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Framing the instrumentalization of culture to achieve Western development.

The case of the Commission of Culture and Heritage
of Peru, Period 2016-2017.

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Abstract

Considering the historical relationship of subordination from the Global South countries to the Global North countries, this research aims to understand how culture is instrumentalized in the Peruvian political arena looking to achieve Western development standards. By focusing on the Commission of Culture and Heritage of the Congress of Peru, period 2016-2017, as its case study, it will do a discourse analysis to try to find the spheres in which developmental ideology is produced and reproduced. Those findings will be later discussed under decolonial thought and dependency theories.

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List of abbreviations

AP	<i>Acción Popular</i> (Popular Action)
BCE	Before the common era
C14	Radiocarbon
CSI	Civil society interventions
FP	<i>Fuerza Popular</i> (Popular Force)
FA	<i>Frente Amplio por Justicia, Vida y Libertad</i> (Broad Front for Justice, Life and Liberty)
ISI	Import-Substitution Industrialization
INEI	<i>Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática</i> (National Institute of Statistics and Informatics)
IRTP	<i>Instituto Nacional de Radio y Televisión del Perú</i> (National Institute of Radio and Television of Peru)
LATAM	Latin America
MINCUL	<i>Ministerio de Cultura del Perú</i> (Ministry of Culture)
ENSABAP	<i>Escuela Nacional Superior Autónoma de Bellas Artes</i> (National Superior Autonomous School of Fine Arts of Peru)
PPK	<i>Peruanos por el Cambio</i> (Peruvians for Change)
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNP	<i>Universidad Privada del Norte</i> (North Private University)
WID	World Inequality Database

Chapter I: Introduction

Nation-states relate to development because it nurtures economic coloniality¹ (Cueva, 2008, 88). Modern policies reproduce the *masters myth* (Gee, 2008) by following global trends that look to perpetuate the current system, reducing the agency of majorities to mere commodities. Because culture has been hegemonically attributed with a symbolic power for positive transformation of citizenship, cultural policies focus on reproducing the paradigm of Western development through them.

The paradigm of Western development is ascribed to a world-system configuration (Wallerstein, 1995) rooted in colonial dynamics. The so-called underdeveloped countries are guided by its legacy. This legacy, known as the coloniality of power (Quijano, 2000b), is the projection of the narrative about superiority. It universalises the negation of the other to be self-conceived as the only civilizational project (Icaza & Vazquez, 2017). In Peru, this universalism is based on “race” as a category to discriminate the groups in power from others.

Because coloniality in each former colonized country is defined by its different geo-historical experiences and epistemic locations (Icaza, 2022), this investigation wants to address how culture is instrumentalized in the Peruvian political arena to achieve a Western development standard.

To answer this question, it will be used as a case study the Commission of Culture and Heritage of the Peruvian Congress, period 2016-2017. Congress is, by definition, the political representation of the people in a democratic nation-state (Congreso de la República del Perú, 2022a, 2022b). Their decisions impact a nation-state in multi-scalar levels based on its own epistemologies and political strategies (Molho et al., 2020). In that framework, the congress commissions work is to oversee draft bills

¹ Mignolo (2012) explains the difference between Economic Coloniality and Capitalism. Here I am using the decolonial terminology because I considered that what Marxist and Liberals named as Capitalism, entails a bigger picture inside of the Colonial Matrix of Power (see Quijano 2000; Mignolo & Walsh 2018, p. 153-176).

according to each commission focus; they act as screeners to determine which one goes to the plenary to be declared or not as laws.

In that sense, because “*Andean politics cannot be understood without a careful analysis of its cultural forms*” (Jacobsen & Aljovín de Losada, 2005, p. x) it is expected that the Commission of Culture and Heritage will provide insights about the spheres in which the narrative of development co-opts culture to promote cultural draft bills.

To further explain the proposed inquiries this investigation will focus on revising 25 recorded meetings of the Commission of Culture and Heritage that belong to the period 2016-2017. The reason why this research will use recorded meetings is that it considers that developmental topics in a Global South country are framed under an unequal relationship of power, that can be identified in language as a discourse (Fairclough, 1989). Thus, discourse analysis will be held in the study case, focusing on a macro-level social structure (Hart & Cap, 2014) which will be mediated by Charmaz’s (2006) constructivist grounded theory.

From this perspective, this investigation assumes that discourses are produced and reproduced to preserve and endure power conceived from a modern hegemonic view (Lemke, 1995) that has historically and socially shaped the developmental ideology, especially in less privileged societies.

The results will be discussed using decolonial thought as well as dependency theories, able to shed some light on another dimension of how the coloniality of power as a structural problem configures the Peruvian reality.

Finally, the appointed research is expected to contribute in two ways. First, with its methodology to explore the possibility to be applied in other political environments. Hence, be able to detect the changes in paradigms that govern cultural policymakers; and second, to the understanding of how cultural policies, from the legislature, are oriented to constantly adapt a vision of development through culture for Peruvian society.

Chapter II: Western development, LATAM and Peru

2.1. Western development standard

From a western perspective, development is understood as the concentration of wealth through capital. Uses *value* as a population's measurement based on productivity (Appadurai, 1988). Thus, world segmentation -developed, underdeveloped, least developed countries- needs to compare achievements with idealized fictionalities. These fictionalities are a mix of historical events that occurred after colonies were established in the Americas and different lines of thought from the West that tried to explain the world.

Carranza (2002) revised how development paradigms shaped XX century societies. One of these lines of thought was Positivism which impacted tremendously the minds of future generations of thinkers (Paquette et al., 2017). Talcott Parsons is a good example of this influence which by using a set of historical events explained the world in evolutionary stages (Parsons & Toby, 1977). This kind of explanation of the world, considered scientific, was fundamental to prevail the otherness to achieve this position.

As consequence, Gustavo Esteva explains that “[d]evelopment occupies the centre of an incredibly powerful semantic constellation.”(2019, § 14). Hence, hegemonic powers had envisioned a particular way of doing, perceiving and thinking about the world (Belfiore & Bennett, 2008). This narrative validates a supposed global order which *naturalizes* that some people are better than others. At the same time, it invisibilizes how the concentration of wealth has been done: through mass subjugation of people and land dispossession for resource exploitation.

In a more recent line of thought, modernization theory of the mid-twentieth century gave the framework to internalize that the “*process of transition from a traditional to a modern economy and society*” (Kay, 2019, 15) was part of a natural order.

Modernization theory highlights the natural differences between developed vs underdeveloped. In Quijano's words this theory "*granted to culture the condition of seat and source of the explanations about the differences between human groups regarding 'development'*"² (2000c, p. 44). That was enough to argue in favour of adopting the hegemonic experience as a model for the rest of the world. On that sense, the participation of rich countries to help "level-up" other less developed ones were crucial to avoid delinking its dependence relationship.

2.2. The influence of developmental thinking in LATAM

The western conception of development in Latin American countries is framed in the colonial matrix of power (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, chapter 6) due to their incorporation into the world-system (Wallerstein, 1995) 500 years ago when they became colonies. This historical evidence allowed the perpetuation of a system based on accumulation, which relays on the erasure of *others'* belief systems to take advantage of their resources. On that, culture has been actively instrumentalized to partake a central role in the materialization of setting a type of being and thinking.

This dependency was highlighted by Pebrisch's (1949) pioneer work when describing the centre-periphery economic relationship with North Centric powers. In this sense, this relationship relies on universalisms (Wallerstein, 1984, p. 177) brought from the West to the now Global South countries due to their colonial legacy.

These universalisms, rooted in an evolutionary understanding (see Blaut, 1993, Gee, 2008, pp. 67–70) create the narrative that by going through a series of stages, ethnic marginalized nations can eventually acquire the predefined type of hegemonic development. Hence the reference to third world country, underdeveloped country and developing country differentiation.

² My own translation. Original: "*otorgó a la cultura la condición de sede y fuente de las explicaciones acerca de las diferencias entre los grupos humanos respecto del "desarrollo"*".

However, if these universalisms exist, why is it so difficult for non-hegemonic countries to achieve Western development? Bagú (2018 [1970]) appoints that the global order is built under inequalities that hegemonic powers need to maintain for the sake of economic coloniality. Therefore, the bond of subordination or dependency is a necessary consequence that lies on the rationality that seeks global progress (Beigel, 2006).

The later statement belongs to a long list of what was considered as solid evidence to back up the marginalization of ethnic groups, depriving them with no participation in the dynamics of civil society. Therefore, the normalization of inequalities were understood as “*inherent temporal and cultural gaps between the ‘races’ ...*” (Hedrick, 2003, p. 26).

On that framework, being indigenous represents the physical embodiment of backwardness. In other words, everything that must be removed. This thinking embraced a fascist ideology which contributed to seek a social *whitening*. In Latin America there was a necessity to eradicate this “*internal enemy*”³ (Beigel, 2006, p. 291) to attain prosperity.

Unlike the modernization theory, dependency theories appeared in Latin America (Veltmeyer & Delgado Wise, 2018) and became very critical and fruitful. Quijano (2000c) attributes the foundation to this current of thought to the Imperialist theory from a Marxist point of view on which external or structural dependencies are involved.

Dependency theories started to critique the Import-Substitution Industrialization (ISI) due to the rampant dominance of foreign capital, in hand with the national bourgeoisie which did not democratize opportunities but increased the inequality gap (Kay, 2019). Even though there are different strands of the Dependency theories, it is common to all of them that in the capital system “*the hegemonic centres organize the international productive process in favour of their own accumulation*”⁴ (Pizarro, 2022, p. 260).

³ My own translation. Original: “*enemigo interno*”.

⁴ My own translation. Original: “*los centros hegemónicos organizan el proceso productivo internacional en favor de su propia acumulación.*”

2.3. The Peruvian relationship with development

In the Global South, “*European diffusionism*” (Blaut, 1993, p. 1) has helped conceptualize development from a hegemonic perspective by strategically trying to harmonize “peripheric” experiences. The colonial legacy allows the ownership and enrichment of a small group of people in spite of most population, which is considered a minority (Cotler, 2005; Jacobsen & Aljovín de Losada, 2005).

In Peru, the Spanish invasion, and later the establishment of new governments, as for example, the Viceroyalty of Peru, not only brought different treatment between the Spanish and Indigenous but also enslaved people brought from Africa. These three “races”, to the hegemonic eyes, responded to a natural order in which the Western recognized themselves as the peak of the developmental ladder (Bernand & Gruzinski, 1996, p. 475).

The racialised categorisation was taken as a universalism and helped order the world to benefit a minority group in the so-called New World. Categories were used to argue about their right to be owners of other humans, land, and resources such as gold. For example, the Creoles were the Spanish offspring born on American soil and the Mestizo was the offspring of a Spanish-Indigenous union. Each of these racial unions, had particular rights or none, in other words people had different value. Thus, the descriptions not only referred to physical characteristics but associations to a particular way of being (Anaya, 2010). This idea was assimilated in such fashion that coming generations were able to place themselves in a category (see La Vega & Miro Quesada, 1985, pp. 265–266).

The incipient democracy that Peru acquired after the consolidation of its Independence (1820-1824) broadened the gap for oppressed communities. The Independence did not bring freedom to all Peruvian inhabitants as it was imagined by José de San Martín and Simón Bolívar. In Bolívar’s case, influenced by The United States Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, he worked on liberal-oriented declarations that pursued the conception of private property in favour of the indigenous natural person (Figallo, 1994).

This early attempt at agrarian reform eradicated the idea of communal land. The liberal ideology that was followed considered indigeneity as backward, only by creating a rural bourgeoisie through the privatisation of land, former indigenous, now Peruvians, could access the market as equal citizens. However, in practice, things were far from fair to indigenous people and, in 1827 the Congress eliminated most of the reforms that would have meant the freedom of the indigenous people and established some modifications that granted legitimacy to land rights only to literate indigenous. This, legally disabled millions of indigenous because of their illiteracy (Espinoza, 2008, p. 256).

In the following years, the lack of actual governance from the military forces that seized power (Contreras & Zuloaga, 2014, p. 172) gave rise to the instauration of a Feudal-like organization known as *Gamonalismo*. The *gamonal* or the owner of vast lands was known to had sufficient power to mobilise the labour force (Flores, 1999) and because of that acted as a social control on behalf of the state.

In the meantime, a raising United States, working to validate its position in the world order, gave the parameters to place “diversities” as a category in a far distant encapsulated time where it can be only accessed by academia or institutionalised places such as museums.

These events contributed to see indigeneity in Peru as a problem for achieving modernity (see Palma, 1897). For example, studies in criminology in Peru, influenced by the positivist ideas of the time, promoted the assimilation of the indigenous stereotype as the model of the natural criminal (Aguirre, 2000). Then, indigeneity was restricted to be seen as a labour force for industrialization or as a subject of study in museums or academia (Matos, 1986).

By the early XX century, the Peruvian dominant class highlighted the so-called racial differences when proposed the necessity to work towards a national integration (Obregón, 2019). President Leguía (1919-1930) assumed the task of building the foundation of a new country. Indigenous people needed to upgrade their "status", at least, to labourers as a symbol

of a viable future that sympathizes with industrialization (Alvarez Espinoza, 2021).

Against these ideas, there were thinkers that helped denounce the exploitation propelled by Peruvian conservatism. For instance, Manuel González Prada (1904) condemns international corporativism and calls for awareness to attain sovereignty from a bottom-up approach. Later on, José Carlos Mariátegui (1928) will identify the *Indian problem* as rooted in unequal land distribution due to the *Gamonalismo* and proposes a socialist cooperativism based on the revindication of Inca cultural knowledge.

In that way, both authors dismiss the *sentimental men* discourse imposed by the elites when trying to describe a profile of the *otherness/backwardness* (Hedrick, 2003, p. 216). Contrary to mainstream upper-class ideas, the viewpoint of these two authors readapted the discourse of “problem” as an opportunity for progress through the agency of the dispossessed masses.

In the following years, the artistic and political avant-garde (*indigenismo*) of the time contributed to further strengthen this vision. However, the idea that the indigenous can be acquitted and incorporated into civilization through his cultivation was strongly promoted (Majluf, 2021, pp. 8–10).

Overall, the hierarchical and paternalistic relationship that kept the indigenous population, mostly from the highlands, in a state of submission found its end in 1969 when the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces of Peru headed by General Velasco Alvaro, president of Peru at the time, declared the abolition of serfdom by the expropriation of legal and natural persons’ land for its equitable distribution on behalf of the emancipation of the peasant (Mayer, 2009).

It is during Velasco’s rule that different institutions were created to take the lead for restructuring the basis of development based on a nationalist force of production. After Bermudez *coup d’état* in 1975, Peru will experience the arrival of different political actors that performed as the personification of change for the expected social justice. However, all of them

ended up legislating with the same flaws as their predecessors and shortening the axis of state action in favour of privatization.

As Drinot appoints, not even the revolutionary governance of Velasco escaped from governing with the idea that the fundamentals of development needed to address the incorporation of indigeneity into modernity (2011, p. 236). In essence, Peruvian development is rooted in imported discriminatory references that were exacerbated by historical processes and the elite's ambition to chase the imaginary of whiteness.

With the consolidation of the free market economy for developing countries consecrated in the Washington Consensus, Fujimori's new constitution in 1993 created policies that restrained the State on behalf of the emergence and growth of private enterprises⁵ whilst increasing welfarism for popularity in the most depressed economic sectors of the country.

After 30 years of this event the country has experienced economic growth at the expense of traditional marginalized sectors. None of the tenth heads of State⁶ after Fujimori's dictatorship has been able to establish a path that includes segregated citizens in other activities besides agriculture or touristic services⁷. It is not a coincidence that by 2021 only 1% of the population owns 44.77% of Peru's wealth concentration whereas the bottom 50% only 0.3% (World Inequality Database [WID], n.d.).

This means that over Peru's history, the construction of the racialized body as a homogenizing category helps to maintain the *status quo* through policy implementation. In this sense, what is at stake is if the policies implemented by the establishment would help transform this *other* so it can blend into society. However, it seems that what Cotler thoroughly describes, "*only when the educational process would have been completed,*

⁵ For examen see the art° 60 of the Constitution about the market concentration by the subsidiarity of the state.

⁶ Includes Dina Boluarte.

⁷ This can be exemplified in the Strategic Plan for Productive Diversification launch in (2014) from *Ministerio de la Producción*, where tourism represents a major activity to further exploit in the international market.

the Peruvian population would be able to obtain the title of citizen”⁸ (2005, p. 129), is part of the progress narrative. This could mean it is not convenient to implement a transformation policy because the labour force, with all the inequalities that allow the current wealth centration, will not be able to handle it.

Chapter III: Culture and Peru

3.1. What is meant by culture

The broader scope of the meanings of culture and the external changes asserted by globalisation (Throsby, 2010) allows the concept to be used for different utilitarian purposes (T. Bennett, 1992). Thus, identifying the ways policy-makers endorse culture for political purposes is key (Gray, 2007).

