“The Impact of Andean Cultural Values and Idiosyncrasy on Associative Models for Small Farmers in Peru”

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Acknowledgement

For my uncle, who I shared a dream with,
For my family, who believed in that dream,
For my professors, who helped me make that dream comes true

夢を分かち合った叔父へー
その夢を信じてくれた家族へー
そしてその夢の実現を可能にしてくれた先生方へー

Para mi tío, con quien compartimos un sueño,
Para mi familia, porque creyeron en ese sueño,
Para mis profesores, quienes me ayudan a hacer realidad ese sueño
Preliminary

Definitions

_Cultural values and idiosyncrasy_ \(^1\): the concept of culture is diverse among academicians. Mezias, Chen and Murphy (1999) define culture as “beyond the programming of abstract values that people hold. They claim that culture provides the categories by which we understand the world as well as the scripts and schemes we use to guide behavior”. Cohen and Nathan (1998) say that “culture structures our behavior, thoughts, perceptions, values, goals, morals, and cognitive processes although usually without consciousness too”. Richerson and Boyd (1996) state that “culture is information that can affect the individual behavior that someone acquires from other members of their species through teaching, imitation, and other forms of social transmission”. Idiosyncrasy is the relative way of thinking that characterizes a person and in many cases is mentioned as a characteristic of a specific group of people, as when Lacki (1995) talks about the idiosyncrasy of the Peruvian farmer.

_Small farmer (in the case of Peru):_ a farmer who owns a small portion of land (around 3.1 Hectares in average) and produces for self-consumption and subsistence. In some cases, small farmers try to develop the sector of commercial agriculture and diversify their activities to make income for subsistence. The majority of small farmers in Peru are indigenous people and another small part is made up of “mestizos” (a mix of Spaniards and Indigenous people).

_Associative models (for small farmers in Peru):_ these models include farmers’ cooperatives, communal associations and also business models such as farming contracts, among others, which were applied in the work with small farmers in Peru. In some cases, these associative models were developed by the government as official organizations such as cooperatives in the Peruvian land reform, but the concept is not restricted only to official organizations.

Problem

The research is based on the idea that Peruvian experts have, which is that the “associative models” are a viable alternative for the development of small farmers in Peru (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006). In this sense, several associative models for small farmers have been tested in Peru since the cooperative model in the unsuccessful land reform, including modern business models such as farming contracts, especially in the area of the Coastal valley, but most of them have already failed and only few have succeeded. The analysis of associative models for small farmers in Peru has been focused on the economic aspect and the impact of the institutional innovation (organizational skills, education, access to technology and financial resources, etc.), but not many researches have been conducted on the impact of CVI.

Michael Cernea made a World Bank study on the success and failure of AID projects. He analyzed 68 rural projects and found that the average economic rates of return for

\(^1\) Cultural values and idiosyncrasy (CVI)
cultural compatible projects were much higher than those for incompatible ones. The result of this study was the book “Putting People First. Sociological Variables in Rural Development” and the main question of the research was how to incorporate the socio-cultural perspective into development projects. In this sense, the authors of this book believe that “sociology and social anthropology can contribute more to planned development by supplying the understanding of these social organization patterns, their dynamics and way of change, rather than by offering band-aids, or piecemeal solutions, to problems.”

Recent experiences in Peru have remarked the importance of CVI in the management of associative models as a path for small farmers’ development. The main focus of the research is addressed to the impact of Andean CVI on associative models for small farmers in Peru.

**Hypothesis**

Andean cultural values and idiosyncrasy have an impact on associative models of small farmers in Peru.

**Structure of the Research**

Introduction

Chapter 1. Cultural values and Peruvian idiosyncrasy

Chapter 2. Agriculture in Peru and origin of small farmers

Chapter 3. Small farmers in Peru: problems and options of development

Chapter 4. Andean cultural values, idiosyncrasy and small farmers

Chapter 5. Evaluating the impact of Andean cultural values and idiosyncrasy on associative models for small farmers. Peruvian case studies.

6. Conclusions
Methodology and Field work

The methodology includes qualitative tools. Fieldwork was applied in two different periods (from January to March 2000, and in May 2007). For its research nature (cultural factors and idiosyncrasy), the qualitative analysis is more relevant. In the qualitative analysis, we used direct observation, in-depth interviews, and focus groups.

Field Work in Nazca (January – March 2000 / May 2007)

Note. - The fieldwork was conducted from January to March 2000, and was a part of an MBA thesis presented by the author as a team research project.

Qualitative research: Focus group of 110 farmers, direct observation and interviews – Nazca and Chincha stakeholders.

Focus groups:
- Ingenio (2 focus groups with 12 and 16 farmers).
- Las Trancas (2 focus groups with 7 and 14 farmers).
- Nazca (2 focus groups with 7 and 24 farmers).
- Taruga (2 focus groups with 10 and 17 farmers).

Interviewees:
- General Manager of Critecnia S.A., General manager Micro-financial institution, Economic advisor of the Ministry of Agriculture, President of the association of beans producers in Nazca and Facilitator of Critecnia S.A. in Nazca.

Field Work in Piura (May 2007) – Irrigators Committees in Cumbibira and Palo Parado (Piura)

Qualitative research: Focus group with 15 farmer leaders, direct observation and interviews with stakeholders.

Focus groups:
- Cumbibira Irrigator Committee: It includes Montecastillo, Paredones and San Miguel communities (1 focus group with 8 farmer leaders).
- Palo Parado Irrigator Committee: It includes La Piedra, San Jacinto and La Legua Communities (1 focus group with 7 farmer leaders).

Interviewees:
- General Manager of NGO CIPCA, General Manager of the Peruvian association of mango producers and exporters, Chairman of the Peruvian association of mango producers and small farmer leaders in Piura.
Field work procedure and hypothesis testing over the base of the Theoretical Framework

The hypothesis of the thesis herein has been developed over the base of two kinds of data: “secondary data”, which are obtained indirectly (other authors’ opinions) as a result of the bibliographic investigation and “primary data” that are obtained directly as a result of the application of the qualitative methodology in the fieldwork for the two case studies selected (Critecnia model and the irrigation committees in Piura). Please see graph 1.

Graph 1

There is a relationship and coherence between the “secondary data” (bibliographic research) and the “primary data” (application of the qualitative methodology in the fieldwork). To explain this relationship, we will point out that with the secondary data resulting from the bibliographic research, we will obtain the “basic theoretical framework” that, as indicated in Graph 2, is comprised in chapters 1, 2, 3 and 4 of the thesis herein.

With the primary data resulting from the application of the qualitative methodology in the fieldwork, we will conduct the “hypothesis testing” of the work of the thesis herein and to accomplish that, we have selected two case studies (see Graph 2).
**Graph 2**

**Hypothesis:** “**Andean cultural values and idiosyncrasy** have an impact on **associative models for small farmers** in Peru”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Secondary data</th>
<th>Primary data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Bibliographic research)</td>
<td>(Qualitative research)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Basic theoretical framework</strong></td>
<td><strong>Basic theoretical framework</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1: Peruvian cultural values and idiosyncrasy</td>
<td>Chapter 4: <strong>Andean cultural values, idiosyncrasy and small farmers</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2: Agriculture in Peru and origin of small farmers</td>
<td>Chapter 5: Evaluating the impact of <strong>Andean cultural values and idiosyncrasy on associative models for small farmers</strong>, Peruvian case studies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3: Small farmers in Peru: problems and development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the thesis herein, it is important to understand the logic of the chapters within the analytical structure chosen by the author. The linking line is the “work hypothesis”, in which we identify three main topics that will provide the thesis with content. The three topics are: Andean cultural values and idiosyncrasy, associative models, and small farmers.

The first two chapters of the thesis paper comprise the basic theoretical elements that enable us to analyze “the Peruvian cultural values and idiosyncrasy” (highlighting from the beginning the importance of the Andean culture) in the **first chapter**, and “agriculture and the origin of small farmers in Peru” in the **second chapter** (please see Graph 3). The fourth chapter is the theoretical intersection of the two topics covered in the first two chapters (culture, idiosyncrasy and small farmers) but at a more profound level of analysis of the “Andean” cultural values and idiosyncrasy and how they affect small farmers in Peru. The **fourth chapter** is the one that provides the “appropriate theoretical basis” for the following stage of the analysis. To this point, we have proved theoretically that the “**Andean cultural values and idiosyncrasy** have an impact on the behavior of **small farmers** in Peru” (two of the elements of the hypothesis).

The third chapter focuses on the problems and development alternatives of small farmers in Peru and will provide us with the theoretical basis of the third element of the hypothesis “**associative models for small farmers**”.

x
In the fifth chapter of the thesis, we will “prove the validity of the work’s hypothesis” in practical fashion with the application of the qualitative methodology on the two Peruvian case studies. Thus, we will prove that the *Andean cultural values and idiosyncrasy have an impact on the associative models for small farmers in Peru.*

To prove the work’s hypothesis in the fifth chapter, we have selected two associative models of farmers in Peru that have been explained in the third chapter: farming contract and irrigators associations. To prove the impact of cultural values and idiosyncrasy, we have used “qualitative research” tools. The reason is that “cultural factors and idiosyncrasy” are *subjective elements* that can be presented through this methodology. Thus, we have applied “direct observation techniques, interviews and focus groups”, which have enabled us to raise “qualitative information” on conducts, ancestral social practices, agreements among the people and other behavioural patterns that have determined the success or failure of the two associative models analyzed.

This “qualitative information” (conducts, ancestral social practices, agreements among the people and other behavioural patterns that have determined the success or failure of the two associative models analyzed) raised that has *an impact on the associative models for the small farmers analyzed* to validate our work hypothesis must be structured over the base of the “Andean cultural values and idiosyncrasy”. It is this analysis that enables us to join the *theoretical basis* obtained in the preceding chapters (especially in the fourth chapter) made up of the opinions by different authors mentioned and the *results of the fieldworks* that provide the data found in the cases studied.

In other words, these “data found” can only be validated for the purpose of our work hypothesis with the “theory” provided by the preceding chapters (especially the fourth chapter). The theory will explain, for instance, that the small farmers’ behavior to create self-aid and economic support networks over the base of “co-parenthood”, found on the case studies analyzed, are the result of the influence of Andean CVI.
Graph 3

**Hypothesis:** “Andean cultural values and idiosyncrasy have an impact on associative models for small farmers in Peru”

**Secondary data (bibliographic research)**
- Basic theoretical framework
  - Chapter 1: Peruvian cultural values and idiosyncrasy
  - Chapter 2: Agriculture in Peru and origin of small farmers
  - Chapter 3: Small farmers in Peru: problems and development

**Primary data (qualitative research)**
- Basic theoretical framework
  - Chapter 4: Andean cultural values, idiosyncrasy and small farmers
  - 2 Associative models for small farmers: farming contract and irrigators association

- Hypothesis testing (case studies)
  - Chapter 5: Evaluating the impact of Andean cultural values and idiosyncrasy on associative models for small farmers. Peruvian case studies.

Based on what we have explained, we must remark that the tools (such as questionnaires and prepared questions) used for the application of qualitative analysis techniques (direct observation, focus groups and interviews) were designed in relation to the nature of the information to be obtained (subjective); of the theoretical research that provided us with a specific idea of the manifestations of the Andean CVI in small farmers and of the actors in the fieldwork that helped us adapt the pre-conceived material to the factual reality.

The procedure applied in the fieldwork has been as follows:

1) Revision of the “theoretical basis” on Andean CVI and their expression in Peruvian small farmers provided by chapters 1, 2 and especially 4.
2) Design of the tools to be used in the “fieldwork” in order to obtain “relevant data” that will later enable us to prove the validity of the work hypothesis (please see Annexes).
3) Application of “qualitative techniques” (direct analysis, focus groups and interviews) using the tools designed in the second stage.
4) Collection and classification of the data obtained preparing “tables and graphs” that may facilitate their interpretation.
5) “Interpretation of the data” found over the base of the theory (basically the fourth chapter of the thesis) and the generation of valid information that may enable us to prove the work’s hypothesis.
6) “Drawing conclusions” over the base of the practical experience of the qualitative analysis and to the light of the theoretical interpretation.
Introduction
Introduction

Having analyzed Peru’s small agriculture issue, Peruvian authors establish that there are three likely ways for its development: market liberalization and development of major agro-industrial companies where some small farmers would become members of a wage-earning workforce and the others would follow the second way; migration of small farmers to other economic activities such as craftsmanship and trade; development of associative models aimed at small farmers’ growth by taking advantage of the benefits of a large organization subject to the current conditions of a global market.

In Peru, there have been experiences in the application of different associative models aimed at developing small agriculture in the country. Some patterns were developed by the government in office with political and economic purposes, such as the agrarian reform; others are related to the effort of private experiences that applied business plans, as the “contrato de agricultura” (farming contract) which was relatively successful on the Peruvian Coast; other patterns are spontaneous initiatives by farmers, who join for a specific purpose, such as water management (Irrigator Committee) or merely marketing their products under better conditions. Many of these latter models are supported by NGOs and international institutions, such as the World Bank.

These patterns have not only succeeded but also failed for different reasons. Authors analyzing the issue have extensively focused on financing, technical development, lack of education, negative aspects of government subsidies and land size matters (small property) as significant elements linked to the operation and sustainability of small farmer associations in Peru. However, there are no studies analyzing the relationship between “cultural aspects and idiosyncrasy” and their impact on the success and failure of associative models for small farmers in Peru.

International experiences in World Bank’s projects have proved the significance of cultural considerations and idiosyncrasy for the success and failure of applying associative models for small farmers in development projects. The book entitled “Putting People First. Sociological Variables in Rural Development” by Michael Cernea poses a question on how to incorporate the socio-cultural perspective on the process of development projects. Recent experiences in Peru prove the significance of such aspects and their impact on their success and failure.

The study carried out proves the impact of Andean cultural factors and idiosyncrasy on developing small farmer associations in Peru. We identified remaining common cultural factors among farmers and how Andean heritage is influenced by Spanish features brought by the conquerors.

Our research methodology was a qualitative one, and we carried out direct observation and focus groups with small farmers and also interviewed the principal actors in relations to the experience of two cases study: the Critecnia farming contract model in Nazca and the Irrigator Committees in Piura.
In the research we analyzed the Nazca experience and noticed that the success of the model was in part thanks to the attention paid to the “idiosyncrasy” of the farmers, i.e. to the consideration of their expectations and way of thinking and the improvement of the communication. A key to accomplish this task was the intervention of the “facilitator”, who was the person in charge of the contact between the farmers and the company.

In the analysis of the Irrigator Committees of Cumbibira and Palo Parado in Piura experiences we analyzed the formal and informal role of these organizations, on the functioning of habitual values, and we understand the importance of the Andean values in the success and failure of the organizations and its influence in the leaders and small farmer’s behavior.

The findings of the research confirmed the existence of Andean culture and idiosyncrasy that is represented by its traditions, beliefs, customs and cultural activities. This culture and idiosyncrasy determine consciously and unconsciously all Peruvian's behavior, in a learning process developed through the years, and we may find them at present in the Andean communities. These Andean cultural elements are shown for the small farmers in different ways such as kinship relationships, compadrazgo, informal leadership, work practices and community support.

These cultural factors and idiosyncrasy make up an “informal reality” (customs, unwritten laws, informal authorities) that underlies the “formal reality” (the government's authority, market regulations, written laws) which, if analyzed and considered, explain some of the reasons for the failure of the previously applied pattern and may also contribute to the development of stronger farmer associations (for instance, on the basis of kinship and compadrazgo –co-parenthood relationships) that have sustainability in the future.

The deep analysis of the Andean cultural values and idiosyncrasy, and the incorporation of them in the creation of associative models for small farmers in Peru, can contribute to generate and strengthen cooperative relations on the basis of institutions such as kinship, compadrazgo, community work and support.

The study outcomes show the use of practices as a consequence of such cultural values and idiosyncrasy before practical and economically-valued aspects; thus, it is worth thinking of the need for complementary study in addition to the one herein to broaden the case analyses and apply complementary tools aimed at identifying positive and negative considerations and developing government policies in the future.
Chapter 1. Cultural values and Peruvian idiosyncrasy
Chapter 1. Cultural values and Peruvian idiosyncrasy

1.1. Cultural values and idiosyncrasy

The concept of culture is diverse among academicians. Mezias, Chen and Murphy (1999) define culture as “beyond the programming of abstract values that people hold. They claim that culture provides the categories by which we understand the world and the scripts and schemes we use to guide our behavior”. According to Cohen and Nathan (1998), “culture structures our behavior, thoughts, perceptions, values, goals, morals, and cognitive processes -although usually subconsciously”. According to Richerson and Boyd (1996), “culture is information capable of affecting individuals’ behavior that they acquire from other members of their species through teaching, imitation and other forms of social transmission”.

“It is the set of traits acquired through learning, in contrast with those biologically inherited; and any learn and not biologically transmitted trait is cultural but not biological. Culture is the set of traits that are learnt through learning, and is shared by a certain social group” (CIPCA, 2005). “Culture is here essentially a matter of ideas and values, a collective cast of mind. Ideas and values, cosmology, morality, and aesthetics are expressed in symbols, and so – if means is the message – culture could be described as a symbolic system” (Kuper, 2001).

At the CIPCA meeting (2005) of agronomists and economists, cultural dimensions including relationships with nature, social relationships and symbolic culture are explained. “It is worth developing the concepts related to social relationships and symbolic culture, which is more linked to the people’s idea of values and idiosyncrasy, that is, the social relationships among other people as well as among social groups. We include the roles and rules to compose a family; among families, the community and other superior levels go as far as the State and beyond. It is also the realm of genre, social class and interethnic relationships, of social organization and politics, of reciprocity, social division of labor, trade and other production relationships” (CIPCA, 2005).

“Symbolic culture involved what people project far beyond what is seen and touched and allows making sense of the whole. It is also called symbolic culture because - through concrete signs- it always means something intangible and invisible; the language, other forms of “language” and communication by means of gestures, music, dances, plastic arts and other artistic expressions; ethics and values whereby a positive or negative sense is attributed to specific actions, attitudes and behavior. The view of the world, that is, a vision that presents everything as a global entity, is often linked to religion” (CIPCA, 2005).

Ferreira and Dargent-Chamot refer to an anthropological concept of culture. “On the other hand, there is an interpretation of culture that is broader and more anthropological; culture in this broader sense refers to whatever traditions, beliefs, customs, and creative activities characterize a given community – in short, it refers to what makes that community different from others” (2003). Idiosyncrasy is a relative way of thinking, distinctive of a person and often stated as a characteristic of a specific group of people.
“In spite of Peru’s immense size and diversity of people and customs that populate its territory, several centuries of interaction between different cultures and waves of immigration have endowed the Peruvian with certain general characteristics, the essence of which may vary from region to region, and even among social classes, but are further testimony to the idiosyncratic nature that separates and distinguishes Peru from other nations in Latin America” (Ferreira and Dargent-Chamot, 2003: 52-53).

