how may people live in the city, village, farm or community; it must know if they are increasing in number or diminishing. But there is a difference... For the Shepherd, it is sufficient to know how many sheep he has... whereas the state has to verify the qualities of each person...

(1939:42).

The ‘needs of the population’ are construed in terms of social problems arising from ‘internal dangers’ that are, not coincidentally, circumscribed according to bio/cultural hierarchies and the particular ‘problem’ of the contemporary Indian. The census materials and manuals refer directly to the specific racially-defined problems of health, hygiene and depopulation that posed significant “internal dangers” to population. In the instruction manual, public sanitation is described as a “primordial duty of the state” (1939:56) – requiring the enumerators to “find out about the general health of the population,” shedding light on key sanitation and health challenges. Indispensable to this was the information on the “biological character” (“personalidad biológica”) of each person, due to 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.²⁵ 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. However, as the previous discussion on narratives of race attest, their inclusion in the census is not reducible to this, but also reflects the cultural and “climo-physiological” racial/spatial narratives that underpin conceptions of health and hygiene.²⁶ 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 (Clarke 1998:202).

Indigenismo infused narratives on the spatial, physical and moral dangers in moving “down from the highlands,” away from “pure air” to work on haciendas and the resulting de-indianization manifesting in alcoholism and lethargy (Runa Yupay); to the particular susceptibility of Indigenous populations to health risks such as goitre (expressed in *Runa Yupay & The Census & Sanitation Problems* p.5). In a passage in Runa Yupay, the haciendas located in the valley below Huanipaca (symbolic site of Indian displacement) are described as having yellow blemishes (manchas) where fever (Terciana) reigns. “...Las haciendas se ven como manchas amarillas entre los árboles oscuros...en esas haciendas reina la terciana...” (Arguedas 1939 p.12). The Indians living and working at these haciendas are described as drinking and sleeping in disorder and without sense “en desorden y sin juicio” (p.15).

It was not only ‘wayward Indians’ who are constituted as an internal threat but the backwardness of contemporary Indians collectively. This is epitomized in a campaign booklet entitled *The Census Will Open New Paths to National Progress* that inscribes Indigenista idealizations of Inca heritage while identifying the “internal danger” of Indigenous populations arising from alcohol and cocaine consumption (as both cause & effect) (p.15); their physical propensity for infection and epidemic disease (p.24) and absence of hygiene, and the urgent need to incorporate them into the “rhythm of civilization...shaking them out of their lethargy, increasing their productive capacity and standard of living” (p.28). This was to be accomplished largely through culturing effects of education, and other mechanisms that would bring about the “perfection of the native”... (28-29).

The state needs to ...incorporate them into the rhythm and march of civilization, lifting them from their lethargy and increasing their productive capacity and standard of life. This will be achieved by means of education, and the Brigades for Indigenous Culturization...and other agents who work to achieve the perfection of the native...

(Excerpt from *El Censo Abrira Nuevos Surcos Al Progreso Nacional* 1939 p.28-29)

²⁵ Both of these diseases were endemic to the Andean valleys, and early accounts of Verruga Peruana, which likely existed in the pre-Colombian period, date to the 17th C. Epidemics of Verruga Peruana in the late 19th and early 20th centuries had broken out among those working on railroad and tunnel construction (including a considerable outbreak in Southern Colombia in 1936) (Wilcocks & Manson-Bahr 1972:633); therefore the particular concern for this disease was in part informed by the state’s ongoing efforts to expand national transportation infrastructure and road system through the Andean region through the 1920s and 30s. I am grateful to A. Meltzer for clarifying this point.

²⁶ The imbrication of racial discourses with biological and moral tropes on health and hygiene are longstanding in the Andean region, and an ongoing basis for exclusion from citizenship and nation, and project of improvement (see Colloredo-Mansfeld 1998; Wilson 2004). Wilson (2004) shows how discourses of hygiene were deployed to ‘clean up’ (i.e. move Indians out of) public spaces in urban Peru, and how they in turn reclaimed public spaces through ritual, sustained presence etc..

Concluding comments...

