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Mass Media and the Ideology of Appropriation in Peru: The Rationalizations and Justifications Used in
Peru for the Invasion and Appropriation of the Lands Used by the Mascho Piro Tribe.

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To my parents José and Juana, and two younger brothers Vicente and Nicolas.
Thank you for your unlimited support during this journey.

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I. Abstract

In Peru today uncontacted tribes are facing racist and culturally engrained biased perceptions that view and present these communities as being primitive and violent beings. These discriminatory, prejudiced and ethno-centric attitudes serve as a normative violence and the backbone of pro-colonization arguments used by governments and agencies to not only establish contact where convenient, but to substantiate the annexing of their lands and resources. Responsible media coverage of these groups is particularly important, in order for human rights, territorial rights, and right to no contact of Amazonian indigenous tribes be recognized and respected both locally and by the international community (Watson, 2013).

Recent studies have shown that globally, indigenous people today have poorer indices of health and well-being than most other population groups in the same countries (Stephens et al, 2006). Isolated peoples are particularly vulnerable with extremely high rates of morbidity and mortality related to the introduction of new diseases (Napolitano 2007, Hurtado et al 2001). The impact of contact and of allowing extraction of resources within the lands of Amazonian indigenous tribes has been described by anthropologists and missionaries as genocide (e.g. Shepard 1999, SLOPA 1980-1989). Virgin soil epidemics – epidemics of ‘novel’ diseases introduced by outsiders – have accounted for the deaths of millions of indigenous Americans over the last five hundred years (Dobyns 1993, Myers 1988). First ‘face-to-face’ contacts are estimated to lead to the death of between a third and half of the population within the first five years, and sometimes more (Hill and Hurtado, 1996). The aggressive and rapid “expansion of mega-development and construction projects (oil and gas extraction, mining, hydro-electric dams, railroads and highways), logging and agro-industries (cattle, soya and ethanol)” leaves uncontacted

peoples vulnerable to disease and exploitation and the disappearance of their peoples all at the will of large private economic and political interests (Watson, 2013).

This research paper will focus on the societal and economic factors leading to forced contact of the isolated Mascho Piro tribe in the Madre de Dios region of Peru and attempts to contribute to this body of work by analyzing media coverage of recent sightings and established contact. This paper presents an in depth review of indigenous human rights through a content analysis of Peruvian newspaper headline coverage during 2007 and 2015 involving the Mascho Piro tribe and surrounding communities through a study of themes, issue attributes, tone, and actors.

II. Introduction

In the Peruvian Amazon there are a large number of indigenous peoples that have had very little to no ongoing contact with outside influences. Over the past several years however there has been a dramatic shift in how these uncontacted indigenous groups have responded to foreign contact and influences, and moreover how foreigners have interacted with them, their tribal lands, as well as perceived and presented them to the general public. The initial rejection of outside societal interaction can certainly be attributed, at least to some degree, to “previous tragic experiences of contact that scarred their lives, leading them to opt for isolation as a defense mechanism that enables their continued existence” (Huertas Castillo, 2004). It has become increasingly difficult however for these groups to maintain their preferred state of isolation despite their best efforts. For various reasons external entities have steadily and increasingly crossed their

borders and encroached on their homelands, cultural heritage and way of survival. Where some are led to believe that these indigenous groups, their culture and their claimed territory are protected entities of the Peruvian governing state, in reality there are several underlying and conflicting political and economic factors at play that may instead position uncontacted individuals to be defenseless within their own land.

Despite these isolated populations living on reserves, reports from local indigenous organizations like AIDSESEP, the Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest, confirm the illegal occupation of their territory by loggers (Huertas Castillo 2004). The rapid expansion of the logging industry throughout this area for example, can be directly attributed to “increased reports of encounters and clashes between these peoples and the loggers, with the tragic result of deaths, injuries, and disappearances on both sides, territorial dislocations and the likelihood that an illness could decimate a population even destroy it completely at any moment” (Huertas Castillo, 2004). The implications of this type of aggressive territorial conquest without regard for the well-being of the current occupants have proved to be devastating not only for these uncontacted tribes but also for surrounding communities. Despite vocal efforts by the Native Federation of the Madre de Dios River and Tributaries (FENMAD) to bring more attention to these occurrences and overarching instability of the region to the police, the National Institute for Natural Resources (INRENA), and the Ministry of Agriculture, they have been met with inaction and replies showing “no real concern or desire to address the problem” (Huertas Castillo, 2004). Instead, the focus of these incidents has been shifted to cultural attributes of the tribe, or the aggressive and uncivilized nature of the uncontacted populations and the threats that they pose to the security and growth of the local and surrounding communities.

With the increased presence of large economic interests in the highly sought after lands of uncontacted groups, conglomerates across the oil, gas, and timber industries as well as players in black market activities like drug trafficking and high value tree felling are driving indigenous inhabitants out of their established lands. In Peru, a number of extractive industries affect the territories of voluntarily isolated peoples, including agriculture (predominantly by Andean settlers), logging and small scale gold mining, however of all of these the oil/gas frontier has advanced the most in the last seven years. The total area available for oil/gas exploitation in the Peruvian Amazon has increased dramatically since 2000. In the 13 month period from May 2006 to June 2007 the area under hydrocarbon concessions almost doubled to 81% of the land area of the Peruvian Amazon (MEM 2006, 2007).

In 2006, both Ecuador and Bolivia created protected areas for isolated people that are intangible and prohibit all extractive industries (Servindi 2006, ENS 2007). In Peru however, reserves like the Kugapoakri Nahua Reserve lack this status and allow unpatrolled land encroachment and activities like the Camisea Gas Project, comprised of major extracts and transport of natural gas, to continue and expand within its borders. The Peruvian State has historically placed more emphasis on the protection of territorial conservation than the rights of indigenous people living on these lands in voluntary isolation (Huertas Castillo, 2004). Between 1990 and 2002 five 'territorial reserves' were created to protect the territories of isolated peoples in the Peruvian Amazon. All five of these are currently invaded by illegal loggers and/or overlapped by 'legal' oil and gas concessions. Five additional reserves have since been proposed by AIDSESEP but none have been approved by the government and all are affected by oil/gas exploitation and logging activities (Napolitano 2007, OGE 2003, Hurtado et al 2001).

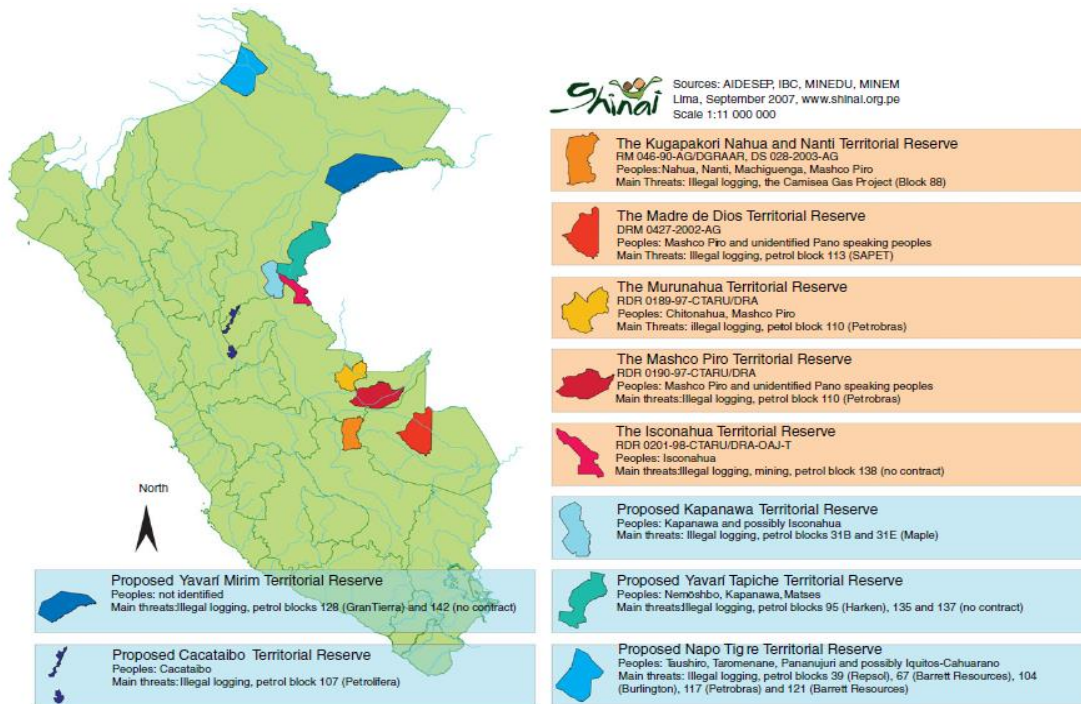


Figure 1. Territorial reserves and proposed territorial reserves for peoples living in voluntary isolation in the Peruvian Amazon.¹

Evidenced by past mega-projects, where “the government is more likely to steamroll [indigenous groups’] rights while paying mere lip service to environmental protection,” the expected consequences are dire (Watts, 2015). Moreover, “as with road projects, railways open access to previously remote regions, bring a flow of migrant workers inevitably followed by deforestation mafias and cattle ranchers, creating a perfect storm of pressures upon the forest and forest peoples” (Watts, 2015). Through controlled media output and exploratory surveys and consultations, public outcry fades into the background and this drastic human rights threat and violation once again becomes a reality.

¹ **Figure 1.** AIDESP, IBC, MINEDU, MINEM Lima, September 2007, www.shinai.org.pe

The clear imposition and negative effects of this type of repeated and forced contact with little regard for the safety and health of the perceived subjects has not gone undetected however. Indigenous leaders have been vocal and adamant in communicating these imposed harms to the affected tribal communities, yet the response has been unsatisfying. Rather than reinforcing territorial boundaries and the legal protection of these lands as marked reserves, the focus has been on environmental conservation rather than the territorial rights and interests of indigenous groups living within these boundaries. Moreover, the Peruvian government has openly encouraged investment projects within these territories, “primarily extraction activities, despite an awareness of these peoples’ existence, their crucial dependence upon the natural resources and, in many cases, their lack of immunity to outside illness” (Huertas Castillo, 2004). In some cases, the Peruvian government has taken a stronger stance and gone as far as denying their overall existence - despite plenty of publicly available testimonies, video and photographic evidence - in order to dissuade public interest and be able to freely roam their territories. For example, in 2007 Peru claimed that one of the largest uncontacted tribes in their Amazonian regions, the Mascho Piro, was fabricated by pro-environmental groups opposing oil exploratory missions, despite photographic evidence and aerial footage being released a just six weeks prior (Ross, 2007). Currently, about three-fourths of the Peruvian Amazon – with a large portion housing uncontacted tribes – has been pledged to oil companies.