1.2. Country of cultural mix: Andean culture, Spanish colonization and other influences

1.2.1. Andean culture as a basic of the Peruvian idiosyncrasy

...the mix of tennis shoes and ojotas, hot dogs and cuy, salsa and wayno encapsulates the spliced yet no less vigorous quality of Peruvian traditions, even as the crowd’s wild energy reaffirms Arguedas’ poem Kachkaniraqmi, “I still exist”...


The Andean man's age is calculated in 11,000 years, and in the case of Peru, he developed a great culture, with an important population ranging from 8 to 12 million people. The Inca Empire was a noteworthy reference point in the Andean man’s history and its culture amalgamated several cultures and became a sort of crucible where several conquered pre-Incan cultures converged and were subdued by the Incas but were able to keep up their origins through their people’s traditional practices, which not only have partially remained nowadays but also have been modified by subsequently historical influences, of which the Spaniard’s is the strongest.

“All Peruvians have at higher or lesser level a cultural miscegenation, and people are repository of an Andean culture within such miscegenation. This influences people’s answers and even though they can be changed into different cultural options, these processes are not immediate and take time in breaking the structure and making a previously existing cultural structure unadapted” (Matayoshi, 2003).

“Half a century of migrations has remade Lima into an Andean city, with the world’s single largest population of Quechua speakers. New arrivals have redefined identities and cultures, maneuvering to forge a popular culture at the fraught intersection of the autochthonous and the imported, the past and the present, the indigenous and the Western” (DeGregori, 2005).

The Andean culture is the base of the Peruvian idyiosyncracy and is immersed in each daily activity, is mixed with the western culture brought by the Spaniards which could not end the influence of thousands of years of Andean development, having to resign to coexistence and creating a blend of values. As a result, we find a coexistence of shoes and ojotas (indigenous sandals), hot dog and cuy (guinea pig original from the Andean culture), salsa and wayno (Andean music). There are still many traditions that have Andean origin, which are celebrated in the provinces of Peru as well as in Lima, the
capital city, having been brought by migrants from the highlands and who maintain intact the Andean influence in the Peruvian idiosyncrasy.

### 1.2.1.1. Andean cosmology

“The ancient Peruvians forged ahead a unique civilization because they were able to observe, comprehend and act into their geography creating a culture, social organization, productive system and science and technology compatible and functional with the diversity of ecosystems and the environment variability” (Amat, 2006). In that sense, Anders Arfwedson states, “equally interesting from the development point of view is the intimate relationship between the natural physical environment, in which a certain type of agriculture has been developed, and the people’s lifestyle, ethical values and social structures” (1995).

Amat states that “in the Andean world all of the elements are live parts of a whole in permanent and cyclical movement. He explains how elements such as light, the sun, the rain, lightning, energy, water, stones, earth, plants and animals are directly related to people. Human life depends on them so it is necessary to make an offering as it used to be at that time” (2006).

Sillar’s comment “on the Andean cosmology is important, as social relationships and daily subsistence activities that are a complex set of cultural interrelations occur subject to certain conditions, which have remained beyond the conquest and are reflected even nowadays on the peasants’ daily activities” (2000). These daily interrelations that have remained throughout time and even today can be observed in the small farmers - especially those of the Highlands- are elements that keep people together by means of an invisible link transmitted from generation to generation.

It is not simple that anthropologists find it easier to explain Andean cosmologies, or social relations, using the metaphor of these “subsistence activities”. On the contrary, it is because the ritual understanding, the kinship systems, and the community structures can only be conceived of through the material practice which created them. Cultural meaning is expressed in the choice and utilization of particular materials, for particular activities, by particular people, in particular places, at particular times.

“The techniques used are cultural choices that are made precisely because they reproduce particular, valued, social relations. Objects and activities are also of value in their own rite and the daily use of objects is constantly informed by their potential meaning and cultural significance. Thus, even when the Spanish colonial authorities thwarted an early uprising against the Catholic Church, the Taki Ongoy, the indigenous people of the Andes, did not abandon their faith. Their pact with their Apu or Senior (local deity) was renewed as it had always been with every important daily act: when cleaning the irrigation canals, at planting, or when roofing the houses of new couples” (Sillar, 2000).

Sillar states that “the meaning of the material culture concerning daily work reaches common people who are aware of such meaning. The significance of material culture is not something that has meaning not only at moments of heightened ritual. Rather, as the
examples of canal cleaning, house roofing, and agricultural work demonstrate, the mundane “subsistence activities” that are the daily preoccupation of most people are fully imbued with meaning” (2000).

As we can appreciate, when we observe in detail the behavior of the Andean communities in their daily activities, Sillar refers to how these situations of life in common (agricultural work, canal cleaning, etc.) can involve more profound meanings in relation to religious rites that have survived through time and to the Spanish conqueror’s censorship for that apparently simple nature and because at first it was unnoticed.

“The Andean world view shapes the Andean inhabitants’ mental map; they sensitize their affectivity and motivate their collective behavior; they unite society and are the foundation for social consensus; they establish and legitimize political authority; they organize and make sense of productive activities; they model architecture and encourage the construction of religious and administrative monuments; and they also inspire astonishing iconography in knitting, ceramics and ritual and utilitarian goldsmithing-silversmithing” (Amat, 2006). This cultural analysis of the Andean society will allow us to know the values that drive social behaviors and that still work in today’s peasant communities. If we can understand these elements and values, we will be able to understand how people communicate, make agreements, and using this knowledge, we can develop organizations naturally oriented in accordance with that nature, and consequently, stronger.

García quotes Levi-Staruss when referring to the Andean world view. “The construction of the Andean thought is based on a holistic conception of the world when they articulate in a sole process and unite the material, human, sacred and ritual realities, developing around them a set of perceptions and unique representations that comprise knowledge, technology and moral, ethical, Andean and Amazonian values that regulate the daily, seasonal and astonishing life of their cultists. Knowledge and technology that are not only universal, but also local and specific, have integral or holistic contents, based on agro-cosmo-ethno-centered foundations and result from a historical, projectable and progressive process. Perceptions are represented by means of abstractions that are symbolized with logical and concrete categories in order to be transmitted and communicated” (2003). Amat explains the Andean world view in accordance with a classification introduced in his book (2006):

“Reciprocity among what is different is unity”

Being’s Vision

● I am who I am.
● I am in relation to the other one, to what is different.
● Belonging-to is part of the whole.
● Duality is the being’s nature.
● The relations among opposites are conditioned, created, encouraged: day-night, hot-cold, life-death, raw-cooked, up-below, sun-moon, man-woman, and earth-water.
Holistic vision

- The Pachamama (Earth) is the whole to which humankind belong to. In fact, humankind is not only part of it but also due to it.
- The whole is under an everlasting cyclical movement.
- Wiracocha is the universe’s great driving force and organizer. It is the world’s Maker and, in turn, is part of that unity.

“The world’s realms are intertwined and strengthened”

- Ukhu Pacha, inner energy and snake.
- Kay Pacha, present force and cougar.
- Hanan Pacha, what is above and the condor.

Space Vision

The River is the orientation axis, it defines the above, below, left and right coordinates.

Time Vision

- The western perception is linear; the future is ahead and the past, behind.
- The Andean perception is circular; the elderly are ahead because they have already experienced lifetime. The youth come behind, they are learning, they have to ask in order to carry on with the cycle.

Society Vision

- Reciprocity is the key to social fabric in the Andean world view. Amat explains that reciprocity is the essential relationship to be linked with diversity, compensates differences, acknowledges what is obtained, keeps up the recurrent movement of events and assures the continuation of the whole.
- Nature is understood as a live, highly sensitive organism, capable of generously replying to good manners and ferociously to an aggression.
- Well-being is to be part of a community, with ancestors and common traditions, recognizing and identifying one another with the same origin, paqarina.
- Ownership derives from belonging to the system and, therefore, from the right to accessing the resources and from the obligation to work them and share their results.

Political Vision

- The Curacas (Curators) were the authority and had the capacity of assuring order and facilitating the system operation. They were in charge of organizing, motivating and managing their community.
- Amat explains that the obligations between a governor and his subjects were mutually strengthening and interdependent. The better the curaca’s organization, coordination and management, the higher the productivity, the larger the surplus, the more abundant the parties, the more often and wealthier
the gifts, the higher the population’s standard of living and the bigger the community. The curaca delegated authority to lower-rank lords so that they helped to organize the community’s works and redistribute the goods. The more the curaca provided, the more his subjects’ obligation to acknowledge with labor services and the easier for him to request help and manipulate, convince and force them to obey his commands. The more they produced, the higher the community’s standard of living -taken as a whole- and the more possibilities for the curaca to make other people join up.

- The ayllu (rural Inca settlement) was the social basis, the local community.

There exists a “holistic” vision that comprises a connected whole and where the creative nature participates actively. That is, there is a mystic related to the organization type and to the work in close relationship with nature. An important aspect is the idea of “time”, where, while for our occidental culture, it is linear with past, present and future, for the Andean culture, it is circular, and it has many practical implications. It is a cycle that repeats itself and one in which one learns to improve, even though it has no end as we may understand it.

Another aspect that we find relevant is the relationship with the “authority”, where the Curaca (curator) is in charge of coordinating the activities for the social welfare. He is in charge of and responsible for serving the community and not the other way around. His success as an authority is closely linked to the community’s performance. The leader can delegate power to other people and there always exists a greater good, which is the social welfare over the individual benefit.

Relationship with “elder people” and ancestors of the community determines a recognition that is provided by experience, and respect to these people, who hold “informal leadership” positions and many times own a power greater than that of formal leaders. “Peru’s indigenous and peasant communities are ayllu corporations identified by the communal control of the territory they occupy because of their ancient ethnic-cultural traditions, respect for their freely elected authorities and a subsistence economy essentially based on the agricultural activity” (García, 2003).

García explains that the ayllu is the social unit based on solidarity, reciprocity, mutual support and redistribution, principles of socio-economic and socio-cultural organization of the Andean towns. It is important to state that the relationships and the social networks are reproduced into the ayllu as well as traditions and customs, habits and behavior rules orally or imitatively transmitted from generation to generation so that the collective memory is constituted, thus, their identity basis (2003).

Economic Vision

- The population worked in the mitas organized by the curaca (curator). What they obtained was redistributed around town. The Inca did the same by redistributing the goods as far as the most remote places.
- The curaca (curator) assigned lands and granted water use in accordance with the community’s necessities and characteristics.
A tax was required for the use of land and resources. The tax nature was varied: corn, clothes, pepper, and workers for the construction or maintenance of public goods or for military and administrative service. The ayllu got one-third of what was produced and two-thirds were transferred to superior levels in order to support the activities of the religious administration and the regional lord’s and Inca’s management.

The curaca (curator) was in charge of managing everything and redistributing surpluses as well as supporting the Incan State with the production.

Amat explains that among the governing guidelines for managing the Andean system, “human energy was the most important resource within the system; everybody had the right to access and dispose of the harvest resources and the obligation to participate in the production. In that sense, ownership derives from belonging to the group and there was a shared world view and a legitimated authority” (2006).

As explained by Amat, another important issue is the social organization and sense of authority as a group derived from the family, ayllu, district, region as far as the Empire (2006). Earls explains that “effective coordination was a requirement for the success of the agriculture in the Andes” (1998). Such concept of belonging to an organization and effective coordination -that yet remains informally in peasant communities but was not successfully emulated by modern attempts to create farmer organizations- was the reason for the Incas’ achievement and the basis of their economy development.

“It may be conceived that the Inca economy was as a sacred imperial economy, which interacted with other local sacred economies in a way that defined the nature of the imperial power relationship in question. A better understanding of the tremendous cultural and religious importance that land had in the Andean community would invaluably contribute to explaining why the Incas were so concerned about providing relative autonomy to the communities” (Beyers, 2001).

We consider important what García points out in his explanation of the holistic contents concerning the Andean world view and how it is related to the harmony that supports the ethno-peasant towns in a culture of sharing. He even states an “Andean saying which explains this system: Ruraqman chayaspa, rurapakuna; mikupman chayaspa, mikupakuna; tusuqman chayaspa, tusupakuna; yachaqman chayaspa, yachapakuna (Sharing work, sharing fruits-food, sharing celebration-parties and commemorations, sharing knowledge and technology)” (2005).

As stated by García, “the ethno-peasant cultures essentially communicate their knowledge orally so that oral literature has a role of intergenerational diffusion where - by means of its narrations- knowledge, techniques and human values are shared. In this sense, the elderly role is decisive because they are transmitters and essential communicators of wisdom and collective memory shared with the family and community at community parties or family talks. This process is spontaneously carried out when the family and neighbors gather to assess the working day, share or exchange experiences, systematize and learn lessons from them in order to subsequently listen to the elderly wisdom. This is a continuous process of knowledge construction where the
elderly will make the most significant decisions concerning family and community life” (2005).

Garcia recognizes that the way in which culture is transmitted in the Andean society is fundamentally oral, an aspect that still remains in the peasant communities and there lies the importance of adult people who are in charge of transmitting by word of mouth knowledge, stories, and fables informally. This process happens in social meetings, in religious celebrations and in every space that allows sharing among people of the community. These elderly people become the community’s counsellors and their word is taken very much in consideration when making important decisions in the community.

“The articulate scenario of the productive, creative, social and ritual activity is not only profane and sacred but also unique and universal. It is composed of the Universe or Pacha, that is, the cosmos that regulates life in its omnidimensional component; the Chacra that regulates the human, economic, productive dimension and interrelation core among members; the Troje made up by the warehouses where societal man’s work products are stored; the Fogon (Burner) or Tulla where food is processed, information and intergenerational transmission center of knowledge and technology; and the Alcoba (Bedroom) where the households make decisions” (García, 2003).

As highlighted by Garcia, another important point is the intrinsic unit between what is divine and what is profane, that is, there is a special sphere linked to daily activities that connected the Incas to their gods. The simplest activities—such as cultivating the land—were part of a ritual for people and a relationship also developed between them and the divinities. These divinities were expressed in nature characteristic elements characteristic such as the land, the sun and the water.

In his paper, Lozada analyzes the rites whereby another way of assessing the Andean society’s cultural elements is acceptable, he states that, “in the case of the Andean ritual, it is pertinent to emphasize that not only does it express the regulating dimension but it also shows the social conditions of existence of the groups. In this sense, the world conception, articulated in the native community’s imaginaries, realizes that the rites constitute a special scenario to emphasize ancient ideological contents. Apart from that, rites help come upon the guidelines aimed at implying the shared philosophical notions of temporality, history, society and sacredness, which, as the collective unconscious’ arcane strata, are revived and dance around symbolic attitudes” (Lozada, 2003).

Another element of great importance in the Andean world view is water, around which the cosmological flow is built, as stated by Losada in his paper quoting Francisco Greslou who explains the several uses and meanings that it is given. “It is utilized as fertilizer in order to facilitate land farming, widening of cultivations on an altitudinal basis and producing pasture. Moreover, it is used in creating microclimates and pulling out weeds not only as a nutrient carrier but also as an ecological balance resource. Agricultural functions are complemented with economic functions, in which water is also essential: as resource, water is indispensable in feeding animals and humankind; besides, it is, as a symbol, a privileged mediator between society and the supernatural. On the matter, for instance, it is worth remembering that the Apus (The Andean deities)
is who regulate rain and make soil fertile. Finally, water is often used as a therapeutic process in the treatment of multiple diseases” (2003).

“At every scale, from the local multifamily and community level to the Inca State, the same difficulties concerning poor soils, spatial geocological diversity, and climatic uncertainty are confronted and managed in basically the same way. Though the details vary greatly at different organizational levels, and for the ethnic groups with diverse environmental homelands and cultural traditions that are scattered throughout the region, the same basic principles always show through” (Earls, 1998).

When we analyze the “Andean world”, we may find elements that help us understand the forces that move behind Andean social behaviors and are appreciated in the farmer communities. “Reciprocity”, which is analyzed by several authors further below is the base on which every activity is developed.

1.2.2. Spanish colonization

The Spaniards’ arrival in Peru was the beginning not only of a colonization process but also of a transcultural stage where two cultures resulted confronted, mutually adapted, and left out some relegated characteristic points and created new elements resulting from the amalgamation. In that sense, the indianism, miscegenation, Peruvianism phenomena, and so forth, resulted from this colonization and transcultural stage that also had influence in agriculture.

According to Irene Silverblatt, “it is interesting to see not only how Spaniards tried to eliminate the forces supporting the Peruvian natives but also did the Catholic Church, which had a role during the conquest era when -under their influence- the Spaniards tried to eliminate the indigenous culture and replace it by a new one. However, Spanish colonization-anchored in alien traditions of political economy and political morality, statecraft and culture-unleashed forces that often proved devastating to Peru’s native people. Tribute requirements weighed heavily on peasant shoulders, frequently belying Spain’s avowed commitment to the material well-being of its subjects. Spanish religion, devoted to a militant cultural/ racial purity that expelled Jews and later Moor from its realms, tried to straitjacket Andean customs and beliefs in unknown demands of orthodoxy. And Spanish gender rules, also honed by Counter-Reformation zeal, decried women’s participation in Andean public life while denouncing their fatal attraction to Satan and heresy” (Prakash, 1995).

As explained by Irene Silverblatt in her paper, “although the indigenous communities fiercely tried to resist the colonization and keep their customs, they could not avoid –as part of a sometime unconsciously “hispánicismo” process- acquiring and incorporating these Spanish customs as their own. Although the language of Indianism was ferociously anti-Spanish, it was, at the same time, pervasely (if unconsciously) Hispanicized. Some huacas (hidden treasures) were wearing hispanicized clothing, sporting hispanized beards, acquiring hispanicized ways. Colonization introduced Spanish figures to Andean idioms of collective sense; and hispanicized/ Christianized huacas participated in this uneasy, hybridized, ideological terrain shaping judgments of
indianness, of where *Indians* came from, who they were, and what their futures might be” (Prakash, 1995).

As Irene Silverblatt explains in her paper, when the process of transculturization happens in the way it took place between Spaniards and indigenous people, some cultural values and customs are eventually acquired from the imposed culture. We will also observe in the indigenous communities at present that “hybrid behavior” as a product of the combination of those two cultures, which will also have an impact on the individuals’ behavior.

It is during and after this colonization process that cultural tides arose aimed at, on the one hand, defending the “Indianism” as source of autochthonous development, which rebelled against the Spanish oppressor’s attitudes and, on the other hand, showing manifestations where the “miscegenetic” Peruvian’s feeling resulting from a two-culture encounter tried to find its position before the “Peruvians”, children born to Spanish parents in Peru, who represented the Peruvian political and economic oligarchy.

“Latin America is a historical-cultural unity, while having a diversity of attitudes and behaviors, which precisely not only give it contradictions, conflicts, and dramas but also a unique way of being in the world, impossible to produce in other continents” (Prakash, 1995). As stated by Prakash in his paper, this mixture of cultures has turned Latin America -and Peru specifically- not only into a set of contradictions and conflicts but also into a great potential and cultural wealth that causes this continent and this country to be unique. This set of experiences and cultural development has sometimes affected directly the Peruvian peasants’ management by changing their cultural values and indirectly by modifying them under the influence of opinions and new tendencies.