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 & Yellows” constituting less than 1% of the population (Census Report V.1 1944).²⁷ At the time, one of the most remarked-on findings of the census was the realization that White/Mestizo populations had grown, overtaking the Indigenous population that had constituted a majority in the 1876 census. The official Census Report V. 1 refers to a quote from leading Peruvian historian J. Basadre, in which he calls this finding “revolutionary” (1944:clxxxii). These results and specifically the White/Mestizo majority were considered to reinforce the “Hispanista/assimilationist” project of the coastal elite, however *Indigenismo* continued its heavy influence on in national politics through the 1940s (Rowe 1947; Davies 1973; Garcia 2005).

The conditions of oppression and hardship that Indigenous communities were subject to under colonial and postcolonial rule are well-documented, as are the ongoing multiple forms of exclusion including disproportionate levels of poverty and ill-health (World Bank 2005).²⁸ Also well-documented are the variety of ways in which oppressive policies and practices have been contested at local, regional and national levels (Mallon 1997; Wilson 2004). The narratives of race and nation traced in this paper reflect official accounts which were largely removed from the everyday experience of Indigenous populations in the highlands. Notwithstanding the discourses of *Indigenismo* in the early 20th C. that revalorized ‘indian heritage’, Indigenous populations in Peru were systematically marginalized in social, political and economic life; for example, the ‘literacy requirement’ for voting (that disproportionately excluded indigenous populations) was not lifted until 1979 (Garcia 2005). While authoritative accounts are ‘never enough’ they do offer insight into the shifting concerns (or ‘mentality’) of government that circumscribe fields of political action.

The promotion of indigenous folklore, cultural ‘recovery’ and bilingual education through the 1940s (as other countries in the region were implementing Spanish programs), speaks to the influence of *Indigenismo* and *Indigenista* intellectuals in high level government posts, including Valcárcel, who became Minister of Education in 1945. At the same time, indigenous communities increasingly affiliated with the left, joining unions and peasant associations which proliferated through the 1950s and 1960s. The ‘officialization’ of class by the end of the 1960s was epitomized by military populist President Velasco’s official replacement of “Indian” with “campesino” or “peasant.” This was announced on the so-called ‘Day of the Indian,’ (June 24th) which was renamed the ‘Day of the Peasant,’ as a way of “abandoning unacceptable racist habits and prejudices” (Velasco 1969 in Garcia 2005:75), although bilingual education and programs for cultural ‘recovery’ continued (Klarén 2000:343).

Today, while class is considered a ‘primary’ referent, bio-cultural tropes and utopian Inca narratives are never far below the surface, manifesting for example in the election of President Toledo in 2001. His inauguration at Machu Pichu was performed as Inca ritual, but his self-ascription as the ‘first indigenous president’ was contested not only due to the lack of identity-based political support but in cultural terms often with reference to his academic credentials (he held a PhD from Stanford).

²⁷ 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; 52.89% were categorized as White/Mestizo; 45.86% Indian; 0.68% Asiatic; 0.47% Negro; 35% professed “aboriginal’ (aborigen) as only language; 16.6% native & 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 (Parro 1942: 4-20).

²⁸ The World Bank Report on Indigenous Peoples, Poverty and Human Development in Latin America 1994-2004 found that over 62% of those in poverty and extreme poverty are indigenous (although they constitute between “28%-48% of the population”) (World Bank 2005).

The “exceptional” absence of identity-based politics in Peru continues to be a central question for social researchers within the region and beyond (Yashar 2005; Korovkin 2006), reflecting assumptions about the subordination of race to referents of culture and class. In highlighting the reinscription of biological narratives of race in census campaign materials and enumerators’ instruction manuals, this paper has challenged sequentialist accounts of ‘racial displacement’ in mid-20th century Peru. This finding supports recent research on contemporary recoding of race, for example “indigenous-mestizo” identities documented by De la Cadena in Cuzco (2000). Attention to these particular configurations of race also challenges singular accounts of regional (Andean) politics, race and nation-building.

The paper also supports critical analysis of the census, emphasizing its role in (re)producing contingent concerns of government; manifest, in this case, in normalizing ‘the Peruvian population’ as the central problem of government, regulated in terms of specific bio-cultural ‘internal dangers’ inscribed through the lens of *Indigenismo*. This was perhaps most visible in the administrative and preparatory practices ‘around’ census-making, which would be fruitful to include in future research in this area.

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