The focus of this paper will center on the dissemination of information and overall portrayal of the Mascho Piro tribe from the Madre de Dios region in Peru. The first part will discuss relevant literature of indigenous peoples within the context of identity and indigenous rights, the state of exception and capitalist market expansion, as well as normative violence and forced contact to better understand the different forces affecting the Mascho Piro tribe. The second

part of the paper will then further the current dialogue through a content analysis of newspaper headline and sub-headline coverage of the Mascho Piro tribe in Peru from 2005- 2016. The methodology and approach build on similar types of headline content analysis studies performed in other areas, focusing on themes, issue attributes, tone, and actors, to better understand the role of media and presentation of issues affecting the Mascho Piro.

III. Literature Review

Current academic research and publications have mainly focused on the interaction between ethnic tribes and ethno-graphic research. These studies and research projects have provided great depth into the cultural and sociological aspect of these groups and have received a lot of attention and interest from both academic and public audiences. There have also been several non-profit organizations that have looked at uncontacted tribes and delved into the human rights abuses that have taken place broadly and explored the negative effects of having government led and sponsored missions to make contact. Although the issues of private interests and the reasons behind why these uncontacted tribes have been driven away from their lands has been touched on, how specific economic and political powers use mass media is lacking, especially when the state has a vested economic interest, and is an active actor within the article's content. Moreover, the methods of how uncontacted tribes are showcased to a wider audience and how false information is disseminated to the public as well as facts are concealed has not fully been explored. Specifically, the underlying racist rhetoric, sub-humanization and othering of these groups of uncontacted people has not been completely explored within this context. In order to fully grasp the underlying drivers of specific media coverage, this paper will first explore the broader notions

and implications of 1) the state, ethnic conflict, and the new geography of power, 2) indigenous group migration processes and the emergent conceptions of citizenship, 3) strategic ethnic spaces in the organization of the global economy and 4) the bases of western legality vis a vis capitalist expansion in relation to the Mascho Piro tribe in the Madre de Dios region.

i. The state, ethnic conflict, and the new geography of power.

In the face of globalization and a rapidly evolving geo-political and transnational economic landscape, states have “undergone an extensive transformation,” and are forced to continually adapt in order to maintain their existence (Shafir and Peled 2000, 2002). However, the rate of malleability that a state employs must be very closely scrutinized in order to understand a) its legitimacy and b) the overarching affect that it has on, and to, its citizens. Sassen maintains that “States do not meekly confront their changing environments; rather, they actively engage with them and try to maintain their position of power” (Sassen, 2007). The question then more profoundly becomes to what extent is the state’s “survival, or self-perpetuation” at its core, or position in the “global ascendancy of the market paradigm” acceptable vis-a-vis trumped civil liberties, and at a fundamental level, intrinsic indigenous and human rights. The influences of internal and external public opinion and advocacy on the actions taken by a State to maintain its regional and global hegemonic position are furthered by Jennifer L. Johnson’s “Deregulating Markets, Reregulating Crime: Extralegal Policing and the Penal State in Mexico” and Josh Kaplan’s “The Transnational Human Rights Movement and States of Emergency in Israel/Palestine.”

The extralegal community policing movement that erupted in Mexico in the mid 1990’s, where “several thousand small-scale coffee farmers in Guerrero state formed policing brigades to

patrol the roadways and footpaths,” is evidence that under certain restructured economic conditions “subnational forms of political community that effectively claim the right to make and enforce penal law over and against opposition from recognized state institutions” can be engendered (Johnson, 2007). Johnson argues that what initially started off as an ad-hoc local addition to the state-sanctioned penal practice eventually became its own “transformative political” group, undermining the legitimacy of the state, eclipsing its “very presence in the penal realm” (Johnson, 2007). The initial collaborative community penal augmentation however was never meant to fortify the state, or its hegemonic establishment. Systematic intervention in cash-crop markets in rural Mexico by state-owned economic enterprises coupled by market deregulation evolved into a cry for unjust economic practices that hurt local farmers.

The attitude and action taken by the Mexican State towards its citizen’s however depends largely on the “type” of citizen, and whether or not the lineage is traced to *pueblos indigenas* (indigenous groups). State-assisted market intervention was not favorable for the indigenous community of coffee farmers, thus grass-roots political organizations like Light of the Mountain that emerged for the purpose of voicing these injustices were met with government hostility and perpetuated economic oppression. As a result, “extralegal policing ultimately became deeply embedded in Mexico’s nascent movement for indigenous autonomy and self-governance,” allowing a previously exploited community of citizens to stand up for indigenous collective rights and autonomy (Johnson, 2007).

As the movement evolved, article 1 of the UN Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights on the right to self-determination, which states that “all peoples have the right to self-determination [and] under no circumstance can anyone deprive a people of their own means of subsistence,” became a core tenet. Extra-local indigenous rights activists in turn fueled this

cognitive understanding of collective rights and the now more pronounced “othering” that indigenous groups in Mexico faced, taking on a “more palpable political expression linked to the broader movement for indigenous autonomy” (Johnson, 2007). Johnson’s argument for the de-centering of sovereign power and unbundling of national territory favoring indigenous self-determination centers on the notions of identity and collective category surrounding the language of *pueblo indigena* to denote their village of origin, used “as a meaningful collective category grounded in a shared ethnic identity” (Johnson, 2007).

However, “the proliferation by state laws on the rights of indigenous peoples” does not necessarily provide a testimony to the validation of this category by state actors, but instead groups all indigenous groups into a single category further othering Mexicans of Spanish descent from all other native Mexicans. The indigenous human rights movement, despite advancing collective human rights among disparate ethnic groups ultimately does the overall indigenous population a disservice by forcing them to identify as part of the same “non-white” Mexican category, perpetuating racial stereotypes and ethnic stratification. In the Guerrero state of Mexico alone, there are 390,000 indigenous ethnic groups living throughout the rugged, isolated mountain areas, with over 20 indigenous languages spoken. This extralegal policing, and larger indigenous political movement is arguably grounded instead more on a shared notion of valued intrinsic human rights and economic survival as citizens than the one-size fits all state-sponsored indigenous rights racial categorization and segmentation proliferated superficially through state law. Thus, in order to deconstruct this othering and survive as a unified state and hegemonic power, the state must treat all of its citizens as equals, and target socio-economic disparities through just legal and penal action instead of hierarchical groupings that create disassociation, and ultimately undermine the authority of the state like observed by Johnson’s ethnographical research.

In “The Transnational Human Rights Movement and States of Emergency in Israel / Palestine,” Kaplan also addresses the othering dichotomy of certain ethnic groups for the ultimate purpose of state survival and global/regional dominance; however the existential threat is from neighboring countries instead of from within. The characterization of what is now the Israeli state draws from “entrenched domestic emergency laws and the Israeli population’s Jewish predisposition to perceive existential threat” (Kaplan, 2007), in order to trump human rights law and contextualize the relationship between surrounding non-Jewish states. In other words, Israel has fallen victim to its neighboring cultural and ethnic landscape and must thus be in, not only a constant, but heightened, state of alert in order to simply maintain its existence. Where exceptional measures, perceptions, and attitudes become the norm however, at what point does the state’s identity become superfluous or simply misdirected to the extent of it no longer holding any validity?

Kaplan argues that the “determination or decision [for a state of emergency or existential threat], is not however exclusively held in the hands of one person, the sovereign,” but rather requires support from other external bodies and international entities which “serve to reinforce the basic and widespread understanding that there is a grave threat and that it must be countered” (Kaplan, 2007). Although this may hold true in instances where the line between the aggressor and oppressed is seemingly clearly defined, the opposite may be a more accurate representation where this line is instead skewed by the more powerful or popular side, allowing it to dictate the rules of engagement according to economic, geo-political and social interests. Injecting fear in the populous and positioning the other as a threat, thus becomes an effective way of advancing these interests under the masking of current state survival. Kaplan explores this notion at a high level by addressing the fact that the validity of an existential threat must be constantly revisited and not

treated as a constant, however fails to dig deeper and analyze the perspective of the other side. As a result a chain reaction, stemming from *their* perspective, whether validated or just, also command views of self-perseverance and ultimately drives action (Kaplan, 2007).

Global understanding and support for one side over the other does not justify it, and is instead a flawed and dangerous hegemonic instrument that is used to rationalize conflict. The Mascho Piro tribe in Peru are a prime example where blanket sources of existential threat allow the hegemon to rally support and fuel conflicts for ulterior motives without garnering much scrutiny. Although globalization and international relations play a big role in corroborating any existential threats, failing to not only engage, but have the human rights regime and local grassroots movements front and center will continue to lead to misrepresentations and overstatements without an end or path to peace, survival of local and isolated indigenous communities, and coexistence in sight.

ii. Indigenous group migration and emergent conceptions of citizenship

Through the emergence of globalization, complex systems of political influence and movement by indigenous groups have redefined the notion of self-identity as well as, much broadly, the identity of the state. Moreover, the displacement of cultural and ethnic groups across and within borders due to various push factors, have led to the creation of new notions of political membership and citizenship. Sassen refers to these “changes to the economic structure of cities...and of the changing structures of authority, rights, and claim-making that emerge a result of these reconfigured dynamics” (Sassen, 1991). Whether through the application of documentary citizenship or newly constructed spatial interactions between the self and the other, it is evident

that evolving and more defined mechanisms of cultural and ideological movement between boundaries have deep impacts on the local and global political system.

In “The City and the Self,” Anne Bartlett looks at how “cities continue to evolve into spaces of diversity and difference [and suggests how] as articulations between the global and local become ever more prevalent, it is vital to think through these spaces of complexity to understand how they incubate new forms of being” (Bartlett, 2007). Specifically, Bartlett explores the confrontation that results in these spaces and how new “kinds of political selves can be generated by direct face-to-face contact with the other” as well as through technological advances (Bartlett, 2007). Bartlett hones in on the identity of the Sudanese ethnic immigrant community in London and reveals “*microspaces*, or gateways for action...created by flows and dynamics no longer contained within territorial bounds” allowing for the creation of new forms of political identities and attitudes. The connection between Sudanese immigrants in London and their native country transcends the notions of stationary nationalist movements and incorporates a multinational strategic approach stemming from confrontation and interaction among opposing factions in an alien territory. It’s very interesting to view deeply rooted political ties from the native country intrinsically tied to current communal relationships in a country so far away from Sudan, however it is these “threads of difference that bring new types of political actors into being” (Bartlett, 2007). Bartlett describes how these microspaces spread the reach of traditional and local Sudanese politics into a global platform with new perspectives, audiences and ability for political accomplishment.