Culture, as Raymond Williams (1985, pp. 87–93) pointed out, is a complex concept that does not have an exchange rate in economic terms; it is assumed by its intangible meaning that imprint an individual or a group of people (e.g., society). In a neoliberal model, there is an exacerbation for transforming culture into currency; hence, people who have more cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) become valuable assets (Alexander & Bowler, 2014). In this case, value is seen as a “*fundamentally fictitious concept, rooted in the subjective experiences of individuals of different perspectives and cultural backgrounds*” (Rush, 2020, p. 84).

Historically, the concept appeared by the antagonization between Nature and Culture. The former was created to denote all the things that “*exist without human intervention*” (Fornäs, 2017, p. 11), setting the basis for linking the concept with less developed things or an exotisation of others. On the contrary, the latter, culture, was built under the statement of cultivation.

During the eighteenth century, or the Anthropocene (McNeill, 2016), the dichotomy between nature and culture persisted. This view questioned a

⁸ My own translation. Original: “*Solo cuando ese proceso de educación se hubiera completado, el poblador peruano estaría en condiciones de obtener el título de ciudadano.*”

mystified understanding of the world whilst embracing a secularized one encouraged by industrialization advancements (Steffen et al., 2011). On that framework, the German concept of *bildung* and the emergence of the bourgeoisie class in France opened up the space to narrow down the concept and relate it with social differentiations in the aim for conceptualizing a growing of self-cultivation while acquiring refinement (Belfiore & Bennett, 2008, p. 166).

In the nineteenth century, due to the influence of anthropology, culture and civilization were treated as equals terms. Therefore, development came to play an important role as a way to define stages of improvement (Hammersley, 2019, p. 3). This association of ideas allowed hegemonic powers to justify atrocities by arguing about developing or improving their evolutionary stage of life at the expense of others who were not recognized as equals.

Thus, was clear that during the Enlightenment but specially in modern industrialisation, the spiritual cultivation concept focused on quantitative growth and qualitative improvement (Fornäs, 2017, p. 26). This helped to reinforce the idea that if someone has economical resources, it must be someone cultivated and vice versa. Within time, culture and civilization became inseparable (Zaharna, 2019) creating a linear pathway of development.

Another pertinent influence for understanding how development is involved “*in strategies of cultural and social domination*” (Escobar, 2012, p. vii) can be depicted in the Modernist perspective that uses the intangible meaning of culture to acquire a measurable value (Alexander & Bowler, 2014) to exert what Appadurai described as “*tournaments of value*” (1988, p. 21). This can be found in Max Weber’s (2001 [1930]) work about Protestantism when explaining the emergence of capitalism in societies grounded in cultural traditions. Samuel Huntington (2011 [1996]) foresees the role of soft power and culture diplomacy to expand a country’s power. Daniela Angelina Jelinčić (2017) work affirms that pursuing culture means developing itself since the former sets people free.

This “development thinking” which in short assures that culture can be acquired and learnt (Radcliffe & Laurie, 2006) echoes the contributions of Parson (1971) that believes that there are some habits and behaviours crucial to benefit modernization; and Rostow's (2004 [1990], chapter 6) thought about consumerism as the ultimate stage of development.

In that line, Arizpe (2015a) does not overstate when describing the persistence of this narrative in the production of new definitions regarding these topics from *global* institutions. To give some examples, UNESCO provides a discursive framework giving a paternalistic view about which cultures should work as the ground floor to achieve “*unity-in-diversity*” (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 1948, p. 15 cited in Arizpe, 2015b, p. 62); a conceptualization of cultural policies for economic and social purpose (UNESCO, 1969); a strategy to measure the level of development (UNESCO, 1982); and, more recently, a sense of ownership, “*culture is a global public good*” (UNESCO, 2022, p. 7), that gives the credentials to extract *sustainably*.

Another example is the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1949, article 22) which provides the “indispensable” ground rules to participate in a capitalist system prioritizing individual development; whereas the World Commission on Culture and Development under the direction of Peruvian Javier Perez de Cuéllar assured that development and economy are aspects of culture and with its participation one can fully experience life with others (UNESCO, 1995). Moreover, is the World Bank; whose participation delineates the policy of cultural heritage with tourism as a strategy to activate the economy and therefore development (Evans, 2001).

In this light, the way North Centric powers exert their view looks to democratise a type of culture as a way to civilize people within the application of a top-down approach (Mulcahy, 2006). However, at the same time, discrimination, classism, and racism are amplified by the political powers to the detriment of majority minorities (Radcliffe & Laurie, 2006, p. 238). In that sense, postmodernists theorists, especially the ones that focus on

identity politics, have argued that the hegemonic system needs to be deconstructed by recognizing the minority voices (Hatch, 2018).

3.2. How does Peru use culture for development

Peru is forged under a geo-racial classification produced when the Spanish Crown claimed its sovereignty. The power exerted on the subjugated natives prioritized the creation of capital to compete for the global order at the time. Then, the workforce was relegated to racialized bodies. Later, the different and infructuous governments created after Peru's independence did not alleviate the postponed tensions between the subjugated groups and the hegemonic elites, nor did it address the new forms of power that were created with the supposed intention of *mediating* these tensions. It was not until 1979 that its constitution granted the right to vote to all people and with that recognition of their citizenship.

The elite tried to constantly prove their cultural superiority (Zavala & Zariquey, 2007), whereas indigenous Peruvians from the Andes and the Amazon, and other ethnical groups like Africans, Chinese, and their descendants were, and still are, invisibilized and tokenized at their expense (Belfiore & Bennett, 2008; Sandoval & Agüero, 2014). This historical struggle is more about “*ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings*” (Said, 1994, p. 7) in which culture framed in a cultural policy context have the ideological baggage to confront or maintain coloniality (Mulcahy, 2010, p. 161).

By the mid-nineteenth century a necessity to vindicate indigenous people was discussed by political parties, however, unsuccessfully (Cotler, 2005). Later, during the early decades of the XX century, the visualization of social inequalities tangibly associated with "marginal communities" takes force. This can be seen in the increment of artistic production (e.g., César Vallejo, Alejandro Peralta, Ciro Alegría, José Albujar, Julia Codesido, José Sabogal) that reflects about the marginalised and anachronic position of the indigenous people that contrasted the ideas of progress.

It was not until the seventies, that discussions about racial differences took part in the colloquial scenario, motivated in part by Velasco's agrarian reform (Portocarrero, 2003). One of the central points to understand this context is that the aristocracy, and later, corporations, still kept in servitude roles racialized bodies held in manumission, a stigmatized (López, 1976) workforce.

In that framework, two key episodes occurred: the vindication of the indigeneity as part of the national propaganda and the instauration of cultural policies. The vindication of the indigeneity came along with "*ethnic nationalism*" (Jacobsen & Aljovín de Losada, 2005, p. 13). This encouraged people to embrace Nationalism as a way of empowering the neglected citizens. It was expected that this measure could vindicate their pre-Hispanic past, maintaining their innocent essence but correcting certain trends that prevented them from becoming a modern being (Rangel, 1977, p. 35).

The principal mechanism used symbols from ancient cultures from the Peruvian territory (see Arróspide, 1975; Silverman, 2005). The most prominent were the Inca's depictions. The perception of this far past was co-opted and adapted to be the representative of the possibility of achieving or re-achieving certain hegemony, as it happened when they were an empire. Paradoxically, this strategy uses the same value judgment as an argument to supposedly get rid of the oppressor. In other words, far from being a random choice is the proof that the evolutionary stages of development from the West where already blended.

Therefore, the image of the Inca was built based on idealized versions of cultures from North Centric mythologies. This also helped embrace an individualized male view of progress in which big, strong, muscular, ferocious, leader and entrepreneur was part of the discourse. In the context of enhancing proudness in the Peruvian population these images were complemented with enhancing different products and resources that allegedly were Inca symbols of richness such as food and mineral resources like the gold and silver. Exporting this image also aligned with the global

necessities at that moment where, as previously mentioned, ISI was increasingly implemented in Latin America.

On the other hand, the instauration of cultural policies in nation-state governments (Toledo, 2015; Vestheim, 2019) helped as a tool to delimit a path on which governments can work on (O. Bennett, 2006). This pragmatic view, like the one stated by UNESCO in 1969 gave the framework for applying actions focused on economic development (Losson, 2013). However, the promotion of an ideological discourse of democratisation, grounded in cultural policy (Hadley, 2021), encompassed ideas about a type and an amount of accessibility that excluded people should consume (Kawashima, 2006). Therefore, popular preferences needed to be reshaped (Lewis & Miller, 2003) as if they were spectators without any attribution for participation (Sandell, 1998) besides the one allowed by the hegemonic cultural providers.

On that framework, Stanziola (2002) points out that American Global South focuses its analysis on whether or not cultural policies include multicultural ethnic groups. This paternalistic view goes hand in hand with a missionary quest (Hayes & Slater, 2002) that from an institutionalized office, such as the Ministerio de Cultura del Perú (MINCUL) or the Peruvian Congress, acts as implementers rather than innovators (Bhatasara, 2013, p. 50) of cultural policies.

This goes along with the necessity of trying to engage people with specific cultural activities or to encourage tourism as the only solution for a neoliberal progress (Vich, 2006) giving more value to static representations of Peru's past as a "*standardization of cultural practices*" (Brianso, 2010, p. 175).

As Méndez (2000) highlights, the "*andean utopia*" (p. 12) is very present in contemporary discourses. In that sense, the exacerbated interest in the static representation of past societies is completely disproportionate regarding the protection of indigenous rights, to say the least. This is not only reflected in the archaeological discussion (Lumbreras, 2006) but it is also used in other institutions, both governmental and private ones, to

highlight an idealized version of the past. This view happens to match with the one stated by international organizations about safeguarding heritage, the designation and management of the arts, tourism, between others. In Carranza & Stoller's view:

(...) the problem is not the cultural industry, whose development is indispensable not just as an instrument for generating income and employment but also as a means of socializing culture. The problem resides in the subordination of the cultural product to a wholly mercantile concept. (2002, p. 37)

Because the concept of culture can represent the norm and the alterity the system has strategically take advantage of this ambiguity. In Peru's scenario the rooted racism has help to define the ways of being to belong into the society. Therefore, to be the norm, social mobility is expected. This would represent a whole dynamic that entails a long list of capital culture. That will assume to place the subject in a better, top hierarchical, position (Benavides, 2002; Hough-Snee, 2015). As opposed, being framed as an alterity denotes a limitation in the ways of being delimited by a nation-state strategy (see Universidad Privada del Norte [UNP], 2019). This relationship of subordination is expected from upper-class societies and serves to feed mainstream discourses of multiculturalism for instrumental purposes (Callirgos, 2018).

3.3.The Commission of Culture and Heritage 2016-2017

To give a context about the origins of the political parties that belong to the Commission of Culture and Heritage 2016-2017 is essential to highlight that the decomposition of the traditional political parties and unions within the early 90s, under Fujimori's regime, gave the context to brew an unstable political coalition (Cameron, 1994).

In consequence, politicians are able to apply tailor-made strategies to achieve the success of their candidacies, increasing political disloyalties. The high turnover of congressional candidates shows a relative lack of political polarization (Zavaleta & Vilca, 2017, p. 312) triggering policies that obey a mainstream neoliberal ideology.

In 2016 the Commission consisted of 25 members (see Table 1) on which 13 had the right to vote (see Table 2). To further understand the context in

which those parties were voted in 2016 the following characterization of the parties involved in the commission will be complemented:

Fuerza Popular (FP): After Fujimori's defeat in 2000, several political parties tried to make it come back under its liberal legacy. Fuerza Popular was the party that overcome citizen disapproval under the leadership of Keiko Fujimori, the daughter of the former dictator. It was in 2016 that her party had major parliamentary representation. As it has been appointed, Fuerza Popular works to take over institutions so it can remain in power. In 2011 after Keiko Fujimori was defeated for presidency, its strategy focused on building regional organisational and political committees for the 2014 Municipal elections (Gambini, n.d.). In 2016, Keiko lost again the presidential seat but her party won the majority of the legislature representation with 73 congress representatives (Tipismana, 2022, table 07) initiating a phase of continuous tensions between her party and the executive power run by Pedro Pablo Kuczynski from Peruanos por el Cambio (PPK).

Frente Amplio por Justicia, Vida y Libertad (FA): It brought together various leftist ideologies; overall in 2016 assumed the role of the opposition party (Tuesta, 2016). It was characterized by carrying out a left-wing coalition. In this sense, it was consolidated as a political movement against the hegemonic discourse. In its party baselines, it defined itself as "*a political movement of the socialist, environmentalist, and radical democratic left*" (Movimiento Tierra y Libertad, 2023). However, the comparative analysis of Argüelles (2016) between his programmatic line and the Peruvian extractivist discourse highlights "*the need to obtain material progress to obtain development*" (p.72). As Mosqueira (2023, p. 3) points out, this statement is interesting since the party's identity was outlined based on social conflicts and extractive activities that happened in previous governments.

Peruanos por el Cambio (PPK): After the failed multi-party alliance in 2011, Pedro Pablo Kuczynski consolidated an express political party to participate in the 2016 elections with clear signs of continuity at the political and economic level (Dargent & Muñoz, 2016). Its guidelines were

focused on giving priority to the private sector to promote a supposed productive diversity. The party was named based on the acronym of its leader's name. The inability to form solid bases in political parties, as mentioned above, worked against PPK who, despite obtaining the presidential seat as a result of anti-Fujimorism votes in the second round, did not have the same result in the legislature, winning only 18 seats (Arce & Incio, 2018). The lack of representativeness in the legislature, as McNulty (2017) points out, compared to the FP legislative majority, ended up sharpening power dynamics and making parliamentary inexperience visible, resulting in the resignation of the president in 2018.

Acción Popular (AP): In the context of the 2016 elections, AP had the particularity of being one of the few candidacies whose organization had a legacy of more than fifty years. The remnants of its popularity are sustained by the strong representational roots of its founder Fernando Belaunde Terry (Puémapé & Jiménez, 2017, p. 53). However, despite being a party with political capital due to its trajectory, in 2016 its presidential candidate, Alfredo Barnechea, did not initially belong to said party. After registering, he had the ability to promote himself through the media and position himself in the imagination as a worthy representative of the elites (Ayala, 2017) and thereby obtain congressional seats. In this way, the party's guidelines continued to be limited to traditional right-wing policies.

Chapter IV: Methodology

This investigation wants to show that the use of culture is related to economic and political forms of domination. It also wants to understand the spheres in which these relations are forged, inserting us, citizens, in a standardised approach to development. Therefore, the methodology seeks to answer if it is possible to find discourses from the policy-maker's arena, that leads to other ways of conceptualizing development from a cultural perspective.

In that sense, it was considered to use discourse analysis to respond to the research question. Therefore, it cannot start, as other researchers have

acknowledged (Lemke, 1995; Mautner, 2014; van Dijk, 1993), without admitting to the readers the author's motives that come from her positionality (Rose, 1997) and her perspective on the intersocietal dynamics. In that light, the author's motive is to create awareness of the unequal relationship of power that developmental ideology produces and reproduces in different socio-political geo-historical scenarios such as the cultural in Peru. Hence, it is expected that it can contribute to further discussions.

As Molho et al. have pointed out the studies made about the Global South cultural matters do not “*take into account the multi-scalar power dynamics in which they are embedded*” (2020, p. 712) and policies are usually adapted from North Centric trends. Acquainted with this deficiency, the recorded meetings will go through a discourse analysis taking as an example the constructivist version of grounded theory by Charmaz (2006) to subsequently present a scheme depicting the spheres in which culture is used as a toolkit to achieve a Western development standard. These results will be later discussed by decolonial epistemologies and dependency theories.

To be able to respond to the proposed research question the procedure that was carried out was the following:

As aforementioned, this research uses twenty-five recorded meetings (see Table 4) from the Commission of Culture and Heritage of the Congress of Peru, period 2016-2017. Twenty-one belong to ordinary sessions and four to decentralized open meetings. In that frame, all commissions are:

“made up of regular and proxy holders...The proxy holders replace, in case of absence, the respective head of the same parliamentary group, for the purposes of calculating the quorum and voting, without prejudice to the rights that correspond to them as congress representatives” (Congreso de la República del Perú, 2022b, p. 47).⁹

The ordinary sessions are held in the Congress facilities and can have as guests' others congress representatives, public officials, and members of the civil society. Whereas decentralized open meetings are held outside

⁹ My own translation. Original: “*Cada comisión está integrada por miembros titulares y accesitarios... Los miembros accesitarios reemplazan en caso de ausencia, al respectivo titular del mismo grupo parlamentario, para los efectos del cómputo del quórum y de las votaciones, sin perjuicio de los derechos que les corresponden como Congresistas.*”

Congress, in this case the sessions take place in different regions of Peru and have the participation not only from the Commission representatives but also from the civil society.

Twenty-one recorded meetings belong to the first installation meeting and 20 ordinary sessions; all of them were obtained through the transparency portal of the Congress of Peru¹⁰ under the protection of Law No. 27806, Law on Transparency and Access to Public Information, approved by Supreme Decree No. 029-2019-JUS.

