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Everyday Dialogues in Highland Peru: With and Beyond Development Interventions

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Abstract

Development is the enterprise of triggering economic, social and political improvements through policy design and planned interventions and ameliorating negative effects of change. Feminist and anthropological studies of development encounters tend to concentrate on power relations at the same time as they leave only limited room to agency. This ethnographic study examines the relationship between development intervention rationales and the everyday dialogues of the intended beneficiaries. The study takes as its point of departure conversations with 17 women farmers who have participated in various development projects in the Quispicanchi Province in highland Peru. The research focuses on the rationales of a gender-based development intervention implemented in two phases between 2010 and 2014 by the “Centre for the Peruvian Woman Flora Tristán” (henceforth Flora). The thesis draws on anthropological and feminist studies of development to scrutinize interventions’ rationales stressing Mikhail Bakhtin’s theories of dialogism and Michel de Certeau’s theories of everyday life to investigate how ordinary people exist in the world. The study shows that Flora encases the women’s lives and identities in its construal of Third World Women disregarding that women transcend any possible status of victims of their gender, rural condition or cultural perspectives. The farmers creatively discard and use interventions in various often unplanned ways. Women’s lives are moreover not limited to the ideological and material conditions development projects establish. In all, women take an active role in the implementation and practice of development, but their dialogues also thwart any pretention of either governing their lives or reducing their identities to existing inequalities.

Keywords: Development interventions, Peru, women, Andean farmers, dialogical relations and agency, everyday.

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List of Abbreviations

AGROECO	<i>Intensificación ecológica y socioeconómica de la pequeña agricultura andina</i> (Development project “Ecologic and Socio-Economic Intensification of the Andean Small Scale Agriculture”).
ANPE	<i>Asociación nacional de productores ecológicos del Perú</i> (The Peruvian National Association of Ecologic Producers).
APAD	<i>Association Euro-Africaine pour l’Anthropologie du Changement Social et du Développement</i> (The Euro-African Association for the Anthropology of Social Change and Development).
Flora	<i>Centro de la mujer peruana Flora Tristán</i> (Centre for the Peruvian Woman Flora Tristán).
GAD	Gender and Development.
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization.
UN	The United Nations
WID	Women in Development.

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1. Introduction

The notion of development is predicated mainly on the assumption that certain peoples and societies are more developed than others and that the former have the knowledge to help the latter to improve (Parpart, 1995: 221). Development in consequence attempts to trigger economic, social and political advancement and to mitigate any negative effects of change through policy design and planned governmental and non-governmental interventions (Crewe & Axelby, 2013: 3–4). This enterprise has been spread and strengthened by globalization.¹

The most prominent forms of global development models and discourses are coined at global regulatory organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and the International Monetary Fund (Radcliffe, Laurie & Andolina, 2004: 41; Olivier de Sardan, 2005b: 3; Mosse, 2013; Scholte, 2005: 71). Actually, through the fourth Conference on Women convened at Beijing in 1995 and the 1995 – 2004 International Decade of Indigenous Peoples the UN promoted global consciousness and supraterritorial solidarities based on gender and ethnicity (Scholte, 2005: 73).² The Peruvian feminist “Centre for the Peruvian Woman Flora Tristán” (henceforth Flora) was created within the framework of these global agreements to promote the status of women and to work for the achievement of the gender equality absent in the world (Radcliffe et.al, 2004: 398; Vargas Valente, 2008: 54, 123).

Struggles against marginalization and racism also hold a firm position within multilateral institutions and in consequence they are incorporated worldwide within development policies and projects (Radcliffe et.al, 2004: 2). Although there is a tendency among development agents either to mainstream gender or to engage in ethno-development (Radcliffe & Pequeño, 2010: 985), Flora has since 1999 designed and implemented development projects with rural Andean women in Peru with the ambition to address both tasks.³

¹ Globalization refers to the spread of connections between people across the planet and beyond the territory (Scholte, 2005: 59, 61). The nature of the current social space accordingly is both territorial and supraterritorial i.e., beyond the surface of the earth (Scholte, 2005: 59, 77). Although globalization has facilitated the circulation across the planet of various types of knowledges, most of the knowledge that transcend territorial boundaries presents rationalist characteristics, that is, it tends towards anthropocentrism, positivism and secularism (Scholte, 2005: 257).

² Global consciousness refers to people perceiving the planet as a single place (Scholte, 2005: 256), which facilitates the emergence of supraterritorial solidarities. Such solidarities are based in attributes like gender, the notion of humanity or shared risks such as climate change, commonalities that transcend geographical borders (Scholte, 2005: 61). The territorial distance or borders between development agents and intended beneficiaries in consequence is not a major criterion to implement development interventions or decide cooperation in the globalized social space. Instead, solidarities based on gender and commitments with human kind are stated as criteria to dispose aid.

³ The development interventions in the Peruvian Andes are not considered “ethno-development” but “rural development” due to the official shift from “indigenous” to “*campesinos*” (farmers) to refer to the people inhabiting the highlands that occurred in the 1970s as explained in the background.

The development models promoted globally have implicit characterizations of areas of intervention and intended beneficiaries. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are central actors in the implementation of such development models worldwide (Brass, 2012: 387). NGOs choose the location and the intended beneficiaries of their interventions based not only on the prototypes promoted by global regulatory organizations (that is, where interventions are presumably needed the most), but also on pragmatic reasons such as convenient access to populations (Brass, 2012: 388). In consequence, those peoples who fulfil these criteria tend to be targeted by multiple projects. Accordingly, many of the farmers who participated in the project “Climate Justice, Food Security and Rural Woman” designed and implemented by Flora in the Quispicanchi Province (Department of Cusco) have participated in other development projects. Below I present those interventions of relevance for this study.

Period of implementation	Organization	Name of the Projects	Objectives or Theme
2010 – 2012	Flora	Climate Justice, Food Security and Rural Woman	To empower women farmers of Cusco so they can access and control economic and productive resources and participate in spaces where decisions are being taken about strategies and policies in food security and climate change (Flora, 2010: 17).
Not specified	Sierra Sur	Unknown	Breeding of guinea pigs.
Not specified	Unknown	Unknown	Preparation of duck and guinea pig.
2013 – 2014	The Peruvian National Association of Ecologic Producers (ANPE)	Ecologic and Socio-Economic Intensification of the Andean Small Scale Agriculture (AGROECO)	To contribute to the small farmers’ food security and to provide them with better merchandising opportunities (ANPE, 2014).
2014	Flora	Social and Economic Empowerment of Andean Peasant Women	To socially and economically empower women so they generate their own income, improve their and their families’ life quality and achieve autonomy and equal participation with men in the food security and climate change strategies of their organizations and communities (Flora & Mugen Gainetik, 2013: 8).

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The vast and diverse anthropological studies on development have been strongly influenced by Antonio Gramsci’s theories of hegemony and Michel Foucault’s studies of discourse, power, discipline, resistance and governmentality. In consequence, the intended beneficiaries of development are often equated with subalterns of hegemonic powers and

their agency is framed in terms of a struggle for power. In addition, feminist studies of development tend to assume that social change can be managed and there is therefore a concern about the depoliticizing effects of mainstreaming gender in development. The relevance of gender-based projects for its intended beneficiaries has not been investigated. Actually, feminist and anthropological studies of development have not explored the intended beneficiaries' everyday life beyond the power relations of development encounters and the limited room that they leave to agency. Furthermore, the few studies of ethno-development or gender-based interventions in highland Peru that examine how intended beneficiaries experience development tend to evaluate processes of empowerment with the purpose to improve development strategies.

1.2 Aim and Research Questions

The purpose of this ethnographic study is to investigate the relationship between development intervention rationales and the everyday dialogues of the intended beneficiaries. To illustrate the general questions my study takes as point of departure conversations with 17 women farmers who have participated in various development projects in the Quispicanchi Province in highland Peru and focuses on the rationales of a gender-based development intervention implemented by Flora in which these farmers participated.⁴ I assume that human life is to be in dialogue with the world, and that interventions are responded to in various ways acquiring in consequence meaning, use or being discarded as any other stimulus that enters women's everyday life (Bakhtin cited by Gardiner, 2000).

The research questions that guide this study are:

What are Flora's intervention rationales?

How do farmers dialogue with the development interventions in which they participate?

How do farmers dialogue in and with their everyday life?

How do Flora's intervention rationales relate to the farmers' everyday dialogues?

1.3 Delimitations

I acknowledge the complexity of the professional dynamics through which policy discourses are implemented.⁵ However, considering that my aim is not to explore processes of policy creation or implementation, I do not explore how Flora and its staff dialogue with the intended beneficiaries.⁶ When I refer to Flora's intervention rationales I do not make a distinction between the rationales presented in the projects' documents and the rationales of

⁴ I refer to my interlocutors as women, famers and *productoras* (women farmers) interchangeably respecting the categories they use to talk about themselves.

⁵ See Mosse (2004, 2005, 2008, 2011a) and Lewis & Mosse (2006).

⁶ See Long (2001), *inter alia*, in the previous research section who investigates encounters of knowledge systems.

Flora's staff. This thesis does not evaluate the impact of development projects on intended beneficiaries.

1.4 Relevance

Globalization has spread and strengthened the global distribution of development notions through practices based in those ideas. This thesis focuses on how ordinary people respond to the spread of ideas of change, equality and good life rooted in Western modernism. This study analyses accordingly the scope and limits of the global distribution of these notions through development interventions. Drawing on perspectives of Andean ordinary women has been highlighted moreover as part of the future research for Peruvian development studies (Barrig, 2006: 108).

1.5 Outline of the Study

The first part of this thesis introduces some anthropological and feminist approaches of relevance to the field of development studies which are illustrated with research that analyse rural development in the Peruvian highlands. The background shortly presents the influence of feminist thinking in global development models and the challenges of mainstreaming gender in the Andes. The previous research identifies trends that justify the relevance of this thesis. In the following chapter I build my theoretical framework. I use anthropological and feminist studies of development to scrutinize development interventions' rationales stressing Mikhail Bakhtin's theories of dialogism and Michel de Certeau's theories of everyday life to investigate how ordinary people exist in the world. Subsequently I present the method to conduct this ethnographic study. The bulk of the thesis is the ethnography that encompasses the results, analysis and discussion. Finally I draw some conclusions.

2. Background

The study and practice of development have varied and diversified over time influenced by various schools of thought, one of which is feminism (Corbridge, 2007: 202; Crewe & Axelby, 2013: 95).⁷ Feminism began to have an influence on development debates in the 1970's when Ester Boserup noted the negative impact of economic development on women (Crewe & Axelby, 2013: 97). Inspired by Boserup's work, the subfield Women in Development (WID) gradually emerged with the purpose of including women in the project of development (Marchand & Parpart, 1995: 13). WID is criticized for approaching women's development as a logistical problem (Marchand & Parpart, 1995: 13).

In the 1980's the Gender and Development (GAD) approach emerged influenced by debates about both the social construction of gender roles and the existence of power relations that systematically subordinate women due to patriarchal structures (Marchand & Parpart, 1995: 13–14; Moser, 1993: 3). Consequently, GAD aims to explore the potential of development to transform unequal gender relations and to empower women to challenge their subordination to men (Batliwala, 2007: 558; Bhavani, Foran & Kurian, 2003: 5).⁸ Although some development agents have officially adopted GAD in their policy and programmes, especially the empowerment approach, several authors agree that the mainstreaming of gender rendered it technical and therefore lost its transformative purpose.⁹ GAD has consequently primarily influenced the academic discourse on development while WID and a logistical approach to GAD remain as the mainstream perspective in development planning.

2.1 WID and GAD in the Peruvian Highlands

At the beginning of the 1970s, the Peruvian feminist movement received national and international support motivated by the UN's International Decade for Women (Barrig, 2001: 47; Vargas Valente, 2008: 52–54, 122–123). The Peruvian women's NGOs that were consolidated with this support, one of which is Flora, have been vital in the dissemination of the Peruvian contemporary feminism (Barrig, 2001: 47; Vargas Valente, 2008: 32, 123, 154). This movement, represented by urban middle-class women with university education,

⁷ The basic premise of feminism is that gender is a lens that is necessary to understand society. Gender refers to the social categories of men and women that individuals identify with and become through the acquisition of attributes of masculinity and femininity defined globally and locally (Crewe & Axelby, 2013: 97).

⁸ Originally, the concept of empowerment arose as a feminist critique to Paulo Freire's thinking and referred to the struggles to challenge patriarchal structures that determined the social construction of gender and specifically the subordination of women to men (Batliwala, 2007: 558). Freire (1992) focuses in class inequalities and argues that the oppressed (men) have been neglected in injustice, exploitation and violence. He affirms the struggle of the oppressed to recover their humanity and advocates for the subversion of the oppressive consciousness through a cultural revolution. Freire's thoughts inspired also *indigenismo*, described below.

⁹ See for instance Batliwala (2007: 558–559), Bhavani et al. (2003: 5), Cornwall, Harrison & Whitehead (2007: 9), Jönsson (2010: 394–397), Pease (2002: 137–138).

ignored however the previous women's movements and focused its struggles on urban poor women (Barrig, 2006: 107; Vargas Valente, 2008: 43, 52–54).¹⁰

The presence of NGOs in the Peruvian highlands increased between the first and the second wave of the intrastate war, with the initiative to strengthen grassroots organizations inspired by Freire and *indigenismo* (Oliart, 2008: 294–295).¹¹ In the 1990's, after the UN Decade conferences, the existing NGOs received aid from Northern countries to articulate indigenous rights and gender issues (Barrig, 2006: 127–128; Oliart, 2008: 294). However, the *indigenistas* NGOs working with indigenous populations saw this initiative as an imposition of external agendas that needed to be resisted in order to preserve ethnic identity and world views, in this case specifically the Andean complementarity (Barrig, 2001: 99–100, 2006: 107).