The global city and State does in fact transcend the notions of traditional state boundaries yet instead an environment is created that allows for the emergence of a new transnational and multi-spatial identity and political sense of belonging and membership. By examining both the local and international indigenous communities and political identities, one is able to follow and

appreciate their interconnectedness as well as intrinsic dependency. Despite being separate and unique demographics due to the innate othering of their immediate surroundings, there are varying levels of adherence to the State and sense of citizenship beyond territorial boundaries. Specifically for the Mascho Piro tribe these views of identity have been shaped over time and affect generations of indigenous communities within and surrounding the Madre de Dios region.

With ever-changing technology and the intervening of mass media and opposing political actors, these identities and communities have increasingly been shaped. For example, more removed indigenous tribes have adapted and become submissive to the State altering their identity and sense of belonging. The Mascho Piro tribe, however, have remained very protective of their territorial boundaries and cultural survival opting instead for further isolation and lack of contact with foreign and global influences that have historically presented, and continue to present, an immediate sense of harm and danger.

iii. Strategic ethnic spaces in the organization of the global economy

In the era of globalization the movement of mass capital transnationally across borders transforms the state and by extension the city. Spatial and organizational features and tendencies of the global economy allow entrepreneurship to flourish as business ideas propelled by various creative and social influences and underpinnings meet opportunity. The city, as explored by Weber, centers on the criticality of social development when integrating into the broader social framework, however while still maintaining a sense of autonomy. However, how exactly does entrepreneurship play a role in the changing face of globalization, and how accessible is this opportunity of economic development to new indigenous actors within a city, or spatial boundary? The notion of economic activity being spurred by the identity of the city and overarching

interdependence with the larger socio-economic sphere is explored further by Webster in “The Nature of the City,” and Garcia Liu Farrer’s “Producing Global Economies from Below: Chinese Immigrant Transnational Entrepreneurship in Japan.”

Weber describes the city as a “marketplace,” where at its fundamental level its character is defined by economic activity and vitality (Weber, 1958). More importantly, Weber describes that the city is not merely a “colony made up of family members or a hereditary trade establishment,” but instead it is dependent on the necessity of adding a “certain versatility of the practiced trades to the characteristics of the city” (Weber, 1958). The notion of the city intrinsically being prone to economic development coupled with the active participation of its population throughout its various socio economic, political and cultural domains as well as its position to become a cultural and social creative center allow it to flourish. Weber suggests that the success rate of the city is closely tied with the larger ability of the city to integrate its larger social circuit through versatility, since fundamentally “economically defined, the city is a settlement the inhabitants of which live primarily off trade and commerce rather than agriculture” (Weber, 1958). Economic versatility as such, is defined by Weber as “the presence of a feudal estate or a market”, where only “in cases where the local inhabitants satisfy an economically substantial part of their daily wants in the local market, and to an essential extend by products which the local population and that of the immediate hinterland produced for sale in the market or acquired in other ways” (Weber, 1958). In other words, Weber describes the city as the economic center of an establishment of inhabitants, or colony, where “due to the specialization in economic products, both the non-urban population and urbanites satisfy their wants for articles of trade and commerce (Weber, 1958).

It’s important to point out however that the inhabitants of the city, dependent upon its location or origination as a pure market settlement, may consist largely of non-resident actors.

Weber argues that “this could assume the form of concessions to entrepreneurs – permitting them to lay out a market and recruit settlers for it,” giving rise to capitalistic establishments of cities (Weber, 1958). Although these capitalistic cities were frequently found in “medieval frontier areas, particularly in East, North, and Central Europe,” how do these entrepreneurial concessions affect indigenous groups and isolated tribes in the current age of globalization? Weber provides a deep historical context that helps lay the foundation of deeper analysis taking into consideration more complex socio-political and geographic factors that are at play that affect current migratory patterns of displaced immigrant and indigenous community establishments. The Mascho Piro tribe for example, continues to be forced deeper into the Amazon due to these entrepreneurial pursuits of non-resident actors. However, instead of flourishing the local economy and creating a commonly accessible marketplace of goods for mutual perseverance and survival, outside private interests engage in extraction schemes that benefit big capital, and putting severely at risk local and indigenous communities.

Garcia Liu Farrer, in “Producing Global Economies from Below” argues that “immigrants’ transnational entrepreneurship is yet another instance that brings both mobilities into a single conceptual framework” (Farrer, 2007). Farrer argues against the more common position put forth by immigration scholars that “transnational entrepreneurship [is instead] conceptualized as a survival strategy immigrants use to circumvent their marginal social and economic situations in the society to which they migrate” (Farrer, 2007). In order to combat this notion, which fails to even consider the possibility that immigrant entrepreneurs may be global economic actors in addition to using entrepreneurship as a survival mechanism, Farrer examines Chinese immigrant transnational entrepreneurship in Japan. Farrer points to the integral role that Chinese entrepreneurs play not only in Japan, but back in their native country as well as the region due to

other trade and commercial ties. Immigrant scholars fail to take peer into the cultural and socio-political power of established immigrant community networks, as well as established networks and niche perspective gained from the cumulative experience of their native state. Farrer thus suggests that “armed with cultural and social knowledge of different societies, using their institutional, ethnic, and personal resources, and maneuvering between structural constraints and opportunities in both host and sending societies,” Chinese immigrants contribute substantially to the economic growth of both Japan and China.

The case of Chinese immigrant entrepreneurship in the Japan-China transnational economy depicts that “besides striving to survive and adapt, transnational immigrant entrepreneurs are also active facilitators of transnational economies with the potential to change and develop the global economy” (Farrer, 2007). By leveraging notions of scale and network, immigrants have been able to not only take part in the city as a *marketplace*, but also impact larger and far-reaching global economic systems, despite being transnational actors. “Social capital established through educational institutions, professional organizations, corporate businesses and ethnic associations” are becoming increasingly more important in the age of globalization and will continue to evolve in some cases becoming more meaningful than local citizenship and state identity (Farrer, 2007).

With the increased presence of both local entrepreneurship and illegal activity by surrounding communities of the Madre the Dios region, foreign influence by immigrant communities from Brazil, as well as large private global interests across industries, the Mascho Piro tribe is in a very vulnerable position. Ethnic enclaves and entrenched immigrant communities indeed provide the social net needed to quickly adjust within changing spatial boundaries in order to be able to creatively think of ways to look beyond survival and spur economic growth on a larger scale. However, the impact on native and isolated communities is devastating due to

systematic marginalization and exploitation of resources, further impacting affecting notions of self, local citizenship and identity of the state as Farrer suggests. As a result, the Mascho Piro tribe finds themselves in the middle of various economic and ethnic push factors that continue to ostracize them without any real sense of belonging or recognized intrinsic human rights, while foreign and immigrant communities are able to quickly settle down and prosper.

iv. Bases of western legality vis a vis capitalist expansion and extraction

Economic development depends on certain actors: states and laws, capital, corporations or local or immigrant entrepreneurial elites, and then individuals who are dispensable for capitalist expansion (Merino, 2012). As markets continue to expand to the last remaining territories of the world where capital has yet been able to establish a foothold and convert colored indigenous peoples into cheap labor, violence is the process of which capital completes the inclusion of all humans into the global capitalist order. Peru's historical ethnic divisions and colonial racial hierarchies weave themselves into a normative violence that combined with the expansion of global capitalism through neoliberal market fundamentalist governments, result in the expropriation of territory, exploitation of labor and genocide of tribal Amazonian peoples. Capitalist expansion requires the violent transformation of common goods into commodities in order to be appropriated and then used by exchange mechanisms (Merino, 2012). "Accumulation by dispossession" is necessary in order to implement a new political economy of capitalist labor justified by the rhetoric of "progress, "development" and "social inclusion" directed at the institutionalization of "accumulation by exploitation" (Merino, 2012). This kind of accumulation was deployed in the past by wars, invasions, colonization, and today by institutionalized mechanisms such as legal expropriations, bio-piracy, etc. (Merino, 2012). Hence indigenous

communities are dispossessed directly, by open expropriation on behalf of “national interest”, or indirectly, by pollution and the elimination of the possibility of developing any other economic activity other than extractive labor (mining, logging), so the only option for native peoples is to work as cheap labor as they enter the bottom rung of the global capitalist order (Merino et al, 2012).

Through the expansion of mega projects funded by large pools of capital (banks, loans) indigenous peoples are converted into *dispensable lives* (Mignolo, 2009). Merino states today’s indigenous peoples must be “included” into “development” or disappear, without respecting their different cosmo vision and social organization” (Merino, 2012). In order to defend the expansion of the political economy of extraction and to maintain the status quo, the legal system must create spaces in which the sovereign power can exert direct violence on dissidents and those who threaten the exercise of power (Merino et al, 2012). At the point of resistance, when indigenous tribes must fight back loggers, miners, and other actors encroaching on their land, can the government claim a state of exception. In Agamben’s terms, the state of exception is the mechanism for producing *bare lives*, “thus the bases of Western legality, which today is the basis for the legal policy of liberal capitalism, has always determined, explicitly or implicitly, the dividing line between the human, inhuman, or less-human (underdeveloped, primitive)”(Merino, 2012).

Foucault and Agamben refer to biopolitics as the growing inclusion of man’s natural life in the mechanisms and calculations of power. Agamben states that the separation between humanitarianism and politics that we are experiencing today is the extreme phase of separation of the rights of man from the rights of the citizen (Agamben, 1998). According to Agamben, today it is not the city but rather the camp that is the fundamental biopolitical paradigm of the West (Agamben, 1998). The camp, is created when a legal system foments a space in which the

sovereign power can exert direct violence on dissidents and those who threaten the exercise of power. These spaces of exception allow the denial of legal and political subjectivity, so that the dissidents are violently included or excluded: they are disciplined citizens or “bare lives” and thus targets of biopolitical power (Agamben, 1998). This zone (the camp, an absolute state of exception) corresponded to the New World, which was identified with the state of nature in which everything is possible (Agamben, 1998). Today the native indigenous peoples of the Amazon remain trapped within the camp, confined by the same language (violent savages) and perspective (must be civilized and modernized) that was held by classical European medieval and modern age colonialists.