**1.2.3. Indigenismo**

“Indigenismo” is a social movement led in Peru with the purpose of recovering indigenous values that make up the essence of the culture and Peruvian identity and which were subdued by the conquest. Some Peruvian intellectuals, such as Jose Maria Arguedas and Jose Carlos Mariátegui, developed this tendency and had a great influence in Latin America.

“There are approximately 4,500 rural communities in Peru. Out of such number, only 3,030 have been acknowledged, it is estimated that there are nearly 1,500 unacknowledged communities” (García, 2003).

In their paper, Escobal and Valdivia include Trivelli who explains that, “depending on the definition being used and in accordance with the 2001’s National Survey of Peruvian Homes, between 34% and 48% of the population can be considered as native (2004). In that sense, the criteria quoted by the author are the percentage of Peruvians admitting to have a native mother tongue, different from Spanish, and the figure rises to a ratio of one to two Peruvians if expanding the definition in order to collect the ancestry that includes any of the spouses’ parents and grandparents speaking a native mother tongue” (2004).
As stated by Escobal and Valdivia, “in the case of the rural Highlands the proportion of the population that can be considered native is between 65% and 80%. However, it is explained that despite that, the ethnic identity in Peru has very complex points and somebody who speaks a native language very often prefers to hide his ethnic origins” (2004).

As stated by Escobal and Valdivia, “the ethnic factor is particularly important in the Peruvian Highlands, where even though it is true that not all of the rural poor belong to ethnic groups, most natives are poor. While the ratio of the non-poor whose mother tongue is Quechua or Aymara is one to two, the ratio of the extreme poor speaking Quechua is two to three and, according to the authors, the most important fact to take into consideration is that this factor makes all strategies of sustainable rural development dependent on it” (2004).

“Much of the anti-oligarchic activity that took place during the 1920’s through the 1940’s assumed the form of Indigenismo (Indianism). Indigenist (Indianist) writers sought to defend Andean culture and expose indigenous exploitation within the republic. By reshaping the issues of ethnicity and nationhood in an inextricable and central fashion, Indigenismo created the context for later political interventions. In this way, Indigenismo is an originative discourse, inaugurating the democratic and cross-cultural premises which continue to frame nationalist thought” (Kaup and Rosenthal, 2002).

The Peruvian intellectual class with mestizo and Andean roots wish to revindicate the indigenous and Andean culture, trying to remark the abuse by landowners that indigenous people suffered. This movement has not only intellectual but also political repercussions, producing the ideas that would be later used by the Peruvian agrarian reform.

In his paper, Cayra quotes José María Arguedas when stating that “social struggles have not only an economic background but also a cultural one in a country like Peru” (2004); he in turn reflects on: “Why has the Peruvian native been made invisible throughout his history? Then, what happened? When did the struggle for acknowledgment and respect for the Peruvian native stop? It is difficult to find out. The fact that there are natives although there are no native emergency programs, is rather systematically denied – especially by the right and the left- in all discourses of authorities in power; the Peruvian native is made invisible underhandedly on the one hand by announcing everybody’s equality before the law (without distinguishing the native) and, on the other hand, by isolating them in the slums (on the Coast), the icy Andean plateaus (in the Highlands) and the inhospitable Amazon (in the Jungle) where the lack of both the State’s basic services and human development are quite evident; so they come together in the main capital cities of the coastal regions, especially Lima (capital of Peru)” (2004).

“Understanding such representations about this nationality conception means assessing the weight the ethnic element has been carrying out in the social thought in spite of -or more precisely- due to the profound transformations caused by the urbanization, industrialization and the inter- and intra-regional migratory movements. Grasping the
forms of these representations implies detecting how the Peruvian intellectuals have comprehended *ethnicity* matters so far and concerning about some of the issues that give many openings in order to focus on the great subject: understanding and interpreting the *peripheral Peruvian modernity*" (Baptista, 2005).

In his paper, Baptista includes Franco who prepares a summary of Peruvian history and the indianism influence understood as ethnicity in the national thought. “Looking over such track, it is worth detecting that the ethnicity issue was present from the beginning of such history, understanding what may be considered as a lasting mark of this cultural *ethos*: Generally speaking, the impact of the Conquest, the colonization of the Andean society and the miscenegenation pervaded the Independence liberals’ soul and mind reaching the essence of the 1900’s intellectual debates at the end of the century. It marked the space of the Peruvian socialism in the 1920’s Marxist world, going through the consensus and disagreements of 1945’s and 1960’s generations, remaining as framework for the analysis of the changes caused by the *velazquismo* ("Velazcism", so-called Juan Velasco Alvarado’s military government) from the 1970’s on. The 1980’s features were dependent on the upheavals caused by the violence in the Andes and the cities, the new urban face resulting from the nearly forty years of internal migrations and the economic informality, mainly in the most populated urban centers. It is also the period in which partisan debates are deepened. In the end, this checkered history shaped an original thought, truly shared by other Andean countries to a large extent, closely linked to dependence, inequality, and heterogeneity conceptions that several generations of intellectuals had more explicitly, at least from the 1920’s on” (2005).

Baptista quotes Mariategui in relation to his “indigenistic” content and his relationship with the Peruvian communism, he said: “What I state myself is that as for the convergence or alloying of indigenismo and socialism, nobody looking at the content and the essence of the things can get surprised. Socialism orders and defines the masses’ demands, those of the working class of which four-fifths are natives. There is no hidden opportunism behind this attitude. No artificiality is found if briefly reflecting on what socialism is. Such attitude is neither false nor feigned or cunning. It is but a socialist one”. (2005)

Mariategui wrote himself, “The national life undoubtedly reaches an interesting stage. It would be said that a Peruvian rebirth is witnessed. Peruvians have Inca art, Inca Theater, and Inca music. An Inca revolution has outlived the nation so there is no lack of anything” (With reference to a quelled native uprising in a hacienda –farm- led by an army sergeant) (Baptista, 2005).

It is important what Baptista points out when referring to Mariategui’s analysis about the native: “According to Mariategui, the native, whom he called *peasants*, could undertake socialist beliefs and combine them with their messianic ambitions because these were successfully led to retain and preserve that ancient Andean collectivism. Thus, paradoxically in a backward society, he could see the way towards the modern era which was –exactly and at the same time- the justification for the socialist proposal in Peru. In spite of the demythologizing of this *agrarian communism* that was subsequently made on the basis of the Inca Empire’s repercussions and defended by Mariategui, such exaggeration -so to speak- was essential to make a suitable process
towards Indo-American, Peruvian socialism, thought of on the basis of countryside struggles, outliving of the Andean Messianism and collectivism as an Andean (or peasant) organization pattern” (2005).

Poole and Renique are quoted in Priscilla Archibald’s paper. “Although Mariategui’s Socialist Party maintained an affiliation with the Third International, his vision of a uniquely Peruvian socialism centered on indigenous participation was a source of considerable and unresolved antagonism with European Marxists” (Kaup and Rosenthal, 2002).

“Mariategui founded the Amauta (Quechua word that means “wise man”) magazine in 1926. “Amauta” was tremendously successful in consolidating a new intellectual class that displaced criollo (Peruvian creole) intellectuals and introducing the themes, actors, and issues of the twentieth century nationalism” (Kaup and Rosenthal, 2002). In that sense, it is important to comment on what Priscilla Rosenthal points out when stating that the aim of such publication was the development of a unifying role by the indigenous population, despite the lack of a common vision and a social project (2002).

“Although at the time that Mariategui wrote, indigenous populations constituted four-fifths of the Peruvian population and their exploitation within the criollo (creole) republic had become notorious, they were by no means the established concern of thinkers who identified with revolutionary aims. The plight of indigenous population was generally left to the liberal humanist” (Kaup and Rosenthal, 2002).

Luis Valcarcel is another remarkable indigenist quoted in Baptista’s paper. “With Valcarcel the indigenist converging from Cusco was introduced in Lima’s academic life, ranging over the importance of the total immersion in indigenous life in order to understand it better, therefore, comparing it to the diverse perspectives with which Lima’s intelligentsia resembled the ancient Peruvian culture, as a result of accessing the most updated references in regard to human sciences given rise to in Europe and the United States, but without contacting directly the highland region” (2005).

According to Baptista, Valcarcel is important because of having been a denunciation and review tide and because of having subsequently announced the indigenousness process of Peru; Indigenismo became then a school of thinking. A thorough change had not been intended, but had the valuation and respect for the indigenous culture. Although denunciation and propaganda conditions became no longer effective in favor of the natives, it kept alive the essential meaning: the conservation of autochthonous cultural values (2005).

Priscilla Archibald states, “indigenismo (indianism) is generally avoided and when critics find it necessary to refer to Indigenismo they often do so with a very descriptive language: it is romantic, essentializing, and, above all, inauthentic” (Kaup and Rosenthal, 2002).

Indigenismo was a tide of thinking that arose on the basis of the natives’ demanding wish, oppressed by the Peruvians (criollos), representatives of Peru’s domineering class. It is a political, cultural and social influence affecting the peasants’ values and
confirming in them that wish to go back to their roots and receive the status the conquerors had snatched from them. Afterwards, because of Mariategui and other thinkers, this tide constitutes the basis of Peruvian communism, unique and original model based on indigenous demands which were the most in a country like Peru.

Escobal and Valdivia state that “the ethnic groups have been traditionally excluded and are discriminated against when dealing with the society’s modern strata, including the State. Such minority groups have lesser access to health and education as well as lesser return to investment in human capital. On the other hand, the State services are not organized as to look after these population groups so that their particular needs, practices and beliefs are respected” (2004).

Escobal and Valdivia explain that “the factors concerning the exclusion of indigenous populations can be of different kinds: restrictions on the access to goods and public services granted by the State, far-off location of these groups and the highest costs to be incurred in order to gain entry to public services as well as self-exclusion mechanisms by the community themselves. As exemplified by the authors, it is foreseeable that particular ethnic groups choose not to approach public health services or do so at the wrong time because of a different health world view” (2004).

The Indigenismo had a strong influence on the Peruvian society and its effect significantly reached the peasants who are mostly natives or direct descendants of those and, therefore, the agricultural activity which is pervaded by a socialist element that many people wanted to make equal to a “Latin American Communism” where the proletarian workers were replaced by indigenous farmers.

Indigenismo looks to rescue the indigenous culture’s values and to reivindicate them; it tries to create a new status for the peasants that had been forgotten and ignored in their own land. It is also a way to develop a “Peruvian” communism addressed to peasants, who were the poorest. These ideas influence the later Peruvian agrarian reform and change some values of recognition of the peasant in Peru.

1.2.4. Mestizos

“The term mestizo commonly refers to an individual of mixed ancestry (usually indigenous and European ones), though it is also used to designate individuals who, regardless of ancestry, speak Spanish and claim Hispanic cultural traits, but who are not considered blancos (whites)” (Garcia, 2005).

Jorge Klor includes in his paper Ann Stoler’s and Irene Silverblatt’s concept of miscegenation, who describe miscegenation as internal frontier in a perpetual state of creation and decomposition. The constant flux is the logical result of sexual interactions between and among the colonizers and the colonized which continually create people whose, progressively more ambiguous social identities and unstable political loyalties challenge every attempt to impose rigid cultural boundaries around them. It is also the result both of the need by those in power to fix and order all social sectors, especially those least susceptible to the ruler’s self-disciplining practices, and of the need of subalterns either to make the circumscribing boundaries ambiguous in order to escape...
them or to make them firm aimed at promoting opposition through a presumed sense of commonality (Prakash, 1995).

Priscilla Archibald, who is quoted in the book by Kaup and Rosenthal, states, “In the Andes the mestizo has long been figured as something like an antihero. Pertaining to neither indigenous nor criollo culture, the mestizo is a constant reminder of the terms of the colonial encounter – a reminder that disrupts binary colonial identities. Over the past two decades a reevaluation of the mestizo has taken place (2002). “In the Andean region, the misgenation discourse is not a matter of harmony, but rather a deeply unstable, antagonistic hybridity” (Kaup and Rosenthal, 2002).

In her paper, Priscilla Archibald explains that “the fact that the literal meaning of mestizo (a miscegenetic individual) is to be the product of a sexual colonial encounter, Spanish men and native women, is very ironic,. In that sense, the mestizo is composed of the different dimensions of genre and power that became inherent to the colonialism process” (Kaup and Rosenthal, 2002).

“The miscegenetic, who were fruit of the relationships between the conquering Spaniards and mothers mostly from native origin, though partly from African one, settled down in the cities where they developed a new social status that -in time- tried to relegate the idea of the European and Peruvian (criollo) predominance, almost absolutely dominating in the past. As a consequence of the subordinate condition attendant on this state of disempowerment, the greater part of miscegenetic people, whose numbers grew quickly as a result of progressively more widespread European-Indian-African sexual relations, removed themselves wherever possible from the Indian communities of their mothers (the usual case) and migrated to the cities or towns, or the Spanish-dominated countryside, where they replaced or argumented the otherwise decimated indigenous workers. The identification of superior status with Spanish cultural objects and practices and the proximity of the miscegenetic concerning the higher-ranking, lighter-skinned Spanish-speakers (many of them also mestizos themselves) led a large number of them to attempt to fashion their potentially ambiguous ethnic selves primarily (and perhaps at times exclusively) after local versions of European or Peruvian models of cultural behavior” (Prakash, 1995).

It is illustrative to consider Filoteo Samaniego Salazar’s speech, who was a representative of Ecuador’s Ministry of International Affairs and quoted by Jorge Klor in his paper. He explains the devastation suffered by the natives in the colonization period, but recovers the positive and negative effects of such process which has made of America a unique continent. “From the confrontation ...it also resulted in felicitous and positive matters: To start with, the coexistence (convivencia) of those dominating and the dominated ended in the present racial miscegenation ... with its impressive mix of America, Europe, and Africa. In fact, first, during the three centuries of the Iberian colonial process, then, as a consequence of the subsequent migrations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries ... colonial life (was) a historical theater of miscegenation, an instigator of hybrid cultures or miscegenetic societies. And the Laws of the Indies ended up being miscegenetic ... along with the Baroque Christian, arts developed during the colonial period, which counted primarily on native workers to produce the temples and ornamentation required by the God of the West, and (miscegenetic also) the religion
itself, which united the orthodoxy of the Christian principles with the nostalgia for the prohibited myths. Unifying and diversifying destinies, are those of the race, religion, arts, Christian architecture, cities ..., and, in conclusion, of the sister languages generalized throughout Latin America which came to the New World ... and facilitated and embellished the comprehension forms with the style of speech of Cervantes and Camoens ...” (Prakash, 1995).

The mestizo condition happens in different areas and represents the birth of a new man out of the blend of two races, someone who claims himself Peruvian and who looks for a position within society. Most of farmers are indigenous but there is a group of mestizos among them that has grown through the year and has contributed with its own values and customs resulting from the blend.

“Contemporary studies on miscegenation -of which an outstanding author is Matos Mar- identify that contradictory world between a native culture and a western one as result of such way of cultivating a new nationalism in Peru. José María Arguedas is another author and Peruvian anthropologist who states the importance of the miscegenetic in the Peruvian society where they are the majority. He remarks on the incongruence of this exclusion in a society where the miscegenetic increasingly represents a majority of the population and are, he believes, their most active protagonists” (Kaup and Rosenthal, 2002).

Matos Mar is quoted by Priscilla Rosenthal. “Replacing the prelapsarian homogeneous subject constructed by Indianism, current interest in the Andean focuses on a profoundly hybrid subject. Instead of the harmony that the miscegenation world can sometimes evoke, in this context it designates a highly unstable, or as some would allege, even a psychotic identity. The miscegenetic is wedged between the contradictory realities of the Andes and the West. Just as there are multiple ways that these social realities come into contact, there are a myriad of ways of being mestizo” (2002).

Nowadays, the miscegenetic individual is in essence the main participant in the plurality of races that Peru stands for; he means the mixture of two cultures, the conquistador and the conquered ones. While it is true that most peasants in Peru are descended from the natives, there is a great deal of them who are miscegenetic and even among the peasants themselves descendants of native roots, many miscegenetic elements and influences have been adopted as time passes.

1.2.5. Criollos

“The terms blanco and criollo literally designate white Peruvians as well as those of European origin, and are usually associated with individuals from the Coast. While these labels are often used interchangeably, and those labeled as such are frequently considered members of the upper classes, the term criollo (Peruvian) has evolved among the popular classes into meaning something quite different. In colloquial usage, criollo designates an individual from the Coast -usually from the lower or working class- who survives in a sly, quick-witted, and deceitful manner by outsmarting those around him. Being notorious for their use of slang and popular jokes, criollos are also described as vulgar and crass. Unless being noted otherwise, criollo is used to designate
Lima’s Hispanic elite, against whom intercultural activists position themselves” (Garcia, 2005).

In his book, Garcia explains the two meanings that commonly the term “criollo” refers to, one linked to the Limean colloquial sense and the other related to the word origin itself and its meaning, which included the Peruvian descendants of European (mostly Spaniards), by definition, white ones, who made up the oligarchical and political-and-economic power classes in Peru, so as to influence on the Peruvian peasants’ growth through their development policies alien to the native majorities’ needs which resulted in revolutions, the unsuccessful land reform and -even currently- a division feeling among those that feel themselves “within the system” (privileged ones) and who feel “out of the system” as peasants and natives.

While it is true that dissimilarities of all kinds (race, culture, economic, social ones) make Peru a difficult country to find unity and a feeling of belong, as Kikuchi states (1996), in the case of the Philippines (also Spain’s colony for many years), it is important to indicate the influence of these dissimilarities and their effect on the Peruvian peasants’ values –specifically speaking herein-, not only through the Peruvians’ role indirectly but also through their actions along with political and economic decisions.

Most landowners before the agrarian reform were criollo, which generated their relationship with farmers and the existing stress between the two groups. One of them, economically and politically powerful, enjoying the privileges of their position, and the other, exploited and exposed to a poor life. Criollos represent the high class of the Coast, while the peasants represent the poorest classes of the Highlands. This dichotomy has been maintained through the years and has been somehow broken by the aggressive migration from the country side to the land, and by the surge of enterprising people with indigenous and mestizo roots, who have succeeded in reaching an economic but not social position.

1.2.6. Mulattoes and Zambos

“In coastal areas of Peru, a large white population of European ancestry traditionally inhabited the country’s most important cities, such as Lima and Trujillo, since the Spaniards’ arrival in the sixteenth century. Between the seventeenth and the nineteenth century, Asian and African groups also reached coastal cities and their influences continue to be obvious in today’s Peru” (Ferreira and Dargent-Chamot, 2003: 49).

“Such factors have traditionally separated the coastal inhabitant both racially and culturally from his native compatriots in the Highlands” (Ferreira and Dargent-Chamot, 2003: 49). It is important to consider what Ferreira and Dargent-Chamot state about the separation occurring in the national territory, as for the Coast, where the immigrant groups coming from Europe settle down as well as do the black slaves brought to work in such agricultural lands because of climatological reasons along with nearness to the sea, source of trade and also for the agricultural development especially proved in cotton and sugarcane cultivations; thus, a separation happens between the Coast –being
synonymous with development- and the Highlands, abandoned to its fate and where the most population is native.