The idea of Andean complementarity is claimed by *indigenismo* as an alternative to the neoliberal modernity (Maclean, 2014: 76). The complementarity is encased in the Quechua concept of “*qhariwarmi*”, the fundamental subject of the Andean society referring to the opposed and yet equally valued components of the cosmos materialized in the male (*qhari*) and female (*warmi*) forces of the married heterosexual couple (Burman, 2011: 66–67; Maclean, 2014: 76–77). The “*qhariwarmi*” has been used in Ecuador and Bolivia since the 1980s to claim women's equal rights, make visible the limits of Western feminism and call for an alternative organization coherent with Andean cultures, interests and social problems (Barrig, 2001: 55; Maclean, 2014: 76; Wilson, 1988: 91). However, some authors observe that the idea of “*qhariwarmi*” also relates women's subordination to a Western disorder and hides existent gender inequalities in the Andes.¹²

Despite the discourse of complementarity and the resistance to WID and GAD interventions, the dependency of local NGOs to international funding forced some

¹⁰ In the 1920s Peruvian feminists like Dora Mayer and Maria de Jesús Alvarado promoted and positioned Andean indigenous struggles on feminist agendas (Vargas Valente, 2008: 47–48). Nonetheless, after the agrarian reform (1970s) and during the intrastate war, indigenous women's movements were forgotten (Barrig, 2001: 55; Vargas Valente, 2008: 48, 50). The intrastate war in Peru began as a struggle for land rights in 1964 and was renewed as a conflict over government with the emergence of the guerrilla groups *Sendero Luminoso* in 1981 and the MRTA in 1989. The conflict was officially terminated in December 2010 but the political struggle continues (UCDP, 2014).

¹¹ *Indigenismo* emerged in Peru in the 1920s as a social movement and a school of thought. José Carlos Mariátegui and other often left wing intellectuals in Lima articulated in *indigenismo* a reevaluation of native cultures and traditions in terms of protest that in the case of Peru has the intention to find alternatives to modernity (Sanjinés, 2008: 397, 404). During the agrarian reform the peoples from the highlands were officially renamed from indigenous to *campesinos* (farmers) in an effort to undermine indigenous' ethnic identifications and make them compatible with modernity (García, 2010: 28; Lucero, 2008: 2; Yashar, 2005: 232). *Indigenismo* in contrast proposed the strength of identity as the strategy to regenerate the indigenous communities and traditions both as the only pure component of Peru inherited from the Inca and modern therefore compatible with development (Albó, 2004: 21; García, 2010: 31–32; Lauer, 1997: 25–26; Maclean, 2014: 76; Felix, 2008: 314; Sanjinés, 2008: 404–405).

¹² See for instance Barrig (2001: 100, 2006: 107), Maclean (2014: 78), Wilson (1988: 88).

organizations to adopt gender mainstreaming in their projects (Barrig, 2006: 128–130). Some authors observe that these organizations target only women and reinforce their traditional roles through their projects hampering the efforts of NGOs and donors to pursue gender equality through gender-sensitive interventions.¹³

¹³ For instance Radcliffe et.al (2004: 398), Barrig (2001: 100, 115, 2006: 107, 128–130).

3. Previous Research

Reviews of the development scholarship mostly omit or overlook studies on WID and GAD as well as feminist discussions on development despite the feminist contributions to the theory and practice of development. To build this section I use three reviews of the rich anthropology of development (Crewe & Axelby, 2013; Mosse, 2013; Olivier de Sardan, 2005b) and complement them with references to the vast scholarship of feminist studies of development. I highlight exclusively those approaches that are relevant both to frame my research and to understand Flora's rationales and contexts of action. I illustrate those approaches with studies from the last two decades that analyse rural development in the Peruvian highlands with and without a focus on gender or women.

3.1 Discourse Analysis in Critical Anthropology and Feminism

During the 1980s and 1990s the anthropology of development specialized in the critical analysis of the vocabularies, ideologies and conceptions of the most prominent forms of development discourse (Mosse, 2013: 228; Olivier de Sardan, 2005b: 3–5). The critical anthropology of development is profoundly influenced by Foucault's work: his earlier analyses of knowledge, power and discourse as well as his later work on governmentality and ethics that describe how rule is accomplished through hegemonic discourse and disciplinary power (Crewe & Axelby, 2013: 12; Mosse, 2013: 229).

Critical anthropology in consequence departs from the premise that discourses enable action and a close analysis of the use of language therefore reveals the ways in which discourses might serve interests of powerful actors. Development policies accordingly are treated as ethnographic objects that permit to apply the Foucauldian analysis of discourse in order to deconstruct assumptions of mainstream development that reproduce structures of global dominance (Crewe & Axelby, 2013: 12–13). I analyse Flora's project documents inspired by this approach.

Eduardo Grillo Fernandez (1998a; 1998b) is one of the exponents in Peru of the post-development school of thought, which uses analyses of discourse to deconstruct development. The author sees development as a continuation of Western colonialism that seeks to (re)produce hierarchies of knowledge and social hegemonies and in consequence to deny or destroy popular practices of knowledge which Andean people reject through cultural affirmation.

There is a tendency in the post-development critique to see development as a unified negative enterprise able to deliver predictable programmes, and consequently risks discarding issues of poverty and inequality as Western agendas (Crewe & Axelby, 2013: 16; Eriksson Baaz, 2005: 163; Mosse, 2011b: 2; Olivier de Sardan, 2005b: 5). This school of thought, congruent with *indigenista* movements in the Peruvian Andes, has resisted gender-based development interventions as discussed by Maruja Barrig (2006). Despite post-development's resistance, gender mainstreaming has challenged and enriched studies of Latin American peasantries highlighting the importance of analysing the relations

between men and women within households to explain peasant social differentiation (Deere, 1995). The struggles and resistances to mainstreaming gender in the Peruvian Andes are in consequence necessary in order to understand Flora's context of intervention.

Feminist scholars have used discourse analysis also to deconstruct the pillars of WID and GAD discourses influenced by Foucault and postcolonial thinking.¹⁴ Feminists noted that development is a modernizing discourse and in consequence WID and GAD experts construct Third World Women based on ethnocentric assumptions that turn women subordination into generalities such as “women are the poorest of the poor” or “women do most of the work in agriculture” (Bhavnani et al., 2003: 6; Chowdhry, 1995: 26; Cornwall et.al., 2007: 4; Marchand & Parpart, 1995: 16–17; Parpart, 1995: 227). I use these observations to build my theoretical framework.

3.2 Evaluation Studies of the Empowerment Approach

GAD's empowerment approach is entrenched in the premise that social change can be manipulated and attributes to experts the responsibility to develop technologies of empowerment to help women escaping poverty and subordination (Long, 1992a: 275; Pease, 2002: 137–138). Various studies in consequence measure the advancement in gender equality aiming to improve empowerment strategies. In Peru some scholars explore the transformative potential of interventions for rural economic and social development based on research conducted with women participants of craft production projects in Puno (southern Peruvian Andes).

The studies argue that the interventions positively increase women's income and self-esteem (Forstner, 2012). Group-work also presents advantages to enter the markets and as a space where women learn and receive peer-support (Forstner, 2013). Nevertheless, despite the interventions cultural norms tied to dominant gender ideals remain, women resist empowerment and when the meetings interfere with women's domestic responsibilities conflicts arise at the household level (Forstner, 2012, 2013). Women may however become protagonists of their own development transforming their craft activities into successful and sustainable businesses through interventions (Sastre-Merino, Negrillo & Hernández-Castellano, 2013). Thus, methodological improvements for future interventions such as including men in the trainings are proposed (Forstner, 2012).

These studies acknowledge the role of culture in women's condition as well as the potential women have to subvert socio-economic inequalities and their subordination. Nevertheless, despite good intentions, the very notion of empowerment is inevitably related to powerful outsiders helping powerless locals (Long, 1992a: 275). These recent studies that justify empowerment-based interventions are useful to understand Flora's intervention rationales.

¹⁴ Postmodern feminists explore the connections between difference, language and power. Postcolonial thinking moreover is interested in analysing the discourses of the patriarchal and liberal western hegemony and the forms of resistance to it (Marchand & Parpart, 1995: 18).

3.3 Development Encounters

The anthropological critique of development initially dichotomized the developers' and the indigenous' knowledge. Using elements of the previous approaches anthropologists have observed that ideologies of development are not experienced as culturally foreign and thus have recognized development encounters as dynamic interfaces (Crewe & Axelby, 2013: 17; Mosse, 2011b: 1, 2013: 231; Olivier de Sardan, 2005b: 12). I base my thesis on this premise and below I present some relevant schools of thought framed in this approach.

The Action-Oriented Approach, founded by Norman Long, draws on Foucauldian discourse analysis and social constructionism to study knowledge processes and how groups or individuals attempt to create space for themselves within hegemonic structures in order to carry out their own projects (Long, 1992b: 33–34).¹⁵ The Action-Oriented Approach investigates encounters of knowledge systems and is built upon the notion of human agency (Long, 2001: 237, 256). This approach thus attributes individual actors with the capacity to process their and other's experiences and to act upon them coping with life and constructing their social worlds, even if this means being active accomplices to their own subordination (Long, 1992b: 22, 2001: 24, 49). Long's use of the concept of "agency" is inherently related to struggles over meaning, i.e., to relations of power (Long, 2001: 182). Power struggles structuring Long's analyses of agency lead him to limit agency to effective or ineffective forms of resistance to different powers (Long, 2001: 17, 182). Although I do not build on this specific notion of agency, I use the analyses of knowledge encounters originated within Actor-Oriented Studies to build my theoretical framework.

The encounters of knowledge have been analysed also in the Peruvian Andes framed in agricultural development interventions. Inspired by Foucault's governmentality perspective Pieter de Vries (2008) argues that Andean villagers have learnt to desire development and therefore can neither imagine themselves in other ways nor devise strategies to undermine the hegemony of development that successfully govern distant subaltern populations in the Third World. In the same line of thinking, Chris Shepherd (2006) shows how the attempt to develop the indigenous Third World is a process designed to control people rather than to benefit them. Farmers in the Calca Province (Department of Cusco) are encouraged to leave subsistence agriculture to produce for wider markets and despite their creative responses, the technologies and practices of development are introduced into their knowledge through power relations (Shepherd, 2006).

The Francophone School, concentrated around the Euro-African Association for the Anthropology of Social Change and Development (APAD) explores development encounters from the context where the intervention occurs and the behavioural patterns of social actors.¹⁶ The APAD studies the intervention context to highlight its vices such as

¹⁵ Long (2001) uses his research in highland Peru to illustrate his Actor-Oriented Approach and to discuss issues of commoditization, entrepreneurship and small-scale enterprise. In this review I focus on Long's (2001) discussion on policy implementation which he develops based on his research in Mexico.

¹⁶ I generalize about APAD based on a book chapter that both explains this approach and uses it to conduct an analysis (Olivier de Sardan, 2005a).

corruption and bureaucracy and examines how they may hamper bettering schemes. Moreover, this approach identifies differences between the logics of developers and to-be-developed and shows how people's agency annuls the effectiveness of improvement schemes. APAD's understanding of agency appears to be inherently negative which justifies the role of experts understanding local logics and behaviours in order to change them.

Although the APAD and the Actor-Oriented are the main schools of thought that have engaged with development encounters (Olivier de Sardan, 2005b: 12–13), other scholars have also built their research on the premise that a development action inevitably implies interaction between different social worlds. For instance, Tania Murray Li (2007), whose reflections I use in the theoretical framework, shows that the betterment schemes implemented during two centuries in Indonesia were evaded and contested many times revealing that hegemony has to be worked out in a terrain of struggle. Similarly, two case studies (Peru and Ecuador) show that local communities resist subordination, discrimination and the control of water management (Boelens & Gelles, 2005). Moreover, the activities of local organizations and social movements in four localities in Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru have been differently affected by the constraints and possibilities of their relationships with wider transnational development networks (Bebbington, 2001). Finally, Maria Elena Garcia's (2005) multi-sited ethnography examines the experiences of development of intended beneficiaries in relation to their respective worldview. Inspired by Foucault, Garcia (2005) uses the implementation of an educational programme in the Peruvian Andes to explore the construction, negotiation and contestation of multicultural development policies and indigenous representations and observes that indigenous peoples transform and adapt disciplinary forces to local contexts.

The feminist approaches to the study of development, continue to be grounded in the premise that women lack power and that power can be transferred to them by experts. This assumption has motivated interest in processes of women's empowerment in order to improve development interventions. There has been a tendency to assume that categories such as gender, class and ethnicity used to conduct analyses of power are meaningful and relevant to the women studied. In addition, the feminist studies influenced by postcolonial thinking have focused mainly on the discursive construction of Third World Women, but have not explored at any depth how peoples value and respond to these discourses. Needless to say, there are almost no studies exploring how women themselves understand subordination or whether they cope with or experience other pressing issues besides the theoretical categories attributed to them.

I have explicitly highlighted the theoretical influences of feminist and anthropological studies of development to show that they are heavily influenced by Foucault's work. Although it is not explicitly said, these studies are based also in Gramsci's theories of hegemony.¹⁷ The approaches to development have in consequence ranged from a binary opposition between domination and resistance with a focus in the hegemonic disciplinary

¹⁷ Gramsci coined the idea of hegemony as a form of ideological oppression and anthropologists have used it to explain the relationship between power, ideology and culture (Crewe & Axelby, 2013: 96).

power of development to analyses of knowledge encounters and types of adaptation of and resistance to development in local contexts. The concept of “agency”, in consequence, has been employed in relation to power structures as the possibility to choose between domination and resistance. Additionally, the context of intervention has been addressed mostly to analyse the possibilities it offers for people to resist or for the disciplinary and hegemonic schemes to permeate people’s lives. Not surprisingly, studies of development, both feminist and/or anthropological, have not explored the meaning of betterment schemes in peoples’ lives holistically, in a limited period of time or in their everyday without restricting it to power relations and the limited room of agency available in them.¹⁸

¹⁸ An anthology published this year focuses, besides policies and programmes, on the everyday lives of women (Cornwall & Edwards, 2014). However, the book is heavily framed in a sharp dualism between powerless and powerful and accordingly seeks to understand processes of change to orient development agents to foster empowerment. Katy Gardner (2012) also investigates the meanings of the spread of globalizing capital for everyday lives. The author uses notions of entitlement (Amartya Sen) and social capital (Pierre Bourdieu) and frames her research in Foucauldian theories of governance, discourse and power.