Modern democracy does not abolish sacred life but disseminates it into every individual (Agamben, 1998). “The camp is the space that is opened when the state of exception begins to become the rule” (Agamben, 1998). Insofar as the state of exception is “willed”, it inaugurates a new juridico-political paradigm in which the norm becomes indistinguishable from the exception (Agamben, 1998). “Whoever entered the camp moved in a zone of indistinction between outside and inside exception and rule, licit and illicit, in which the very concepts of subjective right and juridical protection no longer made any sense.” (Agamben, 1998)

During a resistance, or a challenge to power we see how sovereign power is thus designated and granted during the state of exception to military and police personnel who at once acting as judge and executioner over homo sacers, bodies that could be killed without punishment. The relationship between the sovereign and homo sacer is one of symmetry: the sovereign is the one with respect to whom all men are potentially homines sacri, and homo sacer is the one with respect to whom all men act as sovereigns (Agamben, 1998). During Peru’s conflict with indigenous uprisings in the 80s and 90s Boesten’s *Inequality, Normative Violence and Livable Life* shows how

the actual power of governance, the power to decide over life and death in the area, was in the hands of the military, and how normative violence stemming from racist attitudes towards indigenous peoples led to massacres. “Military personnel acted according to their own prejudices, grounded in a complex dynamic of relational understandings of race, class and gender, to guide them in deciding who was to be detained indefinitely - or who was to be killed (Boesten, 2014). Butler asserts, ‘The ‘deeming’ of someone as dangerous is sufficient to make that person dangerous and to justify his indefinite detention. The decision, the power they (government officials) wield to ‘deem’ someone dangerous and constitute them effectively as such, is a sovereign power, a ghostly and forceful resurgence of sovereignty in the midst of governmentality’. Thus a discriminate form of sovereignty imposes a state of exception on individuals belonging to a group historically perceived as surplus to the Peruvian nation; a population in need of biopolitical governance, that, if not transformed into a desirable (non-Indian) population can be killed unpunished (Boesten et al, 2014).

IV. Media Coverage Content Analysis

Given the rise in the number of sightings and incidents involving the Mascho Piro in recent years, there has been very limited analysis performed on how the Peruvian print media presents these stories to the general public. Similar studies examining media coverage of environmental and science issues have focused on headlines, a “key element of news reporting, designed to incite interest and catch reader’s attention with the goal of having them read the text of the article, [where] they serve as relevance optimizers” (Takahashi, Terracina-Hartman, Amann, and Meisner, 2014). In addition, because “the headline is typically the first thing read, they frame the topic and includes the readers’ perceptions of the news article,” despite possibly having more detailed information throughout the actual content of the article (Takahashi, Terracina-Hartman, Amann,

and Meisner, 2014). Sub-headlines are often used to provide additional high-level context and are commonly displayed along with headlines in online print media, and also serve to draw the reader in and set the stage of the upcoming content.

There is limited understanding about the ways in which headlines and sub-headlines, reflect, complement, or differ from the framing of human rights and indigenous rights issues of uncontacted tribes in Peruvian newspaper coverage. In order to understand the key messages and overall tone of how these stories are treated, a focused content analysis of newspaper headline and sub-headline coverage of the Mascho Piro tribe from 2005- 2016 by major Peruvian newspapers was performed.

The content analysis study adds to research performed by Huertas Castillo (2004), who notes that “irresponsible people and companies, particularly journalist and tourist agencies, are spreading inappropriate information on the indigenous peoples, in isolation, making them seem more exotic and thus trivializing the difficult situation they are going through.” The methodology and approach of the content analysis builds upon the key concepts of underlying political factors, indigenous human rights highlighted in the literary review as well as the cultural, historical and economic context of the Mascho Piro, focusing on themes, issue attributes, tone, and actors used in headlines and sub-headlines.

The content analysis study follows the framing definition developed by Entman, where “the insights generated by framing, priming, and agenda-setting research through a systematic effort to conceptualize and understand their larger implications for political power and democracy” (Entman, 1993). Entman notes that “the organizing concept is bias that curiously undertheorized staple of public discourse about the media” and shows “how agenda setting, framing and priming fit together as tools of power...[using] explicit definitions of news slant and the related but distinct

phenomenon of *bias*” (Entman, 1993). Entman concludes that “properly defined and measured, slant and bias provide insight into how the media influence the distribution of power: who gets what, when, and how” and thus a “content analysis should be informed by explicit theory linking patterns of framing in the media text to predictable priming and agenda-setting effects on audiences” (Entman, 1993).

i. Research Questions

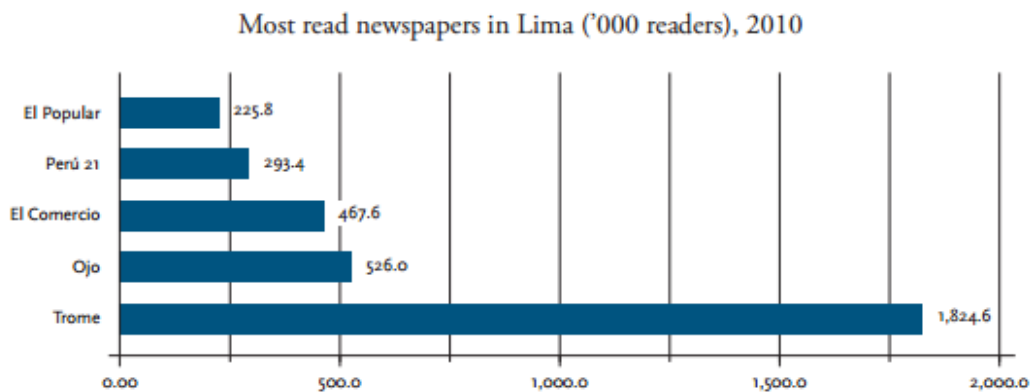
Based on the methodology of the study by Takahashi, Terracina-Hartman, Amann, and Meisner (2014), the headline and sub-headline analysis performed focused on the following research questions:

1. How are organizing themes utilized in headlines/sub-headlines of stories about the Mascho Piro?
2. What issue attributes are commonly used in these headlines/sub-headlines?
3. How has tone been used in the headlines/sub-headlines of stories of the Mascho Piro?
4. Which actors are more prominently presented in these headlines/sub-headlines?
5. How have headlines/sub-headlines about the Mascho Piro tribe changed over time?

ii. Methodology

The content analysis study performed examines headlines and sub-headlines printed from 2005 to 2016 in the Peruvian press. The search was conducted across the online archives of major and most widely read Peruvian newspapers using the keywords “Mashco Piro”, “Mashco-Piro”, and “Mascho Piro” throughout the content of the article. A total of 70 headlines and corresponding sub-headlines were analyzed. In 12 instances, the headline did not have a corresponding sub-headline, so the opening 1-2 sentences of the article were used for additional high-level context. The frequencies by newspaper observed is as follows: La Republica (34.29%); Comercio (31.43%); Diario Correo (17.14%); Peru21 (5.71%); La Razon (2.86%); Terra (2.86%); El Diario del Cusco (1.43%); Trome (1.43%); Ojo (0%); and El Popular (0%).

The specific newspapers and online news media used in the analysis were selected according to the average newspaper readership rate showing that “in 2005 the most widely read newspapers in Lima were *Trome*, *El Comercio*, *Ajá*, *Correo*, and *El Popular*” (Indice Promedio de Lectoria de diarios, 2005). In addition, a December 2010 newspaper and supplement readership study showed that “*Trome* was still the most widely read newspaper in the capital city (1,824,676 readers, which is equivalent to 39 percent of the total Peruvian readership), followed by *Ojo* (526,052 readers, 11 percent of the total), *El Comercio* (467,619 readers, 10 percent of the total), *Perú 21* (293,432 readers, 6 percent of the total), and *El Popular* (225,865 readers, 5 percent of the total)” (Kantar Media Research, 2010).



Source: Kantar Media Research (KMR) Peru, *Estudio de Lectoria de Diarios y Suplementos* (Newspaper and Supplement Readership Study), December 2010

Based on the methodology of the study by Takahashi, Terracina-Hartman, Amann, and Meisner (2014), the variables used in the headline and sub-headline analysis performed were:

1. Main Focus: Headlines and Sub-headlines were coded according to the terminology used to describe either the Mascho Piro or alternate focus of the article. The more common terms observed were “no contactados” (uncontacted); “indigenas en aislamiento” (isolated indigenous); and “nativos en aislamiento” (isolated natives).

2. Tone: Headlines and Sub-headlines were coded based on their affective position towards the main focus coded. The specific tones observed were Negative; Negative – Cautionary; Negative – Fearful; Neutral; Positive; and Both.
3. Main Theme: The dominant theme used in the headline was coded as Economic Issues; Environmental Issues; Political Issues; and Social Issues.
4. Main Attribute: Headlines and Sub-headlines were coded by the dominant attribute. The specific attributes observed were Local Crime, Local Security, Native Advocacy, Native Sighting and Other.
5. Actors: Headlines and Sub-headlines were coded according to the actors mentioned.