In Peru there is a tradition of African culture as a result of the slaves’ descendants brought to the country by the Spaniards. Such “afro-miscegenetic” expression mainly settled down in the country’s southern coast, where their most important core is the Chincha province, located within the boundaries of the Ica region.

Through miscegenation, the African culture resulted in mulattees (mix of black individuals and white ones) and zambos (mix of black individuals and native as well as miscegenetic ones), but it was in minority across Peru; nevertheless, it had cultural influence and developed agricultural activities concerning sugar and cotton cultivations especially in some coastal areas.

Nowadays, it is not difficult to find among Peruvian peasants, especially on the Coast, some mulattees and zambos who have influenced on the development of their activities through their customs and contributed to enriching the country’s characteristic mixture. Their influence is manifest on the so-called local food so that even though such name seemed to refer it to the white Peruvian -Spaniards’ children-, it is directly related to such African descent’s influence in Peru.

The African slaves brought to Peru to work on the Coast -especially in the cotton and sugar plantations- combined their native culinary customs with creativity using the whites’ leftovers, such as livestock’s entrails mixed with some indigenous crops, and created what nowadays is identified with a very popular and acknowledged part of the Peruvian food by all Peruvians: The offal dish.

1.2.7. Migrations from other countries

Ferreira and Dargent-Chamot explain how the influence of different foreign migrations – which arrived in Peru in different eras –, enriched the Peruvian culture and contributed to developing that unique mixture of people and races. In fact, it can be especially observed in relation to the varied and rich gastronomy developed on the basis of such mixture and contributions by different cultures coming from around the world (2003).

“In addition to a rich culinary tradition inherited from the Incas and their forebears, which is based on products that were domesticated in this region (potatoes, lima beans, and peanuts, among others), the Spaniards brought their own products along with their Moorish slaves, some of whom married their conquistador masters and introduced the richness of the Moorish cuisine, specially sweets and desserts. Africans, who arrived soon after and were forced into slavery, came with their own gastronomic knowledge” (Ferreira and Dargent-Chamot, 2003: 55).

Just as it was explained above in regard to the African slaves who arrived in Peru bringing their culinary background and combining it with what they found here, we can also observe a marked influence on gastronomy concerning the other migrations so that everything has become a contribution to the local food development on the basis of
Afro-Peruvian creativity associated with the indigenous culinary culture and enriched by worldwide immigrants’ contributions.

“After independence from Spain in 1821, Peruvian gastronomy was enriched by the migration of Italians from Genova, Chinese from Canton province during the nineteenth century, who arrived to substitute for African slaves in farms and afterwards in the construction of railroads, and Japanese who arrived during the first part of the twentieth century. Other national groups that came in smaller numbers, such as the French and Germans, also helped create the mélange of Peruvian households as a mixture of national local food -also known as *comida criolla* - and that of the above-mentioned countries” (Ferreira and Dargent-Chamot, 2003: 55).

Out of the immigrants that arrived from other countries, those having greater participation in the Peruvian agricultural activity -located on the Coast- were the Chinese (specifically Cantonese) and Japanese immigrant communities who initially replaced the African slaves and afterwards got used to assimilating into the Peruvian culture by migrating to other activities, above all, commercial ones in the capital, Lima, and other Peruvian coastal cities.

1.3. Lack of cultural identity as a society

1.3.1. Multicultural and intercultural society. Fractured history of the making for race, nation and State

“To be Indian ... We have to speak in our language and in Spanish, we have to weave and write, we have to walk with our llamas and fly in planes, we have to retain our traditions and be modern at the same time”


“Cuzco and Lima are, by the nature of things, two opposing focal points of nationality. Cuzco represents our mother culture, inherited from the millenial Incas. Lima is the desire for adaptation to the European culture. And this is because Cuzco already existed when the Conquistador arrived, and Lima was created by him, ex nihilo”


“The multiculturalism aims at the parallel coexistence of cultures by means of separately acknowledging each culture and brings about a separation or segregation of cultures where the tolerance principle governs” (CIPCA, 2005). “The interculturalism aims at the integration and interrelation of cultures through respect and dialogue among cultures, bringing about a respectful and balanced society where the dialogue principle governs” (CIPCA, 2005).
“On the other hand, it should be taken into consideration that people can and actually have multiple complementary identities: ethnic group, language, religion and race as well as citizenship. However, each individual can identify himself with several different groups” (Bejar, 2005). CIPCA’s agronomists and economists explain that while the multiculturalism is a cultural and social verification, the interculturalism is, “above all, a vision of the world, an ideological, theoretical and political position aimed at getting balanced relationships among different peoples or cultures sharing or coexisting within a certain territory” (2005).

In that sense, in CIPCA, the idea that interculturalism values the past but without stopping there is explained; furthermore, it is aimed at incorporating the different cultural elements contributed with in a historical process, including modern values, in such case (Andean cultures), western ones, but always showing respect for the diverse peoples’ cultural identity (2005). As stated by Matayoshi, every individual is the product of a series of cultural components that make up their own identity but there is also a series of such knowledge shared by the community’s members and is called “cultural identity” (2003).

“The individual –adult or child- belongs to communities that have shaped their behavior through time as far as made up the cultural heritage that is the collective cultural identity. The cultural groups share habits, languages, values, ideologies, knowledge, some psychologically distinctive traits and cultural products as economic, aesthetic, technological systems and so forth among their components; these elements constitute the lifestyle rationality, ways of thinking, behaving and facing with diverse everyday occurrences. In short, the collective and personal identities correspond to in a plastic, totalizing a holistic amalgam, in a constantly sudden change process” (Matayoshi, 2003).

In that sense, Matayoshi himself explains that all Peruvians have –at a higher or lesser level- a cultural miscegenation and people are repository of an Andean culture within such miscegenation. This influences people’s answers and even though they can be changed into different cultural options, these processes are not immediate and take time in breaking the structure and making a previously-existing cultural structure unadapted (2003). The Andean culture –having been formed through millennia and incorporated elements from other cultures– is the basis of a shared national identity and, therefore, an important part concerning how the world is comprehended.

The Peruvian culture is a crucible of races having many additions (Asian, African culture, among others) and where the two greater components are the Andean and the Spanish culture. According to Matayoshi, however, all contributions made by the Spanish culture have been thought over and interpreted on the basis of the Andean cultural patterns (2003). In that sense, according to the author’s interesting example, the European individual has a concept of himself, but the Andean one relates everything to live nature where he could not see a smaller unit than the Ayllu (2003).

The authors’ analysis is important and how we understand the status of being Peruvian, of having a mestizo culture, which in essence is the Andean culture developed during thousands of years in combination with other cultures. Thus, the mixture of cultures is
the base of any national identity that is shared with other individuals of the Peruvian society and that is important to understand.

In his article entitled “Sistemas Epistemicos en Los Pueblos Andinos” (“Epistemological Systems in Andean Peoples”), Garcia explains that there is a biological, cultural and idiomatic diversity within Peru’s Andean and Amazonian peoples in a space where 84 life areas and 17 transitional nature areas have been identified out of 103 for the world, nearly a hundred of ethnic groups brought together in 18 linguistic families which—in contacted conditions, initial or sporadic contact, uncontacted and in voluntary isolation—coexist under subordinating circumstances with the so-called contemporary national society of which cognitive and behavioral bases comply with the Judeo-Christian-Germanic-based official regulations adopted by the Peruvian State (2003).

In that sense, Garcia explains that each ethnic group has a characteristic life system as a result of the daily, seasonal and extraordinary coexistence that has been shaped throughout millennia in close relationship with nature coexisting today with the national society. Not only in the Andes but also in the Amazon, throughout eight-thousand years the peoples have built up a series of principles, knowledge and technologies of agriculture which have facilitated both the development of the Andean agricultural production as well as the hunting and gathering activities, principles, knowledge and technologies that not only set the standard and their inhabitants’ productive and spiritual-ritual behavior, but also define the livestock schedule of their productive and festival-ritual activities as well as their cultures’ collective actions (2003).

It is interesting what Garcia states when referring to the fact that in the subsequent years to the Conquest, Peru’s native peoples’ technological knowledge were fractured and excluded by persecutions, religious stigmatizations and imposition of western epistemology (2003).

In his paper, Jorge Klor explains the existing divorce between the conquering culture and the conquered culture, in which one tries to keep off the other due to their mutual exploitation past and present. “In most places, the original inhabitants who had logically grouped themselves into separate cultural units (i.e., ethnicities) – all but disappeared after contact, were wiped out physically by disease and abuse, then genetically and socially by miscegenation, and lastly, culturally by the Europeans’ religious and political practices and their mixed progeny. Even in the regions where natives survived as corporate groups in the greatly transformed communities of their own, especially in the core areas of Meso-America and the Andes, within two to three generations they were greatly reduced in number and politically and socially marginalized from the new power cores. Thus, those who escaped the orbit of native communities but were still the most socially and economically proximate to such dispossessed peoples could be expected to distance themselves from them wherever possible” (Prakash, 1995).

It is important to consider the explanation given by Klor, who explains how in other countries, when conquerors arrived, they destroyed the conquered culture and the population was annihilated, but in the case of the Meso-American and Andean culture, where the culture was strong and the population was large, this did not happen. Here,
despite exploitation and the reduction in number, they have survived and have assimilated some of the traits of the conquering culture, but on the other hand, they try to maintain their own identity and, in that sense, they feel distant from the conquering culture, represented, in the Peruvian case, in Lima—the capital city—and on the coastal area, in general.

In her paper, Irene Silverblatt states “the way how the Spaniards created two different republics on the basis of the distinctions that they themselves were in charge of setting up between the pure European descendants and the natives in the foreground which would be directly transmitted to the social structure at the beginning of the Colonial era. Spanish practices, on the other hand, building on the experiences of an emerging modern European state, imposed broad, universal classifications on their subjects: all natives of the New World were Indian subjects of Spain; all Spaniards, regardless of social distinctions, were privileged colonists. Spanish legal theory created two republics, two separate nations, fusing concerns over age-old purity, women’s sexuality, and cultural dissimilarities with political hierarchy. An uneasy amalgam of racial constructions, gender ideologies, customs, and class inscribed in law, economic policy, theology, and popular stereotype – established new conditions of living that made Indians a possibility. Thus, a sense of common experience, interest, and destiny – transcending internal fractures of privilege, ethnicity, and gender – became a potential nourishment of the Andean’s social selves” (Prakash, 1995). Silverblatt explains that with the arrival of the Spaniards, distinction between European descendants with their privileges and Indians from the new world starts. At this point, the two different republics that the authoress mentions start germinating.

The groups vary in their culture. However, such different cultures do not have the same social valuation. They are classified according to a social hierarchy in accordance with their historically built valuation. Hence, the social groups are provided with different cultural assets, which are valued according to a hierarchy attributing a different value to their culture. The characteristics subject to valuation can include race, genre, language, religion, caste, regional origins and custom. The cultural assets provide people either with prestige or social stigma, which leads to discrimination and segregation. This different valuation of the cultural assets implies that there are groups which are not treated the same because of their social position (Bejar, 2005).

“The newly independent countries, under Peruvian/miscegenetic leadership, sought to construct their national identities through three sets of manoeuvres. First, they promoted regional Euro-American practices and outlooks (often embellished with indigenous beliefs, foods, words, and technologies), promulgated the use of Spanish (even at the cost of losing the local notarial services provided by speakers of indigenous languages), and supported Christianity and the Church, to the extent it did not get in the way of liberal/republican agendas. Second, they sought to weaken local Indian identities (and increase the local economic base) by disestablishing indigenous corporate communities (and lands), hoping that as a by-product anti-Peruvian sentiments would disappear with the indigenous villages. Third, they championed, among all social and cultural sectors (excluding the corporate native communities and slaves, wherever these remained), the sense of a new, common ethnicity woven out of a supposed shared experience of
miscegenation/Peruvians and/or imperial exploitation (depending on the region, the date, and the degree of inclusion sought)” (Prakash, 1995).

“It is important to mention the dramatic effect that terrorism would produce in Peru, especially among their major victims, the peasants, deepening even more the differences and encouraging an armed class struggle. Afterwards, there was the beginning of a more dramatic situation that would take run against Peru since “Shining Path”–PCP/SL – terrorist group took up arms in the small Ayacuchan settlement of Chuschi on May 17th 1980; a circumstance that was active in the Peruvian reality as late as 2000, the period in which casualty figures are estimated to be 69,280 people. These figures surpass the number of the dead suffered by Peru in all its external and civil wars occurred in 182 years of independent life. In addition, we should also consider that the Truth and Reconciliation Committee of Inquiry has verified that the rural population –understood as indigenous population– was the principal victim of violence. Out of the wholly reported victims, 79% lived in rural areas and 56% worked on agricultural activities since those being actually affected by the war racism were the native, on the one hand, there were the terrorist groups “Shining Path” and “Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement”; on the other hand, there was terrorism from the State, and finally, in the middle of the confrontation, there was the Highland’s native peasant population which was additionally victim not only of its own poverty but also of its skin color” (Cayra, 2004).

At this point, we can analyze how differences among Peruvians started when the conquerors arrived, and how these differences have grown stronger with different historic circumstances. Thus, farmers who were mostly indigenous or direct descendants of them, at some mestizo degree, are part of the majority deprived of privileges and who have developed their own values and codes, their parallel world which is the source of a particular idiosyncrasy.

1.3.2. The two Peru’s. Deep Peru and Formal Peru.

“If we (Peruvians) are to transform this country into a more democratic place, the concept of a multicultural and plurilingual nation must go beyond the paper (the constitution) and into our schools and our reality, so that our children can feel that to be Quechua is to belong to, not to be strangers in their own country”

Rodolfo; school teacher in Cuzco, 1997 (Garcia, 2005).

The incident that happened during the civil war in Peru in relation to the terrorist group “Shining Path” which is stated by Garcia (2005) is illustrative. She describes the massacre of 8 journalists by peasants in Uchuraccay. They confused the journalists with terrorists and slaughtered them with farm tools and stones and finally burned their bodies. Writer Mario Vargas Llosa who was the person in charge of leading the committee of inquiry concluded that the massacre is a symptom of “Peru’s trouble”, alluding to the coexistence of two separate countries within a sole territory. “The division between deep Peru (Peru profundo) and official Peru, often referred to as the two Perus, has permeated debates about nation-building throughout the country’s
history. The term *Peru profundo* is attributed to the Peruvian historian Jorge Basadre, who first used it in 1943. Basadre distinguished between the judiciary invention of the State (*pais legal*) and the deep nation (*pais profundo*) composed of its people. Over time, *Peru profundo* came to mean the historical roots of Indians as a component of Peru’s sense of nationhood” (Garcia, 2005).

“As part of the background to the official description of incidents in Uchuraccay, Vargas Llosa questioned whether community members were able to make moral, constitutional, and judiciary distinctions between ... right and wrong and described the peasants involved in the massacre as part of a besieged nation ... with thousands – perhaps millions – of compatriots who speak another language, have different customs, and who, under such hostile and isolated conditions, have managed to preserve a culture – perhaps archaic, but rich and deep – that links up with the whole of our Pre-Hispanic past, which the official Peru has disdained. Vargas Llosa has since expanded on his analysis of archaic Peru, and is a vocal proponent of the sad but necessary disappearance (via assimilation into the progressive and modern national society) of what he calls Peru’s antlike indigenous populations, particularly if the country is to avoid the kind of cultural misunderstandings that occurred in Uchuraccay” (Garcia, 2005).

Matayoshi refers to a double nationality in Peru, which he calls “Official Peru and Deep Peru” trying to explain mostly the dissimilarities between peasants and the privileged minorities of Peru. He quotes Garcia who states that identity in Peru is neither unique nor uniform but diverse, and is defined by origin, economic, social and historical contexts, temporary nature, territoriality, language and standards of living that spacey and temporarily distinguish each of the identified groups (communities, ethnic groups) that shape their social structure, originating diverse traditions (2003).

A model of communal work based on the need for mutual protection was the so-called “*rondas campesinas*” (rural patrols). As indigenous and peasant opposition to “Shining Path” increased, peasants organized into rural patrol units, modeled after the village patrols in the northern regions of Cajamarca and Piura that proliferated in the 1970’s and 1980’s in efforts to stop thievery and oversee small public work projects (Garcia, 2005). Armed with machetes, knives, and makeshift bombs or guns, rural men and women organized collectively to safeguard communities against “Shining Path’s” attacks (Garcia, 2005).

Garcia emphasizes that up to 1990 there were 3500 villages involved in rural patrol programs in the Highlands so that subject to their role of peasants organized into groups, the natives were acknowledged in another stage and incorporated as part of the Peruvian society and no longer seen very far apart. By the early 1990’s, more than 3500 villages in the highlands had organized into patrols to fight against “Shining Path” (2005).

“The rise of the patrols had a clear effect on relocating indigenous people within the national imaginariness. No longer were subversive antinational or simple ignorant peasants belonging to an archaic Peru, indigenous Citizen increasingly represented as important forces in the front lines of defense” (Garcia, 2005). “In the community, the
natural and traditional authorities are elected in accordance with their customs and traditions, while the official authorities and the representatives of the Andean communities are elected in accordance with the legal regulations” (Garcia, 2003).

“In these election systems for natural authorities, there are specific requirements considered in the community in order to be elected as an authority: having fulfilled religious positions (butler) and the civilians; being aware of the community’s traditions and celebrations, rituals, ceremonies, history as well as their boundaries and their territorial borders” (Garcia, 2003). That is, there is a double system in which one aspect is sometimes put over the other another, coming into conflict. While the natural authorities govern the community internal life, the government’s representatives constitute a political link between the communities and the State. As it was well-explained by Garcia, sometimes the government’s representatives are subordinate to the community authorities because the latter enjoy greater local prestige. In other cases, either they act jointly or impose their authority (2003).

“The traditional authorities in the rural communities are the varayoq, community assembly and rural patrols. In addition, the Justice of Peace is short-listed by the community and appointed by the national juridiciary authorities. The governor represents the government” (Garcia, 2003). “In the communities, there is also an informal authority exercised by people undertaking certain positions and important professional services for community life: teachers, priests, male nurses, etc” (Garcia, 2003).

Garcia states that in order to define the rural community’s identity, there are other influential factors apart from territoriality. Among these, she refers to self-regulation which is based on their customs and traditions as long as it is important to consolidate their identity communal subject to the so-called common law (2003). This common law –on the basis of custom- usually contrasts with positive or formal law as long as the community’s customs have priority over it. An example of this phenomenon is the rural patrols that enabled the communities to organize and defend themselves from terrorists.

“The rural communities’ autonomous projects and of free determination constitute their utopias, that is, their future projects that have not been fulfilled yet or are about to, as it is suggested by their diverse myths, their legends, and their traditions as well as their daily life, the organization of the economic production, ayllu reproduction and concerning the same communities. These autonomous and utopian projects have enabled the rural communities to endure even after 500 years of western dominion” (Garcia, 2003).