4. Methodology

4.1 Before Entering the Research Setting

In June 2013, I contacted the central office of Flora in Lima. I expressed my interest to investigate how the participants of their projects receive their interventions that explicitly seek to address the causes of structural inequalities (Flora, 2014). The NGO accepted my “application” and I was recommended to do my research within Flora’s Rural Development Programme due to my experience working with farmers in Colombia. Thus, I arrived to Cusco the 10th of November 2013 expecting to do fieldwork mainly in the Quispicanchi Province (Department of Cusco), where Flora intervenes since 2010.¹⁹

My intention to collect data in Quispicanchi was approved by Cielo, the project manager of Flora in Cusco, who promised to take me to the four areas of intervention around the 14th of November. However, it was not until the 3^d of December, three weeks later, that I met some of the participants of the projects for the first time. Since the entrance to my intended research setting depended on Flora, I used the waiting time to explore Cusco.²⁰

The observations I did during my time in Cusco proved extremely useful in order to contextualize the conversations I later had with the farmers in Quispicanchi. During this time I also met with Cielo at several occasions and she patiently shared with me details of both the interventions and the participants. Aiming to collect information from persons who experienced the intervention differently, I asked Cielo to indicate some ladies who she considered interesting to interview in each district according to: Processes of “empowerment” that she noticed after the two years of the first project and/or women who could provide interesting life histories. I also made sure that Cielo recommended farmers who were in different age ranges because Flora had established an ample age range for the beneficiaries.

Cielo also clarified that most of the participants of their projects are bilingual (Quechua and Spanish) with the exception of the ten farmers who live in Ttiomayo whose proficiency in Spanish is lacking. I could have found a translator to get access to the women of the Ttiomayo District. However, considering that my mother language is Spanish and that, as stated by Cielo, the majority of the women in the other districts were comfortable speaking in Spanish I decided to limit my fieldwork to the districts of Lucre, Huaró and Oropesa.

¹⁹ Between 2010 and 2012 forty female small farmers of the Ttiomayo, Lucre, Huaró and Oropesa Districts (all in the Quispicanchi Province) participated in the development project “Climate Justice, Food Security and Rural Woman” designed and implemented by Flora. One year later, in November 2013, Flora contacted the same ten farmers in each district to invite them to participate during 2014 in the project “Social and Economic Empowerment of Andean Peasant Women” which was the continuation of the previous intervention.

²⁰ Unless specified otherwise when talking about Cusco I refer to the city.

4.2 Entering the Research Setting

I met the group of farmers from Huaró in Cusco after they had attended a workshop at the municipality, those from Oropesa and Lucre I was presented to at a meeting that Flora convened during the collective work at the greenhouse of each district.²¹ After having met the farmers and learned their work schedule I could start my fieldwork. Once a week all women who participate in AGROECO try to meet to work collectively at the greenhouse of their district which, fortunately, takes place during different days in each area. The quorum of the meetings is unpredictable, and there is always a chance that the meetings do not happen. The collective work at the greenhouses provides an excellent opportunity to encounter the majority of the participants of the project at the same time and place. Considering that I met the farmers towards the end of my fieldwork trip, this opportunity was crucial for the research.

4.3 Interlocutors

Most of the participants of AGROECO also joined the first project of Flora; my interlocutors therefore share the overall criteria that Flora established to select the participants in its first project.²² Consequently, all my interlocutors are small farmers (in fields of less than one hectare) with permanent residence in one of the districts of incidence of the projects (Flora, 2010: 11). Although the intervention is done in Spanish, the proficiency in this language is not a prerequisite to participate. Nonetheless, all my interlocutors are bilingual.²³ All my interlocutors are women because Flora targets explicitly this population. The age of my interlocutors ranges from 24 to 58 years.

4.4 Data Collection

4.4.1 Qualitative Interviews

I considered some factors to choose qualitative interviews as one of my methods to gather information. The first consideration was the type of information I wanted to obtain. I assumed that the farmers build diverse meanings around both the projects and their experiences participating in them. In this regard, qualitative interviews produce oral history focused on a theme, but also allow the participants to answer in unexpected ways and to elaborate in the reason for thinking the way they do. Qualitative interviews are consequently an ideal tool to access the farmers' complex views about their world relying

²¹ These greenhouses were built within the one-year project “Ecologic and Socio-Economic Intensification of the Andean Small Scale Agriculture” (AGROECO) that the Peruvian National Association of Ecologic Producers (ANPE) implemented in February 2013 taking advantage of the working groups formed by Flora’s first intervention.

²² Most of the farmers I spoke to are participants of both AGROECO and the first project of Flora.

²³ There was only one woman in Oropesa who could not (did not want to?) communicate in Spanish. Despite she voluntarily offered to be interviewed, it was not possible to talk to her.

as much as possible on what they perceive as relevant through, ideally, detailed answers (Ackerly & True, 2010: 168; Bryman, 2012: 470–472, 503).

I recognized that my intention to make the most of the meetings at the greenhouses and select them as my unique place of interaction with the farmers implied that I would not be able to see my interlocutors in other settings. I realized however that if I used the collective meetings to gather data I could meet the farmers in the three districts at least once before the end of my fieldwork trip. This shortage of time led me to consider some sort of group interviews. I discarded this method though because my interest was to investigate the farmers' perceptions and uses of Flora's project and not how they collectively make sense of it. Moreover, I wanted to avoid that the farmers felt under pressure to express culturally expected views or to agree between them due to group effects (Ackerly & True, 2010: 168; Bryman, 2012: 501, 518).

Since I wanted to reduce factors that could hinder the farmers from sharing private opinions I preferred individual interviews. This method also satisfied my intention to interrupt my interlocutors' weekly collective work as little as possible and still make the most of my meetings with them. Thus, while I talked to each of the farmers individually, the others continued working. In order to decide the type of interview I would use, I assumed I had a fairly clear research focus and thus I designed a semi-structured interview (Bryman, 2012: 472).²⁴

I tested the interview in my first visit to Lucre. This method did however not turn out well for two reasons. One is that, although my interlocutors are bilingual and I communicate in Spanish, I ignored the Peruvian nuances of the language. Thus, on the one hand, I struggled to make my questions understood and, on the other, my interlocutors patiently made an effort to understand me and answer what they thought I was asking or wanted to know. The second is that when Cielo introduced me she asked the ladies to talk to me because I was "doing a research for Flora". Despite my efforts to clarify my role, my interlocutors tried to enhance how relevant the role of the NGO was regardless the question I posed.

Even though the first two interviews are rich in details and information, it was clear that I needed to change the method. Accordingly, I decided to ignore the interview guide and asked the third and last interlocutor of my first fieldwork day to tell me about her life, focusing mainly in her daily activities and work. During her narrative, I intervened only to motivate the conversation or to clarify or develop information I found interesting. The use of everyday conversation as an interview technique (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002b: 4) proved to be more effective because it allowed me to use my interlocutors' own words to intervene. Moreover, the conversations with a format of life history permitted me to document the use farmers give to the interventions over time and to identify turning points in their lives (Ackerly & True, 2010: 167; Bryman, 2012: 488–489; Creswell, 2014: 191).

²⁴ The guide encompasses general questions about the farmer's everyday life, their relationships in and outside their households, their expectations about the future, the process and reasons to join Flora's project and their opinions and uses of it.

After my first day of fieldwork I learned that my interlocutors had participated at least in two more development projects. Considering that these interventions were mentioned spontaneously in the three cases I broadened my research interest to the way the farmers appropriate interventions in general. Moreover, since the conversations improved the communication with my interlocutors I chose them over the semi-structured interviews to gather data. Consequently, based on the themes that arose in my first fieldwork day, I jotted down the topics I wanted to talk with my interlocutors about.²⁵

Since I often met my interlocutors shortly before our conversation, I felt that the richness of the information depended enormously on the empathy between the ladies and me. In order to build trust, before I started the interviews I clarified the reasons of my presence and the anonymity of the conversation.²⁶ Despite my efforts, I could not avoid that my presence influenced the conversations (Creswell, 2014: 191). Despite I was clearly not Peruvian, the fact that I am a native Spanish speaker facilitated the conversations. Regardless their age, all the farmers referred to me as *señorita* (miss) indicating both that they perceived me as a young woman and as a sign of respect related to my urban or with-professional-studies look. Such sign of respect, however, did not have a major influence in my interaction with the ladies. On the contrary, to be *señorita* motivated some of my interlocutors to share intimate matters that they most likely would not have shared with a man. Likewise, the fact that I was someone external who was leaving soon motivated trust leading some farmers to share personal views.²⁷ Nonetheless, being perceived as a stranger also hindered some conversations.²⁸ Consequently, some of the conversations I had great expectations in due to the information Cielo gave me were very short and forced. In contrast, other interlocutors shared with me highly diverse and detailed information in conversations that flowed easily.²⁹

Altogether, I conducted and recorded 2 interviews and 15 conversations inside and near the greenhouses making sure to be far enough from the rest of the group in order to keep the conversations confidential.³⁰ I tried to make sure to talk to the ladies Cielo had recommended to me. However, aiming to talk to a maximum number of farmers, after finishing each conversation I asked every lady to call a random and volunteer next one.

²⁵ The topics are my interlocutors' past, present and future in any topic they wanted to share, livelihood activities, changes in methods to cultivate and in their life, and their participation in any development project.

²⁶ Consequently, I use pseudonyms to guarantee the anonymity of all my interlocutors, including Flora's project leader.

²⁷ One interlocutor said she shared some secrets because she understood I was researcher, live elsewhere and would protect her identity.

²⁸ One farmer explicitly said she was not willing to share her matters with anyone else (new).

²⁹ The conversations have an average length of 25 minutes, the longest being 1 hour and 12 minutes and the shortest 7 minutes.

³⁰ I recorded 2 interviews and 5 conversations in Lucre; 7 conversations in Oropesa and 3 conversations in Huaró. The difference in number between the two former and the latter is that I met the farmers who live in Huaró the last week of my fieldwork trip. Nonetheless, the conversations with the tree ladies who gathered that Wednesday late in the afternoon to work in the greenhouse are among the richest and most detailed of my fieldwork.

In addition and despite the several conversations we already had, Cielo kindly accepted to take part in a semi-structured interview. With the commitment and passion that characterize her, Cielo answered during 1 hour and 12 minutes my questions about the history of the Rural Development Programme and its particular intervention in Quispicanchi, the rationales and logics that Flora has to intervene, her feelings about the projects and the outcomes and challenges that she perceived.

4.4.2 Written Documents

I use as primary data two documents that I was given at Flora's central office in Lima. One of them is a 46-pages project proposal (Flora, 2010).³¹ The second is a grant application of 51 pages written in cooperation with a Basque NGO (Flora & Mugen Gainetik, 2013).³² Moreover, I refer shortly to the information that ANPE publishes in its website about AGROECO (ANPE, 2014).

4.4.3 Participant Observation and Field Notes

To do participant observation is to self-consciously attend to events and people in order to gather as many impressions as possible of the surrounding world (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002a: 67–68, 2002b: 1–2). The field notes include quoting specific sentences, as well as general descriptions of dynamics, conversations, reactions and attitudes during verbal and non-verbal interactions (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002a: 69; Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995b: 68, 74–76). My field notes, moreover, register my reflections about my observations. The field diary encompasses three different interrelated themes necessary to contextualize and triangulate the conversations. One theme is the interactions in the greenhouses between and among the farmers and the staff of ANPE and Flora. Another is my informal (not-recorded) conversations with the staff of the projects in Quispicanchi and in Cusco. The third is my observations of the organic urban market's dynamics and the mobility between Quispicanchi and Cusco using public transportation.

The greatest limitations of my method of data collection are the short time I expended with my interlocutors and that this time was limited to the greenhouses.³³ The amount of time engaged in participant observation does make a large difference in the kind of findings that might be reported which is the reason why this method is practiced during extended periods of time (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002b: 4, 2002a: 80). To see people in different situations permits to learn something new and make connections between observations (Sanjek, 1990: 397). Aware of this flaw, I tried to compensate it in the field collecting conversations as small life stories and asking about routines and interactions outside the greenhouses in order to collect information about events I could not register otherwise (Bryman, 2012:

³¹ The document was written to raise the funds that the Provincial Council of Gipuzkoa (Donostia, Spain) disbursed to finance Flora's first project.

³² The document presents the second project of Flora to the San Sebastián City Hall (Donostia, Spain).

³³ The conversations were collected in four days between the 3^d and the 18th of December 2013.

494–496).³⁴ Moreover, the observations and the field notes were vital to triangulate, contextualize and complement the information I received in the conversations.

4.5 Use of the Sources and Analysis

This thesis is an ethnography in both senses of the term; that is, as a method that examines a group of people with shared characteristics through interviews and observations and as the written product of that research (Bryman, 2012: 432; Creswell, 2014: 189). The written ethnography originated as a first attempt to identify and relate themes directly connected to my research interests that were either recurrent or rarely mentioned in the conversations. In this first version I tried to relate the information in the conversations with my other sources of data. This first ethnographic account informed the construction of a theoretical framework which at the same time permitted me to restructure and complement the ethnography. Thus, the empirical part was built in a constant dialogue between data and theory.

Although I fully recorded all the conversations, I did not transcribe them. In order to find similarities I took notes of each recording. Afterwards, I created categories that seemed to be of potential significance to answer my research questions or that appeared to be important within the social worlds of the interlocutors. In the process I constantly revised and regrouped the categories (Bryman, 2012: 568, 577). Eventually, I organized the themes in a matrix to identify those most commonly mentioned in the conversations.

In order to make accessible in the written document what my interlocutors consider meaningful (Emerson et al., 1995a: 108) I use direct quotes from the 17 conversations.³⁵ I give the same value and use to the first two interviews as to the 15 conversations because despite the two first interviewees sometimes flattered Floras' projects, they also shared information relevant for the research.³⁶

The observations I registered in the field notes play a key role to contextualize, compare and contrast the content of the conversations and the analysis of the written documents (Ackerly & True, 2010: 185–186). Nevertheless, it is important to mention that my notes are not a mirror reflecting the reality of events, but a version of the world where I reconstruct each moment from selected details and highlight certain actions and statements more than others (Emerson et al., 1995b: 66–67).

³⁴ In the analysis I therefore acknowledge the perspective of my interlocutors and focus on how they make sense of the interventions to build my research (Bryman, 2012: 582). However, I also use the conversations to examine the social world of the farmers beyond their narratives, that is, their actions and relationships.

³⁵ I translated all the quotes. Some minor insertions and editing were made to improve the readability.

³⁶ I quote certain conversations more than others because on the one hand, the themes my interlocutors developed vary due to the flexibility of the method of data collection, and on the other, because some were more detailed and diverse than others.

Similarly, the authors of Flora's documents wrote them with the objective to raise funds and; consequently, to communicate a particular point of view or impression that would favour the authors and supposedly those who they represent (Bryman, 2012: 551, 554 - 555). Consequently, I do not use the project documents as representations of the reality of Flora, its projects or Quispicanchi and its inhabitants, but as a distinct level of reality (Bryman, 2012: 554).