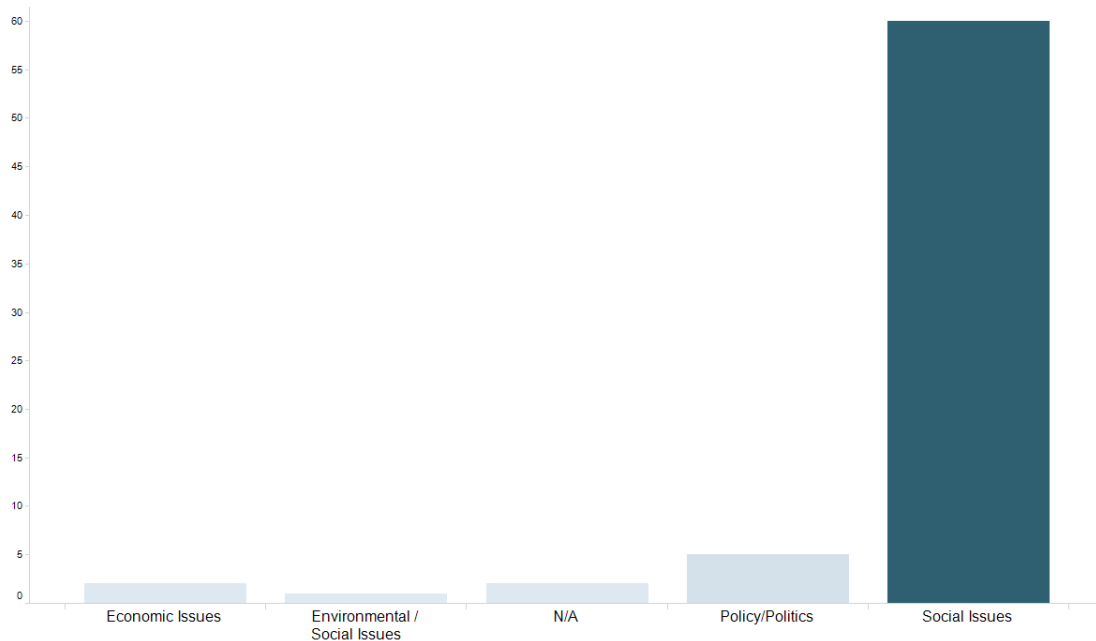
All headlines analyzed were coded by two separate coders to test for inter-coder reliability, and were deemed to be reliable based on Krippendorff's Alpha: Main Focus $\alpha=0.93$, Tone $\alpha=0.96$, Main Theme $\alpha= 0.93$, Main Attribute $\alpha=0.91$, and Actors $\alpha= 0.91$.

V. Content Analysis

i. Results

The predominant theme used across the headlines and sub-headlines observed was social issues, over economic, environmental, and policy/politics. Table 1 shows the distribution of major themes that emerged. Since the main focus of the vast majority of the news articles was the Mascho Piro tribe itself, it was not surprising that the majority fell under "Social Issues." However, it was very interesting to see how specific descriptors were used to label them across different news outlets as well as surrounding specific events. The specific terminology used to

describe the Mascho Piro tribe, is extremely important within the context of the article’s headline and sub-headline since it begins to set the tone for the rest of the article.



Visualization 1 – Use of Main Themes across Article Headlines/Sub-headlines

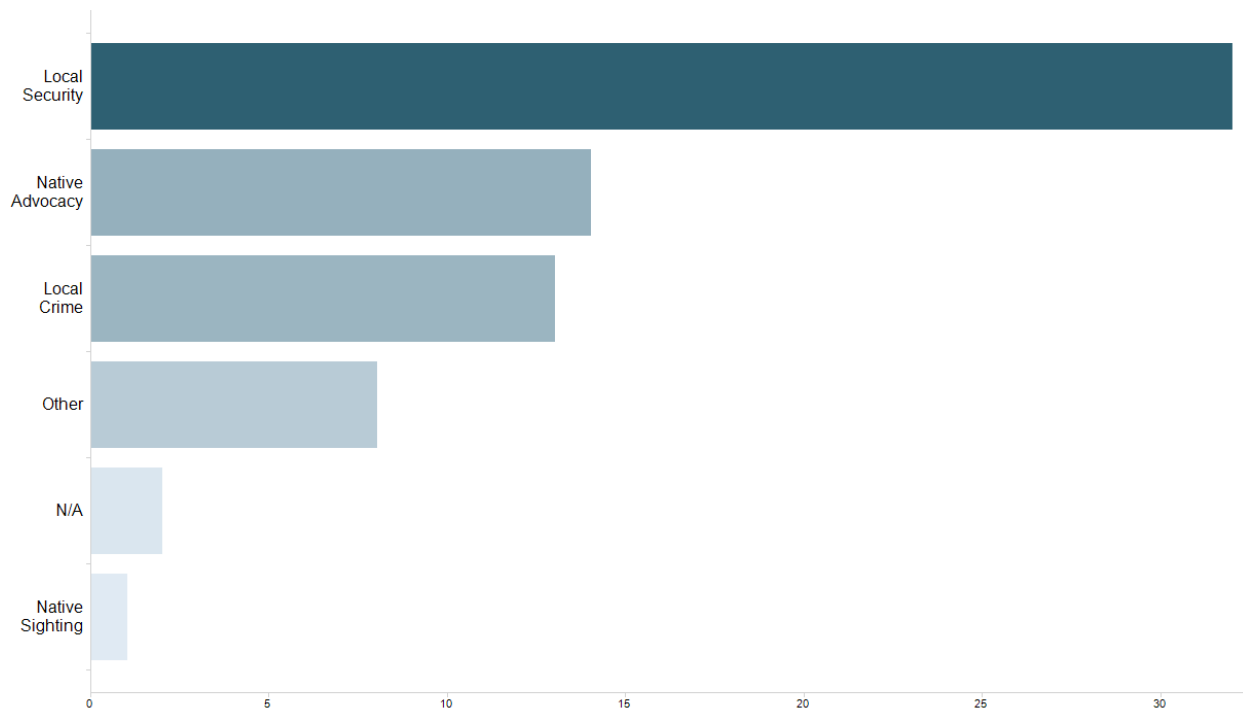
There was a wide range of labels that were used that can be first grouped into the following overarching categories: 1. *Etnia* (Ethnic tribe); 2. *Indigenas* (Indigenous); 3. *Nativos* (Natives); 4. *No Contactados* (Uncontacted); 5. *Pueblo* (people); or *Tribu* (tribe). These broad categories are typically followed by the following descriptors 1. *En aislamiento* (isolated); 2. *No contactados* (uncontacted), 3. *Amazonicos* (Amazonian), or in combination of other categories; e.g. *indigenas nativos* (native indigenous) / *indigenas no contactados* (uncontacted indigenous). Despite these articles being about specifically the Mascho Piro, the trend is usually to not refer to them by their indigenous group name, but by a label and descriptor that emphasizes their difference and othering

from the local and surrounding communities, with one article even describing them as *calatos aislados*, or “isolated naked people.”

Only two article headlines mention the Mascho Piro by name, 1. “*Evalúan condiciones para acercamiento a pueblo Mashco Piro*” (Reasons for approximation of Mascho Piro people are evaluated” and “*Evacuarán a comunidades cercadas por los mashco piro*” (Enclosed communities by the Mascho Piro will be evacuated). Additionally, only three sub-headlines mention the Mascho Piro by name, 1. “*Autoridades llegan a comunidad Shipetiari tras muerte de nativo - Indígenas mashco piro en aislamiento dispararon una flecha contra joven de 20 años*” (Authorities arrive at Shipetiari community following death of Native - Isolated indigenous mascho piro shoots arrow against 20 year-old adolescent”; 2. “*Shipetiari pide cerco de protección tras asesinato de joven - Leonardo Pérez falleció producto de un flechazo lanzado por indígenas en aislamiento que pertenecen a la etnia Mashco Piro*” (Shipetiari seeks fence for protection following murder of adolescent - Leonardo Perez died as a product of an arrow being thrown by isolated indigenous that belong to the Mascho Piro ethnic tribe); and 3. “*Evacuarán a comunidades cercadas por los mashco piro - Un promedio de 200 indígenas mashco piro, armados con arcos y flechas, se encuentran en los alrededores de las comunidades Monte Salvado y Puerto Nuevo, en Madre de Dios, desde el jueves 18 de diciembre.*” (Enclosed communities by the Mascho Piro will be evacuated - An average of 200 indigenous mascho piro armed with bows and arrows are found surrounding the communities of Monte Salvado and Puerto Nuevo, in Madre de Dios, since Thursday December 18th).

In all five instances the mention of the Mascho Piro by name is in a negative and either fearful or cautionary tone portraying them as dangerous and armed aggressors posing a direct threat to the local and surrounding communities. The one specific incident mentioned involving the

death of a local 20 year-old portrays the Mascho Piro, again as the aggressor and murderer, with the local or native adolescent as the victim, in what appears to be a senseless crime without closer scrutiny or accurate presentation of the facts. For example in one headline the arrow as thrown, where in the other one it was fired. The use of the word native to describe the Shipetiari adolescent is interesting since it is used in other instances to describe the Mascho Piro tribe, however in this instance native is presented in a positive tone where it means local and he is described as part of the Shipetiari community. In only one instance is the word community used to describe the Mascho Piro, where otherwise it is used only in conjunction with the neighboring Shipetiari town. This specific article - *La comunidad aislada de los Mashco Piro es la más amenazada del Perú, según estudios - Comunidades nativas afectadas por la expansión de la empresas extractivas* (The isolated community of the Mascho Piro is the most threatened of Peru according to studies – Native communities impacted by the expansion of extraction companies) - portrays the Mascho Piro in a neutral tone and is the only headline/sub-headline combination that highlights the impact and threat of extraction companies on the Mascho Piro. Lastly, it is interesting to note that there is variance among the use of Mascho Piro in headlines and sub-headlines, where in some instances it is not capitalized and even misspelled, further showing that it is not used in positive manner or acknowledgement, but instead as a way to identify and pin-point them as the threat.