Cayra refers to the migration phenomenon of the natives from the countryside to the city where they become the pejoratively so-called “cholos” (half-caste). The cholos do not feel represented by the State-Nation of Formal Peru either; on the contrary, they aim at becoming wholly integrated to formal society and being acknowledged as such so that they are building their own space, shaping new tendencies, such as: micro-entrepreneurs, independent professionals, informal workers, street vendors, comedor popular (popular canteen) managers, emollient vendors, shoe shines, canillitas (newspaper vendor), taximoto (also called “taxicholo”, they are three-wheeled
motorcycles with convertible tops) riders, taxi drivers and so forth, who interpellant democracy from their corresponding trenches; however, it is worth noticing that the Peruvian people are not essentially indigenous since there were criollos (Spaniards born in America) and miscegenetic people (born to Spaniard and native parents) from the Spanish Conquest. Likewise, it is not worth forgetting the Jungle’s multiple ethnic groups, the compulsive migrations coming from Africa and afterwards those of the East; in short, being a Peruvian citizen involves lots of traits so that it is not worth getting concerned as long as they are likely to be indefinable taken as a solely global and homogenizing Peruvian label whatever it may be; it is insightful that, deep down, the cholos continue being natives even if the government and they themselves do not admit it as such (2004).

Cayra illustrates quite well such indigenous sensitivity to feel out of the official State by quoting the incident in Ilave, Puno, Peru. In fact, on April 26th 2004, in Ilave, the Aymara natives –having gotten tired of promises and deceits– decided to stage a demonstration and after denouncing their corrupt authorities went on to take the law into their own hands by assassinating the town’s mayor, just as in the well-known play “Fuente Ovejuna”. In conclusion, the Aymaras do not feel like being part of the State-Nation either because of –as stated by Anibal Quijano– they do not want so or be interested in belonging to a multinational State, otherwise they affirm their intention to make amends for a State of their own as long as they dwell in northern Chile, western Bolivia, southeastern Peru, southern Brazil and northern Argentina (2004).

At this point, we can analyze how two different countries interact in one and many times this causes not few identity problems. As Vargas Llosa says in his analysis of the Uchuraccay case, there are millions of Peruvians who speak a different language, have different customs, and try to preserve an ancient but rich culture. The author supports the idea of the disappearance of this other Peru via the assimilation of the modern culture.

This is a controversial issue in which we will not deepen the debate over whether the disappearance of this other Peru, or the parallel existence, or any other via is best. We will remark the importance of the recognition of this other Peru that, whether we agree or not, it breathes, lives and shows in its own customs and rules.

An example of this existence is the existence of “informal” rules and authorities that are more powerful than the formal ones, and have received by the custom of their use, a higher categorization in this deep Peru. This parallel culture, far from disappearing, has shown in cities, old shelters of formality; with informal merchants, “chicha” businesses, and a set of customs brought by migrants from the inner country.
1.3.3. Intercultural education and its effects in the formation of cultural values

“Pedagogy (exits) so that the oppressed may obtain the conditions necessary to discover and conquer themselves ... as subject of his own destiny ... He is not something to salvage, but rather an agent who must shape himself responsibly. Education must be the practice of freedom.”

Paulo Freire

Maria Elena Garcia explains the difference between multiculturalism and interculturalism in the Peruvian context and argues that bilingual education is the method to handle those differences. Interculturalism, like multiculturalism, is a contested term. However, we can try to understand the distinction between them in the following terms: multiculturalism is the recognition of a reality (Peru is a country of a diverse cultural and linguistic makeup); interculturalism is the practice of a multiculturalism in which citizens reach across cultural and linguistic differences to imagine a democratic community. In that vein, bilingual intercultural education is the mechanism par excellence used to foster intercultural unity out of multicultural difference (2005).

Garcia explains in her book how in Peru, General Velasco turned Quechua into an official language equivalent to Spanish in 1975, trying to reivindicate the indigenous language, and thus, to eliminate a lasting racial damage. However, this Velasco’s reform was modified by General Morales Bermudez’s government and in practice, the use of Quechua as an official language was never implemented (2005).

“Placing the Quechua language on an equal footing with Spanish was understood by these groups as symbolically placing Quechua and other indigenous people next to those of European background, and as representative of the limits the Velasco regime posed to development and progress. By legislating Quechua as a national language next to Spanish, Peru became the first Latin American country to officialize an indigenous language. However, by placing Quechua next to the dominant language, Velasco also brought racial prejudices to the surface. His use of indigenous language and symbols tainted his initiatives with images of indigenous revolutions, one of the factors that led to his replacement with Francisco Morales Bermudez, another military leader, in 1975. With the change in presidents (1975) and in constitutions (1979), the law making Quechua an official language was changed to include Quechua not as an official national language but rather as a language of official use in the areas and in the way that the Law mandates. However, the law that would mandate where and how Quechua could be considered an official language was never developed” (Garcia, 2005).

Fujimori also started an education reform and looks to incorporate indigenous people in this process of change. Supporting (our indigenous peoples) involves not only providing them with benefits in the present but also securing their future. There is no better way to do this than through education, so that the natives will be agents of their own progress (1999).
“The implementation of intercultural education is important not only for the impact it has had on questions of citizenship, identity, and indigenous self-determination, but also because it forms part of a larger effort aimed at effecting real, palpable material improvement in the lives of Peruvian highland populations” (Garcia, 2005).

Gomez Espinoza and Gomez Gonzalez’s paper on the traditional agricultural knowledge of indigenous people and peasants and their attempt to use this traditional knowledge for the benefit of peasants is interesting. It stems from three assumptions; the existence of a great wealth of “traditional knowledge” in the peasant communities that becomes richer cycle by cycle, and is passed on through oral tradition and is disperse and maintained mainly in the place of origin of corn; that this knowledge mutually correspond with the communities’ Cosmo vision and has enabled the poorest peasant families to thrive, for whom comparative advantages and price fluctuations in the international market are irrelevant, so they continue cultivating corn with traditional techniques and that forgetting these traditional systems has caused changes in the way education is conceived and problems are approached, so new theoretical and methodological paradigms come up, which have led to an ecologic crisis. The concept of Traditional Agricultural Knowledge (TAK) comprises practices, techniques, knowledge and/or Cosmo visions that respond to problems that curtail agricultural production. This knowledge is produced in the rural communities based on diligent, systematic observation and coexistence with nature, and is passed over from generation to generation by oral tradition (2006).

In this sense, Gomez asserts that research, recreation and avail of indigenous and peasant knowledge in a system of traditional agricultural knowledge (TAK) are not limited to only productive aspects, but imply recovering the knowledge over social, cultural, economic, technological, environmental and political parameters (2006).

Gomez Espinoza y Gomez Gonzales include Ysunza in their paper, who claims that education is conceived as an intervention process with intentionality, which is intended to perfect the individual through a gradual, active, integral, and permanent process (2006). Gomez Espinoza y Gomez Gonzales include in their paper the concept of pedagogical concept according to the UNESCO and the importance of the student in this process. The pedagogical process must be student-centred, using a variety of strategies for significant learning (2006).

Zepeda and Lacki refer to an education revolution in the field of higher agricultural education in Latin America and the Caribbean, and describe the characteristics of what they call a revolution. This tough, but not impossible, mission requires at least the creation of technologies compatible with the resources that farmers actually possess and especially a huge effort to train and organize farmers so that they become professional and become efficient entrepreneurs who are able, know, and want to correct the serious technological, managerial, and commercial distortions that currently take place in the various links of agribusiness, from the moment inputs leave industry to the moment they reaches the consumer’s home (2003).

Zepeda and Lacki claim for development from the inside (endogenous) for peasant communities, which should allow them for real development and a way out of poverty.
They make this comment in the context of the analysis of the Latin American agriculture, applicable to the Peruvian case. It is not possible to allow poverty in the Latin American rural environment, which affects over half of the region’s population and is the cause and effect of the exodus or rural migration, to keep whipping rural families. This challenge demands offering large, medium, and small farmers, but especially the last, real development alternatives in accordance with their limiting conditions of capital and natural resources, and legitimate aspirations to improve their living standards. It is thus necessary to give up the idea that development from the top and from the outside, the exogenous development, is possible. And it is necessary to work in the communities with the farmers to create these alternatives in the search of an endogenous development with efficiency and equity (2003).

“Work with diversity in its different forms will constitute the basis of the development of an education system targeted at developing agriculture. Diversity, not only in relation to culture, requires an open mind from the agricultural sciences professional. Lands are heterogeneous, climates are different, production methods are also different throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, and throughout each country making up the region, and require that the agricultural sciences professional be prepared to work in a world those changes with time and its geographical space” (Zepeda and Lacki, 2003).

In her book, Garcia makes a reflection on a contemporary project that must give indigenous people a main role in their own history, including in their education aspects of their own culture, history, and identity, which becomes crucial in a multicultural country, and make it a national project (2005).

The contemporary project is also about positioning indigenous peoples as actors in the making of their own history. It is about preparing them, through education that emphasizes their culture, history, and identity (or activist interpretations of them) as positive and crucial components of Peru as a multicultural nation. Work in the Ministry of Education, changes to the national curriculum, and an emphasis on intercultural education at all levels of society (even if implemented only in indigenous rural areas), make this, in some ways, and still a national project. However, it is also a project that challenges the imagined community that is Peru (2005).

It is important to remark that, according to Ferreira and Dargent-Chamot, there is consensus among scholars studying this issue, that culture from an anthropological point of view is learned and not genetically determined, so we can venture to assume that through education we can influence people and change cultural values in a group of people, in a community, and in the long term, in a society (2003).

Sillar refers to the concept of “Social Reproduction” and defines it as well as explains how this knowledge is formed and passes from generation to generation. Social reproduction is the process by which people continually recreate and reform the societies they live in, reproducing institutions and organizational levels such as the household, the community and the State, from generation to generation. This necessarily incorporates the passing on of cultural knowledge (e.g. social, religious, and technological). The mechanism of this process is the biological reproduction of the people and the organisation of their material practice, but it is through the social
relations employed, and created, during such activities that the social institutions and cultural knowledge are reproduced (2000).

“To study social reproduction it is necessary to describe both the structure of social relations and the mechanisms by which they are reproduced. Such social relations may exist at many levels, such as within the household, the community or the State, and many other sorts of relationships may crosscut these levels, such as religious affiliation, kinship reckoning, gender groups and economic structures. None of these social groups exist in isolation, and it is both the particulars of each group and the relationship between them that give them their identity. A group gains its identity from its members and the activities in which they are involved, and each person draws their self-identity from the people they interact with and the activities they participate in” (Sillar, 2000).

In relation to this issue, some authors point out to the need of using the native language to rescue the social, cultural, economic, and technological knowledge as well as that of other nature, passed on from generation to generation. The truth regarding this issue is to recognize, as said by Zepeda and Lacki, the existence of “diversity” and, to develop agriculture or contribute to the formation of strong farmer associations; education becomes a key element, admitting the existing differences.

Perhaps the most important aspect here is the power of education to influence and change cultural patterns, that as scientists prove, are behaviours that have been learned and have not been genetically inherited. Thus, through education, it is necessary to strengthen some conducts and try to change others that have been repeating from generation to generation among small farmers.

In this aspect, children will have to be prioritized in the development of new cultural elements and in the change of values desired for future social organizations. In other words, through children’s education, we can develop the new generations of farmers and influence in the development of practices that can afford long-term viability to this activity.

It is also important to consider the approach by Sillar, who explains how everyday activities that are performed daily contribute to the generation of “habits” that contain other meanings behind their apparent simplicity, and that may constitute important elements in the change of values. We will require a more careful analysis so that we can use these “habits” as an efficient tool among farmers.

Finally, Sillar reflects on how societies are the result of a continuous process of change and adaptation, and how one builds his own future. We must take into account not only formal education as a source of change of cultural values, but also “informal education” that many times is more effective and represents the activities of the daily life that is the means through which the community learns.

1.4. Summary of Chapter 1

In the definition of culture that we use (see “Preliminary Definitions”), we explain that through the cultural values that we have, we can understand the world around us and the
elements that rule our conducts. There are conscious and unconscious factors derived from “cultural values” that work in our minds and that are going to affect a person’s individual behavior and that have been “learned” through the years. These “learned” cultural values are passed on from generation to generation through social processes such as education and imitation, and have survived until now.

Thus, the base of Peruvian CVI is in the Andean culture, which developed for 11,000 years and in which the Inca Empire accounts only for the last years of that blend of many cultures. Over this base, it received the influence of the Spanish culture and other influences that through time have modified and enriched it.

This Andean influence can be found in the indigenous communities, especially in the Highlands, where it has thrived despite the attempt by Spanish conquerors and the Catholic Church to make it disappear. This Andean world has its own characteristics that have influenced the Andean inhabitants’ minds for generations.

The main elements of the Andean world are its holistic vision of the world, its reciprocity as a social rule, its concept of the Aylly as the least organizational unit, and the importance of kinship, which keeps the human group in the community united.

There were other later influences, the strongest of which was the Spanish culture with the conquest, which modified the Andean world’s structures, starting with a series of reivindicating movements and the creation of a new race, product of mixed races, with its own characteristics and culture, but always keeping the greatest influence from the Andean culture.

These differences went deeper through the years in Peru, yielding the creation of two countries: one named “Deep Peru”, composed of indigenous people, mostly farmers, who maintain their own original traditions from the Andean culture; and the so called “Formal Peru” represented by the governing class, settled in the cities and more “Europeanized”. There is some “interculturality” in the Peruvian nation and some social, racial, economic differences and other kinds of differences that make it difficult to create a “Peruvian identity”.

In this context of the Peruvian idiosyncrasy, it is important to remark the role of values of the Andean culture as the base of the Peruvian idiosyncrasy and culture, especially in the Andean communities represented by the peasants. Consequently, and coming back to our definition of culture, we may assert that these Andean cultural values affect Peruvians’ way of seeing the world and behaving, especially in peasants.
Chapter 2. Agriculture in Peru and origin of small farmers
Chapter 2. Agriculture in Peru and origin of small farmers

Ferreira and Dargent-Chamot describe the characteristics of Peruvian agriculture through its three large regions, Coast, Highland, and Jungle. “The republic of Peru is located on the western coast of South America, with a surface of 496,225 square miles, an area about three times the size of California. Three very distinct geographical regions – the coastal region or Costa, the Andes or Sierra, and the jungle or Selva – make for three culturally diverse worlds. Peru is divided into twenty-four regions and one constitutional province (Callao seaport, adjacent to Lima). Its geography presents a longitudinal division dominated by the Andes, with its tallest mountains being between 5,000 and 6,000 meters high (some 15,000 to 22,000 feet). To the west, a desertic coast crossed by numerous rivers is bathed by the Pacific Ocean, abundant in fish and other resources” (Ferreira and Dargent-Chamot, 2003: 1).

Barraclough describes the two major types of agricultural properties existing in Latin America, and in Peru in particular. “Two types of rurally social organizations coexist in most of rural Latin America. Latifundios (the dominant type) are large rural estates labored by several families under a single administration; minifundios are communities of smallholdings where each family performs both entrepreneurial and labor functions” (Barraclough, 2001). It is worth stating that after the liberal reforms initiated in the 1990’s, there have been several agricultural and agro-exporting companies in Peru that have recently made for an important sort of property different from that of the traditional large rural estate and smallholding.

The smallholding is a basic element in order to understand the generation and creation of small farmers in Peru as a result of the unsuccessful land reform driven by the military government. This fragmentation process initiated in 1969 and, according to the statistics referred to in INCAGRO’s research, the agricultural units turned up from 400,000 units in 1965 to 1,700,000 in 1999, subject to the national census taken that year. It is also stated therein that such fragmentation derived on other problems such as risk management, lack of economies of scale for production and difficulties with accessing to complementary services preventing the sector’s competitiveness (2002).

In the 1980’s, a series of governmental policies were provided with greater participation of the State, which participated in the production, input, and service markets. It was entities such as ENCI and ECASA that were in charge of marketing inputs and agricultural products. At that time, the Agrarian Bank also had an active participation by financing the farmers at zero-rating, which resulted in its fast descapitalization and closing.

In the 1990’s there was liberalization not only of the country but also of the agrarian sector, included in this policy, reducing the State institutions’ size as well as their participation in the economy. The new policies were intended to drive a market economy, but some subsidies were yet maintained through projects financed by external capital, essentially aimed at small farmers.
Nowadays, the Agricultural sector is being developed in Peru by the increase in private investments and exports market development. In that sense, there are two tendencies in relation to productive and marketable units for the country’s development. There is a tendency to drive the land market, which is likely today on the basis of the new legal framework. Based on this assumption, big companies’ purchase of lands and the development of their activities would be fostered.

In this outlook, small farmers should sell their lands and eliminate the small properties in the future, looking for a more competitive market. The small farmers’ giving up the activity may become the workforce at best; otherwise, they may change to any other activities.

There is some criticism concerning this tendency, especially in relation to the lands located in the Peruvian Highlands, which, unlike the Coast, is an area located at high altitudes and not very attractive to companies. Nowadays, most of the small farmers in Peru are found in the Highlands.

The other tendency is the generation of associative models for small farmers, which enable them to develop their activities and utilize the benefits that such associative models offer them so that they become more competitive in the new market. In Peru, there is an intention to create associative models of small farmers, which are being successfully applied even though others have failed.

2.1. Historical antecedents

2.1.1. Social agriculture as the basis of economic activity in the Incas’ era

The Inca culture developed into all of its social, religious, economic and political forms on the basis of agriculture. The influence of this activity can be observed in the decisions made by the Inca’s organization in order to manage the empire as far as the people’s daily life. In his paper, Losada quotes Eduardo Cricket and Grimaldo Rengifo, who developed a model according to which the Andean culture is *agro-centered*. That is, “in general, the symbols and the cultural production are influenced in the Andes by agriculture” (Losada, 2003).

Reciprocity was the fundamental rule that supported the Inca Empire’s development and the way the era’s agricultural activities became clear, as Morris explains, who is quoted by Sillar in his book. “The Inca Empire relied on ideals of reciprocity which could be extended over vast areas, partly through the use of large-scale storage. These stores were used to give feasts and gifts that oiled the gears of State Work projects. These projects were couched in terms of reciprocal duties; the stores provided the food, drink, tools and materials for people who, in return, performed tasks for the Inca” (Sillar, 2000).

The Inca was closely linked to the land whose significance not only reached the physical sphere, as Sillar explains. “The Quechua concept of *Pacha* incorporates not only the idea of space or land, including fields, mountains and houses but also a
temporal meaning as time or era. Thus, *Inca pacha* is the Inca’s era, but he is inseparable from the land within which his activities took place” (Sillar, 2000).

“The Inca agricultural system was not a chance result but that of knowledge long developed by many cultures that preceded the Incas in the Andes. The Inca agricultural system is basically a synthesis of techniques, technologies and strategies developed over various millennia by a great number of socio-cultural entities in the different sub areas of the Andean environment” (Earls, 1998: 10).

Losada states the relationship between the Andean man and the multiecological scenario in which he develops through four activities that in turn occur within four systems. First, the land utilization system that provides him with ground and water. Second, the domestication means of plants and animals; and third, the construction of microclimatic infrastructure. These three systems make the environment offer the Andean man subsistence resources. The fourth one, the technique system, enables food preservation, storage and transportation, with which the Andean man confers effectiveness and continuity on the economic production (2003).