Accordingly, I use Flora's projects documents in order to scrutinize the NGO's intervention logics and rationales. To better understand both the point of view of the authors of the documents and the context of their production, I created the semi-structured interview guide that I used when interviewing Cielo. Due to the nature and objective of the questions, I use her answers as complementary information to Flora's documents. Thus, I concentrate on how the components of the projects that my interlocutors mentioned most often are justified and planned in the documents and in the interview with Cielo.³⁷

4.6 Validity

Validity refers to the degree to which the research method actually measures or records what is necessary to answer the research questions (Sanjek, 1990: 394–395). In order to establish the validity of this ethnography I explicitly present above the reasons why I chose the methods of data collection and why they are ideal to answer my research questions. To sum up, considering that my aim is to investigate the relationship between intervention rationales and everyday dialogues it was necessary both to produce oral history and analyse written documents. For this reason, the methodology I chose was individual conversations with a focus in life history. Moreover, the project documents, complemented with the interview with Cielo, were necessary to understand Flora's intervention logics and rationales. Finally, the observations registered in the field notes were ideal to contextualize, compare and contrast the conversations and the project documents.

4.7 Reliability

In this case reliability refers to the extent in which integrity or ingenuity is shown in the research design (Sanjek, 1990: 394).³⁸ As I observe in this chapter, the process of collecting, processing and analysing information implies multiple choices, each of which has implications for the results of the research. For this reason, I have captured my main methodological choices.

³⁷ One of the components corresponds to the organic agriculture, implemented in the first project. The second corresponds to the integration into the urban market proposed in the first and second project of Flora. Considering that AGROECO addresses both initiatives, I use information of public-domain (ANPE, 2014) to contextualize it.

³⁸ Another definition of reliability is “the degree to which a study can be replicated” (Bryman, 2012: 390). However, the circumstances of a social setting are particular in every moment (Bryman, 2012: 390).

5. Theory

5.1 Third World Women: The Intended Beneficiaries of WID and GAD

Globalization has facilitated the proliferation across the planet of actions devoted to the advancement of women's interests since 1970 (Scholte, 2005: 239, 248). WID and GAD are predicated on the assumption that certain peoples and societies are more developed than others (Parpart, 1995: 221). Entrenched in the will to improve the latter i.e., to shape their conduct and to improve their condition by calculated intervention, development agents construe the idea of an immutable and vulnerable "Third World Woman" who is attributed negative characteristics such as uneducated, rural, small farmer, poor and disadvantaged (Li, 2007: 4–5, 28; Mohanty, 1988).³⁹ In line with feminists' will to challenge the structural subordinations of women to men, the construal of Third World Women assumes a shared victimhood caused by particular cultural and socioeconomic patriarchal systems from which women ought to be rescued (Bhavnani et.al., 2003: 6; Mohanty, 1988: 66).

All forms of intervention necessarily enter the everyday life of its intended beneficiaries (Long, 1992b: 20, 2001: 13).⁴⁰ However, in the case of development interventions, the everyday life is not only where the intervention comes into being. It is its very essence since all that which constitutes the everyday becomes the target of intervention. The will to improve Third World Women's lives through development interventions is justified by particular logics and rationales (Stern, Hellberg & Hansson, forthcoming).⁴¹ Like other

³⁹ Mohanty (1988: 61) uses the concept in singular -"Third World Woman"- to emphasize that it produces a "singular monolithic object" as the Other. Although Flora constructs what Mohanty (1988) describes as Third World Woman, the NGO is aware of the existence of different kinds of vulnerable Others to be intervened, at least two: the rural and monolingual woman and the urban Spanish speaker woman. Consequently, I use the concept in plural, recognizing that although Mohanty's reading of the construction of an alterity to intervene is valid it presents certain nuances.

⁴⁰ I use the concept of everyday as the world most immediately experienced where people construct and exercise the multiplicity of meanings and actions that shape their life (Highmore, 2002: 1; Bakhtin cited by Gardiner, 2000: 43, 56).

⁴¹ De Certeau (and Bakhtin) agrees with Foucault on the fact that certain disciplinary apparatuses aim to govern heterogeneous practices and seek to control them within a system where everything can be rationally calculated and ordered (Gardiner, 2000: 167). The thinker acknowledges the value of this approach to the extent that Foucault shifts the focus from the obvious manifestations of power such as state, army and judiciary, to study the ways in which power functions in the everyday life (Gardiner, 2000: 167). Thus, de Certeau partially uses Foucault's account of power under the definition of "strategy". De Certeau (1984: 35 - 36) defines strategy as the calculation or manipulation of power relationships where a subject of will and power (in this case development agents) defines a place from where the relations with an exteriority composed of targets or threats (in this case the objects of development) can be managed. These attempts to manage local contexts through intervention are strategies of development institutions to observe, measure and control people's lives (de Certeau, 1984: 36). De Certeau's main objection is however that Foucault tends to reduce the functioning of the whole society to disciplinary procedures (Gardiner, 2000: 167). Considering de Certeau's agreement with Foucault, I use some authors who build their arguments in Foucauldian theories of government. Accordingly, I use "the will to improve through development interventions" that Li (2007: 5) situates in the field of government as defined by Foucault to discuss

cornerstone categories of development intervention, the idea of Third World Women is socially constructed even though it is treated as universal, representative and the one of greatest significance to the women concerned (Crewe & Axelby, 2013: 69; Mohanty, 1988). Women in consequence are turned into cases, which implies that the multiple and changing experiences of their everyday life are reduced to partial and decontextualized stories or single pathological characteristics (Crewe & Axelby, 2013: 104; de Vries, 2008: 159, 172; Escobar, 2012: 41; Long, 2001: 35). With regard to the case examined in this thesis poverty reduction, empowerment and gender equality are the overarching rationales of intervention.

5.2 Intervention Logics and Rationales

“Feminization of poverty” refers to the assumption that Third World Women carry a disproportionate and growing burden of poverty (Chant, 2007: 35). Although “poor” is not an adjective that many people would claim for themselves, the notion of feminization of poverty is pervasive in development discourses. WID’s intervention rationale is in consequence to improve Third World Women’s lives of abjection through efficiency driven interventions (Chant, 2007: 35; Cornwall & Fujita, 2007: 48, 54; Crewe & Axelby, 2013: 88).⁴² The efficiency driven approach presents a strong bias towards urban modern economy, which is evident in the case of rural areas where poverty has been equated with failure to integrate into liberal market systems (Crewe & Axelby, 2013: 161–162). In consequence, WID allocates resources through efficiency driven interventions to women identified as small farmers and consequently as poor, assuming that their integration into neoliberal market systems permits them to move more efficiently beyond subsistence production thus reducing rural poverty (Chant, 2007: 35; Crewe & Axelby, 2013: 162).

GAD’s logic is that Third World Women need to be empowered aided by development agents in order to challenge the structures of power that reproduce gender inequalities (Chowdhry, 1995: 38). This process of empowerment implies that women enhance their capacity of self-reliance and internal strength to determine choices in life (Chowdhry, 1995: 38; Moser, 1993: 57). Permeated by neoliberal ideologies, GAD’s intervention logic assumes that increased economic participation for poor rural women is linked to an increment in their power, i.e., it fosters their empowerment achieving gender equality.

Although interventions enter the everyday lives of women they are not necessarily implemented (Mosse, 2004: 664). Instead, the impact that projects may have on the lives of the intended beneficiaries often occurs in unscripted and unintended ways (Mosse, 2005: 227). Consequently, development interventions cannot guarantee their success governing heterogeneity through a controlled plan of action (de Certeau cited by Gardiner, 2000: 167–

de Certeau’s strategies. Similarly, I appropriate the “overarching logics or rationales” that Maria Stern, Sofie Hellberg & Stina Hansson (forthcoming) equate with Foucauldian governing technologies to understand the functioning of de Certeau’s strategies.

⁴² The efficiency approach, predominant in WID, assumes that development is more efficient through women’s economic contribution and thus equates an increased economic participation for women with gender equality (Moser, 1993: 57, 69–73).

168; Long, 2001: 32). What is more, it is not possible to reduce the functioning of any society to a dominant type of procedures (de Certeau, 1984: 48). Accordingly, behind the visible manifestations of power of development interventions, one might suspect the existence of a multiplicity of everyday practices (de Certeau cited by Gardiner, 2000: 168).

5.3 Everyday Practices

To Bakhtin (cited by Holquist, 2002: 48) human life is an activity; it is the activity of being in dialogue with other human beings as well as with the natural and cultural configurations people correlate as the world. Human existence is addressed with and enters a multiplicity of events and potential messages. These messages and events come in the form of primitive psychological stimuli, verbal and non-verbal language, social codes, and unique combinations of ideologies, each speaking its own language (Holquist, 2002: 47, 167). Some of these ideologies circulate across the planet through connections promoted by global consciousness and supraterritorial solidarities (Scholte, 2005: 257).⁴³ In this specific case, these connections are done through development interventions models drawn on gender solidarities and engaged with the construction of a world where women have equity with men.

Such conglomerate of stimuli constitutes the specific and unique world where people dialogue i.e., exist (Holquist, 2002: 167). Persons are neither passive receptacles of events and potential messages nor are they exclusively positioned ideologically within particular cultural and discursive formations marked by asymmetrical relations of power (Bakhtin cited by Gardiner, 2000: 59; Holquist, 2002: 48). Instead, people exist as long as they respond to the multiple stimuli of their everyday life (Holquist, 2002: 48). The creativity of people to reuse and recombine through an array of representations, understandings, emotional responses and reemployment the heterogeneous material of the everyday stimuli is what characterizes everyday practices (de Certeau cited by Highmore, 2002: 148). Thus, people's responses to the stimuli of everyday life can take various forms.

5.3.1 Production of Meaning

One way in which people respond to everyday messages and events is by producing meaning to make sense of the continuous series of stimuli that constitute their and other people's lives (Bakhtin cited by Gardiner, 2000: 47; Holquist, 2002: 47–48). Development interventions are shaped in consequence by the ongoing dialogues that take place between the participants of development projects, developers, and bystanders where the first reposition themselves vis-à-vis development interventions, old and new solidarities and their visions of the world (Arce & Long, 2000: 27; Long, 2001: 25, 45). Each of these persons use interventions with respect to ends and references foreign to the system (de Certeau, 1984: xiii). Consequently, interventions acquire new and highly diverse meanings and

⁴³ Although global consciousness is one of the main manifestations of the spread of connections between people across the planet, people experience such global connections to different extents (Scholte, 2005: 50, 256).

practices, often other than what was intended by the intervention's strategies (Arce & Long, 2000: 27; Long, 2001: 25, 45, 190, 220).

5.3.2 Citation and Belief

Development interventions leave traces in people's livelihoods, landscapes and ways of thinking and expressing their creativity (Li, 2007: 228). In fact, an ideology, such as development, makes itself believed not only by the claim to be speaking in the name of reality, but on the ability to permeate practices, beliefs and life projects (de Certeau, 1984: 185 - 186).⁴⁴ Consequently, a significant part of development practice involves a twofold reproduction of intervention logics and rationales by the people involved.

On the one hand, social life is defined by stories, citations and recitations of stories. Thus, people reproduce the logics and modes of behaviour imprinted by the interventions' ideologies and give reality to its logics through citation (de Certeau, 1984: 186, 189). Accordingly, the ideas and modes of behaving promoted by development interventions become part of the flow of social life as they are linked to previous interventions and have consequences for future ones (Long, 2001: 4, 25, 32).

On the other hand, every development discourse derives its credibility from what it believes and makes others believe about its capabilities (de Certeau, 1984: 188).⁴⁵ Thus, people cite and consider true (to some extent) the development promise of a managed improvement. Consequently, some participants of development projects shape their needs and life projects by their belief of what interventions are able to deliver (Mosse, 2005: 94–95). Thus, interventions are partially internalized and become part of the resources, constraints and desires of people's creativity (de Vries, 2008: 151; Long, 2001: 45).

5.3.3 Ignoring

Considering that people make sense of the world only by restricting the number of its meanings, another form to respond to the everyday stimuli is by ignoring some of them (Holquist, 2002: 47). People discriminate among values in order to erase the potential meaning of the events to ignore (Holquist, 2002: 47–48). People subject of intervention accordingly act upon and take distance from the conditions that governing ideologies and material circumstances establish. The fact that people are restlessly creative entities (Bakhtin cited by Gardiner, 2000: 49) hinders and dissipates development strategies because the intended beneficiaries act upon and take distance from the conditions that governing ideologies and material circumstances establish.

⁴⁴ Life projects are each person's visions about their future.

⁴⁵ De Certeau (1984: 178) defines belief as "the subject's investment on a proposition, the act of saying it and considering as true".

5.3.4 Negotiations

As observed above, people's responses to everyday stimuli can take various forms. When the messages come from another entity that responds, the dialogue may involve struggles between persons who aim to enrol each other in their particular projects. The aim of each party is to get the other person to accept their particular frames of meaning, winning them over their point of view (Long, 1992b: 27). Therefore, dialoguing with the world may imply that people negotiate and transform certain stimuli or accommodate to some of them (Arce & Long, 1992: 214). If one party succeeds, then the other person delegates power to it (Long, 2001: 20).⁴⁶

5.4 Life Projects

Although life projects may incorporate opportunities and openings offered by development interventions (Blaser, 2004: 35), subjects are discoverers of their own paths (de Certeau, 1984: xviii). Accordingly, life projects may come to encompass visions of the world and the future that are distinct from the dominant ideologies (Blaser, 2004: 26). This plasticity follows from the condition that everything is perceived from a unique position in existence. The place from where people dialogue is vital for two reasons. Before anything else, the human subject is a body occupying a unique site in time and space. But the human body is a conscious body. Therefore, bodies not only occupy different positions in physical space, but persons also see themselves, each other and the world from different positions in time/space appropriate to their particular situation (Bakhtin cited by Holquist, 2002: 21–22, 165).