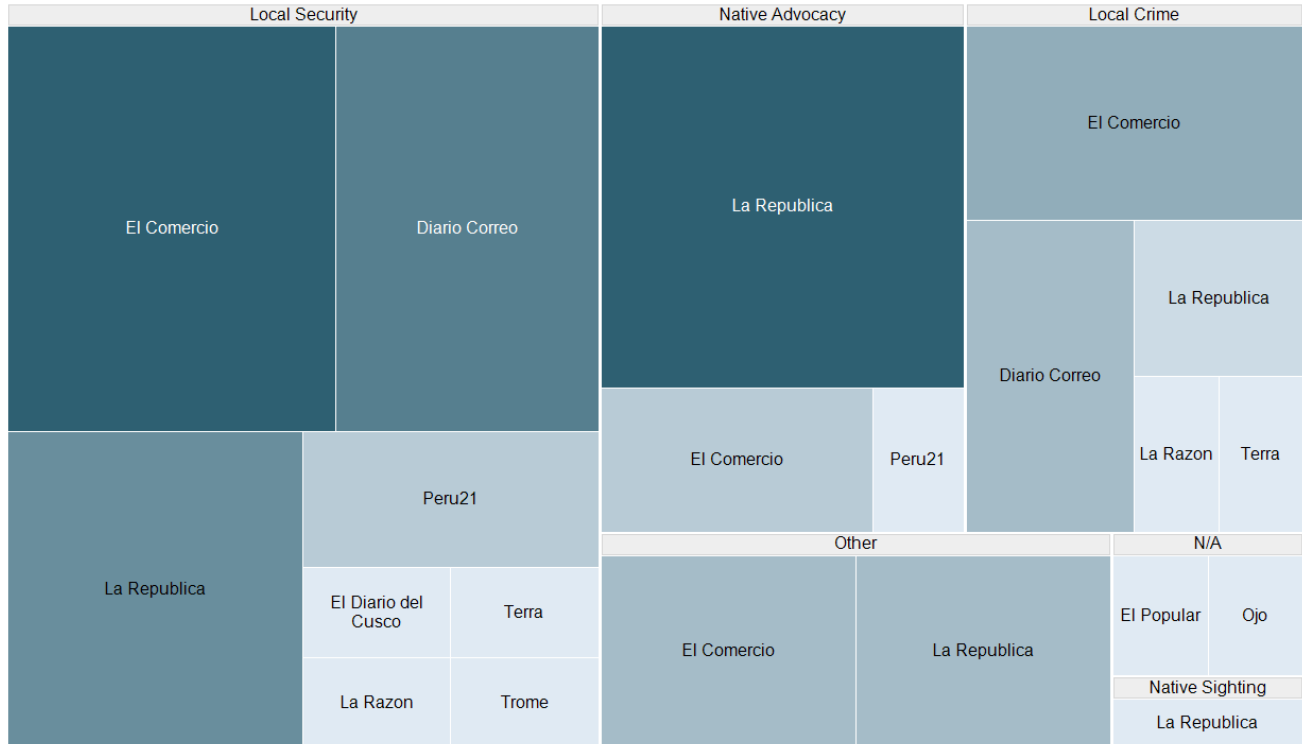


Visualization 2 – Use of Main Attribute across Article Headlines/Sub-headlines

Table 2 shows that from a main attributes perspective, the majority of articles centered on the notion of “Local Security”, however that the focus was on defending the local and surrounding communities like the Shipetiari from the Mascho Piro tribe. Specific key words and sub-themes used within this attribute include danger, fear, protection, threatened, help, rescue, and evacuation. For example, *Shipetiari, pueblo acechado por nativos en aislamiento* (Shipetiari, town watched by isolated natives); *Shipetiari pide cerco de protección tras asesinato de joven* (Shipetiari asks for fence for protection following murder of adolescent); *Buscan proteger a población shipetiari de nativos no contactados* (They seek to protect the Shipetiari population from uncontacted natives); *Envían ayuda a comunidad de la Amazonía amenazada por indígenas aislados* (Help is sent for Amazonian community threatened by isolated indigenous); *Madre de Dios: Rescatarán a comuneros sitiados por indígenas no contactados* (Madre de Dios: community members

surrounded by uncontacted indigenous will be rescued); and *Evacuan nativos por miedo a los “no contactados”* (Natives are evacuated due to fear of the uncontacted).

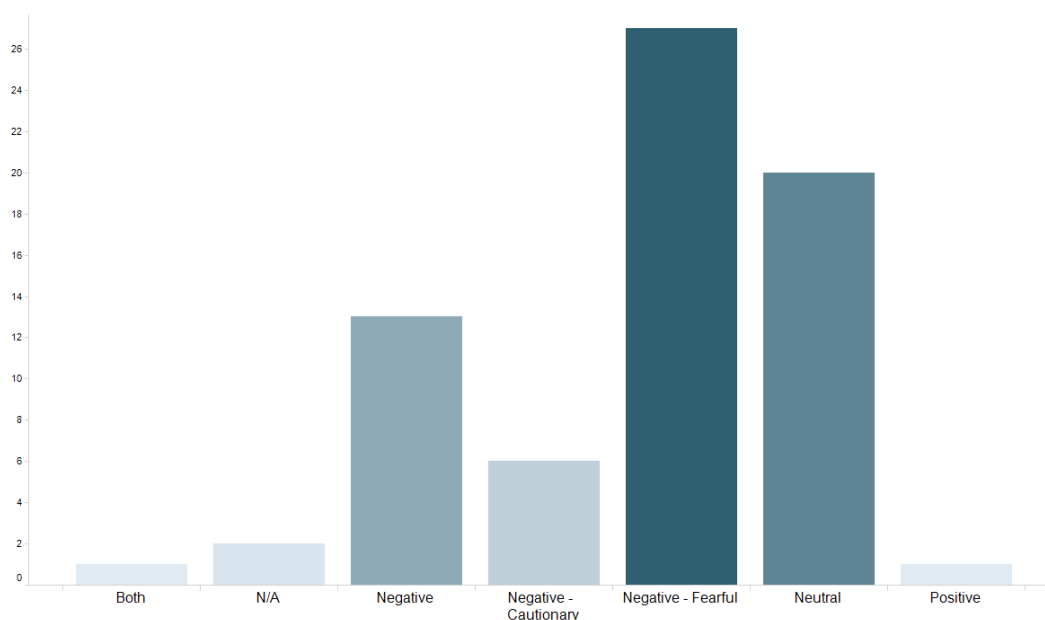
When “Local Security” is used as the main attribute across the headlines and sub-headlines analyzed, the tone is almost entirely negative towards the Masch Piro tribe, with twenty instances of “Negative-Fearful,” four of “Negative-Cautionary”, four coded as “Negative” and only one article coded as “Both.” The single headline/sub-headline coded as “Both” was: *Los no contactados, en peligro de extinction – “Hermanos.” Salen al mundo para pedir plátano, yuca y herramientas. Han puesto en peligro al pueblo de Shipetiari y temen enfrentamientos entre ellos.* (The uncontacted, in danger of extinction – “Brothers.” They come out to the world to ask for plantains, yucca, and tools. Have put in danger the Shipetiari and fear clashes between them). This article first brings awareness to the fact that the Mascho Piro are in fact in danger of extinctions, without giving any context the sub-headline has the word *Hermanos* or Brothers in quotations, which paints a positive image, however the sub-headline the shifts to mention that they have put the Shipetiari town in danger, yet *they* (the Mascho Piro) fear clashes among them. Despite the extinction of an indigenous group is a major news story, collectively the focus tends to shift the local and surrounding communities, equating or placing more importance on the “danger” they are faced with from the Mascho Piro. The quote “Brothers” was actually the first words that the Mascho Piro said as they were making contact in order to seek help with food and supplies. The author leaves this part out and instead continues to present the Mascho Piro as a threat, instead of fellow human beings approaching a neighboring community when in need. Moreover, the headlines, fail to mention any underlying reasons for why the Mascho Piro may be at risk of extinction, instead quickly turning the tables and positing them as the potential aggressors.



Visualization 3 – Use of Main Attribute across Article Source

Table 3 shows the other main attributes coded as “Local Crime,” “Native Advocacy,” “Native Sighting,” and “Other,” as well as the break down by news source. “Local Crime” as a main attribute also had predominantly negative tones, where 7 were coded as “Negative – Fearful,” 2 were coded as “Negative-Cautionary,” and 3 were coded as “Negative.” These headlines and sub-headlines were more aggressive and utilized key words like kills, crime, attack, and murder. Despite these headlines referencing the same incident of a local man being found dead after contact with a member of the Mascho Piro, the tone used is escalated to incite feelings of caution and fear, and perceptions of danger and well-armed aggressors. The way the same story is presented by different newspaper sources is of particular interest while performing the analysis. For example on 5/2/2015 El Comercio reported *Indígenas aislados mataron a joven de comunidad native* (Isolated indigenous kill adolescent from native community); on 5/3/2015, Diario Correo reported

Nativos en aislamiento voluntario matan a joven comunero de un flechazo (Native in voluntary isolation kill an adolescent community member with arrow); on 5/4/2015 La Republica reported *Madre de Dios: joven muere por impacto de una flecha en incidente con no contactados* (Madre de Dios: Adolescent dies due to impact of arrow in incident with uncontacted); on 5/5/2015 La Razon reported “*No contactados*” *matan de flechazo a joven machiguenga* (“Uncontacted” kill with arrow a Machiguenga adolescent); and on 5/5/2015 Terra reported *Perú: Indígenas matan de un flechazo a colono* (Peru: Indigenous kill from an arrow a community member). Although La Republica presents the incident in a more subtle manner, the underlying tone remains cautionary.

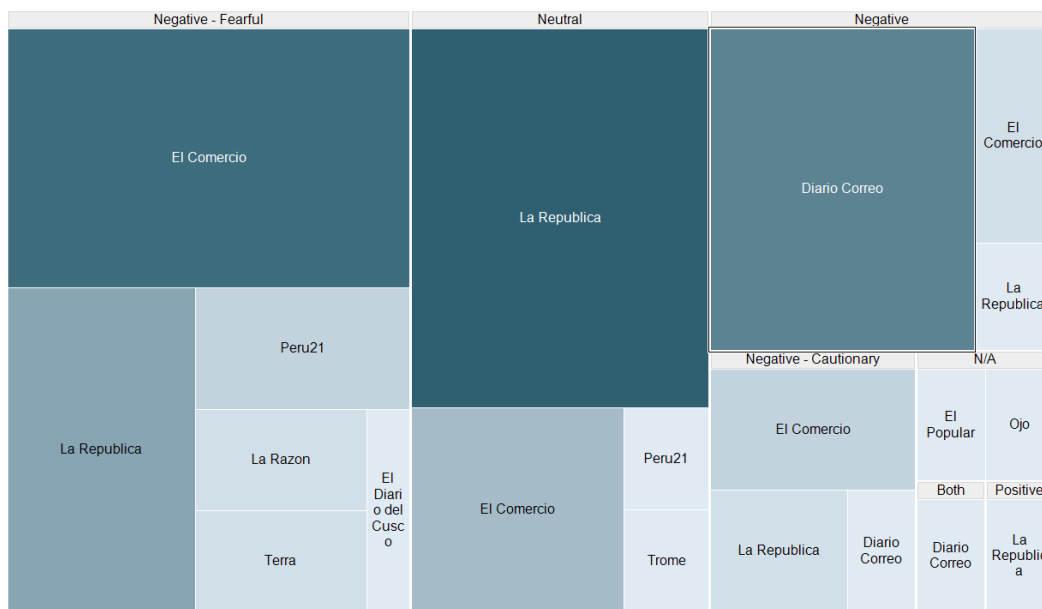


Visualization 4 – Distribution of Tone across Article Headlines/Sub-Headlines

Table 4 summarize the findings around tone highlighting that the majority of the articles were presented with a negative tone (Negative – Fearful, Negative – Cautionary, and Negative), with less than 1/3 being presented with a Neutral tone and only one instance of a Positive tone coded. The article that was coded as positive is the only article out of the entire analyzed population that mentioned the collective rights of the indigenous groups, albeit it was found in the first sentence of the article since the headline did

not have a sub-headline. Specifically, the headline and first sentence coded from La Republica was *Viceministro: Es inadmisibile vía en Purús que afecte a nativos - El viceministro de Interculturalidad, Iván Lanegra, envió un oficio dirigido a la Comisión de Pueblos Indígenas, Andinos y Afroperuanos del Congreso, la importancia de garantizar la conectividad de Puerto Esperanza (Purús) con el resto del país, sin que ello implique afectar los derechos colectivos de los pueblos indígenas* (Viceminister: Highway in Purus is inadmissible if it will impact Natives – The Viceminister of Intercultural Affairs, Ivan Lanegra sent an official missive to the Commission of Indigenous groups, Andean people, Afro-Peruvians of Congress, to stress the importance of guaranteeing the connection of Port Esperanza (Purus) with the rest of the country without having any negative implications on the collective rights of the indigenous people).