On the other hand, the decentralized meetings were eight, but only four were totally or partially sent by email under Law No. 27806. However, as previously stated, not all of them were sent because not all the decentralized meetings were recorded.

As a reference material, it was also gathered from the Peruvian Congress website¹¹ the draft bills, the agendas, the ordinary committee minutes and the Annual Report of the Commission of Culture and Heritage of the Congress of the Republic from period 2016-2017.

All the oral interventions selected for this investigation identify the name of the congress representative and public officials as part of the Law No. 27806 above mentioned. To the contrary, confidentiality will be preserved when a member of the civil society is talking; in this case it will be identify as “civil society intervention” (CSI). Additionally, this investigation highlights that the oral interventions use Spanish as its principal language for communication, and as its second, Quechua.

All the oral interventions that are considered pertinent for the analysis will be translated into English. Having said that, the author is aware that transcripts are an interpretative act that give priority to certain aspects that the researcher want to point out (Requena et al., 2018). Additionally, because the language used in this thesis is in English the transcripts will suffer a modification that will also take away the expressive load that oral communication have (García de Toro, 2005). Therefore, some meanings might

¹⁰ <https://wb2server.congreso.gob.pe/mpvirtual/transparencia.php>

¹¹ <https://wb2server.congreso.gob.pe/mpvirtual/transparencia.php>

change while translating to give the reader a better understanding of the context.

The procedures that accompany this methodology will be described as follows:

1. All the transcriptions were placed in Word sheets. Every sheet contained the date of the meetings, the type (ordinary or decentralized), and the number of the meetings, the last name of the interlocutor and the range of time used during each intervention.
2. The second step focuses on the recollection of data to look for open coding. On a spreadsheet a matrix was created highlighting the number of the session and its date, the type of session, the type of code and annotations. In this step similar content of intervention were placed as a group to later form a code; at the same time annotations were done.
3. As the third step, all codes were reviewed to have a clear perspective of the groups formed; various codes were eliminated, transformed, and created. At the same time, the cited transcripts were moved as the codes were changing.
4. The fourth step consisted of redefining the codes if necessary and work on tentative categories.
5. The fifth step reviews all the transcript cites in each category/code. Here annotations were enriched with new information.
6. The sixth step made a general review of all the previous steps to be sure there was no information left in the author's criteria.
7. The seventh step focuses on making the first scheme. All the schemes were worked on diagrams.net/draw.io, an open-source webpage for building diagrams. This was followed by a revision and a regrouping of categories, transcript cites, and annotations. This step was done 4 more times.
8. Finally, scheme 4th (see Figure 1) was considered appropriate to write the analysis and results in which a selection of the transcript cites were made. Once this process was done English translations were made and the identities of the interventions were changed for

personal data protection according to the guidelines previously descriptive in this chapter. Additionally, the dates of the cited intervention were considered in all cases.

Chapter V: Results and analysis

This chapter focuses on explaining how culture is used in Peru, for this it will be take a as a sample the Commission of Culture and Cultural Heritage. The application of the methodology describe in chapter IV had been able to create a diagram (see Figure 1) that allow the author to explain the mechanism used.

5.1. The strategy

The Commission of Culture and Heritage of the Congress 2016-2017 gives culture a leading role, playing with the assumption that culture has a saviour role.

"...culture, I believe, is one of the greatest assets that a country or a people can have. A people without culture is a people without a future, at least not the future that we hope for, that we want..." (Martorell, 13/09/2016)

"...we see once again that the solution to many of our problems is culture, discipline, sport and knowledge. Let this flame ignite throughout the country and spread the good news..." (Petrozzi, 25/10/2016)

"A cultivated people will have a great capacity to develop an entire society (Arce, 15/08/2016)

This attribute finds its roots within the "Liberal humanistic theory" (Kawashima, 2006, p. 64) that displays a Eurocentric view (Blaut, 1993) manifested in the execution of cultural policies that helps boost an imaginary development.

"In culture you can't argue, you can't fight, you can only contribute" (Petrozzi, 15/08/2016)

"... when we talk about culture and art, we talk about an integral whole ..." (Villanueva, 11/10/2016)

On that, the narrative of development is guided by a parameter called the "European standard", reaching it will make us "envied" by others.

"... Germany and France are the (cultural) models ..." (Petrozzi, 14/10/2016)

"... talking about other realities, when one has had the opportunity, for example, to go to the Prado Museum, or to the Louvre in Paris (...) they are all access free. This is a necessary stimulus for having more artists in our country. Access to the

opera, access to the zarzuela, represent access to the great musical shows..." (Sheput, 6/12/2016)

"... quality productions, at a European level" (Hugo Coya, Former Executive President of the National Institute of Radio and Television of Peru, 27/09/2016)

Thus, "because culture is important, making culture is important" plays a central circular argument along the debates. However, without further explanations. A synthesized version can be heard also from other representative but from the legislative:

"... trying to understand everyone, as state institutions and as a country, the great opportunity that culture provides for three things. In the first place, to integrate as a country, to recreate our identity and integrate as a country. Secondly, to improve our coexistence. Culture builds society and to the extent that it builds society, it improves our coexistence and helps us learn to live together with all our differences and, thirdly, strengthen our global presence. Peru is lucky the presence of its old inhabitants, not only of being a millennial country but, of being a country that originated a civilization. In the world there are no more than 10 countries that can say this. We are part of a privileged club and recognizing our diversity and our roots makes us have a great ability to move in the contemporary world. Precisely because the deployment of the knowledgeable society will make our diversities and our identities a hallmark, a brand, a way of knowing ourselves and knowing each other in the world ..." (Jorge Nieto, Former Minister of Culture, 06/09/2016).

5.1.1. Assumption: the saviour role

As it is mentioned above, the saviour role is a generalized assumption by the Commission representatives regardless of their political party. There is a narrative very present in the collective imaginary of the Commission, which is the promise that the country will reach its full potential when culture is adopted.

"...it is difficult to understand and make officials understand that we have to apply public policies in culture and education to improve the levels of insecurity, of violence in our jurisdictions..." (Albrecht, 25/10/2016)

"...This is not a high-brow matter, it is not a question of issue, it is an issue about the impact and improvement of the quality of life of our people..." (Sheput, 6/12/2016)

In this sense, it is argued that when this stage is reached, culture, through the cultivated person, will impact different areas and therefore benefit the country.

"... the focus that is being given to have a less violent population is through education, culture, art, history, heritage; how important to sow, that is why I say, sow education in children so that later man has not to be to punish..." (Martorell, 25/10/2016)

Hence, it is seen as the cure for all the problems that Peru has.

"... Many problems, sorrows, stress, that the ordinary citizen has are solved when one sees a good concert, a beautiful ballet, or when one reads a magnificent book. Gentlemen, we are in 2016, literacy is not enough. Peru has developed. We are at the stage where we must cultivate the souls of our people and to cultivate the souls of our people, education alone is not enough. It is a matter of education incorporated to the culture ..." (Petrozzi 14/10/2016)

In this way, the commission is perceived as a kind of a curator where its role is to "facilitate" and "soften" content that is considered useful to achieve this goal.

"...I think that today we have fulfilled the duty of this commission very well, these (...) are two laws that initiate, as they say in other countries, the cultural action. With the massive attendance of people at museums a whole cultural phenomenon begins that is unlimited..." (Petrozzi, 06/12/2016).

This need for "curating" culture proposes to shape the way Peruvians perceive their relationship with the environment and its reality to learn how to feel in a certain manner.

"... you know that Cusco is a region in which you have to convince people, people do applaud and cheer for you, but you have to have convinced them (...) I have no problem "to work like a dog" as they say in Creole [laughs] if that is going to mean that the topic remains in vogue, that culture belongs to the national agenda..." (Petrozzi 25/10/2016)

It also allows its victimisation by detaching from legislative government every time the later does not understand the supposed Parliamentary mission embodied in the Commission of Culture and Heritage.

"When I have read that this could mean a negative element for the Ministry of Economy and Finance because it would mean lower income for the museums, I start to think, how are we going to build a better market, how are we going to be able to establish mechanisms for generating love of culture in people if we cut off their stimuli..." (Sheput, 06/12/2016)

By including in their speech that there is a social deformation resulting from the type of products that society consumes the Commission seeks to reform Peruvians agency.

"...culture for transforming societies..." (Sheput, 25/10/2016)

"...our country unfortunately does not have enough incentives for culture to reach everyone. Those of us who have had the privilege of traveling abroad have seen how the population is encouraged to go to museums by granting free access to citizens on a certain weekend or on some day of the month; this facilitates the construction of not only the necessary elements so that people begin to love their own, but also translates into the construction of a critical mass, of people who from visiting museums, historical places or heritage, they begin to understand that culture is not only part of oneself but also a way of life, an excellent input for cultural industries..." (Sheput, 06/12/2016)

In this sense, for example, the fact that a day of free admission to museums is proposed has the intention, precisely, of reshaping this deformity.

"...I think it would be essential for a country so rich in this [referring to museums and cultural and anthropological heritage] to start establishing one day a week for free admission so that conditions can begin to be generated to have a critical mass that begins to see in art a way not only of greater well-being in terms of their quality of life, but also a way of growing as a person and even as a way of life, since the issue of cultural industries is becoming fashionable..." (Sheput, 06/12/2016)

So, the denial of "alternative" ways of experiencing culture go unrecognized.

"...the time has come to refine our spirits, to cultivate our souls, that is culture..." (Petrozzi, 14/10/2016)

Thus, it is implicit that the Culture and Heritage Commission denies the divergent *sentipensares* (Escobar, 2014, p. 16) of its fellow citizens.

"...I believe that adjudicating a single day a week of each month for general access of people to museums would mean an encouragement to begin to appreciate what culture is in our country. To begin to love our homeland more and above all, to rescue many people from this detachment who would find in this stimulus a way of understanding what culture is and even an improvement in their life well-being" (Sheput, 06/12/2016)

Denying its existence opens the possibility of arguing that it is necessary to assist people with culture.

"All of us here are a little guilty that it is no longer like that, culture is a topic in vogue and that it is a topic as it should always have been, that dignifies the management of any policy" (Petrozzi, 25/10/2016)

Of course, mediated by their understanding of what culture means and the type of cultural consumption that should be done and produced.

"...culture is everything we do. Everything that human beings do is culture. Human beings are culture. When I began to speak (...) that the solution to citizen insecurity was culture, people looked at me like I was crazy. And now, every time I go out to a province, a new department, a new municipality, I hear that the authorities are teaching cultural disciplines to the kids to guide them, orient them, no, to give them a hobby, to install self-esteem in their heads, to make them look into the mirror to say: I am, I know, I can! and that the boys do not go down the path of crime..." (Petrozzi, 14/10/2016)

On the other hand, and this will be further explained in the other two spheres, it could be said that the saviour role of culture also works to call the attention from the Government to the places whose basic needs have not yet been met. Thus, it is important to convince political powers of the benefits it will bring to the State by not ignoring them.

"...this will specifically benefit our region, I repeat, this will attract the gaze of the State towards our stone forest" (External Congressmen, Roy Ventura, 22/11/2016)

5.1.2. Social transformation (Generate Citizenship)

The quotes chosen in this section provide an interesting analysis about the perception of what progress means.

"...because culture is the way in which the inhabitants of a country fall in love with who they are; and, until we are truly not convinced that culture is what will make us a nation, we will continue crying for this 0,29 percent of the gross domestic product, which is the real budget for culture ..." (Petrozzi, 05/02/2017)

"This is the beauty of the culture committee. We are all here for art, and here we are all for the love of Peru, we are all here for development..." (Petrozzi, 11/10/2016)

It has been found that such ideas are linked with the necessity of transforming citizens through a national identity agenda.

"... the bicentennial commission, which has as one of its objectives not only to rescue the role played by great figures such as Andrés Avelino Cáceres, but also to reinstall in the minds of all Peruvians the concept of nation, of nation and of identity..." (Sheput, 02/04/2017)

"Culture is the basis of national identity" (Sheput, 15/08/2016)

This agenda mostly depicts an ahistorical bias where idyllic memories of the pre-Hispanic past are evoked. It could be read between the lines that the explanation of why Peruvians are not highly developed, without the ability to meet world standards for Peru's own progress, would be rooted in the Spanish invasion. Therefore, the result of this interruption allows contemporary Peruvians to not really experience culture, consequently not evolving correctly.

Because the goal is to transform this undeveloped social fabric, the Commission representatives a priori play with the idea that Peruvians need to be transformed otherwise their efforts would be futile. This argumentation provides them with immunity since it will be always the people's fault in case they failed.

In that line, understanding and practicing culture is seemed to be restricted to a group of people (Radcliffe & Laurie, 2006, p. 238) and to that, the promise from the congress representatives is to disclose it to this majority that is far to reach. However, as we have previously explained, the

Congress representatives perform a curatorial role on which it is their duty to make people aware of its own culture. Nevertheless, mediated with a mainstream-white gaze. This will be further explained in the Problem sphere (see p. 40).

On that, it looks like the quote stated by Antonio Raimondi, "*Peru is a beggar sitting on a bank of gold*" portrays the racial stigmatization of Peruvians that are unaware of their own agency and resources. Hence, a hegemonic guidance is argued to be needed to teach Peruvians how to observe, select and experience the world.

It is through the national identity strategy that the Commission seeks to reassess narratives that help citizens to recognize themselves within an alleged pre-Hispanic greatness. This self-recognition is thought to promote entrepreneurship (Callirgos, 2018, p. 491). From the identity tribune to the economic one as a distinctive characteristic of the Peruvian population. Its purpose is to argue the possibility of reaching again the greatness that would characterize the pre-Hispanic period.

“...this is going to give value to Pasco and, above all, it is going to give us an identity. Just like in Cusco where Machu Picchu is found, we in Pasco also have a natural stone forest. No, the hand of man has not participated there. We have found cave paintings...” (External Congressmen, Roy Ventura, 22/11/2016)

In this way, by making use of historical resources, culture is used to legitimize the existence and capacities of Peruvians. In this context, even though there is a perceived general recognition over different pre-Hispanic cultures, there is a predilection for the Incas, as the epitome of civilizational development (Méndez, 2000).

On that, given the scarcity of written sources that account for their capabilities, congressmen use materiality (for example, their architecture) as evidence that supports the narrative about Peru's contribution in the global development as a former civilizational leader.

“...Because when one evaluates how each of the walls of Machu Picchu is built, one realizes that it is not only a technological expression but, an interpretation, a cosmology. The very expression of the interpretation of nature and that follows, continues with the formation of a way impregnated with nature. This cannot be just a technological expression, it is an eminently artistic expression...” (Villanueva, 11/10/2016)

This idea omits on purpose the creation of Peru on the XVIII century, so the idea of what is currently known as Peru can jump ahistorically to build on contemporary Peruvians identity.

"Because cave paintings in a geological formation, where there are, uh, symbols that, according to our Andean tradition, will have been considered living beings. They will have been part of a mythology, they will have been part of a social construction which the human being has inhabited in Peru since the beginning of the civilizing work..." (Dammert, 22/11/2016)

As consequence, the concept of civilization is key to "historically" validate Peru's potential to achieve an idealistic development. This explanation could be understood as if "civilization" is a category to be found in the Peruvians DNA but for various reasons has been interrupted and the task of the Congress representatives is to awaken it.

"...Trujillo has always been a very cultured town and city. Don't forget that it is one of the first cities (...) people were already here, life was already here, culture as well. Before the Spanish arrived here, important pre-Incas civilizations were settled here. The citizen of Trujillo is, cultured in itself, it is in their blood, in their DNA and they are demanding..." (Petrozzi, 14/10/2016)

"...the main thing is that people from Ayacucho become aware of what Ayacucho is in the history of Peru. In this way, the first thing that happens is that the self-esteem of being from Ayacucho grows and the message of what it is, is spread throughout the homeland. Ayacucho within our cultural panorama..." (Petrozzi, 27/05/2017)

5.1.2.1. The national identity strategy

This is an indoctrination guided by narratives that help to build a national identity. Cultural diversity is taken as an advantage framed in a competitive international scenario (Callirgos, 2018, p. 490; Yúdice, 2019, p. 33). The scope of its use comes with limitations since it is only viewed as an explanation for Peruvian traditions but not in terms of plurality. On the contrary, national identity appoints to build a homogenized view of progress that tokenized diversity for economic purposes.

The necessity to define what it means to be Peruvian in terms of their traditions is mediated by an ideal version of Peruvian to look after. This ideal is fraught with contradictions engrained in nostalgic views of the pre-Hispanic past and a vigorous exaltation of cultural expressions rooted in social-historic syncretism, which, far from reflecting on the invasion process and their negative consequences are instrumentalised by usufructing from them.