However, neither the cognitive time/space nor people remain the same. Instead, the social world is an arena of both fixity and permanence, and impetus toward movement, change and diversification. Consequently, people are dynamic entities that are constantly formed in and through an open-ended dialogue (Bakhtin cited by Gardiner, 2000: 57–58, 61). In addition, people continuously transform themselves as their lives and circumstances change (Gardiner, 2000: 49). Life projects, as well as the ways of coping with life, are shaped by the particular place a person occupies in existence and they are therefore subject to transformation (Bakhtin cited by Gardiner, 2000: 49 and by Holquist, 2002: 21). Consequently, the nature of life projects, and social life as the activity to dialogue with the world, thwarts the universalistic pretensions of development, frees a plurality of intentions inscribed within the everyday life and take the development interventions beyond the

⁴⁶ In this paragraph I use the discussion that Alberto Arce & Norman Long (1992) and Norman Long (1992b, 2001) develop about encounters of knowledge. To the authors, knowledge is constituted by the ways people categorize, code, process and give meaning to their experiences (Arce & Long, 1992: 211). Therefore, the creation of knowledge can be related to people's production of meaning to make sense of the world as proposed by Bakhtin (cited by Gardiner, 2000: 47; Holquist, 2002: 47 - 48). Consequently, the encounters of knowledge can be used to understand one of the ways in which people dialogue with the messages and events that constitute their world.

time/space frames they expect to govern (Bakhtin cited by Gardiner, 2000: 61; Blaser, 2004: 35; Long, 2001: 4).

6. Ethnography

6.1 Everyday Life in Quispicanchi

At 3 400 meters above main sea level, in the central Andes mountain chain in the southeast of Peru, the city centre of Cusco receives every year thousands of visitors (MINCETUR, 2014). The ancient capital of the Inca Empire is the main entrance to Machu Picchu. Beyond the historical downtown, the city expands along the foot of the Andes to the rural southern valley of the Department of Cusco. Once the city is left behind using the only motorway that connects it with the Quispicanchi province, the mountains raise first at the left and then at both sides of the road. It is a polychrome landscape with green and brown patches of farming land at different altitudes and few small settlements in the base and the slope of the mountains.

Quispicanchi is one of the 13 provinces of the Cusco Department. This province encompasses 12 districts, each of which is named after its main village. One of these is Oropesa, a small town 25 kilometres south-east of Cusco (around 45 minutes from the bus terminal in Cusco) built, as most of the towns in the post-colonial Latin America, around a main square where the administrative centre and the Catholic Church are located. Oropesa is a village of unpaved and sometimes muddy streets, and of one and two storey houses with tile roofs. The houses are built with brown-mud bricks, most of which are exposed because either the walls are not plastered or the white painting is gradually eroding. These houses are intercalated with small fields of corn, potato and vegetable gardens that contrast with the somewhat treeless and, except during the rainy season, arid mountains. A two-way paved road connects the highway with Oropesa's main square, located on the slopes of the Andes. This road crosses the village meandering until the summit of the mountain, where the archeologic centre of Tipón, known by its impressive hydraulic complex of channels, is located.

Four kilometres further on, on the highway from Cusco, the Huacarpay Lake appears at the right. Like in Oropesa, informal taxis offer the service at the intersection of the motorway to transport the passengers and their baggage to the village of Lucre. Once the capacity of the small cars is filled (4 adult passengers), the cars travel nearly 15 minutes along the two-way paved road that surrounds the lake and connects the highway with the main square of the village. This town is located in a valley at both sides of a river and, unlike Oropesa, its streets are paved and exhibit hydraulic channels that remind of the work done by the Incas in Tipón.

After another 13 kilometres to the south-east of Lucre, the Huaro Village features one of the Andean Baroque Churches of the province in its main square. These three towns share the architectural and urban patterns of brown and white houses intercalated with fields demarcated by walls of stone, mud and brown brick. These towns are moreover well known by the urban *cusqueños* who organize gastronomic trips during the weekends to enjoy the deserts and duck dishes in Lucre, the *chicharrón* (fried skin of pork) and the guinea pig dishes in Huaro, and the Oropesa's bread.

Besides the gastronomic weekends, some scattered independent tourists in the weekdays, and the tour buses that wait for their passengers in the touristic spots; Quispicanchi seems relatively quiet compared to the neighbouring Cusco. The almost always empty streets and the nonchalance of certain individuals who merge with the scenery sitting or standing against the façades are nothing but apparent. Instead, the picturesque scenery of each village is a living landscape where the determined walk of the few passers-by and the traffic in the highway that connects the districts with Cusco are metaphors of the quotidian flows.

The inhabitants of Quispicanchi interact in various ways with the neighbourhood. Many (mostly men and single women) migrate motivated by job opportunities in Cusco or other towns. The youth either travel constantly to Cusco or move to the capital or other cities to study. All migrants tend to maintain a strong connection to the province based on kinship ties, which eventually motivate them to return or become a reason for regularly visits. The great majority of people who stay, work the fields (*chacras*) and sell the surplus of their crops in the local markets and grocery shops. They may also breed animals or run small businesses. In addition, women are dedicated to cook, clean the house and take care of their children. They also plant and take care of vegetable gardens for proper consumption and breed small animals, principally guinea pigs, ducks and chickens, some for direct consumption but most of them to sell alive or cooked. Every day begins before the sun rises, at around five in the morning.

At night I plan what I have to do the next day. Nobody has to wake me up nor have I to use the alarm clock. I wake up and begin to cook. I cook the food for the day. Next, I attend to the costumers in my little shop, take care of the guinea pigs or I work the *chacra* (Francisca).

Indistinctively from their age, women characterize themselves referring to the *chacras* and their activities there.⁴⁷ For instance, Laura (24) stated that she has “always grown vegetables” and Consuelo (58) that she has “worked the *chacra* since she was very young”. Another lady began her life story stating “I have been *productora* since I was kid” (Lina, 42). Accordingly, the time and effort invested in the *chacras* are not only directed to the production of food, but also to embellish the field. “I love the countryside” says Cristina with excitement and sparkle in her eyes, “I have a *chacra* up there in the mountain and around it I have my flowers. I feel happy when I go to that *chacra*, because I have my plants and my fruits there”. The love for the countryside, the beauty of Pachamama and her products, happiness, and even healing properties are mentioned as strong motivations to work the *chacras* and spend time there. Francisca covers many of the joys and motivations when she declares that:

When I’m worried, grumpy or if my foot is paining and I cannot walk, I go to the *chacra* and I work hard. Then, only when I see the progress, I feel calm, happy. It is as if I open my

⁴⁷ People do not work **in** the *chacra*, but work the *chacra*. This rhetoric can be read as an indication of a personal kind of relation with the soil. To be *productora* implies to establish a relationship with the being of Pachamama (mother earth) who is worked or intervened in order to produce food.

heart there. It is the same with the guinea pigs. For instance now I have sterilized 296 guinea pigs. I see the progress therefore I am satisfied.

This work is an activity that cannot be delegated and it needs to be done regularly to maintain the household. Francisca shares the hardship with her eyes on the horizon but looking at her memories: “I have to work daily. I wake up with body ache, but what can I do? So it is. If I don’t work who will maintain me?” The awareness of the importance to support oneself is exacerbated when women have neither friends upon whom they can count nor a husband or children to help them. Some *productoras* mention that they are tired for having worked hard their entire life and, in many cases, by chance or by choice, on their own. Clara explains:

Sometimes it is sad to live alone. I work more than an animal. Because when one works cooking it isn’t easy. It is tough to prepare food using duck as the main ingredient, to transport all the utensils... There are some women who have offspring and husband who help them, but in my case I have to solve everything alone. My partners go in group, but I have never liked it. I always go alone.

The tiredness and loneliness generates anxiety about the future, when the farmers won’t have the same strength to work. This is why Clara says that she only wants God to give her more health to continue working.

6.2 Quispicanchi’s Third World Women: Rural, Poor and Vulnerable

In comparison to the impression I obtained during my stay in Quispicanchi the portrait of everyday life there presented in Flora’s project documents differ in many respects. According to the NGO the cultural and socioeconomic patriarchal system in which the rural Andean women live causes and maintains gender inequality. Such inequality is expressed in women’s poverty, vulnerability to climate change and migration and in absence of intervention that either supports women to develop productive initiatives to generate income or to adapt to climate change (Flora, 2010: 10; Flora & Mugen Gainetik, 2013: 21).⁴⁸ Although poverty is concentrated in the rural highlands in Peru due to the difficulty that small farmers have to enter the market, it affects women more severely than men. (Flora, 2010: 7, 10; Flora & Mugen Gainetik, 2013: 14, 18).⁴⁹ Among the highlanders,

⁴⁸ Poverty is not explicitly defined in Flora’s documents. To Cielo, Flora’s project leader, the brown-mud brick houses, the unpaved streets, and the lack of public services are signs of the high level of poverty in Quispicanchi. Poverty is expressed also in the high levels of domestic violence and in the illiteracy of many inhabitants of Quispicanchi.

⁴⁹ The NGO quotes the last population and housing censuses published in 2007 that state 63,4 % of rural highlanders are poor, out of whom 42,5 % live in extreme poverty (INEI cited by Flora & Mugen Gainetik, 2013: 14). Without quoting the source, Flora & Mugen Gainetik (2013: 17) claim that Quispicanchi surpasses the national average because **89 % of its inhabitants** are poor of whom 71 % are in extreme poverty. The assumption that women are more affected by poverty than men is not justified. However, four pages later, the document presents the same statistics to say that **89 % of women** are poor and 71 % are in extreme poverty (Flora & Mugen Gainetik, 2013: 21). Such manipulation of data indicates that on the one hand the “feminization of poverty” is taken for

women are additionally more vulnerable than men to climate change affecting their food security and aggravating their poverty due to “their poverty, their tight relation with the natural resources, their dependence on the small agriculture and the great lack of knowledge of this phenomenon and how to deal with it” (Flora, 2010: 7,10).⁵⁰

Women are unaware of climate change because women’s formal and informal education are neglected. Cielo explained that their intended beneficiaries are “triply discriminated for being rural, women and speak Quechua”. Accordingly, the conservative perceptions of women’s roles together with the situation of poverty lead to prioritize men’s education and training (Flora, 2010: 6, 7, 10). Finally, the polychromic everyday life of the *productoras* is reduced to the phenomenon of the “feminization of the countryside” characteristic of - although not limited to- Quispicanchi. Flora’s project leader, who constantly quoted this phenomenon to refer to women’s vulnerability, explained that this situation is caused by the migration of men motivated by job opportunities in Cusco or other towns. To her, this is a negative phenomenon because “all economic, familiar and productive activities become responsibility of women”.

Flora discursively constructs and identifies the Third World Women to benefit from their projects as a group of homogeneous Andean rural women whose poverty, lack of training and vulnerability to climate change and migration are both produced and enhanced by a patriarchal system. Emphasising the perceived shortcomings of women in Quispicanchi, Flora’s project leader stated: “If one does not start working with them their levels of poverty can increase since they do not have clear strategies of adaptation to climate change”. In other words, it was necessary to intervene.

6.3 Flora’s Interventions: Logics and Rationales

The NGO designed two projects to implement between 2010 and 2014. The projects aimed to train a selected group of 40 women small farmers in gender theory and strategies to adapt to climate change in order to grant their food security, overcome their poverty and empower them (Flora, 2010: 10 – 11; interview with Cielo).

6.3.1 Organic Agriculture

The first project “Climate Justice, Food Security and Rural Woman” was implemented between 2010 and 2012. Assuming that organic agriculture is a successful strategy to adapt to climate change; the intervention sought to train women in this production technique both to adapt to climate change and to grant food security for them and their households (Flora, 2010: 12). Women were also explicitly trained in gender theory and women’s rights. In

granted and on the other that it is considered important to stress this phenomenon through statistics in order to justify to the donor the need of intervention.

⁵⁰ Although no source is mentioned, according to Flora & Mugen Gainetik (2013: 20), Peru is among the ten most vulnerable countries to climate change, and Cusco is one of the most affected areas in the country.

February 2013, after Flora's project finished, ANPE continued this strategy with AGROECO. The one-year development intervention consolidated Flora's trainings with the construction of greenhouses where the farmers could produce both collectively and organically. In addition, ANPE established a dynamic of commercialization taking advantage of the groups of work formed in Flora's first project.⁵¹ AGROECO in consequence not only aimed to contribute to the small farmers' food security, but also to provide them with better merchandising opportunities (ANPE, 2014).

6.3.2 Integration into the Organic Market

Flora's second project, "Social and Economic Empowerment of Andean Peasant Women", would be implemented in 2014 in line with AGROECO and as a continuation of Flora's first project. Flora and ANPE assume that the purity of organic production gives an aggregated value to products and; therefore, it grants higher prices to the *productoras*. According to these organizations the integration of small farmers into the organic market is a sustainable strategy to increase and stabilize their income because there is a growing demand of organic products in Cusco motivated by tourism. Flora additionally believes that besides bettering the farmers' income, women's access to alternative commercialization channels with their ecologic production improves their autonomy and life quality, which eventually will lead them to overcome poverty and achieve gender equality (Flora & Mugen Gainetik, 2013: 8).

Flora's main intervention rationale is to improve the life conditions of rural women and achieve gender equality (Flora, 2010: 2). Its intervention logic is that one way of achieving gender equality is economically and socially empowering women. To Flora, women become socially empowered when they strengthen their self-esteem to make decisions concerning the management and production of the fields and more generally in their households and communities (Flora, 2010: 11). In consequence, Flora designed and implemented workshops specifically addressed to improve women's confidence and inform them about their rights. Women moreover become economically empowered when they strengthen their productive skills and receive support to enter the market (Flora & Mugen Gainetik, 2013: 8). Cielo explained that since "everything is interconnected" economic empowerment also contributes to social empowerment. Flora attempts in consequence to trigger the *productora*'s social and economic empowerment and in doing so, to mitigate the negative effects of climate change, reduce poverty and improve food security.

The models of Flora's projects constitute a blend of WID's efficiency and GAD's empowerment approaches. The assumption that moving beyond subsistence production facilitates the integration of small farmers into the urban market overcoming poverty (Flora, 2010: 11) is influenced by WID. On the other hand, assuming that gender equality can be achieved empowering women is inspired by GAD. Flora's projects being framed in

⁵¹ As designed by ANPE, the dynamic of commercialization depends on the *productora*'s work as a collective to respond to the demand of the potential market. Accordingly, the collective greenhouses in each of the districts operate as nucleuses that contribute with their production to supply the potential demand.

WID and GAD logics indicate that the NGO is permeated by gender mainstreaming models promoted globally. Actually, Flora's projects are explicitly framed within the Millennium Development Goals promoted by the UN (Flora, 2010: 2). Flora has accordingly the ambition to be part of the global commitment of building a world free of gender inequalities and poverty for which the NGO both adopts development models coined at global organizations and spreads to a certain extent ideas about gender roles and development through its interventions.