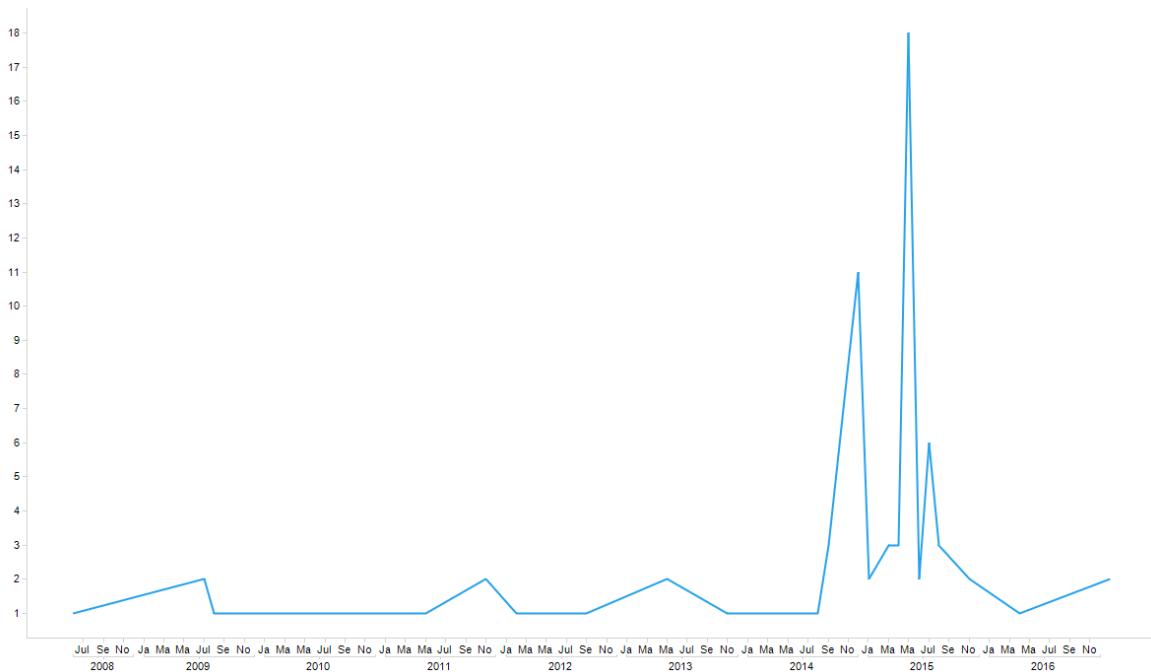
Ironically, from an Actors perspective, the vast majority of articles that mentioned El Ministerio de Cultura (Ministry of Culture), were coded as “Negative – Fearful” and “Negative-Cautionary,” where the overwhelming focus and support has gone towards the protecting surrounding local communities from the Mascho Piro, rather than protecting the Mascho Piro from the same things they are being accused of, displacement, invasion, aggression and territorial advancement.



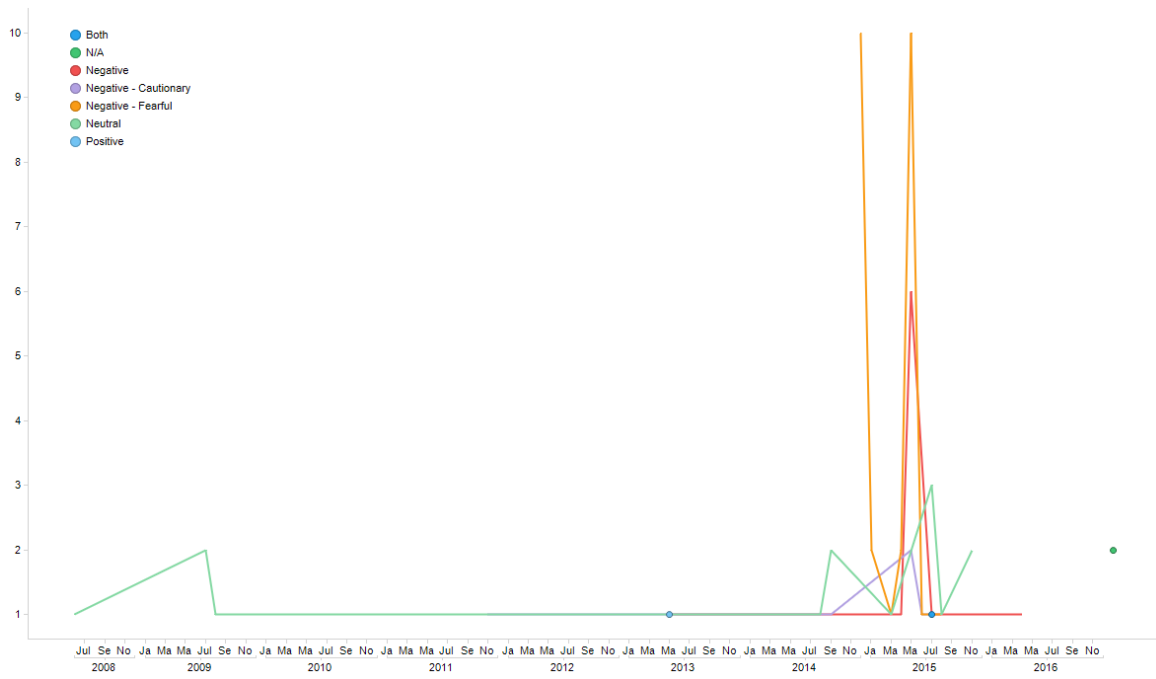
Visualization 5 – Distribution of Tone across Article Headlines/Sub-Headlines

Visualization 5 shows that La Republica tends to maintain a more “Neutral” tone, so it is not surprising that the one positive tone and mention of the indigenous collective rights was published from that outlet. On the other hand, El Comercio has the most number of articles presented as both “Negative – Fearful” and “Negative – Cautionary,” and Diario Correo has the most number of article headlines and sub-headlines coded as “Negative.”

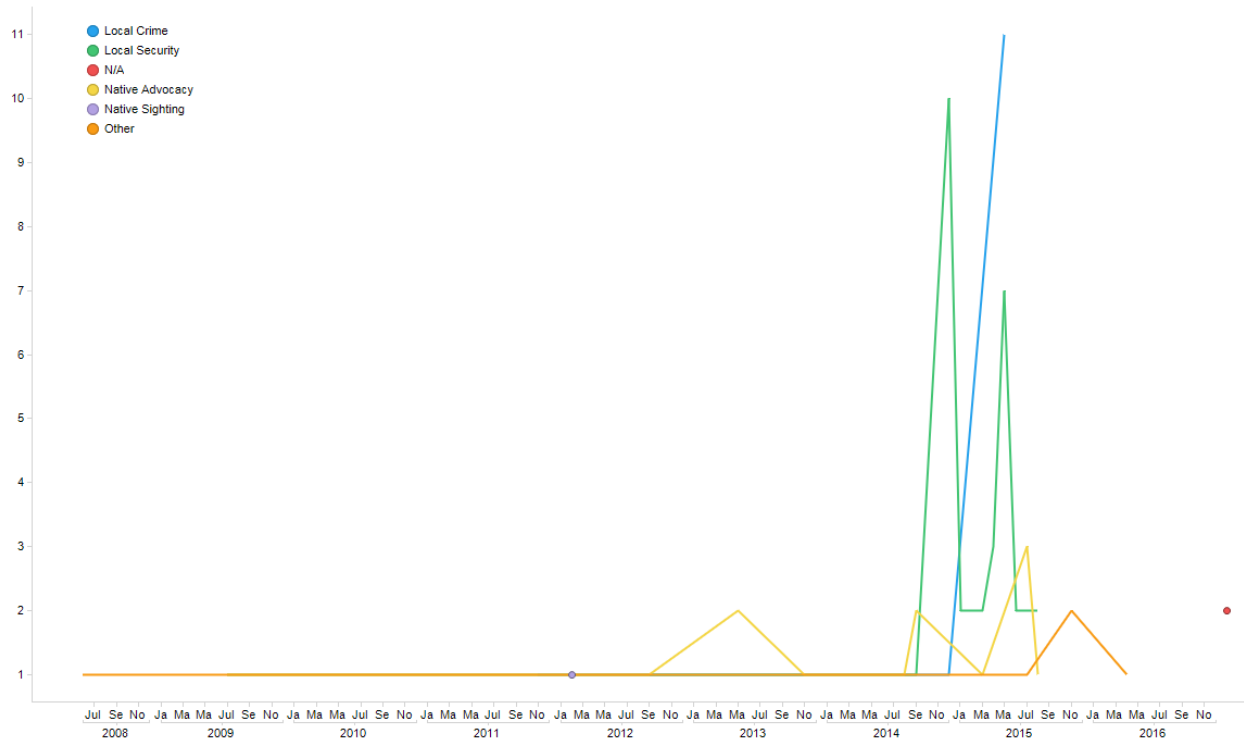
Lastly, from a historical perspective, Visualizations 6 depicts the overall uptick in media coverage between the end of 2014 and mid-2015 when the incident that resulted in a death and other sightings/contact with the surrounding Shipetiari took place. Moreover, visualizations 7 and 8 show the increase in “Negative – Fearful,” “Negative – Cautionary,” and “Negative” tone use across headlines and sub-headlines; as well as the vast increase in “Local Security” and “Local Crime” as the main attributes. Where there was previous very little media coverage or interest in the Mascho Piro, these recent incidents suddenly raised a lot of curiosity, yet human rights and indigenous group rights continue to take a back seat to sensationalized coverage and attention grabbing headlines.