"... the history of Peru is largely made up of culture and art, hence the talk about Machu Picchu, the Nasca lines, the folkloric dances, Juan Diego Flores. We have a whole thousand-year-old tradition of art and how can we not value this form of knowledge as a country. In addition to science and humanities, we must begin to value the arts as something that has brought us a lot of well-being as a society, and we believe that this well-being has to be dynamic and has to continue... (Former General Director of the ENSABAP, Luis Valdez, 22/11/2016)

While analysing the Commission discourses, five institutions play a crucial role in the distribution of set ideas. In it, the development discourse argues that national identity will provide citizens with tools to grow towards greatness. In other words, a citizen will be ready to be functional and therefore contribute to the country's development. These five institutions transfer specific information that will ease the auto-identification with the Nation-State.

Archaeology

To understand the relationship between archaeology and national identity, this section considers some civil society interventions (CSI). The CSI are people from different backgrounds that visit the Commission of Congress to put attention to a specific matter or to explain a topic. External sources are important because they give, in most cases, key aspects of a particular topic, opening the discussion of the congress representatives.

In that framework, archaeology is understood as a science that supplies a nation-state with elements that are used to create identity. Therefore, the information produced by archaeologists, far from questioning the scientific bias is taken as input to argue in favour of the Peruvian legacy.

"... archaeology is the fundamental axis of identity. Through it, we can discover all our cultural roots and that is the axis that moves us (...) for example, the research of the past. What have brought us success? And we see that Cusco is the national emblem. In the north there are also others. But Peru is full of all that cultural wealth, and little has been done..." (Representative of the Collective of Archaeologists of Peru, Daniel Castillo Benites [CSI], 13/12/2016)

There are three main points in which archaeology is present. First, Archaeology as a supplier of national identity propaganda from the nation-state.

"... we are almost trained to strengthen cultural identity..." (Representative of the Collective of Archaeologists of Peru, Ulises Larrea Morales [CSI], 13/12/2016)

"...Ayacucho has been the cradle not only of American freedom but also the cradle of existence of the first man, in this case, a hunter..." (Pariona, 14/03/2017)

On that, the Peruvian legacy is taken as a strong argument to claim the capacity of contemporary citizens to develop themselves and so Peru. The latter is fraught with entrepreneurship discourse.

"... [speaking of the stores that are not in good condition and objects to spoil] and are lost those testimonies and evidence that must demonstrate that we are heirs of a high culture..." (Representative of the Collective of Archaeologists of Peru, Daniel Castillo Benites [CSI], 13/12/2016)

"... Now it turns out that throughout all the country there has always been a flow of communication between the Amazon, the highland, and the coast. And this has been unique in each case. The communication that Caral had, for example, as one of the civilizational cradle of Peru, is mainly with the Amazon. The proximity with the Amazon allowed the creation of this type of civilization. Now, there are essential streams to recover in order to develop the country..." (Damert, 18/04/2017)

Second, archaeology itself as a noble science that not only brings back ancient knowledge but activates the local economy. Precisely what makes archaeology so strong is that it helps support entrepreneurship arguments that are associated with an improvement in the quality of life of other people, especially those with low resources.

"...That is why we see the importance (...) of revaluing what is ours. Truly revaluing where our people from deep Peru are, where the ones that really need from us expect us to be there ..." (Bocángel, 18/04/2017)

Third, archaeology as a systemic reproducer of the colonial/modern gaze where the *otherness* is perceived without agency that needs to be taught the richness that by themselves are unable to see. This hegemonic approach delivers a necessity to homogenize the experience of this *otherness* (DeVereaux & Griffin, 2016, p. 33) to level up their relationship with their surroundings.

" (...) being able to reach all communities and being able to show them the wealth they have and foster that sense of national pride... our job as archaeologists is also to break this island of knowledge and be able to reach the communities to the common settler so they can feed from the ancestral roots that we have... " (Representative of the Collective of Archaeologists of Peru, Daniel Castillo Benites [CSI], 13/12/2016)

Museums

The museum per se is undoubtedly recognized as an institution that safeguards and portrays the treasures of culture. Although it is understood that museums have different topics related to their collection the focus of the Commission of Culture and Heritage is mostly put in archaeological ones.

On that, archaeological museums mostly showcase the role of the elite and normalize an evolutionary view of power with a special focus on the stages of complex societies. Thus, museums ideologically prepared citizens to embrace a hierarchical system where history is told by a hegemonic minority (Belfiore & Bennett, 2008, p. 153). This allows for easing the narrative of pre-Hispanic greatness.

Therefore, it could be said that museums, either private or national, privatizes not only objects but stories to produce an idealized reality. The way in which stories told are mediated by a modernized paradigm. Consequently, the institution becomes a peripheral instruction centre.

"... A museum is a right of a city, it is the temple where the souls are going to be cultivated, they are going to refine themselves." (Petrozzi, 27/05/2017)

"... I believe that all museums have the virtue of educating the population in the values of, for the preservation of their historical heritage, to promote their identity and to promote tourism in a region..." (Director of the Museum "Royal Tombs of Sipan", Walter Alva, 09/05/2017)

The fact that most Peruvians are not interested in consuming this type of "cultural activity" tends to disqualify their agency in the Congress representatives' view. Hence, museumification takes part, at least on paper, as an answer to transform the perception of people, which would allow them to self-grow and teach them about experiencing beauty. However, this recognition only works if it is validated by an external consumer. Therefore, museums are also thought to be cultural ambassadors so the Peruvian narrative about its identity and how its position in the global order can transcend borders.

"...this is a very beautiful law that proposes that the Peruvian family have the opportunity to visit our cultural wealth once a month. I mean, from any point of view (...) It is an exemplary law of nationality, it is an exemplary law that culture is growing. The State proposes to the Peruvian family: don't go to the mall on Sunday, take your children to the museum, ok? ..." (Petrozzi, 22/11/2016)

Contradictory, although Peruvians do not assiduously go to museums it has been identified as a necessity to claim for its construction, especially in far places from the capital city.

"...for us, the rescue of heritage is fundamental, the rescue of the experiences that our Amazon region could be translated into what tomorrow may be a national museum..." (Del Águila, 14/03/2017)

Two main reasons have been found. The first one is related to economic activities and tourism which will be further explained. The second lies in the fact that its presence calls attention to its surroundings that, in most of the analysed cases, are being threatened. This action would try to emulate the presence of the church to demarcate a geographical-social space. This practice, then, recognizes the hegemonic value of the museum as an institution and tries to use it to its advantage to try to solve, or at least delay, the development of other problems.

Television

The congress representatives are aware about the socio-cultural implications that the public national tv must build to increase the national identity. However, it appears that this idea is not taken as a political agenda but a necessity that transcends the political arena itself.

“...when that decision has been made, about not using the television of all Peruvians as a political instrument for the government in power. Instead, dedicate its programming and its activity to what it is not exactly government actions but of all Peruvians...” (Dipas, 27/09/2016)

It is explicitly indicated that the television should serve as an instrument for the creation of national identity through the production of programs that contribute to its development (Cortés & Vich, 2006, p. 12).

"IRTP ends up being an instrument, I think, of mass communication at this time rather than identity formation, of culture; which should be the reason, right? ...” (Morales, 27/09/2016)

“...television has to be an instrument to affirm the identity of the nation; in its history, in its memory and in its tradition...” (Dammert, 27/09/2016)

In this sense, television, as museums, plays a role as a peripheral instruction centre.

"...television is the great educational medium. I don't know if it should somehow be more explicit, state television, I'm not talking about private television, state television be an effective instrument..." (Dammert, 11/10/2016)

On that, the congress representative demands the necessity to cast programmes that shows symbols to penetrate most Peruvian households.

"... The great educator of those symbols, of those values, of those Peruvian traditions is television..." (Dammert, 11/10/2016)

Those symbols pick a diverse variety of topics to disassemble its historic baggage and present a lighter version to be assimilated. This enhances a

sense of benevolent unity portraying supposed equal citizenship regardless of historical differences.

“...the television has to be connected with other instruments that the state has to produce national culture and affirm the national culture...” (Dammert, 27/09/2016)

“...Creole music, Andean music, music from all regions of Peru. Everything that has to do with our traditions. Our identity. Everything that makes us feel proud of having been born in this blessed country of ours. Everything that we want our children to be, that the future of Peru be, (...), we want to see it reflected on the screens of channel 7, we want to hear it on the national radio frequencies of Peru...” (Petrozzi, 27/09/2016)

“...documentary cinema is very important for us because of the issue of education, because of the issue of education and identity, which has already been mentioned here, and also the issue of biodiversity and love for the environment, which is an issue that must be addressed, sensitize and that sensitizes more in the private sector (laughter) than the public...” (Morales, 27/09/2016)

Therefore, the television that aims to broadcast is by nature centralist and hegemonic. It seeks to provide a view of what the identity of the country means. It uses diversity, at all levels, to reinforce its positionality through the denial of the agency of one body over another. Thus, national television highlights “that”, that is not, so the Peruvian paradigm can exist. This construct allows unrepresented bodies to assimilate their lack of superiority and normalize it. This is central because it allows summoning the argument of entrepreneurship, which is already installed in the national identity narrative around the perseverance and resilience that unrepresented bodies need to develop to obtain, through a lot of effort, its own progress.

“...I heard (...) that there are devices for film production (...) and I know many enthusiasts obviously, surely not with the preparation that many have, especially in the regions. But yes, there are, I know people who are dedicated to producing (...) How possible is it to help them? How possible is it to promote them? because this also means promote and having national as well as regional identity every day; and I also agree with my colleague (...), those of us from deep Peru only watch television, such as, national television as something unattainable, that we could never reach, for example: students, professionals from deep Peru never even thought to make it, or not even think in doing their pre-professional practice, even worst, to work, right? ...” (Dipas, 27/09/2016)

Schools

For the congress representatives the school is seen as the main institution for the new generations to be instructed about national identity.

“The nation (...) is an everyday plebiscite and the best way for this plebiscite to be is that the symbols, traditions, identity convictions of this nation are transmitted, that they are organized, that they are regularized and constantly created via the public school. The main instrument that the state has for this is the public school...” (Dammert, 11/10/2016)

There is a necessity to look for certain subjects that can enhance the potential to produce a good citizen. Those subjects are civic education, arts, and history, even though this last one is not directly mentioned. Those subjects are thought to provide students with symbols that can reverberate alone their lives. Those symbols set up behaviours and emotions about the perception of Peruvians surroundings and its position in a global landscape.

“...it is supposed that nation states, according to sociologists, serve to generate the great elements of identity. Well, in Peru there are two subjects. The citizenship subject and the arts subject, (...) and they have taken away the national identity subject... There should be, in the content of some of these subjects, some explicit indication of the state of the elements of national identity that must be elements of union, of knowledge, of attention, of joint identification of the nation...” (Dammert, 06/09/2016)

On the one hand, civic education’s goal is to fall in love with the country through a set of information that can be amplified, a sense of attachment with the nation-state. This is crucial for reproducing and producing a solid argument about Peruvians capacity to succeed in pursue of development because, as it has been stated above, those arguments are based on success stories that can be traced from the pre-Hispanic period.

“...they should be complemented in the curricula of these courses, the civic education course should be civic education and national identity in such a way that there is a purpose of civic education and that is that they know what our history is, what is the origins of civilization, which ones are our tragedies or our heroes or our great challenges or victory...” (Dammert, 11/10/2016)

“...I really liked the part about civic education, because that's where everything comes from, civic education is the culture of doing well, it's the culture of love for the homeland, it's the culture of the history of symbols, of everything that self-esteem causes in the student, "I am, I can, I know", the day we, in Peru, have teenagers that have finish their high school sure about themselves , I do not doubt about a great professional future” (Petrozzi, 11/10/2016)

On the other hand, art is considered a benefit by itself, is claimed to be implemented to level up the citizens being.

“...to the extent that we manage to create awareness that art teaching should be implemented in schools, schools of all kinds in the country, I think we are creating a very important market for professionals that finish our schools, that is my position...” (Petrozzi, 22/11/2016)

However, it is unclear in what aspect the subject of art must be oriented, as a developer of creativity through learning techniques to produce artworks or with a focus on art history. In any case, the congress arguments are not thought to discuss the type of art students will receive. Thus, it

would be inferred that art in schools would be mostly Western-oriented as the norm.

Although at first glance this may look like a contradiction since the congress representatives' discussions are oriented to build a national identity, then it would be expected students to receive more information about a more local production of art that can dialogue with the international arena. However, the idea would be to create a Western standard so the necessity to “be better” in different aspects would be by comparing with that invented reality. Then the need to push a type of development. A type that makes Peruvians insert in the global dynamic of the hegemonic other.

“...can be competitive, in this global world where knowledge and information make them great, right? As a nation, as people, as a society...” (Albrecht, 11/10/2016)

It is worth mentioning that congress representatives talk indistinctively of art and culture.

“Similarly, in the case of artistic education. Art is universal, art belongs to every human being. That is why we have one, a national culture. Link it with the national culture. Artistic education is not expressed only with the understanding of the richness of our national culture, which is plural, which is diverse, and that diversity, its richness, is precisely there...” (Dammert, 11/10/2016)

“...Because although we must have access, and training, and sensitivity in universal general artistic education, because we are all human beings of universality, we also have a key and decisive national base...” (Dammert, 11/10/2016)

Hence, at some point, the recommendation about adding arts into the school curricula involved different artistic representations such as music, painting, theatre, dance, etc., which would be impossible to properly involve a student into with the current educational system. In addition, this recommendation does not consider the inequality gap regarding educational access (Araújo & Leitão, 2021, p. 33) such as private schools vs national ones, metropolitan schools vs ones from other regions, gender inequalities, language, and accessibility, to name some of them.

Last, history is mentioned in different congress interventions as a possibility to highlight the local diversity of Peru. Follows the same logic of the other two previous subjects regarding the construction of national identity. However, this addition also calls the attention to decentralise the education

and draw attention to the government so that it realizes that different regions also have a great possibility for contributing to Peru's history.

“...the story is built with signs and symbols, important characters; and this has not been worked (...) So what do we propose (...) Begin to reassess the identities of each of these regions and write their own stories, that is the idea...” (Morales, 11/10/2016)

“...the Ministry of Education must promote not only the general history of Peru. But for all the departments that have their own artistic cultural expressions. Enter your own history course to forge your own roots. Know your own roots and generate a space of identity that allows you to continue building your own history. No, not in general terms, that is not allowed by general history...” (Villanueva, 11/10/2016)

With all of these, a question pops up, do the congress representatives really want people to “progress” or to highlight their differences? It seems that Congress presentative arguments support the idea that rather than the disparities that the structure produces, the cause of this lack of progress is the embodiment of failure. Thus, a systemic reproduction of characterised people without agency supports the saviour role that the system needs to maintain the power. I would also add that this is the reason why schools are so important for this matter. Schools place people in the developmental order (Hammersley, 2019, p. 8).

“...So, I think that an indication should be made more explicitly, that the state has the obligation so that there is a people that has an integrated civic and cultural conscience, so that there is a people that develops its artistic and multicultural wealth, that commits resources effectively in certain entities, in certain institutions and in the preparation and training of some...” (Dammert, 11/10/2016)

“...If we were able to identify curricula that would allow us to delve into our own land, our own nature, complemented with the historical process, obviously this could give us a better perspective. it isn't true? of the citizen identified with his own reality, with his own discourse to continue building not only the present but fundamentally the future, culturally speaking...” (Villanueva, 11/10/2016)

5.2. The goal

In the first part of this chapter, the priority has been to describe how the Commission of Culture and Heritage manages a discourse rooted in Western paradigms about culture. This understanding allows them to use a strategy based on cultural identity building to transform the underdeveloped status into a high-quality global-oriented country (Esteva & Prakash, 1998, p. 290).

The appointed strategy relays on an exacerbated nationalism fraught with stories of idyllic success that can be traced from ancient times. Additionally, uses specific institutions to perpetuate this narrative aiming to install the possibility of change guided by a hegemonic praxis in the subconscious of the Peruvian citizens. Therefore, the goal, as a tangible result of development, is oriented to create a labour force able to take advantage of the “cultural resources” that have the potential or are already linked with what is defined as Peruvian to generate economic revenues (Postero, 2019, p. 50).

“...I invite you to join efforts without distinction or political flag, only with the sole horizon of promoting a true cultural revolution and thus transforming culture into a pole of tourist and economic development, which generates employment, identity and well-being in the population” (Petrozzi, 15/08/2016)

“...we need culture to be finally recognized as a pole of development and job creation. Culture is not a favor that citizens ask of the government. Culture is a possibility, it is the empire of possibilities...” (Petrozzi, 14/10/2016)

5.2.1. Economic growth

As it is stated above, the goal is to be economically active because that presumes it would bring development. In this case, culture is seen as an extractive resource (Fornäs, 2017, p. 43) that is mostly identified with archaeological and natural heritage. The focus is to commodify them so that they can contribute to achieving development.

“...Ayacucho can frame a development with identity. Many countries in Latin America, Europe and other regions of the world live from culture and live in the sense that it is the backbone to make their country, their people an element, a potentiality also for development...” (Pariona, 27/05/2017)

“... we have a commitment to our people, to this industry without a chimney...” (External Congresswoman, Bartra, 09/05/2017)

The Commission of Culture and Heritage uses its power to try to democratize what in their view is culture. The validation of certain tangible and intangible cultural expressions is directly linked to their profitability. Consequently, various regions try to call their attention by arguing about the different resources Peru can profit from them so the economical promise can be a reality.