6.4 Everyday Dialogues with Development Interventions

The two interventions of Flora (as well as AGROECO) were entrenched in the will to improve the *productoras'* life conditions. Flora's interventions do not only enter the everyday life of the intended beneficiaries. The NGO also aims to manage or supplant through its calculated interventions those aspects of the *productora's* lives that the organization has defined as hindering factors for women's improvement. That is, to modify the perceptions that women have about themselves as well as women's strategies of production and their relationships in their households, villages and Cusco.

Nevertheless, the farmers respond to the stimuli that enter and constitute their everyday life. The *productoras* attribute meaning and value to development interventions and accordingly decide joining (or not) the projects. As the intervention's ideologies and practices enter women's everyday life, the farmers use or discard the information they receive in ways that are often neither intended nor noticed by the development agents.

6.4.1 Reasons to Participate in Development Projects

Many *productoras* say that they have little trust in their neighbours and that there are neither friends nor a person with whom to share their sorrows or ask for advice. Some husbands and children have migrated, the former looking for job opportunities and the latter to study. For these reasons women express that they sometimes feel lonely. The *productoras* cultivate fields in different thermic layers, breed small animals, take care of vegetable gardens or run small shops. However, women also expend great part of their time attending domestic duties and many express that they feel bored at home. Participating in development projects is in consequence one of the strategies the *productoras* use to cope with their loneliness and the boredom of being home.

Francisca explains that she uses Flora's meetings as a chance to share her worries: "I don't say anything near home. I prefer to tell my secrets to a person I don't know. Therefore, any problem I have I tell to some elder woman in the meetings of Flora, someone who has experience". Likewise, most of the *productoras* value the greenhouses as a space of socialization where they meet and spend time with others. Lina explained joyfully that "at the greenhouse, when we are together we laugh, we tell our personal matters". Although it was neither intended nor considered in the design of the projects, the *productoras* give new meaning and value to the spaces created in the framework of the projects employing them for socialization.

Although it was not considered an effect by the organizations, Clara, Silvia, Asunción and Cristina agree moreover on the possibility to escape the boredom of home as a value of the projects. Silvia explained:

I participate in everything. I go to the meetings of Sierra Sur, of the greenhouse... I have never liked to be at home. Now I am also cooking. I participate in *ferias* (markets) selling roasted guinea pigs. That's what I like: Distraction. I don't like to be at home, I feel bored.

Similarly, Cristina exclaimed: "I get sick in the house; I need to go out to learn!" Like Cristina, other *productoras* stress that a value of development projects is that they can learn and receive training in different topics. Going beyond Flora's intervention logics and rationales, Sofia states that she attends the trainings both to find a job and to improve as a person. Francisca agrees proud and happy: "Nobody can take away from me what I have learned". The eagerness to learn, socialize and change the routines explains why many women say that they joined the projects without really knowing what they were about. Francisca illustrates: "The engineer asked my husband if his wife wanted to participate and he said 'no, because she doesn't have time'. So, without knowing what the project was about I asked to be in the list of participants".

The topic of the projects is therefore not of prime importance, at least in the stage when women decide to join. However, most women were explicit about the importance of development interventions to their lives. Clara condensed the gratitude of other women to different projects with excitement and pride:

I have joined projects in preparation of duck, AGROECO and Sierra Sur. I also know how to breed small animals; therefore, I breed ducks, guinea pigs and hens. I sell vegetables and small animals, I attend to the costumers in the shop, eh... something here, something there, so on and so forth, and that's how we live. With those vegetables I'm growing in AGROECO my life has been complemented. That's why I always thank the engineers.

In contrast to what is maintained by Flora, women do not suffer scarcity of training as can be seen from Clara's positive evaluation. On the contrary, the fact that women are targeted by several projects is used by them to socialize, change their routines and to acquire different skills. The use and value given to the projects both goes beyond and differs from Flora's intervention logics and rationales.

6.4.2 Believing in the Interventions

Although the reasons to join a project differ from Flora's intervention logics and rationales, the *productoras* embrace the projects' contents that they consider meaningful in that particular moment in their lives through processes of citation and belief. The first intervention of Flora as well as AGOECO left accordingly three clear traces in the life of the participants, tangible in their way of thinking, their practices and their life projects. Some farmers have adapted and use gender theory to understand their experiences of gender inequality. Furthermore, most of the *productoras* agree that the greatest contribution

of the Flora and AGROECO is the shift from using agrochemicals to organic cultivation. Finally, some farmers shape partially their life projects believing the interventions' capability to integrate them into the market.

6.4.2.1 Gender Theory

Flora trained the participants of its first project in human rights as well as in gender theory that Cielo specially operationalized to their context and their "levels of abstraction". The intervention accordingly aimed to modify women's actions, values and understandings by others that would resonate with globalized ideas about ideal gender roles framed by a specific form of equality between sexes. Despite Flora's will to improve women's lives and relations in their households, only Sofia cites the gender discourse she learned in Flora to identify, understand and highlight discriminatory situations that she has experienced. She shared her misunderstandings with her ex-husband talking fast and fluently:

When I went to Flora I opened my eyes and learned the women's duties and rights. For instance, it is not because one is a woman that one has to be at her home and so on. I wanted my rights to prevail but my partner being *machista* (male chauvinist) said "no". He stressed I was away from home. He didn't like to serve the food himself. He didn't like to help me a bit at home. He said that he's man, that he worked, that I had to do it because I'm woman, etcetera.

Sofia cites the dichotomy between men's and women's expected roles to make sense of her life situations. She attributes in consequence the control men want to exert over women to a way in which men oppose the subversion of a normalized sexual division of labour. Sofia consequently understood the will and the action to join a project as a way to alter the established gender roles.

The sexual division of labour was explicitly mentioned by other *productoras* who valued as masculine activities that require physical strength such as ploughing the soil or "clearing the terrain" in the *chacra*. Although the concept of "*qhariwarmi*" was not explicitly mentioned, such division of labour can be related to the Andean complementarity of tasks cited by *indigenistas*. Like the other *productoras* who explicitly referred to a difference between female and male tasks, Eva commented that she "has always worked as a male" indicating that she transgresses in practice the "*qhariwarmi*". Unlike Sofia, Eva and the other farmers incur in this transgression by necessity: Women farmers do what they call men's tasks either because they are single or because their partners work elsewhere and their kids study or are too young to help.

Like Sofia, Gloria cited the term "*machista*" to confess that in the workshops given by Flora she "realized that even women could act in a *machista* fashion without perceiving it; for instance, when they serve the dinner first to their sons". Unlike Sofia, who instituted gender theory as a referent of her reality, Gloria recited how other participants of the project made sense of these new learnings. She noticed that before the intervention most of her partners did not know the concept "*machista*", but later they started saying "my

husband is *machista*” to refer to a situation “when the husband decides or when he rules while the woman lags behind”.

Various women cited words such as self-esteem and human rights without giving much detail. Others in contrast developed in their own words ideas taught by Flora that they found meaningful to understand their everyday or implement in their lives. Cristina, Graciela and Asunción adapted to their lives fragments of gender theory and cited, among others, their right to live free of violence, the value of their work as women, the fact that living independently was an option for them as women and the importance of transmitting their knowledge and experiences.

6.4.2.2 Organic Agriculture

Although the shift from using agrochemicals to organic cultivation was always positively evaluated, the *productoras* cited differently the importance of organic agriculture. All the farmers believed this change to be positive and some expressed their gratitude without further justifying the actual contributions of producing organically. Others, such as Azucena and Margarita, described the organic agriculture as being more natural and better for health i.e., related this shift to the improvement of the quality of the food for self-consumption. Azucena remembered how her ancestors were stronger because they used guano for fertilizer and Margarita concluded that “we have to make an effort and work natural. We will be healthier because both the fields and the health are damaged with the use of chemicals”.

The *productoras* believe in the intervention’s knowledge and logics and accordingly thank both Flora and AGROECO for training them in organic agriculture. Some *productoras* mentioned their will to apply this learning first in their vegetable gardens and later gradually in their *chacras*, where it is more difficult to control the weed and the plagues and moreover implies more work due to the bigger size of the field. Indeed, Cielo recalled once she visited Laura’s vegetable garden and saw how she had applied what she was practicing in the greenhouses. The interventions accordingly left traces not only in the *productora*’s practices but also in their landscapes and beliefs about the food they consume as well as in the manner they cultivate.

6.4.2.3 The Integration into the Urban Market

The idea to supply what Flora describes as a growing market economy is tempting for the *productoras* who find suggesting the possibility to get hold to a stable income. The farmers have experienced the difficulties of this enterprise as I observe below. Nonetheless, they believe in the capabilities of the organizations to guide them into a stable ecologic market in Cusco and use to some extent the intervention’s promises to shape their life projects. Cristina mentioned that their life projects are moreover fuelled by a third organization:

I want to have a very good vegetable garden because, as the engineers told us in Cusco, women can get ahead working that type of vegetables. It seems that the Clinton Foundation

wants to support us. Apparently they are looking for a market for us where we can sell our vegetables.

Contrasting the belief in the interventions' capabilities, the *productoras* are concerned about their dependency on other partners as a requirement to succeed in the commercialization strategies. They in consequence stress the necessity to evaluate their actual capacity to work collectively.

6.4.3 Discarding the Interventions

Despite the good will of the projects to improve the farmers' lives, not all the ideologies and practices promoted by the interventions are meaningful for the intended beneficiaries. Some women are negative to the collective work that Flora and ANPE promote and others are elderly and value the information they receive at the trainings in terms of the work load and the physical effort that is required. Furthermore, despite climate change adaptation constitutes one of Flora's intervention rationales, the awareness of this phenomenon as both concept and experience is absent in the farmers' narratives.

6.4.3.1 Disputes and the Tranquillity to Work on One's Own

When I asked the *productoras* how they feel working in the collective greenhouses, the answers tended to highlight the advantages. However, the few days of my fieldwork were enough to witness some disputes which indicate that working in the greenhouses is not completely smooth. Indeed, María celebrates the interventions as spaces of socialization where she meets the project mates "at least to argue".

Cristina explained that "the problem of working in a collective is that not everyone has the same commitment". The disputes originate because the farmers complain about other partners and the reasons range from the partners' lack of punctuality and commitment to their laziness and intermittency in their attendance to work in the greenhouses. The lack of trust in the partners' commitment implies that the *productoras* feel the need to watch their partner's work and, therefore, they ask for specific dates and times of meeting to work collectively. Ironically, the inflexibility of the working schedule is one of the most common excuses for women's absences.

The not rare disputes and the work atmosphere are enough reason for some *productoras* to prefer to work on their own. Leonora elaborated on this preference and began explaining with excitement in her voice: "In my own chacra I look forward to work because I reap its products". She continued reducing the speed and the volume of her voice, like describing an unpleasant, but mandatory task: "Sometimes when I come here to the greenhouse I say 'I'm wasting my time'. I rather work in my *chacra* because there are not disputes and I decide by myself". Motivated by the tranquillity and the possibility to make her own decisions, Leonora prefers the solitude and independence of working on her own over the collective work at the greenhouses.

Like Leonora, other farmers prefer to work on their own. However, the *productoras* continue to participate against their preferences in the collective work promoted by Flora and ANPE because the interventions are either meaningful for their life projects or useful because they can learn or diversify their routines. Nevertheless, the meanings and uses given to the collective work weaken the merchandising initiative that heavily depends on a sustained collective work in the greenhouses explaining why the *productoras* demand an analysis of their actual capacity to work collectively.

6.4.3.2 Old Age and Physical Effort

Flora did not want to establish an age limit for the participants in the projects in order not to discriminate. Nonetheless, the age of the *productoras* importantly shapes the position from where they dialogue with the interventions. The techniques to cultivate, the type of products that are promoted and even the action of cultivating itself can be discarded by some of the farmers who are elderly and do not have the same physical strength as they used to.

Consuelo (58) explains why she prefers to grow certain products over others: “I can transport a bundle of lettuce on my back, whereas carrots, for instance, are heavier”. Enhancing the value of working with less effort, Margarita remembered that the techniques to cultivate organically are forgotten because they imply more work:

We worked in the past with guano because there weren't chemical fertilizers. That's what the projects are reminding us. But these practices are forgotten because it's easier to use pesticides than to weed manually. Similarly, instead of transporting guano it's easier to use fertilizers.

Despite the *productoras*' belief in the benefits of cultivating organically, this practice does not equally suit all farmers neither all sizes of terrain because it implies more work. In fact, cultivating with or without fertilizers is already too tough to some *productoras*. For instance, nowadays María (50) does not work the *chacra* as much as before because she is tired. Neither does Silvia (58) who hires workers to work her *chacra* because her husband does not like to do it and she is tired. The *productoras* discard some information received from the projects without withdrawing from them using only what is suitable for their strength and participating in the collective work accordingly.

Flora's will to benefit a wide range of ages (from 18 to 55) ironically contradicts the organization's intersectional approach (Flora, 2010: 15, 40).⁵² This approach assumes that no category can be neutral because they are permeated by relations of power (Phoenix, 2010: 303). Although age is indeed attributed a cultural value it poses material constraints as well as it offers material possibilities that influence the way women culturally deal and understand their position in the world. This perspective fails in consequence to consider

⁵² To have an intersectional approach means that the project aims to recognize that a social category such as women can only be understood in the context of other categories that make visible differences and commonalities within groups (Phoenix, 2010: 303).

that age and physical strength are not only socially constructed and therefore charged with meaning, but that they also configure the particular material situation from which women dialogue with and in the world at the particular time and space of the intervention.

6.4.3.3 Climate Change: More than Global Consciousness

Contrasting with the farmers' receptivity to gender discourses and to ecologic practices, and opposed to the spontaneity in which both topics were discussed, climate change as notion and experience was absent in the conversations of the *productoras* with me. Only Gloria, the projects' participant with highest studies (two BA in progress), mentioned the role of organic agriculture as a strategy of adaptation to climate change.

Last time I read in a magazine that Peru is vulnerable to climate change. We have to be prepared because the climate is not as it used to be. One could say that those who are producing organic are somehow trying to save our planet. Although Peru is not the main cause of pollution, but the super-industrialized countries, climate change is something that affects us all. The only thing we can do is to adapt and try to survive.