In his paper, Losada includes Hans Horkheimer, who explains the agriculture as to be the core of different expression levels that have a direct relationship with the deities that –in turn– are closely linked to nature elements that provide them with the sustainability or influence somehow on their development: for instance, in the Peruvian highland, the cult introduces the sun as the main deity because caloric energy is more useful in this area for plant growth; at the same time, on the coast, the moon has had ritual preeminence due to its significant influence on fishing and tide oscillation, among other reasons. On the other hand, it is common to find that in the myths there is a narrow association between the characters and topics related to agriculture. Thus, for instance, in Huarichiri myths, Pachacamac, the most important god, is associated with the product being the basis of the economy in vast regions: corn. Finally, time measurement, month names and year division into dry and rainy seasons reflect agriculture relevance regarding cultural organization. Similarly, artistic performances, ceremonies, and magic and meaningful symbols are brought out with abundant food and drinks; while gentle divinities are associated with plant and fruit germs, demon performances are made by destroying animals and vegetables (2003).

In his paper, Losada refers to the significance of the astronomical, ecological and probabilistic elements in the Incan agriculture when quoting Earls, who states that by programming the economic activities on the basis of the combination of generally astronomical issues and specifically probabilistic ones, greater expectation levels than those of the current ones were enabled; on the other hand, to do so, appropriate techniques were used to minimize climatological fluctuations, e.g., by utilizing terraces as well as rational and ideal water use. As a result, the cultivation in the Andes corresponded to models that constituted a system due to the concurrence of celestial phenomena and bioecological cycles offering an explicit collective conscience about likely error margins, which were corrected by the State (the Empire undertook production losses caused by droughts or other phenomena thanks to foresight, verticality and complementarity). An ecological conscience was therefore formed that cautioned the balance with the environment and the increasing demands (2003).
Earls explains how the agricultural production in the Andes is part of a holistic system, the production improved throughout four-thousand years in which the result is foreseen minimizing the error risk up to a surprising level of effectiveness. In such system, the labor period and the used energy correspond to a minimal effort in relation to more productive goals. This author concludes that the agroecological Incan structure was a system interconnected with other ones over which the same arranging patterns prevail. For instance, planning was incorporated into the State subsystem structure as to be inherent to regulation and social government (2003). It is therefore noted how agriculture was improved and developed on the basis of an effective level of organization.

Losada states that when trying to restrict the Andean ideology to economic matters, other cultural elements that had significance over the Andean way of thinking as well were left out. However, it is not worthy denying the deep influence that agriculture had over the Andean culture, as it is inferred from the studies carried out by several academicians on the topic. Moreover, it is possible to declare that agriculture went beyond economic matters in order to become part of the culture itself and the Inca Empire’s political and social axis (2003).

It is important to consider the analysis done by many researchers about how the Incas kept on the ancient organizational system called *ayllu*, which came from pre-Incan cultures. “According to Murra, the Inca State maintained the essentially self-sufficient nature of the village community. The pre-Incan community landholding pattern was based on the *ayllu*: one had access to water, land, and other critical resources through one’s membership to a particular kin group. The Incas maintained this system intact, altering only the formal aspect of its distribution. Parcels of land were allotted to all able-bodied, married men who therefore became responsible for providing themselves and their families with welfare” (Beyers, 2001:12).

“In Murra’s account, the imperial economy consisted of a two-tiered system or production corresponding to two different climatic zones: one geared towards maize and the other towards potato. The maize production was oriented towards surplus production for the State and circulated largely in a redistributive mode. Potatoes, on the other hand, provided subsistence in local communities and were bartered within a local system of reciprocity” (Beyers, 2001:10-11). “According to Murra, potatoes were cultivated under an older and autochthonous production system by the *ayllu in the puna* (high plateau). By contrast, maize production was based upon a newer and imperial production system. Maize can usually only be grown between 1500 metres and 3500 metres; it is too cold above this range and below it, too dry. But even in this zone substantial irrigation is needed, thus requiring the implementation of extensive community works. Maize constituted the main part of the agricultural surplus collected by the Inca State because it is easier to store than potatoes” (Beyers, 2001:10-11).

For Beyers it is impossible to understand the Inca economy apart from the fact that it is simultaneously sacred and mundane. There is significant distinction between it and the western traditional concept in which the spiritual and the material issues are essentially understood as different and opposite to an extent. In the pre-Columbian culture of the Andes the material issue is imbued with sacred qualities (2001).
It is worth asserting that agriculture had a fundamental importance in the Inca Empire and was the activity closely linked to deities, economic, political and social development, reaching a high development level and maintaining cultural institutions and knowledge coming from pre-Incan cultures.

### 2.1.2. Spanish colony and change in production patterns

Feerreira and Dargent-Chamot state the main economic activity during the conquest era was mining, which specifically aimed at precious metals such as gold and silver, which were abundantly found in the ancient territory of the Inca Empire. At first, the economy of the new territories was based on the gold looted from temples and graves; however, the silver mines of Potosi (in current Bolivia) were discovered in 1545, increasing significantly the Spanish crown’s wealth. Using an Indian name, *mita*, based on the ancient forms of collective cooperation of the ayllu, the Spaniards created an institution to force the Indians to work in the mines and pay taxes on their earnings. It was, in fact, a slave-like labor, mandatory for all men (2003).

Once the European conquerors installed, the ancient indigenous lands began to be distributed for mining activities and small agriculture among soldiers and some civilians who came from the “Old World”, as Barraclough explains in his paper. “During the colonial period, the most influential Spanish and Portuguese officers and civilians were given land suitable for commercial farming or mining. A few lesser officers and common soldiers received relatively small grants of land (caballerias –cavalries, pieces of land for conqueror horsemen- and peonias –peonies, pieces of land for infantry conquerors) to encourage intensive farming to feed the new settlements. Indian communities on poorer lands or in remote areas were legally kept as the crown’s wards. Most of the territory, however, was distributed as vast encomiendas (Indians’ land grants), mercedes (land rewards), or donatarias (voluntary land transfers)” (Barraclough, 2001:11).

The Spaniards not only broke the existing balance between the natives and agriculture but also affected values linked to them for many years, which had been inherited from generation to generation and that had allowed them to keep a close relationship with the land and the products that it generously bore for them.

“Spanish colonial rules broke up the very foundation of the natives’ existence – vertical, multizonal, agroecological subsistence. The large estates damaged the subsistence systems that had been developed over hundreds of years by restricting the indigenous people movements and taking away access to their lands. Villages aligned themselves so that different resources and crops could be simultaneously harvested from several agrozones. Thus, indigenous farmer’s minimized famine risks” (Rhoades, 2006).

The land management practices of haciendas (a large landed estate, esp. one used for farming or ranching), however, greatly differed from those of the indigenous people. The landowners frequently told the indigenous people that in exchange for clearing more forest area, they would get more access to cropland and pasture (Rhoades, 2006). The haciendas replaced the ancient organizational Inca system that was composed on
the basis of the *ayllu* and reciprocity, establishing a hierarchically new system with imposed relationships by the landowners towards the natives, who had no right at all.

“Unlike the local practice of intercropping in small fields and exchange between zones, the haciendas employed large-scale, intensive agriculture in order to ship large surpluses back to Spain. The crops demanded in the Old World were not traditional Andean crops; therefore, the perpetuation of local cultivars and varieties occurred mostly on the small *huasipunguero* plots (small plots where natives cultivated small vegetables for subsistence during Conquest) and in the moor refuge communities. One must also assume that due to the destruction of the exchange system between zones, the traditional trading of landraces was disrupted” (Rhoades, 2006).

“In the Conquest Era there is a transcultural process that includes many fields and the agriculture is not unaware of it so that the Spaniards adapted some indigenous crops and the natives would similarly incorporate into their diet some crops brought by them in the future. The haciendas eventually adopted some local crops and, likewise, the indigenous people adopted many Spanish cultivars and tools” (Rhoades, 2006).

The Spaniards included new crops into those already existing among natives; the main indigenous crops were corn and potatoes as well as beans in some areas. According to Shiloh and Campbell, quoted in Rhoades’s book, the Spaniards introduced the following crops of the Old World: barley, wheat, fava beans, peas and lentils (2006).

“Although institutions such as *mita* (draws made within native communities to select an exact number of people to work in public labors), native settlements converted to Christianity, markets and money were forcefully imposed, the need for articulating social coexistence by means of complementarity has prevailed in the ethnic and cultural consciousness, keeping away from the consensus relationships imposed with others. Apart from impositions by the other, by the unaware and strange one to the group, keeping out of the one who sustained a different vision on the world and society, nowadays the search for economic complementarity still prevails” (Losada, 2003).

It is important to consider the analysis carried out by Losada who explains how the need for articulating social coexistence by means of complementary activities still causes a search feeling to the people, that is, it is the product of two cultures that met and in spite of the fact that one was the conqueror while the other was the conquered one, neither of them was able to keep out of the influence they had on one another (2003).

In his paper, Losada quotes Tierry Saignes who explains that the massive migrations occurring at the end of the 16th century redefined the Andean ecological repopulation, setting new production rules and complementarity in the context of the peninsular impositions (2003).

Thus, it recreated and redid different cultural and ethnic ascriptions and identities amid the disintegration of the *ayllus*, the persecution of the migrants and the caciques’ oscillation, who preferred adapting to the colonial system to openly facing it. The cultural and ethnic identities converge in mutations; the social, political and economic changes are the variables that—more unconsciously than consciously—determine the
conditions in which the elements and the reiteration of a group’s world vision are expressed. Such historical setbacks summon up and reconstitute the identities that find the chances to persist in the organizations and daily experiences (2003).

It is therefore worth finding that the new system brought by the Spaniards changed the former patterns developed during the Incan Era in some cases, such as the utilization of large land parcels instead of the small ones under an Inca State organization and management, but it kept the ancient institutions and took advantage of them as the basis for new development in other cases.

The mixture between two cultures as the Inca and the Spanish ones also created new patterns and ways of developing the agricultural activity, which is assimilated by the farmers who keep the former patterns in some cases, modify them and even create new ones that allow them to timely adapt to the new conditions in other cases.

2.1.3. Land reform and cooperative model

Karami and Kurosh Rezaei-Moghaddam state, about cooperatives; theoretically, agricultural cooperatives are considered the backbone of agricultural development in many countries. By pooling individual holdings, cooperatives should logically yield a surplus far in excess of what an individual holder is able to produce in a tiny plot. From an economic point of view, cooperative farming is expected to increase production, increase the profitability of farming, and satisfy the needs of its members and society at large. From a social point of view, production cooperatives are expected to raise the professional and cultural qualifications of their members. However, it remains controversial whether the cooperatives have achieved these development objectives in reality (2004).

The cooperative system is important in its application in the Peruvian case for two reasons: first, because it was the system chosen by General Velasco Alvarado’s military government to be applied in the Peruvian agrarian reform and was unsuccessful; and second, because the cooperative model is still applied by several groups of small farmers in Peru with different outcomes. The military government’s idea when it decided to implement the cooperative system among farmers in the agrarian reform was to develop through this associative form efficient organizations that worked for the social good, but the expected outcome did not arrive for reasons that will be presented further below.

The land reform initiated in Peru in 1969, during the military government, constitutes a historical fact that modified the Peruvian agrarian system structures, changing former patterns as the property of lands, creating new institutions such as cooperatives, and that finally failed due to a variety of reasons after a long time, largely contributing not only to the current existence of smallholdings but also to the small farmers’ situation in Peru.

With the purpose of understanding the phenomenon and the drastic changes caused by the land reform in Peru, it is worthwhile checking into the prevailing conditions before such phenomenon, and Kay carries out a thorough analysis of the situation that allows
to understand the historical background and the different prevailing interests that drove military government to initiate the land reform in Peru.

“Three main agrarian systems can be identified in Peru – plantations on the Coast, haciendas and peasant communities in the Highlands. The Highlands, the peasant communities specifically, also supplied labor to the coastal plantations” (Kay, 1998:2).

Kay explains how a land concentration aimed at export –which mainly extended in the second half of the nineteenth century– was developed on the coast due to the natural conditions of soil uniformity, the need for managing water by means of irrigation systems and the lack of season markets. The main crops were sugar cane and rice and cotton to a smaller extent, all having important international capital stakes (1998).

Kay explains how sugar crops on the Coast utilized permanent workers as well as a temporary one coming from the Highland. Two soil management systems and labor use on the Coast were developed in this period: colonato (tenantry), which was mostly utilized in rice cultivation and yanaconaje (sharecropping), in cotton (1998).

“The colono (tenant farmer) and the yanacona (sharecropper) obtained a small plot or piece of land where they cultivated rice and other livelihood crops. They should pay a rent in kind or money in both cases. The distinction was in relation to the tenant farmer who also had to work for certain days in the company’s lands” (Kay, 1998:3). “Two types of haciendas can be distinguished in the Highland: the vast livestock estates and the not-so-large livestock-crop estates” (Kay, 1998:4).

“In the livestock haciendas, shepherds called huachilleros (sheep-tenants, a type of tenant farmer) looked after the landlord’s flock in return for the right to graze their own animals. As landlords and huachilleros competed for the same pastureland, landlords attempted to totally dispossess the huachilleros and transform them into shepherds paid only with a wage. The main factor behind shepherd proletarianization was the increasing productivity of the landlords’ sheep as a result of investment to improve their stock quality” (Kay, 1998:3).

Kay explains that the huachilleros resisted the landlords’ attempt to proletarianize them because they did not want to lose their small-entrepreneur condition and freedom apart from the fact that they felt their payment was not properly making up for their services (1998).

In his paper, Kay states that in the most typical haciendas, especially those of the Highlands, the owners were often absent and only maintained direct control over a part of the cultivation land. That is, their profits increased by renting the land rather than directly working it (1998). In that sense, unlike the Coast, the production in these haciendas was low and they utilized typical technology which was not different from that of the other peasants’ use.

As explaind by Kay, the outlook changes when the capital market starts working in these relationships so that the haciendas start getting into the rural communities’ lands
aiming at the seizure of more of them. The peasants continuously protest and invade lands claiming the restitution of those of their own (1998).

Due to these difficulties and their land loss, many peasants were forced to work for a wage in the haciendas and even others worked on seasonal activities in the Highland and the Coast. Kay explains how the capital market access is the origin of a privatization process of community cultivation lands apart from the fact that legislation on these changes in land ownership is initially regulated (1998).

“Distinctions between rich commoners who introduced themselves to more profitable activities, such as trade and transportation, and poor commoners who were often hired by the rich as workers for their plots start worsening. Afterwards, most of the commoners were incorporated into mass markets and foreign exchange replaced barter” (Kay, 1998:5).

“All these processes indicated that peasant communities had largely evolved into associations of private peasant producers before the land reform. Privatization and differentiation notwithstanding, however, the commoners retained their organization and many non-commoner peasants attempted to form legally constituted peasant communities as a way of keeping track of land claims more effectively and obtaining credits and other services from the State” (Kay, 1998:5).

“The structure of land ownership before the land reform was very uneven. In 1961, the estates (1.2 percent of farms) held 52.3 percent of the land while the *minifundios* (smallholdings) and peasant communities (84.6 percent of farms) owned 40.8 percent of the land. The land concentration was far higher on the Coast where the plantations (5.4 percent of farms) had 86 percent of the land, while the haciendas (3.7 percent of farms) only controlled 52 percent of the land in the Highlands” (Kay, 1998:5).

In his paper, Kay states that this uneven description is yet more serious because it does not take into consideration the land quality. In that sense, the land quality was better on the Coast due to irrigation systems and even quality than that of the Highland where it was poor (1998).

“The *large rural estate-smallholding* land tenure structure generated both inequality and inefficiency. Landlords owned too much land and employed too little labor while peasants had too little land and used too much labor. Large rural estates left a high proportion of their land idle and cultivated the remainder less intensively than the peasants’. Peasant farms were small and fragmented into numerous plots which were located at different altitudes and ecological levels” (Kay, 1998:5).

Kay explains that Peru was a rural country but with a quick urbanization process before the land reform so that three fourths of the population was rural in 1940, two thirds in 1961, and a half in 1972. In this social composition, the Highland turned into Peru’s rural region par excellence by maintaining 42 percent of the total nationwide population but 80 percent of the rural population at that time (1998).
The structural characteristics of the economy and unequal access to means of production caused severe inequalities in income distribution among the population and perpetuated poverty (Kay, 1998). As stated by Kay, on average, revenues were much higher in the urban sector than those of the rural sector which even had many regional distinctions; the Coast’s revenue was higher than that of the Highland (1998).

“Agriculture’s poor economic performance was not supported by the adoption of an import-substituting-industrialization strategy from 1959. This strategy discriminates against agriculture, depriving it of important investment funds and exacerbating the fall in production. The foreign exchange policy, which over-valued the local currency, had the effect of making food imports cheaper and agricultural exports less profitable. Agricultural imports raised from 9% of domestic agricultural production in 1960 to 15 percent in 1969. More dramatically, the value of agricultural import exceeded that of agricultural exports for the first time in 1967 and Peru ceased to be a major agricultural exporting country. Agriculture, which had contributed 51 percent of the total value of foreign profits between 1944 and 1959, only contributed 27 percent between 1960 and 1967. In addition to the foreign exchange policy, price controls on food products were extended and more strictly enforced. These policies led to a deterioration of agriculture’s terms of trade vis-à-vis the rest of the economy in the 1960s” (Kay, 1998:7).

It is important to consider the analysis done by Kay, who states that while it was easier for agriculture on the Coast where international capital and irrigation projects made agriculture profitable because of credits and, in general, the sector’s growth, it was more difficult and full of crisis in the Highland where there was the largest concentration of peasants who had access neither to credit nor to external markets to export due to the poor quality of their products and meager cultivation conditions apart from the difficulty with smallholdings (1998).

The land reform initiated by General Velasco Alvarado had its antecedents in other attempts of agrarian reform and protest movements in the country that led to some legal regulations which did not work out in practice.

In 1962, there was a short military government period in Peru during which the Foundation Law of Land Reform (Law Decree N. - 14238) was enacted, whose purpose was to control the farmers’ unrest. This rule was the first intention of regulating a land reform but had no applicability in practice.

Shortly after, in 1963, the same military government decrees the first truly land reform with Law N. - 14444 that is expected to solve the most serious difficulties derived from the insurrection in La Convencion Valley in southern Highland. As explained by Kay, in this case the land was seized and distributed as property among the peasants who rented the land before while the landlords retained the ownership of the core lands or core enterprise (1998).

“Belaúnde enacts the Land Reform Law N. - 15037 in 1964, however, in the Peruvian Congress the opposition restricted the necessary funds for its implementation. Only few
lands were seized, not only resulting in many peasant movements but also giving birth to guerrillas that were repressed by the army” (Kay, 1998:9).

“The military takes control of the government in 1969 aimed at carrying out the major social, economic and political changes in Peru and enacts a new Land Reform Law (Law Decree N. - 17716). At political level, perhaps the most important for the military, the land reform attempted to incorporate the peasantry into the political system under the tutelage of the State, broadening the social base and thereby legitimizing their rule. This aim was part of the military government’s broader objectives in order to create a strong, autonomous national State, free from oligarchic control as in the past” (Kay, 1998:9).