“Don't forget about Cajamarca, as well as other regions, Cajamarca also has some charm of its own” (Ticlla, 06/09/2016)

“... to my land, Ayacucho, and make culture feel once again that for us, for Ayacucho residents, it is an opportunity to get out of our poverty...” (Dipas, 27/05/2017)

Therefore, the recognition of cultural diversity, far from embracing the plurality of the country, serves as a fundamental source of mono national identity. This diversity is legitimized only when their "resources" (for example: geographic spaces, traditions, dances, food, etc.) can be commodified (Arizpe, 2015b, p. 77). Its success will depend on the transformation of the resource by the product. In most cases these resources become products only through a westernized mediation that aims to co-opt the original production and make it more "suitable for a greater number of masses", hence it is mentioned that there are certain standards that must be met, certainly not set by the majority minorities.

“...we have to understand that we are no longer asking for a favour. Culture is a pole of development, and it is an emporium of employment. With the coast that La Libertad has, this would have to be a wonderful Riviera full of hotels where people stay to spend a week, fifteen days, seeing the archaeological treasures and enjoying this wonderful city, eating delicious food and so on...” (Petrozzi, 14/10/2016)

In this framework, the entrepreneurship argument, engrained with the nationalistic narrative of a lost success that needs to be reawakened, is key to calling on new possibilities for the market. The Commission of culture does not question the ways new jobs related to the culture are created; if culture is able to open new markets, then their rationale about culture to impulse the economy is fulfilled.

“...in this commission we are in charge of making the cultural world and the welcoming of culture to the citizens of this country, easier... Let the State take charge, let the Executive power take charge that the budget for Culture does not suffer even a millimetre due to this law...” (Petrozzi, 22/11/2016)

5.2.1.1. Tourism

Tourism is key in the capitalist market to boost the economy. Although it cannot determine what culture is, it has the power to transform places or activities into an exploitable resource. In that framework, the narratives created in the strategy to build national identity are expected to contribute by making products based on experiences.

“... the engine and development of the country is in tourism. This tourism is supported by this rich and valuable thing that we have from our cultural heritage...” (Bocángel, 18/04/2017)

“...in the case...of tourism, we have a growth between 9 and 10 percent. It is much more important than all the sectors. So, working on the one hand on culture, foreign trade and tourism; the safety of the country we really do teamwork to be able to grow as it corresponds and reach the goal that the president of Kuczynski wants of the 7 million tourists a year...” (External Congressman, Clemente Flores, 02/05/17)

“...it is about valuing our cultural heritage in a city as important as Zaña in the Lambayeque region, taking into account, if we value all that is ours, our history, our culture, it will really allow us to bring more tourists which will really generate development and boost the economy in the country...” (External Congressman, Clemente Flores, 02/05/17)

“...it is an area with great archaeological richness and tourism potential yet to be exploited...” (External Congresswoman, Rosa Bartra, 09/05/2017)

Cultural and natural heritage happens to be in areas where scarcity of basic services is most visible; therefore, tourism is offered as a possibility to improve people’s lives. Thus, locals expect from congress representatives to approve draft bills focused on declaring a specific place or activity with national interest status. This expectation far from recognising the benefits of tourism highlights the precarity that different communities are going through (Losson, 2013, p. 28). Thus, it recognises the incapacity of the state apparatus to make them part of the market and at the same time pushes them to exchange their costumes and surroundings to be part of the national economy.

“...This bill, once it becomes law, will give us this value that we need in the region to attract tourism, we will not only be motivated by mining extraction, but we will also be motivated to work the tourism, seek the development of both agriculture, livestock and above all because of our tourism bill” (External Congressman, Roy Ventura, 22/11/2016)

“...these cave sites (...) at risk the opportunity to become a source of permanent research and study, so it is necessary to restore, preserve and value the ecotourism, potential of traditional knowledge, the worldview as well as the landscape beauty of the cave sites. Those are an asset that must be used to carry out a sustainable and durable tourist activity in favour of the surrounding communities. The enhancement of these cave sites will bring economic income for the population of Amazonas such as Cajamarca departments that according to figures of the INEI find high rates of poverty and extreme poverty” (Montenegro, 18/04/2017)

“...Julcán is the poorest province in Peru. In this place, president, is the district of Huaso. Also very poor, and there we have this impressive archaeological site. This place, president, is a place that subsists on agriculture, and I mean It subsists precisely because it has subsistence agriculture, it depends on the climate and if there is a drought there is nothing. And if there is torrential rain either and that is why we have the levels of poverty and malnutrition.... What do we have? Tourism, President. And, we have this archaeological site that is very powerful and that’s why I’m here this morning, because if we can do something to change the lives of this place, revaluing our heritage, putting it in value through this project...” (External Congresswoman, Rosa Bartra, 09/05/2017)

Consequently, to be part of the national economy through tourism necessarily means the use of symbols that helps to sell the idea of a mono-national Peruvian identity. One that self-identifies with a pre-Hispanic past and traditions that were born from the interactions with other cultures. This softens the way to favour a standardized type of tourism that uses this idealised identity as a commodified resource.

“...we want to revalue our culture, our history, our past and what our ancestors, like the Waris, left us. We want to value it, we want to put it as a tourist product and from there we cannot imagine. Macchu Picchu moves, a train, Machu Picchu moves millions and millions of dollars in transportation, by air, by land. A tourist carries money. The Chinese do not bring soles but Yen, the North Americans bring dollars. We also want to see that...” (Dipas, 27/05/2017)

Contrary to what is thought, the introduction to Westernized standards in tourist hubs does not assure the structural changes needed to achieve a supposed development, as the congress representatives repeatedly claim. If this were true, Cusco, the most famous Peruvian touristic hub, would lower its rates of poverty and increase the quality on education (Tantaleán & Aguilar, 2014, p. 241) .

“...Cusco is a patrimony, we are going to be excessive, not only of Cusco, not only of Peruvians, but it is also patrimony of the world. We all want the best for Cusco...” (Petrozzi, 15/11/2016)

For instance, this type of tourism denaturalises the relationship between the environment and the residents by appropriating the space and separating them; it also amplifies the relationship of servitude; modifies communal relations in favour of visitors; and supports the tokenization of their providers to offer themselves as commodities as part of a touristic experience.

“...Nazca can become a ghost town... this is due in large part, it no longer has the tourism that Nazca once had, being until now the second tourist destination after Machu Picchu. But unfortunately, the town of Nazca is experiencing very sad times...we need to recover Nazca...” (External Congressman, Elías Ávalos, 15/11/2016)

5.3. The problem

The historical exclusion that has resulted in precarious conditions for many Peruvians is acknowledged by the Congress representatives, especially for the ones that do not represent the capital city, Lima.

“...and then we wonder why Ayacucho continues to be in a situation of exclusion...” (Pariona, 14/03/2017)

“...we are going to have [...] the first meeting with our artisan brothers [...] they feel alienated or displaced and not heard. The law that we have has hardly considered them in many ways. They have not been part of this law...” (unidentified congressman, 04/18/2017)

This precarity is tethered with the perception of a lack of normative culture that needs to be fixed. By fixing Peruvian precarity, the development will flourish. Hence, the eagerness to apply the so-called "strategy" for a social transformation.

“...How many people, Mr. President, who don't have a penny to get around in Lima would be happy if they could go to a museum. How many people do we have in strata D and E who don't even have enough to pay for a ticket of 15 soles to a museum. They could have access to it and that way we would enrich them, in the best sense of the word, since poverty is not only the lack of money but also the lack of access and lack of opportunities. To the extent that poverty means, or the possibilities of getting out of poverty mean being able to understand that culture is also a mechanism that takes people out of it. Well, I think we would do a great good ...” (Sheput, 06/12/2016)

The Congress representatives seek equality of opportunities in their speeches. However, far from doing that, their opinions focus on highlighting the differences between the cultivated ones, of which they are also part of, versus the ignorant ones that represent the embodiment of backwardness. In consequence, Congress representative's distance themselves from their citizens creating an antagonistic relationship.

“Eh, yes they are themes of popular culture...” (Petrozzi, 23/08/2016)

5.3.1. The otherness

Is a socio-discursive construction that highlights the differences between a normative hegemonic group regarding a minority. In the congress representatives' discourse, the *otherness* is described as backwardness that needs to be transformed. The assumptions also bring paternalistic arguments (Stanziola, 2002, p. 23) that are based on the lack of cultural capital that specific groups of Peruvians have.

“... in the last months, years I would say; because of the growth of the urban development of the city, I would put it in quotes, we are seeing how many large houses are being destroyed in various districts of the capital due to the indifference of society. A society that does not understand what urban memory is, does not understand what it is. You, who have lived in Germany, know perfectly well,

Mr. President, how urban heritage is valued in developed countries...” (Sheput, 25/10/2016)

Although, the Spanish invasion is still an unresolved matter in contemporary discussions; the idea of *otherness* depicts a bigger opponent. Whereas the former discussion focuses on the dispossession of Peruvian greatness; the latter represents the personification of the loser in universal history.

“...we are a national stage, builder of a civilization. Of a civilization like very few in the world. So, we have a lot of background. To study technologically, culturally, and artistically each of the elements that built the migration of the world, not only the many heritages. Not because of what we are today, but because of what we were. It would have to be a very important basis to know that Cusqueños, that Peruvians, we are, we were capable of building what we have for which we are admired. But today we must reach that level to continue being admired and to be able to compare ourselves in a globalized world with other companies that today contribute with technology, with different inventions such as electronics. and, furthermore, to make Peruvians equal, to bring them up to the world circumstances of today...” (Villanueva 11/10/2016)

As consequence, this thought places the *other* in the lowest position of the development ladder. This softens the way to assimilate the evolutionary explanation in which there are people (western, protestant, white, man) better than others. Because of these deficiencies, these *others* are comparable with the judgemental limitations of a child. Hence the necessity to work towards cultural policies with a paternalistic halo. To this should be added that the necessity of distancing oneself from this *otherness* discursively places the latter in the natural realm. This normalizes a benevolent view that tends to exoticize the humanity of the *otherness* to confirm the superiority of a hegemonic group.

“...we are a generation that has not had the opportunity to go to a bilingual school. I am one of the generations that never attended a bilingual school. On the contrary, they told us that we don't have to talk, that we don't have to speak, and our own families did not speak Quechua with us until we were aware to claim...” (Pariona, 27/05/2017)

On that framework, by assuring that Peruvian society is deformed the congress representatives show a compulsory anxiety for working on cultural policies that try to control the experiences of targeted groups of citizens.

“... there is a need for attractive and renewed programming based on the needs of the viewer. It is there where there is a central debate: what are the needs of the viewer? Does Peruvian television meet the viewer's needs? For fun, for wasting time, for creating a fictitious world, for creating artificial values, that is, they are needs that also exist from time to time in societies, but they are distorted needs. What they called at some point "white television", then they called it show television, then they called it anything television, but it is a television to sell looking to captivate audiences. Which are the most uninformed audiences, with

less sense cultural and with a lesser sense of identity of the nation they are in. I mean, there is, uh... there is no doubt that what television poses as a prototype to have an audience, is that it doesn't matter if they don't know who Cesar Vallejo is, but that it is possible to put a little oil in the muscles, then to be strong. There is a distortion of what communication is in the country conceived as an exclusively more elementary market criterion..." (Dammert, 27/09/2016)

Thus, *otherness* is everything Peruvians need to detach from for succeeding globally. The historical negation of the *other* as an equal being shows that the strategy for transforming citizens does not truly appoint a structural change to favour unprivileged people, but rather highlights the differences between cultivated people vs the "savages". In consequence, the strategy creates the illusion that by modifying oneself improvement will happen. Whereas, the goal, represented as economic growth, contrary to driving what the strategy supposedly asserts, focuses on profiting from the *otherness* (Escobar, 1995, p. 41). In other words, the *otherness* is framed as a problem to be tackled but, in fact, its existence is key to perpetuating the western paradigm of development.

"... brothers from Ayacucho, brother authorities, there is a lot to work on, there is a lot to advance in the matter of culture. The people of Cusco know how to speak, they know how to put the value of culture. They know how to live from culture through tourism- Even still, we dream of reaching that..." (Dipas, 27/05/2017)

"...And I am convinced that the dream and the work that the children of Cutervo, our countrymen and also of Cajamarca, have had for years now with this initiative opens that door with your support to be able to say to Peru and the world, with this we can also generate wealth and bring better living conditions for all..." (Aguilar, 18/04/2017)

5.3.1.1. *Imagined bodies*

The problem, understood as the *other*, has been materialised in a racialized body. The hegemonic discourse has created imagined bodies placing people with specific characteristics to be recognized as different from the norm. These bodies play an important role in identity-building because refusing and placing them in roles of servitude and with a lack of judge, reinforce the idea of development. In other words, to be able to see how much someone has improved needs to have visual help that remains in backwardness.

These ideas can be traceable since the Spanish invasion where indigenous people were described as ignorant in opposition to the hegemonic traditions. This discourse has been recurrent throughout Peruvian history, and

its production and reproduction has been largely documented (Radcliffe & Laurie, 2006, p. 237).

While reviewing the congress meetings it has been found two discourses that make use of these bodies. On one hand, the congress representatives consider that most of these people do not understand the implications of culture as an asset to achieve development or do not have the vision to properly use their heritage and traditions in their favour to profit from it. These thoughts allow congress representatives to apply paternalistic policies that make people put into action what allegedly will bring improvements in their quality of life. In that sense, those policies are framed in a western view of development which, validated by international cultural organisations, displays a set of alternatives in which racialized people are allowed to participate in the market using its culture. For example, when talking about scholarships for artisans. First, the use of the word artisan to describe a vernacular artistic expression that is not normative; and second, it is argued that the scholarships appoint to teach them how to “*connect to the market and improve their products*”. In other words, there is an intention about the aesthetic vision of the product that wants to be sold even if the added value of the product is tag as *oriundo*.

“...There is a second group of scholarships that is being considered, which is the specialized training scholarship for artisans. What he seeks is to help them connect with markets and improve in terms of techniques they have for craft. In this case, 50 scholarships are being considered and what they are looking for is to grant a specialization diploma in quality management of crafts and they are working on this with the Institute for Art Quality of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú...” (Deputy of the Minister of Education, Jorge Arrunátegui, 11/10/2016)

In contrast with the previous interventions that appoint to make a distinction; there are interventions that seek vindication of the minority majorities. The demands focus on reclaiming legitimacy based on their ancient legacy. In this view, the interventions highlight how vertical relationships help maintain a fragmented nation. In this case, the agency of racialized bodies is tethered with its capacity to reproduce a western dynamic to prove its capacity to blend in the global market. This mechanism co-opts a hegemonic view to face the absence of policies that should be looking to enhance the quality of life of their citizens.

“President, in that spirit, I think I agree with you but, taking your own words, President, why don't we include Cusco? And I go in these terms... Because if we say, there is a quantity there, no? Yes, yes there are a lot of tourists, there you must charge, but do you know who goes? Peruvians don't go, foreigners go, and if we are fair with the terms, you have spoken and we speak in those same terms, let's ask that citizens enter Cusco once a month, not on Sunday, the day when they have less interference and that our Peruvian brothers can also enter” (Guía Pianto, 22/11/2016)

5.3.1.2. *Taming territories*

The *otherness* does not only refer to bodies that depict a lack of agency from a hegemonic perspective, but it is also present in physical spaces. Therefore, the relationship with a territory from a cultural perspective is related with the action of claiming authority of use and recognition from the global order.

“... we have sites, archaeological sites, tourist places, we have museums (...), places that are part of history such as the Pampas de la Quinoa (...) and there we have tremendous potential. We are the cradle of freedom. Not only from Peru, not only from Ayacucho, but from Latin America...” (Dipas, 27/05/2017)

Territories, where traditions are still practiced or that have archaeological sites are seem like potential indicators of prosperity in economic terms. This can be seemed in the interventions from multiple parties of the congress representatives. The most common viewpoint is that by exploiting those territories would bring improvements to the local community.

“...that's why we need this moment for you to understand that only a law like this can give us access, please. To national tourism, to world tourism, access to scholars and investments from the country and from the rest of the world...”. (Prof. Oscar Vílchez Llatas [CIS], 18/04/2017).

This perspective, framed in a political neoliberal discourse, conceives territory in an extractivist way based on international policies that foresee cultural legacies for its consumption. The argument is mediated by a view that considers that places are potentially exploitable. Thus, rather than reflect on the impacts that it involves opening a place for tourism, it establishes and validates criteria that see spaces as an opportunity for economic growth.

“...with this law we are going to value again, and we are going to give, let's say, the necessary number of tourists that will move the economy of our region and above all we are going to make ourselves known worldwide that we have a beautiful forest of stones. Even abroad they know about our stone forest, they have made various films of the Wild West in our lands, but the corresponding entities have done little or nothing...” (External Congressman, Roy Ventura, 22/11/2016)

At the same time, congress representatives show other concerns. Here, the necessity of proving the value of a community, region, etc. comes along with its eligibility for offering touristic services. Its success will be proof to the government of its relevance due to the economic flow. This would represent the attention of the state towards these spaces and consequently the possibility of having access to basic services or their improvement. This evidenced that the value of a territory is also ordered. Metropolis are prioritized because the concentration of wealth is centralized in there.