Gloria's comment about the vulnerability of Peru to climate change is the same that Flora uses to justify its intervention. Gloria moreover takes her argument further and relates it to global dynamics and responsibilities indicating that she has a global consciousness and understands the phenomenon as a global threat, but also that she perceives the global climate as a system affected by neoliberal globalization and sensitive, for good and for bad, to butterfly effects.⁵³ In spite of Flora's and Gloria's shared perception, the concept of climate change was often cited in passing, if at all, when the farmers listed the topics in which Flora trained them. Gloria is more exposed to academic and globalized discourses than the other participants of the projects due to her bachelor studies in Cusco. Gloria's awareness of climate change moreover contrasts with the inattention of most *productoras* to this notion. The farmers' inattentiveness does not necessarily imply that they do not understand the planet as a single place, which in their case could translate into the notion of Pachamama. Nevertheless, the *productoras* may not necessarily have either the specific global systemic consciousness or the awareness of impacts caused by a particular neoliberal globalization which are necessary for the notion of climate change to be meaningful in their everyday life.⁵⁴

Although an unusual cold front affected the area less than four months before my fieldwork, only Silvia mentioned an event related to uncommon climate conditions. Silvia remembered the greatest snow and hailstorm reported in the last decade in the Peruvian

⁵³ Butterfly effect refers to the possibility that small changes lead to great consequences often on a global scale (Eriksen, 2007: 129).

⁵⁴ Global climate is often evoked as an example of complex systems (Eriksen, 2007: 128 - 129). Even climate experts have disagreed about the causes, likely effects and on the actual reality of contemporary climate change. The vast majority of experts are however now convinced that the Earth's climate is changing (Eriksen, 2007: 129). The awareness of ecological risks also has increased and human action framed in globalized neoliberalism is identified as its main cause (Eriksen, 2007: 129; Scholte, 2005: 286, 288).

highlands and neighbouring countries (BBC News, 2013a, 2013b). Cleaning a couple of dozens of guinea pigs she was asked to cook, Silvia said she was considering whether or not to work in agriculture again. Silvia explained the magnitude of the storm: “Even the roof of a house was broken. Everything was white. Lots of water descended from the mountain. Up there, in the mountain, I have crops of potato and corn and everything was damaged”. Despite the scale of the hailstorm, no relation to the notion of climate change was made. Simply, Silvia’s adaptation strategy to this happening seemed to be replacing agriculture with breeding small animals.

The breeding and sale of guinea pigs and ducks plays an important role in the diversification of women’s livelihood, especially in the case of Silvia who being 58 years old is tired of working the *chacra*. The demand for dishes seems to be significant, not only due to the intrinsic popularity of the guinea pig dishes in Peru, but also because of the reputation of the province’s cuisine. Moreover, the guano produced by these animals is an asset for the production of organic agriculture. Consequently, the participation in projects specialized in this matter is praised and highly valued. Unlike Silvia, the younger women have adopted this activity as a complement of agriculture instead of as its replacement indicating that the learnings that each woman takes from the projects are linked to contributions of previous interventions that they have integrated in their lives. Women accordingly do not use the same criteria to select the practices and discourses to which they attribute meaning. They value the interventions from their particular cultural and material positions in the world. Consequently, the homogenizing and governing pretensions of the interventions are dissipated by the diverse ways in which women decide what they embrace and ignore from the projects.

6.5 Everyday Dialogues beyond Development Interventions

The *productoras*’ everyday goes beyond the interventions and the territory of Quispicanchi.⁵⁵ Some everyday experiences validate Flora’s main intervention rationale but also make visible the limitations of the interventions. Despite the organizations’ intentions, neither entering the ecologic urban market nor the higher price of ecologic products can be guaranteed. The agronomist leading AGROECO and the lawyer coordinating Flora’s projects lack experience how to build links between the *productoras* and the few environmental and socially responsible restaurants in Cusco.

In contrast with her scarce merchandising knowledge, Cielo has worked for many years with women in Quispicanchi and other rural areas in the Peruvian highlands. Based on her experience, Flora’s project leader expressed several times her worry about the high index of domestic violence, mainly directed towards women and girls. Her worries were confirmed but also complemented spontaneously by some of the *productoras*. Clara and Sofia commented on their experiences of gender-based discrimination during their processes of

⁵⁵ Although the everyday life of each *productora* is different, the world most immediately experienced that constitutes the everyday of the 17 farmers meet at various points. I refer to those shared experiences to which women respond, and that at the same time shape women’s everyday lives, when I refer to “the *productoras*’ everyday life”.

divorce. Whereas Gloria happily explained how the gender gap is shrinking, Asunción gave some hints on her husband's negative opinion about actions directed to reduce this gap.

Furthermore, women's participation in activities that do not clearly contribute to the livelihood or that do not correspond to established norms tend to be coerced especially by the farmer's mothers and husbands. While women may discard some elements of the projects, they all have reasons to participate in the interventions. Women therefore evade the disapproval of their relatives or try to convince them to support their projects. Despite the *productoras* intend to cope with their families' coercion, they sometimes accommodate to it. Moreover, besides the negotiations in their households, women need to attend the rest of their everyday activities for which they normally need the support of their families.

6.5.1 Difficulties Entering the Ecologic Market

The *productoras* continue to sell the vegetables grown in the greenhouses as well as the surplus of their organic crops in the local markets. The staff of the projects encouraged women to promote their organic products in order to get better prices. However, selling new products in the local market is not an easy task. Graciela complained that the "customers in the market argued that the organic products produce cancer because they are cultivated under the plastic of the greenhouses". Local markets in consequence do not have a high demand neither offer better prices for organic goods.

Another option is to sell the products in the AGROECO Shop, a small tidy garage located at the back of the Rosaspata Market, a fruits and vegetable market near Cusco's downtown. Although this shop is open to the public, the demand is fairly low. This shop, located two blocks south from the highway that goes to Quispicanchi, is also the gathering point that receives and dispatches the orders to the restaurants. Silvia explained that "the first time we delivered purple lettuce to the AGROECO shop we did not sell it. The restaurants gradually know it and now they are ordering it". Commercializing the products via this shop is not ideal for the *productoras* who have to invest time and money in public transportation every time they harvest to supply the shop's low and scattered demands under the risk of not selling the products.⁵⁶

The third commercialization channel that the farmers use while they wait for the restaurants in Cusco to purchase their products is an eco-market organized by ANPE on Sunday every other week in the touristic downtown. Each district either sends representatives to sell their products or sells them through the AGROECO Shop. The fancy bright green and yellow tents are placed in a sidewalk right in front of the San Pedro Market visited mainly by few customers from the neighbourhood and hordes of tourists. The curious are few, the customers are less, which is coherent with the location of the eco-market and the limited demand for these products, which is concentrated in exclusive social circles that are willing to pay and look for organic aliments.

⁵⁶ ANPE had some funds to partially cover the cost of the transport. However, this aid ended with the conclusion of the project in February 2014.

The demand for organic products in Cusco is not as big as the organizations claim. Besides the scanty costumers in the eco-market and the AGROECO Shop, there are a couple of well ranked and middle range restaurants that exclusively offer organic food, and a couple more that claim to support small farmers. Nonetheless, as Sofia noted, “the restaurants already have their suppliers. If they buy the products from us it is due to an obligation”. Such obligations, or commitment, to support small farmers and ecologic practices ought to be gained.

After a process of trial and error identifying and negotiating with restaurants, it seems as if a standard procedure has been established. First, the *productoras* offer free trials of their products. If a restaurant likes them, the prices of the products are negotiated. Once the prices are agreed, the *productoras* are bound to great standards of quality in order to remain as suppliers.⁵⁷ Sofia illustrated the situation:

Last time I couldn't deliver the products. It turned out that that time, the restaurant of a five stars hotel that we were supplying did not accept the carrots, the onions neither the camomile because they were not appropriate. Now due to that delivery we don't get more orders. We've basically lost the supply agreement with that restaurant, because the other partners don't... let's say that they harvest the camomile and send it as if it was to be sold in a regular market. That's because they've never invested their time on taking the post-harvest course and learn how it shall be sent to a hotel. I've never missed them.

In order to remain integrated into this market of difficult access, the small producers have to be trained in post-harvest quality standards. However, although they have been offered the courses, not many have shown interest on investing time learning a new harvest process. The fact that most women do not manage the post-harvest standards required to enter and remain in the ecologic market has been to the detriment of the collective commercialization strategy. The complexity of women's everyday life dissipates the good intentions of ANPE and Flora to improve women's lives managing the commercialization of their crops.⁵⁸

6.5.2 Gender Inequalities

After 13 days in the hospital due to domestic violence Clara was empty-handed: “The house, the things, everything I acquired during 17 years, I didn't care about anything. My tranquillity was first”. She had to leave everything behind because the male judge did not make a strong stand to do justice during her divorce. Sofia was also discriminated against based on her gender during her process to divorce:

⁵⁷ I do not have information about the process of bargaining; however, in an informal conversation, an agronomist employed by ANPE said that the restaurants tend to lower the prices.

⁵⁸ Although Flora states that the farmers are invisibilized within the development agents (reason why they are not targeted by projects), the NGO concentrates her analysis of patriarchy and structural inequalities to Quispicanchi and its patriarchal Andean culture. Flora consequently fails to analyse how wider dynamics may challenge or aid its initiatives.

The father of my children and I had problems. We went to a female judge but the judge, despite being a woman, at a certain point withdrew her support and told me: “You know that in order to succeed and fulfil your dreams you should have thought on not having children”. The judge supported my husband. The female judge argued that because I’m woman I don’t have reasons to separate from my husband in order to participate in the projects.

Aware of gender based-discriminations Gloria proudly focuses in the fact that her female classmates argue for gender equality and look for counterarguments when their capabilities as women are doubted. Although Gloria joyfully celebrates this attitude as an indicator of a narrower gender gap, hers is also an example of existing gender inequalities:

Men are getting scared because I have a teacher at the university in Cusco who says “what are we going to do guys? Women are eclipsing us!” And we, the women in the class, say “yes, because now there are also women who are presidents, because it has to be gender equality”. And it was said that we as women have less neurons than men, but we argued that women know how to use them all whereas men do not know how to use all of them. Therefore, one can feel that we are moving forward from the idea of women lagging behind.

The reaction of Gloria and her female classmates indicates indeed awareness, at least among the women of Gloria’s classroom, about gender inequalities and initiatives to make them visible and change them. According to Gloria, the information about the different amount of neurons between men and women was published in a magazine that one of her male classmates took to the university in order to prove women are biologically inferior. The classmate’s initiative indicates that the discussion about women’s inferiority was extended to more than one meeting. These biologic arguments are published in magazines of local distribution and are explicitly sought and cited by men in order to justify gender hierarchies, which not only highlights an existing gender gap, but also hints men’s opposition to its shirking. Not surprisingly, there is a similar hostility within the households.

When I asked Asunción what her husband thinks about Flora’s workshops, she commented enthusiastically “I went to Flora’s trainings and I learned many things, for instance what is self-esteem and what are the women’s rights. I liked it, I returned home happy and I told my children and husband what I learned. And my husband told me...” After hesitating, Asunción gradually reduced the tone of her voice to end with a doubtful whisper, almost regretting the last sentence: “Sometimes he told me that it was fine, others he said: ‘No! What are you learning?’ So I said: ‘I am learning what the women’s rights are’ and he replied: ‘Perhaps latter you will hit me’”.

The comment of Asunción’s husband illustrates that, to him, to have rights is equivalent to be allowed to exert physical violence over someone else, presumably without rights, or at least not aware of them. The anxiety of Asunción’s husband and Gloria’s teacher and classmates about maintaining the gender hierarchies shows that having rights is understood as a zero-sum game, which precludes the notion of gender equality. The gender-based inequalities, tangible at the household level in physical violence and other forms of coercion as well as in other more public spheres explain women’s believe and citation of

gender theory. This discrimination, materialized in the farmers' everyday life, is coherent with Flora's intervention rationale to move towards gender equality. Nonetheless, despite the will to improve every aspect of women's lives Flora's intervention has limited room of action to change or control such inequalities.

6.5.3 Challenges of Diversifying the Routine

Some of the workshops offered by Flora required women to travel to a particular town and stay overnight to participate in two days of training. Cielo explained in an informal conversation that one of the intentions of these trips was that the farmers would have time for themselves and feel how it is like to be taken care of being served in a hotel, where they did not need to care about household duties. This initiative to provide the *productoras* with the experience of being served on the one hand does not challenge the existence of one or various persons who need to acquire the functions that Cielo would like to deprive the farmers of.⁵⁹ On the other, these trips were entrenched in the perception that the farmers' lives are one of abjection. Flora's good intentions posed moreover a challenge to the *productoras* who had both to negotiate norms that disapprove of women to stay overnight in a place other than their homes and to solve how to take care of their daily activities while they were absent.

6.5.3.1 Mothers and Husbands' Disapproval

When I asked Sofia if her mother supports her attending the trainings, she made a pause and sighed for the first time in the conversation, deciding where to start or what to tell of a complex relationship: "Hmm, my mother stays at the margin of my problems". After thinking for a short while she continued to explain that her mother is "old-fashioned, she did not like it. She argued that a woman cannot sleep anywhere but in her house. My mother said, 'if I did that your father would have hit me'". Nira Yuval-Davis (1997: 37) argues that older women have the role of guardians of appropriate behaviour and control other women that threaten to be deviants. Women moreover might become fully engaged with this role because it is often their main source of social power (Yuval-Davis, 1997: 37). The definition of appropriate behaviour however is not static as Sofia's mother shows. Instead, I observe below that mothers can be flexible and negotiate with their daughters. Moreover, although scarcely mentioned, fathers also intend to control their daughters' decisions.⁶⁰

Besides mothers, husbands also try to coerce their wives' intentions from engaging in other activities than those tacitly assigned to them. "Sometimes my husband does not want me to

⁵⁹ This irony reminds of the discussion of Barrig (2001: 63–68) about the conundrum of high-class, urban Peruvian feminists who were able to advocate for gender equality, among other, thanks to female domestic workers.

⁶⁰ The *productoras* also mentioned the coercion of grandparents, both male and female, during their childhood indicating that not only women or mothers monopolize this role, and that the relatives in charge of controlling behaviour also change over time.

go. He says I don't have time", says shyly Roberta. With tones ranging from desperation to indifference women coincided with the difficulty to count upon their partners to diversify their routines i.e., to work in the collective greenhouses or participate in any intervention. With some nuances, the farmers agreed that their partners claim that they themselves and their children are neglected, or that the household and other everyday activities are not looked after. Women also agreed that men do not value their participation in projects as a livelihood or self-improvement activity but instead they see it as an activity that adds to their already occupied timetable. Men in consequence overlook the importance for women to decide over their activities or to engage in something meaningful and accordingly consider that joining the projects is a waste of a time that women rather should invest in their "normal" matters.