Visualization 6 – Historical Analysis of Media Coverage



Visualization 7 – Historical Analysis of Media Coverage: Tone



Visualization 8 – Historical Analysis of Media Coverage: Main Attribute

ii. Further Discussion

The Mascho Piro tribe, just like other isolated indigenous peoples throughout the Madre de Dios region and Amazon face issues stemming from an array of “political, legal, administrative, economic, religious, epidemiological, demographic, cultural, academic, and education factors” that have and continued to cause significant harm to their survival (Huertas Castillo, 2004). With so many moving parts however, it is important to dissect these influences separately to understand the underlying historical and cultural context as well as their overall impact in recent years. Huertas Castillo specifically identifies the State, the Church and religious groups, private economic interests, NGOs, indigenous organizations and civil society in general as the key actors within these overarching categories, as the main drivers and conduits of forced contact and the devastating consequences that follow to the Mascho Piro tribe. The main economic based drivers can be broken down into logging, tourism, oil, as well as other extraction industries like hunting, fishing, and tortoise egg gatherers. The religious influences and role of the Church as a governing body and driver, can be further divided into missionary efforts as well as overall colonization.

Since the 1970s, the Madre the Dios region has become a main center of extraction and intensive logging due to the preponderance of high commercial value timber species like mahogany and cedar (Huertas Castillo, 2004). Despite large and consistent logging operations taking place for decades, there are still vast quantities of these highly sought after species of timber that continue to attract giant private interests and companies to deeper and deeper into the territory of isolated indigenous tribes. Illegal logging in particular, was a major issue in the area drawing scrutiny and “shrouded in international scandal due to the high volumes of timber felled and the corruption network involved; uncertainty around the application of radical State measures to put a

halt to this; a short period of closed seasons and seizures...[followed by a] period of adjustment, to implementation of the new forestry and wildlife laws that is “legalizing” illegal logging via irregular use of the new documentation required by the relevant state authority” (Huertas Castillo, 2004). The beginning of a massive legal and illegal logging movement in the 1990’s was encouraged by the Central government by adopting a series of measures that made forested areas highly accessible.

For example, regional agrarian agencies were authorized to “award forestry contracts of up to 1,000 hectares with limited management requirements” (Huertas Castillo, 2004). Moreover, the Organic Law on the Sustainable use of Natural resources issued in 1997, established a “requirement for ecological/economic zoning in order to organize and exploit resources” which again, made it increasingly easy to access to areas not previously made available for forestry development, like the Tahuamanu, Iberia, and Inapari regions of Madre de Dios (Huertas Castillo, 2004). Heavy infrastructure investment in the area also allowed unrestricted access to these remote areas, like the “completion of the El Triunfo-Inapari stretch of highway and construction of the bridge over the Tahuamanu River [which] enormously facilitated the entry of loggers into the area’s forests, including those inhabited by the indigenous peoples in isolation” (Huertas Castillo, 2004). Lastly, large private logging interest competition, investment in the area and joint venture agreements in 1999, coupled with deregulation spurred a massive economic shift in the area and all out spree. For example, the North American Newman Lumber Co. the biggest purchaser of redwoods and mahogany from South America, executed a joint venture contract with “Industrial Tahuamanu,” where “according to the agreement, both companies would be responsible for exploring, extracting, processing, sawing and exporting mahogany and other tropical woods from Madre de Dios” (Huertas Castillo, 2004).

Huertas Castillo describes how this massive jump in logging activity, led to several administrative and corruption scandals as well as systemic production of “legalizing” illegally extracted mahogany, in what became known in the area as “mahogany laundering” (Huertas Castillo, 2004). New regulations that were put in place to control further extraction were met with a similar wave of illegal felling activity, using them as means of justification for additional production, when instead the regulations sought to impose a strict halt and only “authorized the mobilization of timber that had been extracted years previously and which had been immobilized while extracted years previously and which had been immobilized while activity was at a standstill. In total, “the volume of sawn timber produced during 1990 and 1999 grew from 9,713,239 board feet to 26,784,679 board feet respectively” with round timber production reaching a high 16 million m³, which is a “substantial figure compared with previous year’s when the department’s total was no more than 2 million m³” (Huertas Castillo, 2004). With such increased economic activity you would expect the local area benefit in part, however due to the majority of this logging activity taking place illegally or under regulated conditions, the Madre the Dios region received “no significant economic benefit” (Huertas Castillo, 2004).

Instead, the impact to the local isolated and indigenous community in the Madre de Dios region through illegal felling on the reserve was devastating, with as estimated number of “1,100 workers in 127 encampments in the Reserved Zone” (Garcia, 2003). This increased contact was also documented in the fieldwork performed by Shulte-Herbruggen and Rossiter, where they estimated that as many as “17.3% of workers in the logging camps had had some personal experience of sighting indigenous people in isolation” (Shulte-Herbruggen and Rossiter, 2003). The majority of these sightings and encounters took place between a 6 month period from January to May 2002, and expressed an increase of 600% when compared to reported sightings in 2001

(Shulte-Herbruggen and Rossiter, 2003). Similarly, within the oil industry, “between 1996 and 1997, the Mobil, Exxon –ELF Aquitaine oil consortium carried out seismic prospecting on plot 77 comprising the upper courses of the Los Amigos, Las Piedras and Tahuamanu rivers,” and also experienced direct contact with isolated tribes (Huertas Castillo, 2004). Seismic prospecting and activity “across a large part of the territory inhabited by indigenous populations in isolation” began, although it was known to them of the existence of isolated indigenous groups (Huertas Castillo, 2004). The underlying effects of the oil industry are still very much prevalent today with huge efforts being conducted within territorial reserves. The implications of these types of forced contact with the Mascho Piro and isolated tribes in Madre de Dios, which have a direct and negative impact to their lands and environmental surroundings, are dire and in turn becomes the causality of migratory patterns and defensive behaviors that we see in the media today.

Further studies should continue to explore mass media coverage around these types of sightings, clashes and incidents with the Mascho Piro tribe that go back decades. Moreover, studies with neighboring indigenous groups in isolation as a comparative analysis within Peru, as well as with neighboring Amazonian countries would be critical to getting a better understanding of how these dangers have been increasing over time and how affected populations have adapted and are responding. Lastly, studies focusing on the international news community and how they are covering these stories within the Human Rights regime is imperative to continuing to raise awareness and apply pressure to local governments and private interests.

VI. Conclusion

The headline and sub-headline analysis performed shows that violence towards a group of people can be rendered invisible by what Butler introduces as normative violence, the violence of the norm, i.e., it is not the physical violence per se. The norm produces violence by not allowing people to be what they desire to be at the most fundamental aspects of life' hence, it is violence by restriction. However, resistance to normative violence may result in actual physical violence (Boesten et al, 2014). According to Judith Butler it is normative violence which makes physical violence possible and simultaneously invisible (Boesten et al, 2014). Invisible violence is violence that is socially not understood as violence, because of its normalization; it is tolerated and normalized because it is perpetrated in response to social transgressions (Boesten et al, 2014). Butler states that norms are reproduced through performative repetition that these norms can be resisted and subverted. In that sense, her understanding of normative violence differs from understandings of structural violence in the sense that it intends to highlight the power of *processes* of normalization. Thus, structures of inequality are sustained through the active normalization of the parameters of inequality (Boesten et al, 2014). The notion of the violence of norms allows us to see the process of the institutionalization of racism, sexism and class prejudice through discourse and practice that, by sheer repetition, normalizes violence.

The case of violence against women in war and peace is an example of how norms with regard to gender, sexuality, race, and class determine how much violence women are expected to endure. Even after an event of rape, norms imposed on women's sexuality determine if women can claim innocence or if they are seen as complicit to their own pain (Boesten et al, 2014). This can also be applied to the Mascho Piro and indigenous Amazonian groups of which after a conflict

the situation is spun where the blame is placed on the indigenous' cultural habits, or to even question if they were indigenous to the region at all because they had been seen communicating with loggers.

Stratifications of who is seen as human, who is perceived as 'real, can also be examined by looking at public expressions of grief (Boesten et al, 2014). Even in death half of those who died during 1980-1990 conflict in Peru, which disproportionately affected the Indigenous population, do not deserve to be grieved, because, according to some, they never existed. The lack of public grief for the injury and death of women and men who suffer and die at the hands of more powerful compatriots tells us something about the politics of inclusion and exclusion in Peru. Peruvians are trapped in a hierarchy grounded in race, class and gender that normalizes violence, naturalizes exclusion, and denies grief. A clear example that shows how little interest the mainstream and elite in Peru have towards the lives of the marginalized is the reelection of President Garcia in 2006, who presided over some of the worst human rights violations (65,000 dead) from 1985 to 1990. Once again in 2006, the neoliberal government of Garcia was championing international mining concessions to the decimation of Amazonian indigenous groups (Boesten et al, 2014). In 2006, news headlines were presenting fewer deaths than had occurred, and were blaming cultural practices instead of focusing on contamination and the process that finding the source of contamination and protocols it would bring:

“An incident that took place in December 2006, shows reports of new deaths in Montetoni. INDEPA had funding, as part of the Protection Plan, to send an emergency team to the region immediately, however the speed of the 'emergency' response is questioned by some observers: the team arrived in Montetoni four days after the first death, and 20 days after the first documented cluster of cases of severe diarrhea. On their return to Lima, INDEPA

put out a press release indicating that two old men had died and that the “death was due to excessive consumption of masato [a manioc beer that most Amazonian indigenous people consume on a daily basis]” (INDEPA 26/12/2006).

More up to date information indicates that four people died – two young and able-bodied men and an elderly couple – and perhaps a child. Yet, the portrayal in the media blames their customs and draws away attention from the proximal causes of death and sickness, and the underlying causes that need to be investigated such as forms of transmission, sources of infection and the social context that enables them” (Boesten et al, 2014). Huertas Castillo emphasizes that a key objective of research and additional studies is “promoting attitudes of responsibility and good ethics among the general public when considering the issue [of inappropriate information on the indigenous people in isolation], particularly given the need and obligation we have to respect these peoples’ way of life preventing them from being exposed to forced contact” (Huertas Castillo, 2004). Given that the majority contact thus far has led to devastating effects these populations, continuing to bring light to historic ill-doings and actions that led to genocide will be the only way to move forward and fuel a conversation that looks at the issue holistically and favors human and indigenous collective rights over economic and political interests.

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