“A vast and complex bureaucratic machine was developed to implement the reform programme. Three sets of measures can be distinguished: those dealing with the expropriation process, those dealing with the organization and functioning of the reformed sector and finally those relating to the organization of the peasantry” (Kay, 1998:9).

Kay explains how –by means of Law Decree N. - 17716– the maximum land limits that would be retained by individual owners were established. On the Coast, the limits were 150 hectares to irrigated lands and 300 hectares to unirrigated lands. In the Highland the limits were between 15 and 55 hectares to irrigated lands (1998). The 12 major agricultural companies –producers of sugar– were nationalized on the Coast and after initiating with the most profitable coastal companies, the nationalization process spread around the Highland (1998). The landowners got land compensation, some in cash and another part in inflation-proof Treasury bonds from the Peruvian State (1998).

“The military government decided to implement three different types of cooperatives under the Peruvian agrarian reform: Agrarian Production Collectives (CAP in their acronym in Spanish), Agricultural Societies of Social Interest (SAIS in their acronym in Spanish), Community Cooperatives or Peasant Groups” (Kay, 1998:10). The differences explained in the previous chapter were accounted for by the group members who could come from the peasants, the workers from the old ranches, and in some cases, they could engage members from other peasant communities, but they essentially maintained the major characteristics of any cooperative system that were an ownership system and a collective production.

Barraclough’s analysis is interesting because he analyzes the process of the agrarian reform in various Latin American countries and mentions farmers’ incapacity to organize “pressure groups” at political level and communicate their needs to the government and create a tense climate. “Political positions are generally held by members of large landlords’ families or upper and middle urban classes. The campesinos have been unable to organize pressure groups, to influence policy at national level, or even to communicate effectively with the government. The vast majority of the rural population (a large part of the total population) thus had little representation in present political structures” (Barraclough, 2001:10).
Although this lack of representation is due to many reasons, among which is the lack of capital to finance the presence of representatives at political level, it is also true that there is an incapacity to organize them, which also affects farmers’ access to political decisions. In this sense, a way found by Latin American countries to face the growing pressure coming from the agricultural fields and from the peasants was through the processes of agrarian reforms.

“In the decade of the seventies of the last century, General Juan Velazco Alvarado’s military dictatorship imposed itself in Peru (1969), in which regimen Decreto Ley 17716 was passed, on the agrarian reform in order to grant the land to those who work on it. However, even though the agrarian reform finished with feudal Peru, eradicated gamonalism and outrageous institutions such as state of servant and Indian slavery, it did not improve peasants’ condition; that is, with such reform, the indigenous people’s problem was faced partially under the veiled denomination of the peasants, making invisible once again the problem of indigenous people as subjects with rights and their inclusion into a multicultural country systematically denied by power” (Cayra, 2004).

“Although the idea was simple – distribute land among those who work on it – the reform’s implementation was largely unsuccessful and fell short of the goals set by Velasco and his government. In the Andes, less than half of landless peasants actually received land, and in the coastal and jungle regions, cooperatives established from expropriated plantations were plagued by mismanagement. While the reform effectively ended landowners’ control over peasant workers, it also greatly exacerbated tensions between ethnic groups, particularly between highland peasant and lowland natives on the one hand, and the criollo middle and upper classes, on the other hand” (Garcia, 2005).

Norman Long and David Winder’s analysis is interesting when they refer to the changes in the organization of peasant communities, changes that were intended by the agrarian reform and included the internal organization of these communities that were not working well and had problems with their neighbours (2002). Norman Long and David Winder explain that the intention was to implement modern agricultural techniques and organizational models (2002).

Norman Long and David Winder refer to the “Statute of Peasant Communities” that was passed on February 17, 1970 as a result of the agrarian reform and which had the following objectives:

1. To increase the participation of peasant communities in the integrated development programmed of the country as a whole;
2. To preserve the territorial integrity of the community and facilitate better use of its natural resources;
3. To revitalize and modernize the traditional form of land utilization, prohibiting the sub-division and fragmentation of resources;
4. To rejuvenate traditional norms and values compatible with national development objectives;
5. To promote the development of different forms of mutual help and traditional co-operation, leading towards the establishment of co-operative organizations.
In this “Statute of Peasant Communities”, two points are remarkable: point 4 which is directly related to the rejuvenation of traditional norms and values that are compatible with the objectives of national development, thus recognizing the importance of the peasants’ cultural values and the need to update them in order to contribute with their own development; and point 5 which is related to the development of different forms of mutual aid and traditional cooperation methods, which existed among peasants and received an orientation towards the development of a cooperative system.

These authors also mention that the use of “training centres” was foreseen at local level, which would be in charge of developing these administration skills and techniques necessary to succeed and achieve the goals established (2002).

“As for the military’s plans for organizing and functioning of the reformed sector, these were aimed at developing cooperative organization ways at company and regional levels. Seized land could be adjudicated to peasant groups or to individuals. The land allocated to peasant groups could be organized into Cooperativas Agrarias de Produccion – CAPs – (Agrarian Production Cooperatives), Sociedades Agrícolas de Interes Social – SAISs – (Agricultural Societies of Social Interest), Cooperativas Comunales (Collectives) or Grupos Campesinos (Peasant Groups)” (Kay, 1998).

Kay explains the distinctions among these cooperatives implemented by the land reform. The Agrarian Production Cooperative (CAP) was a system in which the indivisible production and everything belonging to it as well as the property system was collective. The partners working as part of this collective system democratically elected their board of directors. Profits were divided after mandatory payments and deductions devoted to reserve, investment, social security, education and development funds. These payments were equally distributed among the partners in accordance with labored days (1998).

“The Agrarian Society of Social Interest (SAIS) was similar to the Agrarian Production Cooperative but the workforce who had worked before in the company was incorporated. The SAIS was managed by a Service Cooperative, which was the owner of this society. This Service Cooperative in turn was created on the basis of the company’s senior workforce and some other invited peasants from close communities. The SAIS was only established in the Highland and the peasants were allowed to maintain their own small plantations and animals just as they did before the land reform. The SAIS comprised several groups of ancient haciendas” (Kay, 1998:12).

“The Collectives were constituted by the lands that had been distributed among the communities’ peasants provided that these were exploited in common. It was intended to be a transitional system finally resulting in an Agrarian Production Cooperative” (Kay, 1998).

“The land reform carried out by the military government included not only the creation of Rural Unions but also the abolition of the landlord organization called The National Agrarian Society” (Kay, 1998). The land reform was completed in 1979, ten years after the law was passed. According to Kay, 15,826 agrarian properties (10.5 million
hectares) were seized, but only 7.8 million hectares were awarded favoring 337,662 families approximately. That is, nearly 40% of the country’s land was awarded to 35% of the agrarian families (1998).

“The land reform had a collectivist character and few properties were individually awarded. The coastal CAPs had predominance over the Highland SAISs due to better quality of the former ones” (Kay, 1998).

“It is also worth noting that the lands being individually distributed were of better quality than those assigned to rural communities even though the statistics proved that only 13% of the wholly awarded land was granted to independent peasants” (Kay, 1998).

“In conclusion, the workers who got wages and were stable in the companies before the land reform were the most benefited in spite of being the minority, and the rural community peasants, notwithstanding the majority, were who obtained less benefits organized into SAISs where they obtained few benefits having low-quality lands” (Kay, 1998).

The land reform planned by the military government failed for the different reasons analyzed below, causing the proliferation of small farmers who became owners of small units (smallholdings) but lacking in other elements that allowed them economic development, most of them gathered in the Peruvian Highland cohabiting in precarious economic situations.

Different authors acknowledge the fact that the Peruvian land reform was one of the first intents in Latin America of such kind and even though it was successful in ending up with the farmers’ power and the exploitation of peasants, it failed on the organizational system that intended to establish for the peasants’ development on the basis of the cooperative system.

2.2. Failure of the cooperative model and the beginning of small farmers in Peru

“His most radical measure took place in 1969 when the general announced that Peru’s old farms (haciendas), many of which belonged to the old Peruvian elite, were to be expropriated and transformed into peasant cooperatives. The agrarian reform, or reforma agraria, made Velasco a new version of the Latin American caudillo. His radical measures garnered great popular support among the Peruvian working class, but, in time, those measures proved to be disastrous. While Peru’s old ruling class was dismantled, land productivity dropped, and the state-run cooperatives’ inefficient management hurt the country’s exports, eventually creating a huge foreign debt” (Ferreira and Dargent-Chamot, 2003: 27).

“An additional difficulty is that the statute permits comuneros to retain their own small plots of freehold land, to which they often give priority, especially during peak periods. This has had the effect of restricting the capacity of the community to forecast and mobilize its labor supply at critical times” (Norman Long and David Winder, 2002).
Norman Long and David Winder explain how the likelihood that peasants could have their own parcels caused problems because they gave priority to their own lands especially in peak periods and it was difficult for cooperatives to manage its human resources appropriately (2002).

“As the surplus is small, beneficiaries prefer to work on their individual plots and maintain private pasture rights. The small size of the surplus does not permit wage increases large enough to entice beneficiaries to give up their former tenancies and pasture rights and develop the collective enterprise” (Kay, 1998)

As Kay mentions, there was a tendency to work individually the land portion that each peasant had instead of working “cooperatively”, some community lands that did not offer adequate benefits and which in a way had been forced to relate and integrate with other peasants through an institution created by a law, but without any “special” bond among its members (kinship, parenthood, etc) (1998).

The peasants’ lack of technical capacities and education is another factor that explains the failure of the cooperative system. Peasants saw themselves from morning to night with power over lands owned by cooperatives and in the need of managing an organization that in most cases (except for the sugar companies on the Coast) could not perform efficiently given their lack of necessary knowledge.

In his paper, Kay mentions that technology used was not the best, especially in the Highlands, where there was practically no difference from the technology used by the peasants, which generated poor productivity (1998).

In this sense, Norman Long and David Winder mention in their paper that one of the critical factors that the “Statutes for Peasant Communities” of cooperatives was the limitation of membership to people of low economic status (2002).

The corruption and surge of differences among the members, especially among leaders who favors their private interests over those of the community, were other factors that explain the failure of the cooperative system.

The factors that led to the failure of the cooperative model in the failing Peruvian agrarian reform are dealt with in a classification for two general causes as are those attributed to cultural factors and idiosyncrasy and other factors or reasons.

2.2.1. Reasons related to cultural values and idiosyncrasy

In the “Statute of Indigenous Communities” that was promulgated as a result of the agrarian reform, it is mentioned among its main aspects “to rejuvenate traditional norms and values” compatible with the national development and “to promote the development of different forms of mutual aid and traditional cooperation”. These aspects were written in a “law” but were not analyzed in-depth or considered part of the implementation strategy of a cooperative system based on the Peruvian traditional agrarian system and on the cultural values and the idiosyncrasy maintained in the peasant communities through the years, with the transformations suffered through time.
Kay mentions that on the Coast the Production Agrarian Cooperatives that were most successful were the Sugar Cooperatives, basically because its productive system was not dismantled and productivity was maintained. Even though workers’ income increased right after the agrarian reform, then they dropped basically for the differences created among the white collar socios, the blue collar socios (members) and even the members and not members of the cooperative (1998).

When success of these cooperatives on the Coast is dealt with, it is attributed to the fact that the productive system was not dismantled; however, the relations created among the peasants in these cooperatives came from many years ago; therefore, the action taken was to incorporate the cooperative model based on the “informal association” existing from before, this informal association being understood as the set of relations created among peasants (marriages, parenthoods, and other cultural aspects).

The differences in the status among socios (members) of the cooperatives made up another reason to which failure is attributed (white collar socios and blue collar socios). In the case of the peasants, they came from an Inca system in which all were equal and had the same rights, and in which authority (the Boss) was legitimate, and then they lived a totally opposite system brought by the colonial government in which ranchers boasted power and the relation was “vertical”. Under this scheme, peasants had no rights.

When the cooperative system promoted by the military government tried to re-establish the functioning of the “old system” based on reciprocity and a community system, they found themselves before the reality of the existence of class differences among the members of the cooperative.

“The first conflict and principal contradiction is between socios and the State. On the sugar co-operatives, the socios’ main aim is to maximise personal disposable income in the form of wages and other benefits. They have little interest in increasing the non-wage component of value-added, as this goes mainly to pay agrarian debts and into other funds whose benefit to individual members is unclear. The size of these deductions also means that often little is left over for distribution. The State, however, has a clear interest in increasing the share of the surplus vis-à-vis wages to ensure that taxes and debts get paid and investment takes place. Furthermore, the State has an interest in increasing the size of the surplus itself by raising work intensity, a process which socios naturally resist” (Kay, 1998).

The same problems could be observed, Kay asserts, in the cotton and rice cooperatives, where socios pressured to have more individual benefits, translated into better land portions and water for their private benefit and thus reduce the collective ownership (1998). “Actually, cooperatives ended up as a set of individual agricultural companies that used cheap labour and appropriated of collective gains” (Kay, 1998).

Another problem that Kay mentions is the existence of two types of workers, those who were socios and those who were not socios or were temporary. Both types of workers worked the same number of hours per day and had the same obligations, but temporary
workers or not socios received a much lower remuneration and no share in the final profits (1998).

This generated, according to Kay, that socios opposed the entry of new socios, preferring to use cheaper temporary workers and so cut their own working hours, devoting more time to their own private plantations (1998).

In this way, we could say that “second class members” were being created within cooperatives, where a group worked more but had less access to profits and was allowed to reach the socio status, which was reserved just for the other group, more interested in promoting their private interests and obtain the most benefit of the situation than in committing themselves to a common objective called cooperative.

A first error by the military government when creating the cooperatives was to mix in a single organization members with different interests and characteristics that could come from the very peasants of the community, from the workers of the old ranches, and invent from the peasants of another community.

In this sense, we could notice that a cooperative structure was created over the base of a law that promoted the cooperative system among peasants, but among them was no bond that could maintain this union (kinship, parenthood, or others) and that has worked for years in the peasant communities. Thus, the unions was artificial and there was no commitment by the members to a common ideal of the community which they “sensed” alien to them and besides provided them with lower income than their own small land parcels.

Among the members of the cooperative there was no bond of kinship, parenthood or other that could keep them united. In many cases, many peasants rejected the cooperative model from the beginning because they considered that they did not have any benefit from it and preferred to keep their land portion, so eroding the model.

In this sense, we pick up an element as influence of agriculture in the Inca times and that can still be observed in the peasant communities, *reciprocity* as a fundamental rule. Reciprocity was applied in the jurisdiction of the “*ayllu*” which was the human group, the community based on strong bonds of kinship in which a man upon getting married received a land parcel and with that, accesses to a set of benefits such as water, but also with a set of obligations to the *ayllu*.

Reciprocity manifested in two forms: in “works of mutual aid” (Ayni) such as building a house for the new member of the community or in “community works” (that ruled the relations with the State, the community and the church) such as working on the Inca’s lands. One collective work method was knows as “Minka” and included work and festivity.

In this sense, welfare consisted of becoming a member of a community, sharing strong bonds such as traditions and ancestors. Property belongs to all and there is an obligation to work and share resources, as well as results obtained through this work. The way to
maintain unity within the community was the strong bonds shared by its members, blood bonds in some cases, extended kinship in other cases, and also “companions”.

“Reciprocity bonds” that were so important in the Inca culture are still in effect in peasant communities and also “kinship relationships” and “friendship” are still ruling and consolidating social relations. The offering of gifts is still the best way to consolidate a social relationship.

The ayllu developed in the Inca age and which still thrives in peasant communities is based on the “nuclear and extended family” which also includes close and distant blood relatives. In this sense, bonds developed among them are stronger and long-lasting. To belong to a group of relatives brings about economic, social and ritual obligations; and also brings about rights.

“Marriage” in this sense is a ritual that constitutes an obligation for individuals at a certain age, given that in every social activity the presence of couples is required. On the other hand, through marriage, peasants acquire the status of “comunero” in front of the group, being in the capacity, from that moment with that “maturity” signal, of participating in public positions and tasks.

There are several rites linked to this “parenthood” in the peasant communities that allow the strengthening of the bonds among members. These relationships are the bases of what has been called by some scholars as “informal associations” that work very well among peasants and could constitute the bases of later formal associations.

These aspects related to the kinship system, parenthood and other elements of the so-called “informal associations” were not taken into account when designing and applying the cooperative model. I will explain in detail these elements of the Andean culture that influence the small farmer’s behaviour in Chapter 3.

“It did not take long for a financial crisis to attack cooperatives and its administration system. In the face of these problems, the government decided to substitute the leaders of the cooperatives for public officers, as well as to incorporate groups of temporary workers as socios” (Kay, 1998).

“In the Highlands, the same problems took place. Although the system had been planned to maintain a collective scheme, individual cultivations came to account for one-third of the total land” (Kay, 1998).

“The ecological conditions of the Highlands make small farmer plots particularly suitable for cropping, so government efforts to centralise production have been rather unsuccessful here. Strong peasant pressure for private cultivation was reinforced by ecological considerations. Large-scale enterprises may in fact create diseconomies of scale and become unmanageable, as occurred in some instances” (Kay, 1998).

On the other hand, after the colonial government and especially with the development of a land market that started in Peru before the agrarian reform, the mentality in some farmers changed towards a “more market economy”, where the aim was to “make
“Money” and which started to replace the hoary idea of maintaining a system and becoming a beneficiary with the group. The concept of individualism started to grow more strongly and in many cases, each family of farmers started to become independent of the “community”. Many times farmers’ children also decided to perform activities other than agriculture which were more profitable, so contributing to the economic improvement of the family and also started to develop a more capitalist idea in relation to the importance of money.

“This vicious circle could only be broken by the State’s committing major capital resources into developing the productivity of the central enterprises. As this has not occurred, the process of internal encroachment is gaining the upper hand and effectively subverting the collective by a de facto individual appropriation of its resources. Those beneficiaries with internal enterprises are not greatly concerned about the financial collapse of the central enterprise, as they hope this might accelerate its disintegration and result in the private adjudication of the land” (Kay, 1998).

Kay explains how one of the main reasons for the failure of the agrarian reform and of the cooperative model, especially in the Highlands and in the sugar companies of the Coast, was the rejection of peasants who had owned a small portion of land since before the agrarian reform and felt that they gained more in individual fashion, because of the poor performance of the collective system and devoted themselves to erode the system from within and without, always trying to achieve more individual income and contribute as little as possible to collective gains (1998).

According to Kay, these farmers who were owners of small parcels and lived in the communities, refused to lose their autonomy and to become part of a cooperative, where they did not see benefits (1998). “Indeed, in retrospect, it would seem that this failure to rally the peasants and workers around its central goals has proved to be one of the basic weaknesses of the whole reform programme. In the absence of genuine mass participation, the collective co-operative model had to be imposed from above and was perceived as a constraint by the very people it was supposed to benefit” (Kay, 1998).

### 2.2.2. Other reasons

“The likely long-run outcome of these internal contradictions is either a complete dissolution of the collective through a process of parcelisation or the separation of the peasant enterprises from the central enterprise through and adjudication of land to former tenants and the transformation of the central enterprise into a State farm operated with wage labour” (Kay, 1998).