The disapproval of mothers and husbands suggests the impossibility to foresee the specificities of the everyday life and to plan and implement calculated interventions accordingly. Interventions are responded to in unscripted ways not only by its direct participants, but also by the people who constitute the intended beneficiaries' everyday life. Mothers and husbands dialogue with their own worlds, and as creative beings they respond to the intention of the *productoras* to participate in development interventions. However, women also respond to, inter alia, the disapproval of their mothers and husbands and the events and messages triggered by the projects. In other words, although their families try to control their use of time and the activities they engage in, the *productoras* value their participation in projects so high that they generally find ways of coping with their relatives' coercion.

6.5.3.2 Negotiating and Evading

As observed above, women generally are motivated to join the various projects that intend to benefit them. They in consequence constantly have to negotiate their absence in and from their households. When women are single or divorced, or when their husbands are temporary migrants they only need to negotiate with their mothers or children. For instance, Clara did not count with her mother's support when she decided to participate in AGROECO. Her mother did not want to attend to the costumers in the family shop while her daughter worked in the greenhouse. Yet, Clara ignored her disapproval and joined the project. As the time went on and the vegetables were ready to harvest, Clara bought some to her partners and took them to her mother: "She was happy: 'Wow, how delicious, daughter! Is that what you do?' Now she stays at the shop and I come here to work".⁶¹ Similarly, Sofia managed to enroll her mother in her project "and now she does not bother me. She helps me a bit more".

⁶¹ Despite ANPE and Flora maintain that their interest is to improve the farmers' food security they also intend to integrate the *productoras* into the market. The production in the greenhouses has accordingly the market as priority. That is why Clara had to buy the vegetables to her partners. Cristina explained that "the vegetables of the greenhouses are for commercialization, for self-consumption we have what we grow at home, in the *chacra*". Gloria admitted however that they consume the products of the greenhouses in case they are not sold.

Although in many cases women succeed negotiating, they might also oblige their parents. For instance, when María was younger her brother suggested that she should migrate and work in the capital. Her father sadly claimed that if she left him he would lose his main assistant and in consequence she decided to stay. Similarly, the illness of her mother was the reason why Azucena left her job and life in Lima and returned to the countryside. She stated her priorities: “My mother comes in the first place, then my husband, the kids and lastly the countryside”. The value the *productoras* give to their elders’ wellbeing might lead them to act according to their parents’ wills delegating them power. However, mothers, as well as children, play key roles attending to the farmers’ everyday responsibilities when they join the projects.

Despite that Cielo described “the feminization of the countryside” as increasing women’s vulnerability, when the *productoras* either are divorced or their husbands migrate they feel unworried. Women explained that they thus can be more autonomous to organize and decide over their time and activities. Sofía noted that now that she is divorced she “has the time to go to trainings. I focus on what the engineers say. I’m not worried any more about what to tell my husband, how to return home. Now I go back home unworried”.

Not surprisingly, it is common that when the husbands are absent the wives do not inform them about their participation in projects. Instead, the negotiations occur between the *productoras* and the other family members who eventually understand and support them. Francisca illustrated: “My husband was away at the time when I accepted to be among the participants of the project. He worked elsewhere. Happily I could go to the workshops right before he returned. My children understood me. My older son told me: ‘Go, I will feed the guinea pigs’”.

In contrast, when the husbands are present women feel more stress because they have to constantly negotiate their participation in other activities. This pressure was explained by Cristina who continuously has battled to engage in different projects. Talking about her work in the greenhouse and what she grows in the *chacra*, Cristina said:

My husband does not like it. He does not like anything I do. Two years ago, I opened a small restaurant in the main square of Huaró. It was always full of costumers, but my husband did not like it either. He’s extremely jealous. I like children. I also worked in a kindergarten with kids during three years, but I also left that due to him. My life has been hell living with that man!

Cielo seemed reluctant to talk about desertion from the projects. However, after I asked her, she said that it is very small and depends on women’s resettlement in other provinces. Indeed, judging from the life histories gathered during my field work, at least 75 % of the women who started the project in 2010 finished the two year training and either continued with AGROECO or are ready to participate in the second project of Flora. Although it seems that in the majority of cases women find ways to successfully evade or win their

partners over to their projects, Graciela and Gloria said that some women eventually drop out and related it to the disapproval of their partners.⁶²

When the *productoras* attend the meetings of a project, independently of their civil status, they wake up earlier at the day of the meeting and they work harder the day before in order to push forward their daily activities as much as they can. Francisca explained: “If I have to be at Flora let’s say at nine o’clock in the morning, I wake up at three because I have to feed all my animals. One day before I gather grass. Either I leave things ready or ask someone to give food to my children and so on”. Mothers and elder children have a crucial role not only helping when the activities cannot be done in advance, but also as motivation and moral support. Cristina remarked that:

Formerly I was scared of my husband. When he arrived home his food had to be ready, his clothes clean, everything in its place, but now that my daughters are growing up I’m not that scared. I already told him: ‘You cannot force me to do anything’. I have been talking with my daughters that I won’t obey him any longer. Every Wednesday we have to escape here to the greenhouse. I have a great support from my daughters.

So far, Cristina struggles not to delegate more power to her husband. That is, to evade his disapproval and to find ways to continue participating in a project where she learns how to breed guinea pigs and in the collective greenhouse. Moreover, she expects to be part of the Flora’s second project because “it has been useful. Now I can defend myself. Women mustn’t be humiliated by men. That’s what we have learned in Flora”.

6.6 Looking Into the Future

Women’s citations of the projects’ teachings motivate them to structure possible future actions. Similarly, their belief in the interventions’ capabilities permeates to a certain extent their life projects. In Gloria’s opinion “people in Peru have got used to receive from the projects”; nevertheless, the *productoras* do not depend on them. On the contrary, although women’s life projects may be influenced by development interventions, in most cases, farmers do not primarily relate their projects to them. Life projects go beyond both the farmers’ citation and belief in development projects, and the resources and capabilities of the interventions.

Looking into the future, the *productoras* stress that they want to continue working their *chacras*. Accordingly, Francisca, Margarita, Sofia and Gloria think of acquiring bigger fields or build greenhouses of their own “as time goes on”. Aware of Sofia’s will to have her own *chacra*, her ex-husband offered to “give her the last chance to save their relationship” and buy her a field if she quits her participation in development projects.

⁶² I also heard some comments about farmers recently dropping out (and other considering to do it) due to the disputes with their partners in the greenhouses. These rumours indicate that the relative’s coercion i.e., gender-based inequalities, might not be the only cause for women’s desertion of the projects.

But he would imprison me. I want to be a technician and I'm gonna make it. If many people can make it receiving training and being good leaders, so can I. I don't think there's any chance to go back to my ex-husband. I'm currently in a tough economic situation. That's why I'm always eager to help the engineers of the projects and ask them for my certificates of my skills and trainings because later there might be a job vacancy that asks for someone with the skills I've learned.

Clara also wants to remain single. Even though her children and former mother-in-law insist that she re-marries, and although she had some proposals, she has a big trauma due to her previous violent relationship. Instead, Clara works mainly to educate her children, but also to secure her future. Like Clara, Francisca and Margarita are worried about growing old since working the *chacra* will be tough. Margarita reflected: "My husband does not have a stable job. Since I don't have it either, I wonder how it will be when the time passes and we grow older. How are we going to support ourselves?" Silvia (58) confirms from her experience such worries but stresses her intention to continue active: "I don't feel fine. My children tell me to stop working, but if I remain at home I'll feel bad. I better go out and work as long as I can. My knees are painning. The doctor told me that I'm growing old and that I should not walk that much".

The interventions' promise of a stable source of income is tempting, but to work is anyway part of women's life projects. Accordingly, none of the *productoras* who express their concern about how to provide for themselves in the short or long term referred to the projects. For instance, Clara (42) is not only worried about her old age, but she is also acting thinking of that moment. Clara ignores her sorrows, believes in her capabilities and moves forward:

I am tired and sometimes I say: 'Why wasn't I an employee of the state? I would be retired now'. But I'm paying the health insurance in Agrarian Insurance and when I feel ill I go use it. Now I'm thinking to pay an insurance to have a retirement when I'm 60 years old. So I would have to make one more effort until then.

Clara, Azucena and Cristina hope for a better future of work, where what they expect come true. Sofia agrees and summarizes:

Right now I'm having a tough time but I say that better times will come when I find a job. I just hope not to regret struggling for my projects. I just pray I don't have to go back to my husband saying that I made a mistake, but I have hopes that everything will be alright. Clara, who already experienced what I'm living, motivates me. I think: 'If a person with four children could move forward, so can I with only two'. I just have to *echarle ganas a la vida* (work hard).

Every woman builds her life projects from her unique cultural and material position in the world. To do so, they dialogue with their world, that is, they negotiate with themselves and others, they believe in and ignore certain stimuli and, in the process, they always use their creativity. Women's position in the world changes as time goes on, the body changes, meanings and values remain, vary or vanish, and certain stimuli fade and other new appear. Consequently, certain life projects may remain as women entertain certain ideas and behaviours promoted either by development interventions or by other events in their lives.

Other life projects may change and new may appear as women receive inspiration from new messages and events that enter and constitute their worlds. In any case, women are not only active discoverers of their own paths, but they create them as they respond to their world.

7. Conclusions

Flora's construal of Quispicanchi and its inhabitants represent the people in front of donor agencies in order to favour them through improvement schemes. Accordingly, notions like "feminization of the countryside", that are recurrent in Flora's projects and Cielo's discourses, represent women as vulnerable. Flora thus encases the *productoras*' lives and identities in its version of powerless, poor and rural Third World Women who are victims of economic and social inequalities (re)produced by a patriarchal Andean culture. Furthermore, the NGO assumes that the inequalities and characteristics that the organization attributes to the *productoras* and Quispicanchi are representative and meaningful for the intended beneficiaries.

Flora in consequence misses the possibility to identify everyday values, worries and practices that constitute, aid, or challenge the farmers' everyday lives and life projects. The NGO also overlooks how women deal with and have opened up spaces within the structures of inequality that the organization and the farmers identify. More importantly, Flora disregards how the *productoras* respond to their everyday world transcending any possible status of victims of their gender, their rural condition or their cultural perspectives.

Gender mainstreaming has been criticized for having a neoliberal bias ignoring cultural nuances, and particularly in the Andes for interfering with the "*qhariwarmi*". This study demonstrates on the one hand, that Andean complementarity is not static and its transgression does not respond principally to the intervention of development projects but to circumstantial factors such as the absence of men either because of migration, divorce or women's singlehood. On the other hand, Flora's projects are framed by global WID and GAD development models and discourses, and in consequence they intend, inter alia, to improve the *productoras* lives by integrating them into the liberal market economy. The life projects of the women who are part of this study encompass however ideas distinct from the interventions and even though also their life projects are permeated by liberal and global discourses they are not exclusively motivated by development interventions. The farmer's life projects encompass for instance notions of liberal ownership, independence, money management and gender equality that coexist with notions of Pachamama, kinship loyalty and the importance of working the *chacra*.

I have shown that women are neither passive receptacles of development interventions nor helpless victims of patriarchy. Instead, the *productoras* attribute value to development projects and accordingly decide whether to join them or not. Once the messages and events originated by development interventions enter the farmers' everyday life, women either embrace or discard ideologies and practices established by the development projects. I have also observed how every farmer relates to the circumstances of each project from their particular material, cultural and historical conditions, and that these factors inform their permanence or not in the projects.

I have moreover noted that the farmers cite the interventions' logics and reproduce and adapt patterns of behavior promoted by development projects. Regardless of their approaches, interventions leave traces in the farmers' lives and to a certain extent they

shape their landscapes, way of thinking and their life projects. In addition, globalized discourses and beliefs such as feminist theories of gender equality or the use of organic agriculture to adapt to climate change become heterogeneously used, cited or discarded for the time period and in ways that suit each farmer best. Although interventions' elements may affect the way farmers dialogue with future stimuli originated within and outside interventions, women are discoverers and creators of their own paths i.e., their life projects go beyond the resources, constrains and promises of interventions.

Despite Flora's good will, it is not possible to govern the *productoras*' lives through projects. On the one hand, the farmers creatively respond to the interventions as to any other stimulus that enters and constitutes their everyday life. On the other, women's lives are not limited to development interventions and the ideological and material conditions that projects establish, not even during the time or space of the projects' implementation. In order to emphasize the complexity and heterogeneity of the *productoras*' everyday life, I presented how women respond to and engage with events other than interventions. I also illustrated how such events in turn constitute them such as the way existing gender inequalities facilitate women's belief in gender theory.

Although the *productoras* are aware and do respond to existing inequalities and power relations, they neither feel helpless to deal with the limitations that they identify in their lives nor reduce their identities or actions to categories or experiences of subordination. On the contrary, farmers devise ways to solve them or cope with them through the creativity with which they dialogue with and in their world. Acknowledging existing inequalities should not be equated in consequence with reducing peoples' identities to them.

Women's position in the world is not only shaped by categories of power and subordination such as gender or rurality, but also by cultural elements and material circumstances. Moreover, the farmers are constantly formed in and through open ended dialogues with everyday stimuli, as a consequence they actively engage in the construction of their worlds changing or remaining the same as time goes on and circumstances vary. In all, the *productoras* take an active role in the implementation and practice of development, but their dialogues also thwart any pretention of governing their lives or reducing their identities to categories of subordination.

I have used Bakhtin's dialogism and de Certeau's notion of practices of everyday life to explore how ordinary people exist in the world. In this thesis I shift the approach from ordinary people being subjects in and through power relations to being creative dialogical subjects who respond to the everyday stimuli that enters and constitutes their world. Some of the questions that have emerged in this process are how feminist and anthropological studies on development can benefit from approaches that do not reduce ordinary people's agency to power relations and conditions of subalternity? Furthermore, if existing inequalities have been convincingly identified and the need to achieve a more equitable world is uncontested, how would the global enterprise to build such a world be if not only structural inequalities and vulnerabilities were identified, but also the dialogical nature of people acknowledged? Finally, considering that a focus on everyday dialogues tends to highlight ordinary peoples' agency, what challenges does this dialogical perspective pose to

recognizing the responsibility and role of different stakeholders in the construction of a more equitable world?

8. References

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