“... the vindication of our people and in it is Wari. Wari ends up being a powerful product of our culture that until now has not been "uncovered", right? It is buried (...) but we continue in that effort that Wari finally ends up being the symbol of Ayacucho provides many contributions, not only to culture but to the issue of how they lived, right? Social-scientific of how the Ayacucho men lived at that time and what their contribution to world culture was This is a matter of claim for us and in that desire, we find ourselves...” (Morales, 27/05/2017)

“...in all the regions, any finding was mainly focused on bringing it here, to Lima, and we know that here, in Lima, the museums have many archaeological remains from different cultures of the country in boxes. When can we show them if they are in boxes? Only a few samples or remains will be shown in the museums that we have here in Lima. However, if we begin to have a presence in this commission from now on (...) many remains could be shown in their regions, we need them to be delivered again...” (Bocangel, 02/05/2017)

Along the same line, there is an exacerbation for claiming international validation to recognize the transcendence of inhabitants in the Peruvian contemporary territory in human history. All interventions have as a common denominator this topic. Looking for recognition from countries that work as hegemonic global hubs also works to amplify the visibility of a particular territory expecting to enhance its quality of life.

“...as well as many regions, Áncash also has many potentialities...and Áncash is also recognized as a cultural heritage of humanity by UNESCO. It has been forgotten for 47 years and we want many of the regions to be regions for the world. Ancash for the world...” (Melgarejo, 15/08/2016)

“...the high orography of the Alto Marañón Basin has left a series of abysmal waterfalls against strong important waterfalls to demonstrate that one day this heritage combined with the landscape heritage will be a novelty in our country and in the world.” (Prof. Oscar Vílchez Llatas [CIS], 18/04/2017).

The congress representatives from the Commission, instead of reflecting on the structural problems that make inhabitants to choose to open to tourism, continue indiscriminately enabling spaces because in their believe tourism brings development (Cotler, 2005, p. 48). This reinforces the idea of seeking international legitimization for generating more income. In this

sense, the country is thought as a primary one in terms of offering services (through its resources, which would be tangible and intangible heritage).

5.4. Dichotomies

While revising the data it was found at least two ideas that play, in some scenarios, in favour to the congress representative arguments, and in others, they work to sanction third parties' actions or contradicts the previous assertions of congress representatives.

5.4.1. Pivotal role of the art/artist

Liberal humanism plays an essential role in the understanding of the arts. While culture is assumed to be something that can be acquired, art is taken as something innate. It is on this path that whoever possesses it can have freedom and feel free.

“As the culture commission is made up of artists, writers, musicians, etc., we are freer...” (Petrozzi, 23/08/2016)

“...culture is closely related to the artistic theme, to art, and art is a natural gift and, with the greatest respect to all professions, I, for example, am an engineer, and anyone can assume and study a career in engineering, but art... if I had that ability, that capacity. It's a quality, with which you are born. It's a blessing...” (Arce, 15/08/2016).

“...I want to congratulate this work that is often misunderstood; many times, because sometimes art, not all art, carries it in the heart, in the blood...” (Martorell, 25/10/2016)

Equally important, German romanticism also has some influence on the Congress representative's view. In that line, the artist is seen as a transcendent human being, who has the necessary sensibility to sense things that regular people cannot and transform them into something meaningful. In this way, the recognition of artists is most promoted.

“...Not only because the artist expects recognition. An artist in itself, his best payment is recognition, and it gives value and recognition to an artist, above all from his parliamentary congresses, that is important...” (Morales, 14/03/2017)

“...give artists the life they deserve...” (Sheput, 23/08/2016)

“... my colleagues already know me, and they know that as an artist sometimes I take licenses that, that only artists are allowed...” (Petrozzi, 6/09/2016)

Because the Commission of culture and heritage believes that artists are the ones who materialize art. Therefore, the state apparatus's intention is

to use artists to partake in the role of medium between the government and the citizens to amplify national identity through the production of symbols.

“...to honor meritorious personalities who have contributed significantly, significantly to art and culture in Peru, thus promoting the continuity and dissemination of our national customs and traditions...” (Petrozzi, 14/03/2017)

Therefore, the principal role of artists in society, in the commission of culture and heritage view, is to channel values through the production of artworks that can transmit a sense of cohesive national identity so much so that this idea can be understood in the national and international territory. This is what makes the artist so important for the identity formation of new generations; for example, in institutions such as museums and schools (Lumbreras, 2006, p. 82). However, the artist's conception is problematic because it does not follow a consistent thought regarding the ideas stated above. First, even though there is a necessity to recognize artists, the government does not “reward” them with policies that can offer them social benefits.

“...artists must be recognized, and, in this country, it is not possible for many of them who have managed to contribute to the development of this country to continue to die and die completely abandoned...” (Arce, 15/08/2016)

Apart from that, the differentiation between artists and artisans or artist vs popular artists has transcended the cultural debates and installed in the colloquial overview. This stratification allows policymakers and, in this case, Congress representatives, to usufruct the product of these “non-artists”. The importance of this action highlights the necessity to tokenise racialized bodies to incorporate them into the narratives of progress and as a symbol for identity building (Belfiore & Bennett, 2008, p. 144). But lacks policies that can improve their state.

“... I am referring to the law of popular artists, there is a right of grace that corresponds to popular artists who, under a resolution of the Ministry of Culture, can be creditors of an economic pension. In Ayacucho we have teachers from wax artists, retablo artists, those who carve Huamanga stone, those who weave blankets, ponchos, etc., who do not benefit from this law. They do not even have access to health or nutrition care. That is, the basic food to continue existing because we are talking about artists who are over 70 years of age and some of them of course, since they do not necessarily qualify as extremely poor, they are not even considered within the SIS [social security service] ...” (Pariona, 14/03/2017)

Overall, there is a sense of abandonment that is not only sensed by the artistic community but also by the Congress representatives (Losson, 2013, p. 30). However, the latter tends to romanticise this situation by arguing that the love for art is even stronger that can surpass any problem, almost recalling the idea that an artist needs to suffer to be able to explore its best. As a counter-response, the artistic community appoints to make use of validation mechanisms such as higher education degrees to access the market.

“...the fact that the school of fine arts has obtained a degree for us is an important step because as we know at a social level, the valuation of artists still has many steps to take and the fact that an artist has a degree allows them to have a more stable field of work and be better regarded by society. So that is why it seems very important to us that these titles be granted...” Former General Director of ENSABAP, Luis Valdez, 22/11/2016)

5.4.2. The patrimonialist discourse

It is a discriminatory conservative discourse that is imposed on the economic and cultural matters. The discourse adapts accordingly to the context. Initially, comes from the idea that all heritage needs to be protected, disassociating its materiality from its social environment; thus, prevailing in a modern vision (Cotler, 2005, p. 129). In that sense, it also categorizes people with specific socio-demographic characteristics and identifies them as destructors of the heritage, incapable of determining what is what they are destroying.

The use of this discourse acquires a character of power when it is used by certain groups to determine the guidelines by which heritage can be used for economic benefits (Henze, 2021, p. 20). It is only within that condition that this discourse becomes a gambit. Thus, heritage as a synonym for generating economic wealth can be understood in two different ways. In one, as something that does not allow development because it does not allow the creation of new buildings at the expense of the previous ones. The other position considers that its conservation is an asset itself to generate an industry. In either case, it is viewed as a profit-generating opportunity.

“... [People] are talking about the over-dimension of what has been declared intangible and that this also sometimes closes the doors of development...” (Petrozzi, 10/14/2016)

“Thank you, Congressman Bocángel, we are in the same line, and we have already told you, this commission will support any bill that seeks the development and especially the preservation and conservation of our archaeological remains...” (Megarejo, 18/04/2017)

“...we must work on initiatives that strengthen the actions of the culture sector and truly ensure the defence of the nation's tangible and intangible cultural heritage...” (Petrozzi, 15/08/2016).

The protection of heritage, especially the tangible ones, is seen above other needs and problems of the population. In this sense, the "static" proposal focuses on the use of space in a restrictive manner with the assumption of creating and strengthening a national identity and at the same time providing economic benefits through tourist demand, mainly foreign.

“... let's see how we can preserve the cultural heritage in the first place” (Sheput, 15/11/2016)

“Completely agree because at some point we have to start to stop this disorderly growth because if not in 25 or 30 years there will be no Cusco and make it very clear, also, since they are recording us, that the tourists who come, they do not come to see Cusco to see buildings, skyscrapers, moles, cinemas, or musicals. They come to see the Inca empire. So, that is what we also must see in this commission and protect” (Petrozzi, 15/11/2016)

This gets explicit when a congress representative argues about the pertinence of not providing basic services to a town where inhabitants live surrounded by archaeological heritage. It seems that the congress representative wants to punish these people for choosing this place to live. The precarious conditions do not mean anything but a social marker that proves their ignorance with respect to the value of their heritage.

“President, inspired by your reflection. Emblematic cities in the world, especially the one on the central coast of Italy, the south coast, would not exist if the urban criterion of urban development predominated. And coincidentally, they are a source of wealth because it is preserved. Dams have been stopped in China because of what the Three Gorges has meant, a massive destruction of millennia, right? Future reserves, despite the need for energy, are stopped because otherwise the tourism that this generates would mean the death of those people who, with a completely wrong criteria, live next to the cultural patrimony thinking that this is going to be the issue (?) when in reality (?) they are killing it. So, we can authorize water and drainage for people who go to living in absolute poverty, because the source of wealth, which is cultural heritage, is going to be destroyed. So, this is a dilemma that obviously has to be solved with a lot of intelligence.” (Sheput, 15/11/2016)

In the same line, another congress representative, while trying to defend the villagers argues with the same patrimonialist view as his colleague. His answer, rather than explaining the limitation of his colleague's thought, approved indirectly that view in which all heritage needs to be pristinely

and encapsulated in time. Additionality, critics with the same value scale other citizens who, in his judgment, do not take care of their heritage.

“... But I do want to attest, Mr. President, that this Wimpillay population has been located from the Pumamarca area for a long time. They have been there for a long time, next to it is the church. We will never be able to get them out, ever. Don't even think that. So, what here, in this case, is up to the Peruvian state, is to provide them with these elementary services that are: the issue of water, the issue of drainage. Because the area of Alto Cusco, obviously because of this case of migration from the countryside to the city, is also experiencing. They have settled, obviously taking care of the issue, I reiterate and remark, taking care of Cusco. They jealously care for the subject of their vestiges. That I do recognize and congratulate your authorities because, I only reiterate that, in Ayacucho we do not care. I am from Ayacucho, I include myself, but that does not happen in Cusco....” (Dipas, 15/11/2016)

This discourse can be also found when another congress representative asks about the actions taken to secure an archaeological site that was taken for living purposes. Here, the representative is not concerned about why a group of people had to take that risky decision, taking in consideration that those places do not have electricity, neither water.

“About the "invasion" in an archaeological zone in Huaycán de Pariachi. We need to know what was done for the protection of the archaeological site ...” (Albrecht, 20/09/2016)

As a solution, the congress representative's consideration about the protection of heritage is by building museums and hiring security guards that can surround the area. This view of regulating heritage, as before mentioned, invalids the agency of people that is everyday interacting with cultural legacies.

Chapter VI: Discussion

The inquiry of this research is to understand how developmental thinking has permeated the judgment of Congress representatives, citizens that have the power to transform socio-political and economic realities, of their fellow citizens through the creation, proposal, and argumentation of draft bills. Is in that scope that culture has been chosen to ultimately expose the guidelines for achieving the idea of Peru.

Different authors whose work have focus on developmental theories and decolonial epistemologies have explained the implications of development and culture separately. In my perspective, based on authors such as Frank

(1967), Rodríguez (2022) and Wallerstein (1974, p. 128), development is the standardized measure of qualification that ensures the purchasing and reserve capacity of countries. It is oriented to control the world order. Its guidelines are given by historically hegemonic countries and global institutions¹² that follow its lead.

Culture, on the other hand, is a concept created to filter tangible and intangible human expressions to make it a normative goal (Kusch, 1976; Ramírez & Moreno-Gutiérrez, 2022). Everything that is not, is perceived in a barbaric state or untouched, as happens with the concept of nature (Fornäs, 2017).

The focus here is put on the Commission of Culture and Cultural Heritage, period 2016-2017. In that regard, this investigation considers that by doing a discourse analysis of the ordinary and decentralized meetings of this Commission (see chapter IV), it will be possible to dive into the liminal areas of culture and development to further understand the spheres in which they, combined, create a system by itself that allows the explanation of cultural policies from the Congress perspective.

Thus, these spheres will contribute to clarify the depth of the coloniality of power that has influenced the minds of the subjects of this case study, the Congress representatives of the Commission of Culture and Cultural Heritage, period 2016-2017. In that light, this analysis will constitute fundamental to draw a conclusion about the state of the art that governs Peruvians. In other words, if Congress representatives perform as implementors, adapting cultural policies that look for a normative *upgrade* of the citizens; or innovators (Bhatasara, 2013, p. 50), by proposing policies according to the necessities of the multiplicity of the nations that Peru have.

¹² The most important ones were created after the II World War such as the World Bank, which categorises countries according to their incomes—low, lower-middle, upper-middle, and high income Hamadeh et al. (2022); the United Nations (2023, chapter III) that categorises countries in developed economies, economies in transition and developing economies; or the International Monetary Fund (2022) that categorises countries in Advanced Economies, Emerging Market and Middle-Income Economies, and Low-Income Developing Countries.

Having said that, this research acknowledges its limitations given that its analysis focuses on the first congressional year of the Congress period (2016-2017). It does not pretend to create a theory but rather will delve into the results to question if embracing a normative development will bring Peruvians a positive change from a cultural viewpoint. On that is optimistic to find elements that agrees with Fairclough (1989) use of language for understanding how the discourse is being used to perdure unequal relationships of power in Peru.

While revising the congress meetings, Quijano's approach about developmental thinking being engrained in different aspects of our lives is palpable (2000c). Congress representatives systematically believed that a westernized cultural praxis elevates the life of everyone but specially that of the targeted citizens.

The characterisation of the political parties involved in this study in contrast with my findings demonstrate two things. The first one is that although Fujimori had left the power in 2000, in practice its political legacy is still very present through his daughter's political party, Fuerza Popular. Therefore, the way Fujimorism operates is through diversifying power from which they can propose or change policies framed in its political view. This can be seen in the quantity of congress representatives from that political party in the Commission of interest (see Table 2).

Although most of the parliamentary focus is on Lima, the Capital of Peru, I consider it very important to highlight the diversification or, in this case, decentralization from Fuerza Popular because it means that political representativity, in theory, is present (see Table 3). At the same time, this means the assimilation of far-right policies in most of the country, conservative in political terms and liberal in economic ones. The political representative makes it crystal-clear when the policies discussed in this Commission work to favour the acceptance of future candidatures related to Fuerza Popular.

The second thing I would like to mention is that my research demonstrates that regarding the different political characterisations of the political

parties involved, the discourse analysis reveals that the core of the policies prioritizes economic coloniality. Of course, some variants are related to political affiliations but in essence, all of them are a part of the idea that development is a linear Darwinian state that needs to be achieved. This is something that Drinot (2011) also highlights when discussing the programmatic agenda that different heads of state have had in regard to the incorporation of indigeneity (backwardness) into modernity. Along the same line, congress representatives also consider that target people, racialized bodies, are the very problem for not achieving a normative development.

Subsequently, I would delve on this matter since I truly believe that this reveals a structural problem that needs to be rethought. It has been already mentioned (see chapter 2 and 3) that several authors have discussed how the hegemonic experience was never an option in former colonized countries but rather an imposition that is still impacting our lives. Therefore, I expect to contribute enlarging the discussion on the question of how Peruvians would deconstruct the state and their policies to think about other ways of development from a cultural perspective based on Peruvian historiography. As Rivera (2018) explains, this does not mean going back to the past but creating something from here to here. Examples of this matter can be revised in Bolfarine and Santos (2022).

The deconstruction of the Commission's discourses has allowed me to identify three spheres that work simultaneously and for one another. On that Reisiigl and Wodak (2001) had proved the capacity of discourse analysis to explain relationships of subordination in regards to the production of capital (see also Wodak, 2003, p. 112). To summarize this idea, I have named those spheres to make it easier to recognize the intangible interactions involved. At the same time, the data has shown that there are some dichotomies that do not adjust to the proposed scheme. These dichotomies can be taken as conservative resources that have the ability to adapt its content to persuade at will and can move from one sphere to another (see Figure 1).

Based on Escobar's (2012, p. vii) notes about development as a strategy for cultural and social domination, the first sphere I identified has been named as "The Strategy". Here lies what I considered the foundation of developmental thinking to be applied consciously or unconsciously in cultural policies from the study case.

Although the results revealed diverse viewpoints that can correlate with the congress representative's backgrounds (see chapter 3 section 3); it is fair to say that all the interventions placed culture within the saviour role. De La Cadena (2000, pp. 22–23) has traced this "cultural fundamentalism" in the earliest twentieth century in her studies for Cusco's modern perception on racial-cultural identity.

Thus, there is an evident assimilation of the narrative about Peru as a country that is on its way to reach development. This assimilation can be explained by Carranza's (2002, p. 32) approach about the use of the "modernizing" discourse of economic coloniality; which in short claims fictionalities about the homogenizing Western model of development. In the congress representatives' perception, the precarity of the country is the cause and effect of the lack of culture. Approaching culture in that way misleads the focus on how the current system perpetuates the precarity in Peru. This tendency fed the illusion of Peruvian progress by interfering in an actual possible solution, altering its content and superficially abording the subject to incorporate it into the market.

Once again, placing culture as a saviour role allows policy makers to perform as saviours through the introduction of policies that are framed in a development that prioritizes economic coloniality (Molho et al., 2020). In other words, is cost-effective to embrace the narrative that culture saves people. Thus, it is expected a "Social Transformation" that creates a particular national identity.

"Social transformation" appoints to a harmonization of the citizens. The tools are mediated by policies that look to model a type of citizen. In essence, the "Social Transformation" follows the fiction of building a body that can permeate in the globalized world and used hegemonic tools to

access into the system as equal. This is extensively explained by Villena (2015) in a more specific topic such as the implementation of soccer in Costa Rica¹³.

Back into Peru, “Social Transformation” follows a contradiction. Congress representatives argue to work for a better quality of life of the citizens, which means that they expect that Peruvians can have social mobility and, at the same time, learn how to use western democratic tools in their favour. But, in practice, congress representatives appoint to restrict the agency of segregated people by placing them in specific activities. This matches with the normalization of positive discrimination from MINCUL (2014) when explaining diversities *raison d’être*:

...cultural diversity is a condition, it is also both, a means, and an end of development. Its recognition should be an asset and not a liability in our effort to advantageously incorporate ourselves into the global world. And the indigenous peoples and the Afro-Peruvian population undoubtedly contribute to this goal, whose organizations are multiplying and strengthening, generating more value, more creative exchange, and more visibility. (p. 12)¹⁴

This evidence a tendency in the political arena that shows the rationality used on regards of the agency of the excluded one. Therefore, here shows that a state policy and a legislature policy complement each other despite the fact they can be from different political parties and institutions. Thus, it proofs how entrenched is the coloniality of power in Peru; policies are done from a hegemonical gaze. It does no longer matter if it is done by a hegemonical normative body, the *tools of the master* are being used to produce and reproduce more inequalities (Lorde, 2007 [1984]; Mignolo, 2012). In this case, naming diversities to groups of people that live in the

¹³ “...gradually soccer would become a privileged space for the pedagogical unfolding of the illusion of upward social mobility through personal merit and in favor of a modernizing national social transformation, in which one can accomplish great achievements and advance along the path to progress...” Villena (2015, p. 72)

¹⁴ My own translation. Original: “*la diversidad cultural es una condición, un medio y un fin del desarrollo. Su reconocimiento debe constituir un activo y no un pasivo en nuestro esfuerzo por incorporarnos ventajosamente al mundo global. Y a esa meta contribuyen sin duda los pueblos indígenas y la población afroperuana, cuyas organizaciones se multiplican y fortalecen generando cada vez, más valor, más intercambio creativo y más visibilidad.*”

same geopolitical space reveals that there is a group that visualises itself as the norm. In consequence, it orders people based on that idea.

These “diversities” are expected to adapt but to still keep their uniqueness only for-profit purposes (Kopytoff, 1988). When it is seen in that way, the efforts to try to mould said diversities with a westernized-like education are clear. As an example, INEI (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática [INEI], 2022, p. 190) has reported that from 1961 till 2017 Quechua native speakers have decreased in more than 60% whereas Spanish speakers have increased in almost 40%.

This means that learning Spanish still is not a choice but a necessity to blend into society. The implementation of Quechua in educational practices and institutions follows the benevolent discourse of inclusivity rather than being a priority to understand how to narrow the gap of accessibility. In this sense, kids are obligated to learn Spanish if they want to have access to different services. And this situation happens not only to this nation but to others such as Aymara, Ashaninka, etc.

The strategy used seems to have not changed, at least from the one proposed by Cornejo Polar (1987) where the idea is to use cultural policies to build a homogeneous national identity. This homogeneity promotes the belief that some mediated cultural activities need to be consumed. Therefore, people are strategically trained to consume and evaluate cultural forms from a hegemonic viewpoint. Escobedo (2016) explains, this pattern not as a novelty from the state apparatus. To the contrary, the ideological construction of racism is perpetuated from the state and focus on reproducing an imagined version of whiteness.

Similarly with Mignolo¹⁵ (2018, p. 124) and Drinot¹⁶ (2014, p. 199) about the identification of institutions from the state apparatus that exist to persuade and amplify an ideology tether with the coloniality of power; I have found that Congress representatives repeatedly advocate similar

¹⁵ Mignolo considers these institutions: universities, museums, convents, and monasteries.

¹⁶ Drinot considers these institutions: education, archaeology, and radio broadcasting.

institutions: archaeology, museums, television, and school to build on the national identity. In this line, although the Church¹⁷ has been considered in the diagram (see Figure 1), as the fifth institution, it is important to mention that it was decided not to go further in this topic due to the seldom explicit mentions. However, by recognizing its presence, it is expected to call attention on the relationship that the church, regardless of its type, had built from many centuries that helped enrich the discourse about standardized development (see Arellano-Yanguas & Martínez-Contreras, 2019).

To start with, Archaeology works to validate the relevance of the Peruvian cultural legacy within the world's contribution through scientific foundations (Londoño, 2010). The use of archaeology in the congressional meetings looks to re-linking contemporary Peruvians with a far-gone glorious past. The idea of development is applied using forms of social organization, specifically the category “Empire”. This can be found when discussing the Inca period.

However, this is not the only example. Archaeology itself tries to build this idea by looking for evidence that places Peru's contemporary territory as one of the cradles of civilizations. This can be seen when talking about the archaeological site of Caral, which uses C14 dates to argue its existence as a "mother civilization" since 3000 BCE, contemporary to the first cities of Egypt and Mesopotamia, but the oldest published dates are only from 2500 BCE (Accinelli, 2021). Before that, a similar discourse was found about Chavin de Huantar.

These patterns co-exist and are assimilated by the majority in such a way that 30% of the drafts, period 2016-2017, involve this topic. This explains better why Congress representatives ask for recognizing archaeological sites. On one hand, it helps to reinforce the national identity (Henández, 2012) and, on the other, helps to link development with economical revenues through tourism (Herrera, 2017).

¹⁷ When talking about the Church, it only takes in consideration the Roman Catholic, Protestant and Lutheran since the conversations or drafts relates on those three.

On that, it is worth mentioning that the Congress meeting has shown that archaeology is depicted as a professional career that helps others understand their ancestry and for that has the power to mediate the relationship with intangible legacy named as cultural heritage. In this framework, all other archaeological remains due to their intangibility became a possibility to be restored and acknowledged in the global civilization race. In that situation, it does not matter to alter the daily life of the people who have settled in the surrounding areas. By silencing people with the legality of their power Congress representatives display what Quijano's (1980, pp. 22–25) described as “dominant culture”. This verticalize the relationship between people with major education access and others in a less privileged situation.

In another light, Museums are understood as a place to acquire knowledge. It is believed that citizens will level up by visiting them. Therefore, it is expected that museums can transfer knowledge in a more systematic and standard way (T. Bennett, 1995, p. 7).

For that, museums have professionalised on providing discourses mediated through a white gaze. As an example, museums that keeps heritage tagged them as treasures. For such reason, Mignolo (2018, p. 199) asserts that museums indoctrinate visitors on how to experience and understand the materiality and its narratives. Then, it is not a coincidence that the display of majority of the exhibitions follow a predefined aesthetic. In that sense, the New Museology had open new lines of thought in regards of narrative's ownership (Flórez, 2006). However, it has failed to redress the social transformation that hegemonic institutions had built on for social control.

In their aim to be inclusive, museums have been recently collecting minority voices that contribute to fetishising their way of living and problems. For that, dissident bodies are relegated as third parties or primary sources but not given actual power (see Almenara, 2018; Alvarez Espinoza, 2021, pp. 19–20; Borea, 2021, pp. 193–201). In Peru's case, because the major topic in museums is the ancient past, the appropriation of the past proposes a new relationship based on patrimonial normativity that contributes to

dislocate organic interactions between communities and its legacy (Tantaleán & Aguilar, 2014).

The relationship between the inner structure of museums and the expectations of Congress representatives are amalgamated in such a fashion that builds the framework to reinforce the economic coloniality and meritocratic idea that "*the poor are poor because they want to*" (Alvarez, 2021, p. 335). In this context, not choosing to go to a museum gives a face to the theory about the Peruvian problem of not achieving development as a nation-state. This targets a group of people and places them in the natural realm. At the same time, this approximation speaks by itself about the limitations of the congress representatives to not being able to foresee what entails taking such decision, such as low income, public transportation, etc.

As the third institution the Television is expected to broadcast the national values that supposedly define the Peruvian identity (Drinot, 2014, p. 199). Paradoxically, the Commission's request, mostly liberals, evokes the early 70's policies made by the military socialist government (Alvarez Espinoza, 2021, p. 17). Here, symbols are used to link specific episodes of the past with a more contemporary view of Peru as a nation-state. In that sense, the view of the congress representatives follows a nationalistic bias that tries to reinforce the use of television as national propaganda using a curated selection of history and people that have managed to achieve certain level of recognition, especially in the arts and cultural sector.

The fourth institution that is considered by the congress representatives is the school. Critics about the school system can be found in Mariategui (2009, pp. 37–38) when explaining the connection between education and *gamolismo*. The former to be used to replicate a vertical system and the latter to make it applicable. In more contemporary discussion, Castro-Gómez (2005) highlights that:

The school becomes a place of internment where it is formed a specific type of subject that the "regulative ideals" of the constitution were claiming. What is

sought is to introject a discipline on the mind and body that enables the person to be "useful to the country." (p. 149)¹⁸

This institution gathers and reproduces the knowledge that the state apparatus wants to provide for its citizens. Schools in this context are bound to recall the historicity of the pre-Hispanic past. Schools as normative institutions help to create a view in which diversities exist but on a secondary plane. Zárata (2011) characterise this problem in the didactic-discursive mechanisms that the educational system promotes to reproduce the racialized order and place identities on a ladder. In this framework is understandable that congress representatives consider as crucial the importance of the incorporation of hegemonic arts education to help students elevate their souls and at the same time build a strong nationalist view.

The second sphere, named as "The Goal", reveals the Commission's intention to receive the approval of their drafts from the congress plenary. All the efforts that are being done advocate to becoming a country for tourism (Pretes, 2003).

This aim dates back to the beginning of the 50s. Based on The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments (1931) institutions in Peru were created to promote tourism. Valenzuela (2015, p. 12) notices the creation of specific offices to address this topic such as the Board of Restoration and Industrial Development of Cusco¹⁹ and highlights the emergence of international intervention from Spain and UNESCO.

The assumption made in this sphere is that besides its natural resources, the country does not have anything else to offer. The congress representatives claim the necessity to receive culture, in short, Western cultural expressions, from the State to grow as a country. This denies Peruvians own

¹⁸ My own translation. Original: *"La escuela se convierte en un espacio de internamiento donde se forma ese tipo de sujeto que los "ideales regulativos" de la constitución estaban reclamando. Lo que se busca es introjectar una disciplina sobre la mente y el cuerpo que capacite a la persona para ser "útil a la patria".*

¹⁹ The name in Spanish is: Junta de Restauración y Fomento Industrial del Cusco.

multiplicity of cultural forms and its offerings to attain betterment in different fields.

By arguing that diversities only have visibility when exploiting themselves or localities nearby demonstrates that the congress representative are ignoring the fact that subalterns have already been fully absorbed into the market, by “participating” in external and internal markets as a super-exploited workforce (Frank, 1967, p. xii).

The only context where this diversity of expressions is recognised is when using tourism. I suggest that the type of tourism that LATAM mostly provides resembles the concept of ecotourism by Dachary and Arnáiz (2006, p. 47). This type of tourism is intertwined with poverty because it finds its commodification in the wild nature and its individuals happen to be found in underdeveloped environments.

Because the epitome of tourism revolves around indigenous communities and heritage, then tourism is sold as an alternative to enhance the life of the people. In this sphere, it can be interpreted that the condition to be economically successful is to exhibit Peruvian diverse indigeneity whilst providing a western service. In that sense, visitors would be able to experience naturalised bodies and surroundings, although already “trained” to deal with the necessities of the market (N. García, 1989, pp. 38–39).

The implication of what is mentioned above disseminates in different sub-categories of the value chain of tourism. García (2021, p. 211) expands on this topic while describing the implications of what she identifies as racial capitalism found in Peru’s culinary revolution as a “*structure of accumulation and dispossession*”. This can be also seen when referring to the artisan market. In the previous chapter, it has been highlighted the existence of policies that promote a value chain that regulates indigenous aesthetics to access a supposed global market. Those policies are argued as an opportunity for the artisans to level up and produce merchandise with quality standards. Those standards are determined by the market and follow the spending capacity of “first world” hegemonic groups as a model.

In the diagram made for this investigation, the three parts of the spheres work at the same time. Because the Strategy is already placed in the mind of Peruvian citizens, it makes more sense to appoint to build an entrepreneur persona (*self-made man*) in “The Goal” sphere (see Callirgos, 2018, pp. 490–491). This allows citizens to profit from their own identity or someone else’s rather than questioning the lack of services the state apparatus needs to provide to equalize opportunities that ultimately would provide the framework for enhancing their lives, one that is not constrained to immediate necessities.

The third sphere, “The Problem”, strongly correlates with what is and is not culture based on the categories determined by racism. Miles (1994, p. 207) conceptualizes racism as a “‘*disorganisation of capitalism*’, [...] *between, on the one hand, universalism and humanism, and, on the other, the reproduction of social inequality and exploitation*”. The idea of upgrading will be present in all the discourses involving different layers of the social fabric to be changed. Therefore, it targets specific bodies and spaces altering the perception and the socialization of culture.

Although some of the interventions speak up about the consequences of racism, the reflections about how to address the issue end up in a circular logic as consequence of their own prejudices. In such logic, the precarity needs to be westernized to be developed. Altamirano (2021, § 176) notice that placing people in the natural realm has its roots in colonisation. In theory, the natural realm becomes a problem when a human body is placed; however, the system is built to dichotomise human beings between culture vs nature or civilized vs uncivilized (barbaric).

The existence of this categorization is compulsory; not only for Peru but also for former empires that whilst trying to maintain their commerce into the country, looked to exert their soft power to ensure their business possibilities by selling the idea that with their interventions third-world countries would eventually become developed (Esteva, 2023, p. 33).

That it is why I consider that the specific problem in this sphere is the idea of *the other*, *The Otherness*. For the purpose of this investigation the focus

will be put on a regional view, which means understanding the view of the Congress representatives. The discourse used by the congress representatives highlights backwardness as a characteristic of specific people and territories that can only be changed through the application of “The Strategy”.

Because “The Strategy” is grounded under the precepts of economic coloniality, it prepares citizens to think about certain characteristics that can work to be profitable. On that, congress representatives present cynical (Merino, 2020) paternalistic draft bills that evidence the verticality between people in positions of power and those regarded as *others* (Damonte, 2014, p. 57). Those draft bills are made because congress representatives truly believe that by becoming laws they will bring the desired development.

The tangibility of *The Otherness* can be recognized in two arenas: Racialized Bodies and, what I have called, Taming Territories. The first one entails the configuration of the identity that delimits the action of self-being. Mendez (2000) conceptualizes this as a historical problem that delimits the agency of indigeneity. Thus everything (anyone) that does not resemble the criterion of development such as the institutionalized idea of the Incas is out of modernity. The particularity with this with is that places marginalities in specific markets, most of it by usufructing their culture as it was discussed in “The Goal” sphere through tourism. Once again, racialized bodies are registered to partake in a role that was not chosen.

The second, places territories in the natural realm disengaging it with memories and affective bonds (Haesbaert, 2020, p. 268). This exacerbates the modern view regarding the land, placing it in the role of servitude for economic purposes (Llave, 2020). All territories from a cultural congressional perspective are tameable. Therefore, buyable, and transformable for this supposed development.

Finally, as mentioned in the analysis, it was found some dichotomies in the arguments of the congress representatives. Two topics have been found: “The Pivotal role of the art/ artist” and “The Patrimonial discourse”.

Those two have the particularity of adapting their discourse at will to be placed in any of the three spheres presented.

“The Pivotal role of the art/artist” is driven by the idea that only the artist will save other citizens because they have enough sensibility to materialize things and make them beautiful (Williams, 1985, pp. 41–42). The attribution of this important role is not compatible with the current situation that most artist experience, such as labour instability or low wages.

In that sense, even though the congress representatives attribute the arts and artists an important role to society they are not economically recognised. It is expected that they can still work on that situation due to the romanization of the labour of the artist which considers the gratuity of an artist production because art supposes to be a noble cause.

The problem with this statement is that it aligns with current discourses that enable labour exploitation (Abbing, 2002, p. 286), however, this discourse tends to be sweetened up to make it sound like a lack of commitment from the worker if they are not interested to follow those orders. Reynoso and Vara (2022) further this topic when explaining the strategies of subsistence and adaptation framed in a excluded environment managed by the elite and the State using as study case two Limean artists.

Regarding “The Patrimonialist discourse”, the congress representatives consider as an aberration to have people living in tangible cultural heritage, such as archaeological sites. Rather than understand the structural problems that make some people living in those places, such as: high costs of housing, displacement, land trafficking, mafias, etc; they sanction those people that are already living in hard conditions. The marginalization of people in regards of heritage has been discussed by Tantaleán and Aguilar (2014, p. 238). They highlight that this behaviour is rooted in the early XIX century when the international recognition was central for the Peruvian state.

This condemnation is not equal when they propose adapting tangible cultural heritage to be accessible to the market. Silverman (2005) unfolds how political discourses manipulates the interaction with what it is defined as

heritage to promote tourism as a national praxis to produce and consume. In that sense, the congress representative expects to transform all possible cultural heritage into economic assets as a solution to achieve development. This view disavows all possible relationships built between people regardless of their settlement status.

Overall, this approximation is discriminatory because it prioritizes a standardised view guided by transnational institutions that provide the framework for managing cultural heritage. It also allows political disengagement by accusing racialized bodies of not being civilized enough by having “chosen” to live in precarious conditions.

Chapter VI: Conclusion

Culture is a concept created to filter tangible and intangible human expressions to make it a normative goal. Everything that is not, is perceived in a barbaric state or untouched, as happens with the concept of nature (Fornäs, 2017).

On the other hand, Development is the standardized measure of qualification that ensures the purchasing and reserve capacity of countries. It is oriented to control the world order. The guidelines are given by historically hegemonic countries and global institutions that follow its lead.

Aware of this unequal relationship of power that developmental ideology produces and reproduces in different socio-political geo-historical scenarios such as the cultural one; the author’s inquiry was to understand how culture is instrumentalized in the Peruvian political arena to determine if policymakers work to achieve Western development standards.

Because discourses are produced and reproduced to preserve and endure power conceived from a modern hegemonic view (Lemke, 1995) that has historically and socially shaped the developmental ideology, especially in less privileged societies; it was resolved to use the meetings of the Commission of Culture and Heritage of the Peruvian Congress, period 2016-2017 as a study case.

The transcripts were possible to be deconstructed after using Charmaz's (2006) grounded theory. In that way, it was feasible to create a diagram in which it can be explained how culture is related to economic, social, and political forms of domination. Thus, this analysis will constitute fundamental to understand how developmental thinking has permeated the judgment of Congress representatives and draw a conclusion about the state of the art that governs Peruvians.

The result of the analysis has found three spheres in which culture is used to achieve and standardize development: "The Strategy", "The Goal", and "The Problem". These spheres can be explained from a decolonial perspective in which the system is framed in a colonial matrix of power (Quijano, 1980, 2000a). Additionally, from a dependency theory point of view, Andre Gunder Frank (1967) argues that "Latin American" countries are unable to dislodge from underdevelopment (p. xv) due to the contradictions created by capitalism such as expropriation/appropriation and metropolis/satellite (p. xxi); and the historical development of capitalism itself (p. 3).

"The Strategy" sphere has revealed global narratives engrained in the discourse used by congress representatives. Arizpe (2015a) highlights that this idea comes from a Westernized perspective or in any case, is objective of using a benevolent view regarding other communities. Framed in a nation-state construction, "The Strategy" is displayed as a hegemonic discourse that validates the use of heteronormative identity.

From a cultural perspective, the guidelines proposed for this national identity are predefined towards a Westernized imaginary. This imaginary has its roots in the historical baggage that formerly colonized countries experience and still struggle to disjoin this power relationship. Subsequently, congress representatives consistently believe that there is a necessity for erasing traces of "backwardness" using key resources that are thought to be interiorized by the Peruvian citizens. Thus, not far from the proposal made by some authors such as Mignolo (2018, p. 124) or Drinot (2014, p. 199), this analysis shows that institutions such as archaeology,

museums, television, school and the church play a key role in the constitution of “development thinking” by attributing them the acquisition and learning for a normative culture (Radcliffe & Laurie, 2006).

The second sphere I proposed, “The Goal”, shows the connection between the creation of cultural policies from the Congress representatives that give preferences for economic revenues. More specifically, the discussions centre its attention to the role that tourism plays. Here tourism makes use of the narrative build in the national identity section of “The Strategy” unifying the mythologized view of the Incas, the atemporal view of indigeneity and the global international guidelines about heritage that ends “*in the subordination of the cultural product to a wholly mercantile concept*” (Caranza, 2002, p. 37).

The third sphere, “The Problem”, focuses the discussion on the perception that congress representatives have about target citizens characterizing them as *The Otherness*. In this sense, I have been able to identify two distinctions. The first one focuses on racialized bodies and the second one on territories, I have named the latter as taming territory. Both show that *The Otherness* represents an entity without agency and/or not interrelated with its surroundings in such a way that hegemonic bodies can do and take at its will arguing its paternalistic role that “The Strategy” provides to show *the other* “better” ways for improvement (Torres, 2011).

The analysis has also identified some dichotomies that modify their discourse to be present in each sphere. “The pivotal role of the art/artist” and “The patrimonialism discourse” are used indifferently to talk in favour or against draft bills or the actions of the citizenry. As O. Bennett (2006, p. 119) appoints, the congress representatives have the power to disqualify or approve policies based on their own judgement protected by the saving role that culture has provided them.

In consequence, the investigation has revealed that congress representatives preferred to highlight structural differences resulting in policies that maintain “coloniality” (Mulcahy, 2010, p. 161). In essence, Peruvian development is rooted in exported discriminatory references that were

exacerbated by historical processes and the elite's ambition to chase the imaginary of *whiteness*.

The fact that different political parties share discourses regarding development and culture illustrates the “*structural disparity*” (Wallerstein, 1974, p. 128) that has subsumed “*subjectivities along the axis of individual freedom, western-style democracy and marked-based consumption*” (Alloo et al., 2007, p. 12).

To conclude, this investigation invites to reflect on the concepts that on an everyday basis are being used without being questioned. I have focused on proving that the Peruvian political agenda shows a predilection for guiding cultural policies onto a global normative development. Despite that, this is also an invitation for envisioning other ways of thinking about development from here to here acknowledging that is key to delinking (Mignolo, 2012) from the “*myth of the magical State*” (Gudynas, 2012, p. 142) which has never been sustainable.

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Statutory declaration / eidesstattliche Erklärung

Hereby I declare that

- the Master's thesis is solely written by myself and with the help of the materials listed,
- all part of the work which have been adopted literally or regarding the content from other sources have been highlighted as such and
- the work in the same or a similar form was not submitted at another examination office.

Hiermit versichere ich, dass

- die Masterarbeit - bei einer Gruppenarbeit den entsprechend gekennzeichneten Teil der Arbeit - selbständig verfasst und keine anderen als die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel benutzt wurden,
- alle Stellen der Arbeit, die wortwörtlich oder sinngemäß aus anderen Quellen übernommen und als solche kenntlich gemacht wurden und
- die Arbeit in gleicher oder ähnlicher Form noch keiner Prüfungsbehörde vorgelegt wurde.

April 26th, 2023

 **FIRMA**

Katherine Annlise Román Aquino

Appendix

Tables

Congress representative	Role	Region	Political party
Petrozzi Franco, Francisco Enrique Hugo	President	Lima	Fuerza Popular
Melgarejo Páucar, María Cristina	Vicepresident	Ancash	Fuerza Popular
Dammert Ego Aguirre, Manuel Enrique Ernesto	Secretary	Lima	Frente Amplio por Justicia, Vida y Libertad
Palomino Ortíz, Dalmiro Feliciano	Full member	Apurímac	Fuerza Popular
Morales Ramírez, Edyson Humberto	Full member	Ayacucho	Frente Amplio por Justicia, Vida y Libertad
Dipas Huamán, Joaquín	Full member	Ayacucho	Fuerza Popular
Ticlla Rafael, Carlos Humberto	Full member	Cajamarca	Fuerza Popular
Albrecht Rodríguez, Víctor Augusto	Full member	Callao	Fuerza Popular
Villanueva Mercado, Armando	Full member	Cusco	Acción Popular
Guía Pianto, Moisés Bartolome	Full member	Junín	Peruanos por el Kambio
Sheput Moore, Juan	Full member	Lima	Peruanos por el Kambio
Del Águila Cárdenas, Juan Carlos	Full member	Loreto	Fuerza Popular
Martorell Sobero, Guillermo Hernán	Full member	Tacna	Fuerza Popular
Arce Cáceres, Richard	Alternate	Apurímac	Frente Amplio por Justicia, Vida y Libertad
Pariona Tarqui, Tania Edith	Alternate	Ayacucho	Frente Amplio por Justicia, Vida y Libertad

Cuadros Candia, Nelly Lady	Alternate	Cusco	Fuerza Popular
Ochoa Pezo, Ed- gar Américo	Alternate	Cusco	Frente Amplio por Justicia, Vida y Libertad
Bocángel Wey- dert, Guillermo Augusto	Alternate	Huánuco	Fuerza Popular
Takayama Jimé- nez, Liliana Mi- lagros	Alternate	Lambayeque	Fuerza Popular
Gonzales Ardi- les, Juan Carlos Eugenio	Alternate	Lima	Fuerza Popular
Huilca Flores, Indira Isabel	Alternate	Lima	Frente Amplio por Justicia, Vida y Libertad
Aráoz Fernán- dez, Mercedes Rosalba	Alternate	Lima	Peruanos por el Kambio
García Be- laúnde, Víctor Andrés	Alternate	Lima	Acción Popular
López Vilela, Luis Humberto	Alternate	Piura	Fuerza Popular
Tubino Arias Schreiber, Car- los Mario Del Carmen	Alternate	Ucayali	Fuerza Popular

Table 1 List of the members of the Commission of Culture and Heritage 2016-2017 (Source: Own illustration).

Political representation in the Commission of Culture and Heritage 2016-2017				
Political parties	Based on 25 members	%	Based on 13 members	%
Fuerza Popular	14	56 %	8	61.5 4%
Frente Amplio por Justicia, Vida y Libertad	6	24 %	2	15.3 8%
Peruanos por el Kambio	3	12 %	2	15.3 8%
Acción Popular	2	8 %	1	7.69 %

Table 2 Percentage of the political parties representativity based on total number of members (25) and members that have the right to vote (13) (Source: Own illustration).

Congress representatives by de- partments	Quantita- tive	F P	FA- JVL	A P	PP K
Lima	7	x	x	x	x
Ayacucho	3	x	x		
Cusco	3	x	x	x	
Apurímac	2	x	x		
Áncash	1	x			
Cajamarca	1	x			
Callao	1	x			
Huánuco	1	x			
Junín	1				x
Lambayeque	1	x			
Loreto	1	x			
Piura	1	x			
Tacna	1	x			
Ucayali	1	x			
TOTAL	25	14	6	2	3

Table 3 Distribution of the congress representatives by departments and political affiliation (Source: Own illustration).

List of audios 2016-2017		
Dates	Session	Comments
15/08/2016	installation	
23/08/2016	1st ordinary	
6/09/2016	2nd ordinary	
13/09/2016	3rd ordinary	
20/09/2016	4th ordinary	
23/09/2016	1st decentralised in Tumbes	
27/09/2016	5th ordinary	
11/10/2016	6th ordinary	
14/10/2016	2nd decentralised in Trujillo	
21/10/2016	3rd decentralised in Cusco	It was not sent
25/10/2016	7th ordinary	
15/11/2016	8th ordinary	
22/11/2016	9th ordinary	
6/12/2016	10th ordinary	
13/12/2016	11th ordinary	
16/12/2016	4th decentralised in Chiclayo	
27/02/2017	5th decentralised in Iquitos	It was not sent
3/03/2017	6th decentralised in Piura	It was not sent
14/03/2017	12th ordinary	
18/04/2017	13th ordinary	
2/05/2017	14th ordinary	
9/05/2017	15th ordinary	
16/05/2017	16th ordinary	
23/05/2017	17th ordinary	
27/05/2017	7th decentralised in Ayacucho	The audio file was incomplete
6/06/2017	18th ordinary	
13/06/2017	19th ordinary	
20/06/2017	20th ordinary	

Table 4 List of the ordinary and decentralized meetings held by the Commission of Culture and Heritage period 2016-2017. The table also describes the meetings that could not be heard (Source: Own illustration).

Figure

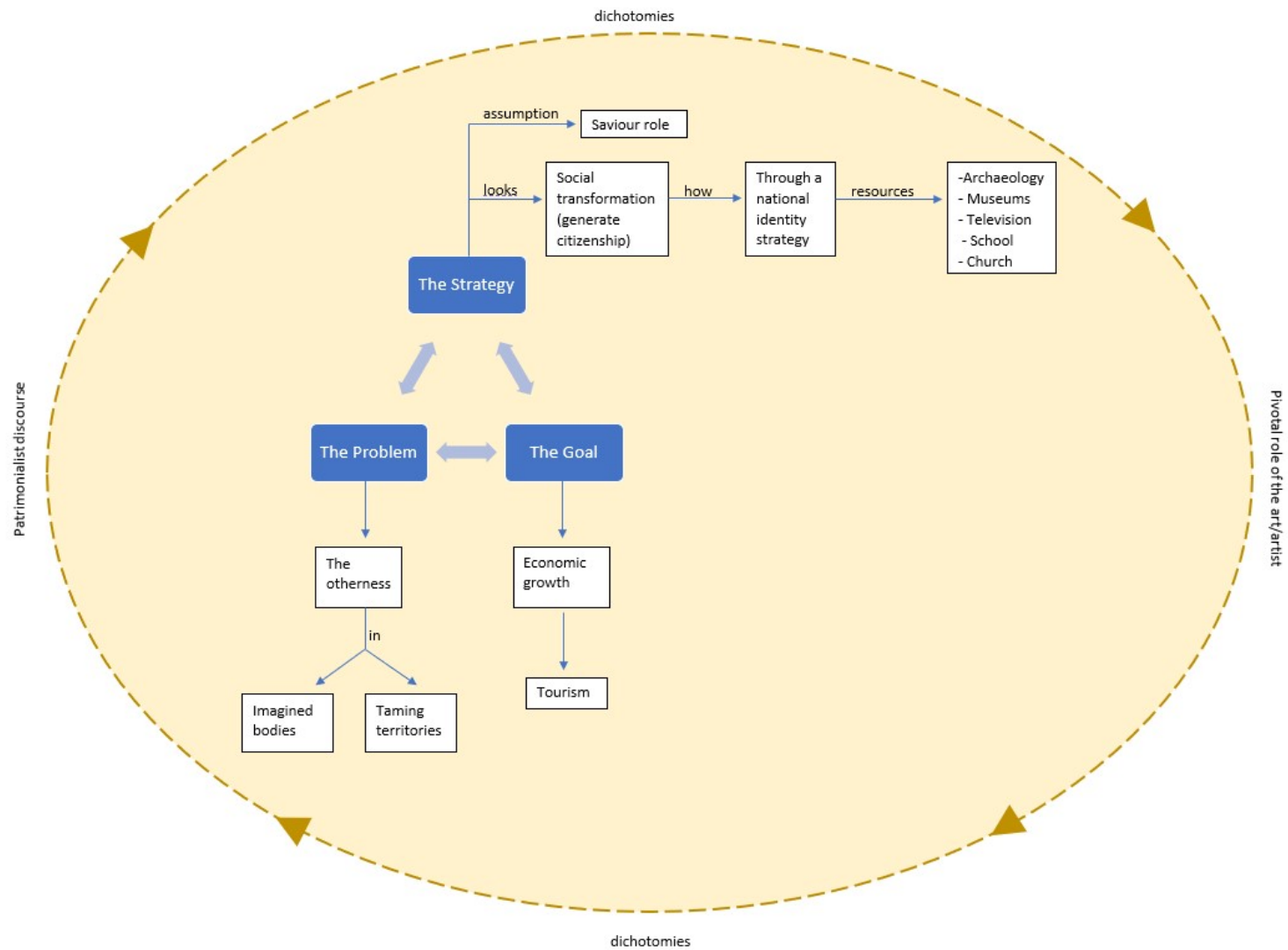


Figure 1 The diagram was obtained through the discourse analysis of the meetings from the Commission of Culture and Heritage 2016-2017. Proposes three spheres in which culture is instrumentalized to achieve a standardized development (Source: Own illustration).