“The redistributive effect of the agrarian reform was very uneven. Thus, to take two extremes, sugar workers – a minority group – received the highest incomes before the reform and obtained the largest increases after it, whilst comuneros – the largest and poorest group before the reform – were largely excluded and obtained the smallest increases after it. The agrarian reform, therefore, did not significantly reverse income inequalities within the peasant population, nor has it been able to ameliorate poverty significantly, as it left the traditionally poor majority unaffected” (Kay, 1998).
Kay mentions that the political framework established by the military government was the main factor for the agrarian reform to fail in Peru. It continued with importation-substitution-industrialization strategy that discriminated the agricultural sector. It applied greater and restrictive price controls to the agricultural sector. The exchange rate favored importation of agricultural products more than exportation. Even though there was a subsidy to avoid the increase of food prices, it ended up supporting imported foods rather than domestic products (1998).

As Norman Long and David Winder mention and illustrate it with the Matahuasi case (small community of the Valley of Mantaro), the fact that cooperatives were formed by the lowest strata of farmers prevented medium and large farmers from becoming socios, which in turn caused cooperatives to concentrate groups of people with little education and limited experience in the management of organizations (2002). This generated problems in the administration of the organization that in the medium and short term could not be turned around by farmers.

Norman Long and David Winder also explain that in the agrarian reform there was more emphasis on the idea to integrate peasants but not on developing processes; in other words, there was neglect in the development of supporting reforms necessary in the areas of marketing, technical services and management training for the leaders of the cooperatives (2002). The authors explain that there was not a definite role for municipal authorities of the district, for cooperatives and for the other existing associations to promote local development (2002).

An issue that was neglected, the authors explain, was the agricultural marketing and services entities in the market, which had been created by private initiate before the agrarian reform, and which would later become aggressive associations of small farmers-entrepreneurs that worked with an individualistic tendency, showing themselves reluctant to integrate into the traditional cooperative schemes. This constituted a source of conflict with the peasant communities (2002).

2.3. From Indians to peasants. Peasant communities

García quotes Gelles who explains how General Velazco eliminates the term Indian in a populist strategy: Velazco famously prohibited even the use of the term Indian, promoting instead identification as campesinos or peasants. De-Indianization as a strategy of populist reform and of leftist mobilization, then, made ethnic Indian identification unlikely (2005).

“In an attack against class and ethnic divisions, Velasco also launched a series of social reforms aimed at improving the conditions of peasants and indigenous people. These reforms fundamentally challenged the existing power dynamics throughout the country. Velasco’s radical land reform – often cited as a turning point in Peruvian history – was officially initiated throughout the highlands on June 24, 1969, the national Day of the Indian. On this day Velasco announced the massive and forceful handover of large estates by landowners to their former serfs and employees. Moreover, he prohibited the use of the term Indio, replacing it with campesino (peasant)” (Garcia, 2005).
García explains how Velasco not only creates the terms “rural community” and “native communities” but also proposes to incorporate the peasants into the Peruvian economy by means of his land nationalization and distribution plan (2005).

From then on, those formerly so-called Indians—alluding to their indigenous origins—are called peasants, changing their status and aimed at being incorporated into the national outlook which had ignored them until then and where they did not have any political representation likely to look after them. While it is true that many of the targeted goals were not attained by means of General Velasco Alvarado’s land reform, it resulted in attracting national attention to rural difficulties that represented great populations in the country.

General Velazco Alvarado introduced deep changes in the Peruvian agrarian situation, these changes of political, social, and economic nature, did not yield the expected outcomes, but constituted a breaking point for peasants, who were heard by the government for the first time ever. The main contribution by Velazco Alvarado’s military government was the Agrarian Reform, to which we will later refer. In this chapter, we wish to remark just the new status that “indigenous” people adopted, becoming recognized and called as “peasants”, which is the beginning of deep changes that would later modify cultural structures known by the peasants in their years of service for landowners. From their status of employees and dependent, they suddenly became owners of lands and found themselves in the obligation to adapt themselves to the new situation. This caused a dramatic change in some habitual conducts that currently characterize the small agriculture in Peru.

2.4. Liberalization in the 1990’s and critical situation of the small farmers

“After the land reform failed in Peru, a liberalization process occurred in the 1990’s when the land reform was left out and it was possible to purchase lands by changing the legal framework, resulting in dynamism and capitalization of the agriculture in the country. During the 1990’s, diverse measures were enacted in order to promote the agricultural and agroindustrial sectors such as improvements in the legal framework, liberalization of markets, privatization of lands and promotion of private investments in sugar and other cultivations. Besides, the transportation infrastructure was improved and a large part of the country pacified” (INCAGRO, 2002).

“Even though it was not an investment boom, it was worth noticing an increasing concentration in nontraditional exports. The countryside benefited from an internal and external expanding market because the economic growth made for absorbing an increasing agricultural offer” (INCAGRO, 2002). Thus, a new development of the country’s agrarian sector took place with the coming up of national and foreign investment and the development of new international markets, above all, for agro-exports.

“Between 1991 and 2001, the agricultural GDP rose by 5.2% annual average not only for an increase in sown field but also for productivity growth. Even though a mild climate has recently favored the labor, the cultivation enlargement would have not been
possible without the reforms carried out throughout the decade” (INCAGRO, 2002:130).

According to Valdivia, who is quoted by Escobal and Valdivia in their paper, the agricultural sector in general showed a positive evolution, basically due to the economic growth reached by the overall economy and the consequently internal demand expansion (2004). Valdivia states that as result of the increase in the agricultural sector’s production, Peru regained the agricultural GDP levels per capita of the early 1970’s after having experienced important recession during that decade and in the late 1980’s. Additionally, there were also very strong fluctuations in that period such as the strong decrease of -9% in 1992 and evident boom periods, especially during the period ranging from 1993 to 1995 (2004).

Valdivia explains that the sector’s development was not overall and it was supported by some products such as mango, asparagus, coffee, potato and yellow corn that emphasized the sector’s evolution with very broad rates during the period 1990-99 and when the analysis is extended as late as 2001, it makes for adding vine and husked-rice (2004). Valdivia also states that from the above mentioned products, only potatoes and yellow corn are significantly cultivated in the Highlands apart from the fact that the potato is also an important crop on the Coast (2004).

According to Valdivia, this growth also positively influenced the agricultural trade which increased its interaction with the world economy. In that sense, as explained by the author, between 1992 and the 2002, the overall agricultural exports tripled, reaching the magnitude of US $934 million in 2002. Agricultural imports also followed a strong increasing tendency up to 1998, when –due to the international crises and the lesser availability of resources to finance emergent countries as Peru– it forced to a general adjustment of the added expenditure, which also reflected in the reduction of agricultural imports (2004).

In the case of the agricultural sector’s exports, it was evident that there was slightly higher dynamism in comparison to the country’s overall exports during the 1990’s, which resulted in a slightly increasing tendency of the corresponding agricultural exports on the whole (Escobal and Valdivia, 2004). Escobal and Valdivia explain that the economic recovery of the last decade reached the Peruvian agricultural sector, but that growth was significantly concentrated in coastal products and in the activities of the medium-sized producers –usually called modern. This dynamism resulted in profit increase and poverty reduction at least during the growth period of 1994 - 1997 (2004).

“On the other hand, the Highland’s products –that showed a significant growth in the last few years such as potatoes, which doubled their production in the last decade, or the starchy corn or the barley, which increased more than 50% in the same period– did not significantly benefit their producers because the producer prices tended to decrease before production increases, becoming not so tradable products. In fact, during the last decade, the prices of products such as potatoes decreased –specifically speaking– to half the value they had in the early 1990’s” (Escobal and Valdivia, 2004:13).
As a result of such development—mainly focused on the coastal area—the small farmers’ difficulties revived, above all, those located in the highland area as well as discussions about the applicability of associative models as alternative to eliminate poverty. On that basis, many models have been intended in Peru, some were successful but others failed to solve the smallholding issue and to reach sustainability through time.

According to Escobal and Valdivia, it is hardly surprising that, in this context, the Coast’s rural revenues have increased as a result of the agricultural activity expansion but that is not so in the rural Highland (2004). Escobal and Valdivia quote the figures shown in the National Survey of Rural Homes (ENAHOL) in 2002 whereby the poverty rate in the rural Highland reaches 81.2%, a figure much higher than the poverty rate of the country’s overall remainder regions. According to these figures, more than a third out of 14.5 million of the poor that there would be in Peru is likely to live in this region (2004)

Quoting the same source, the authors state that “the extreme poverty rate (that is, the home percentage whose expenses are lesser than those required to procure essential foodstuffs that satisfy a minimum caloric norm) would be 57.4%. And on the basis of these figures, more than a half of the extreme poor would be located in the rural Highland, evidencing the extreme conditions in which the inhabitants of such national region live” (Escobal and Valdivia, 2004:15).

Escobal and Valdivia state a set of characteristics that differentiate the Peruvian Highland’s rural poor from the urban poor:

- The rural poor tend to have more numerous families than the rural non-poor and even than the urban poor.
- They have higher dependence rates, that is, more members who do not work per member who works.
- The rural poor tend to be average aged higher than the rural non-poor.
- They tend to be less instructed. This is commensurate with not only a lesser schooling rate but also a higher desertion rate.
- They have lesser access to public infrastructure (roads) and public services (especially electricity and basic repair).
- Most of the rural poor have assets (lands in particular) whose ownership rights are not sufficiently safe (absence of registered titles); or, if safe, it is at the expense of high transaction costs.
- Most of the rural poor own lands that have not been benefited from large public irrigation projects.
- They have worse health indicators, a higher infant mortality rate in particular.
- Most of the rural poor tend to have diversified income means not only between agricultural and non-agricultural activities but also within each one of them. This composition responds to a strategy before their high characteristic vulnerability, depending on the quantity and quality of public and private assets at their disposal.
- The more destituted the rural poor are, the more proportionally important are the subsidies and transfers in their income composition.
The liberalization of the 1990’s set up a period of deep changes in the Peruvian economy and the Agricultural sector resulting in a market opening and changes in the existing conditions, but the outlook for small farmers –especially the poorest located in the Peruvian Highland– did not significantly vary, yet constituting a large sector of the Peruvian population aimed at development alternatives.

2.5. Summary of Chapter 2

In Peru, there are two kinds of agrarian ownership, which are “largeholding” and “smallholding”. Smallholdings are related to the existence of small farmers as a consequence of the failed agrarian reform started by the military government.

The Andean system, based on the equilibrium between people and agriculture, grew over a system of reciprocity and social organization, where kinship relations and “compadrazgo” (co-parenthood) had a fundamental role and was affected by the new system imposed by the Spanish conquerors.

The “farm” (Highland) and “plantations” (Coast) replace the Andean system based on the *ayllu* and reciprocity rules, imposing hierarchical relations from the farm owner over the natives who did not have any rights for anything. This new system generated poverty and inequality.

The military government started a process of agrarian reform in Peru, which was based on the implementation of a cooperative system, to improve farmers’ situation and the development of the sector. It looked to promote the development of the sector avoiding further sub-division of the land (reason for cooperative associations) and promoting the development of mutual support models inherited from the Andean society.

This attempt of agrarian reform using the cooperative model fails for several reasons, including the lack of analysis and inclusion of kinship relations as a unifying and collaborating factor in the cooperative associations, lack of administrative capacity, individualistic motivation of some farmers, among other reasons. This failure causes farmers’ desertion from cooperative associations and the proliferation of smallholdings among small Peruvian farmers.

The liberalization of the Peruvian economy in the 90’s aggravates the sector’s problems and small farmers’ crisis. Liberalization of the sector and of the land market is promoted, but the lack of development and favourable conditions, especially in the Highlands, makes it difficult to draw agrarian companies and consequently to promote the development of that part of the country.
Chapter 3. Small farmers in Peru: Problems and options of development
Chapter 3. Small farmers in Peru: problems and options of development

3.1. Small agriculture in Peru and main difficulties

The small agriculture in Peru is fundamentally concentrated on the smallholding as a consequence of the failed Peruvian land reform where the main characteristic is a survival agricultural activity on a small plot of land and subject to minimal conditions of access to technology, machinery and financing.

According to Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, there is not a unique small agriculture in Peru, but there are several. These are determined by the geographical differences in which farmers develop their activities, different climates, cultivations they devote to, different production and commercialization characteristics, access to key markets as well as to irrigating infrastructure, education level, access to machinery, relationships with the State and the average land they own. However, historical conditions enable to identify a set of common characteristics in the small Peruvian agriculture.

In general, for the purposes of this research, in Peru we understand as small farmer one who owns a small plot of land which can vary in size –but the nationwide average is around of 3.1 hectares (2.1 hectares in the Highland)– and works for his self-consumption and subsistence. In some cases, such small farmers try to develop certain commercial activities within agriculture –and yet out of the sector– aimed at obtaining additional subsistence income.

Barraclough states the main difficulties of small agriculture, which can be observed in the Peruvian case. Barraclough states that farm families face an institutional structure which limits their opportunities and incentives to produce. Many of them find it nearly impossible to increase their production because of inadequate land and capital. Technology is often primitive, and important services such as good transportation, research stations, education, technical assistance, and credit are absent. Markets are poorly organized, and prices of farm products are generally low in relation to the costs of purchased inputs. Finally, peasants have few or no alternative job opportunities. Any of these hindrances to agricultural development might be the crucial factor at a particular time and place. If one is overcome, economic progress is likely to be blocked by another. All must be overcome to ensure continuous and dynamic agricultural progress (2001).

The main difficulties of the small agriculture in Peru are the limited land size, scarce human capital, financial difficulties and government subsidies.

3.1.1. Smallholding

In the case of agriculture, the size of productive units of land is an element that has been analyzed as one of the main difficulties concerning the small Peruvian agriculture. This analysis should be considered within the Peruvian context where the poor quality of the land, e.g. in the Highland areas, and the insufficient access to other complementary development elements such as technology, access to financing and the poor human capital are a difficulty.
In other European and Asian countries (Japan) where there is significant support with the above mentioned complementary elements, apart from subsidies and State protection, it is likely in such context –created by actual circumstances– for the size of the productive unit, the plot of land, to be small and yet lesser than that of the Peruvian but still profitable.

“Of the nearly 1.8 million agricultural units existing in Peru, less than 8% own more than 20 hectares. These units fundamentally constitute companies, most of which are taxed and make up the business agriculture segment. At the opposite end is the rural economy that basically works for self-consumption and whose activities should be diversified in order to obtain subsistence incomes. The small commercial agriculture is between both ends, composed of units employing familial workers and targeting to the market a significant part of their production” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2004:13).

“All over Peru, the size of the agricultural unit is 3.1 hectares and, in the Highlands, 2.3 hectares” (Escobal and Valdivia, 2004). It is worth mentioning that in the Highlands the land quality is poorer than on the coast and the majority of the small farmers –mostly indigenous– live, devoted to subsistence activities. According to Escobal and Valdivia, one of the most relevant characteristics of the agricultural Peruvian sector is the fragmentation of land ownership, which is explained on the basis of the 1980’s, after most of the former associative and cooperative companies created by the land reform in the 1970’s were plotted (2004). Such Peruvian land reform phenomenon, explained above, is considered the source of the fragmentation of land as well as the proliferation of small farmers subject to current conditions resulting from the cooperative implementation failure as a way of social and economic organization.

Another issue related to the fragmentation of land is quality, especially in the rural Highlands. In this respect, Escobal and Valdivia state that highland plots tend to be located in different agro-climatic spots, several of which are not very favorable for agricultural cultivations but for livestock farming. They also state that it is not only the fact of complex territory but also an uncertain allocation of the ownership rights which suggests that the erosion rate be very high in the Peruvian Highlands (2004).

A recurrent issue apart from the land size and its poor quality is the difficulty with title deeds for small farmers. Once the cooperatives were dissolved, the farmers divided the lands, but this division was not legally followed and there are still associations and rural leaders who manage and represent peasant groups and land ownership; however, these lands are being labored by individual farmers in practice. This phenomenon hinders the likelihood of land transfer to companies interested in purchasing them and prevents land markets from developing.

Peru’s geographical reality is another important element to take into account, especially in the Highlands where the conditions are particularly hard and it is possible to cultivate only certain species. The altitude differences sometimes are a barrier that hinders the development of these areas and isolates their small farmers limiting their possibilities in relation to coastal farmers who have milder conditions.
Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz analyze specialized literature and state that even though there are not important field economies of scale (that is, higher land productivity on big plots than on small ones), the small business agriculture is really facing with some difficulties in relation to its small scale. For instance, at bigger scale it is possible to consolidate the procurement of raw materials and improve negotiation capacity in product and factor markets. It also enables to undertake relatively expensive steady investments that a small-scale operation would not be able to. Additionally, it is possible to decrease transaction costs in order to dabble in markets demanding minimum volumes and supply continuity that a small producer CANNOT face by him (2004).

The authors analyze the situation in the context of the Peruvian agriculture where despise the fact that there are no bigger field economies of scale, as proved by international assessments, there are dynamic and complementary elements that enable development when there are bigger land units, and favor access to markets at reasonable costs. In their paper, Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz state the discussion among those who promote a larger land market dynamism as solution to this difficulty, so that the creation of bigger units better positioned to face such difficulties would be promoted. However, before the slow development of this land market, they state organizational alternatives as the solution, meanwhile, the small commercial producers require organizational alternatives that permit them not only to improve their access conditions to the market (raw material, product and factor), but also to lengthen their negotiation capacity in such markets (2004).

In that sense, in a subsequent book, the same authors explain in relation to the meager possibility of the land market dynamism that “–for the farmers– the land, however, is a familial employment source so that in a context in which the labor market is not well-developed, there would not be a greater incentive for the land market to dynamize. The dynamism would mostly have its roots in the expulsion of those that risked and were not able to cover the credit, regarding a rational decision to sell lands” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006).

The wish to maintain the land as a sort of “life insurance” is a noticeable attitude characteristic of the small Peruvian farmers not only from the Coast but also from the Highlands. As for the poor economic situation and the uncertain future, they prefer to maintain the land as a familial insurance system so that they reject to sell their lands preventing land market dynamism from taking place, as it should work theoretically. It is the peasants’ possibility to insure means of permanent work in spite of the bad conditions they must face.

As stated by the authors, “other arguments that hinder the land market dynamism are transaction costs, limitations of the land registry system, unit fragmentation and informal documentation of a great deal of producers resulting in permanently costly and limited transactions” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006). In that sense, the authors explain that offering articulation processes on the basis of collective strategies becomes more relevant. “However, these strategies also face important challenges: after the land reform, the farmer is quite distrustful of collective options. Therefore, a need surges, which is the need for setting institutional commitments that take advantage of the profits
of the collective strategies, but keeping an individual financial report and resulting in an incentive structure aimed at everybody’s attitude commensurate with the common strategy” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006).

The trust factor is a significant issue and constitutes an element to be analyzed when offering and implementing associative solutions to the small farmers who already experienced options such as those of the land reform and other ones that were unfavorable in the end and worsened their actual precarious financial situation.

3.1.2. Human capital and technology

Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz state that one of the reasons for the small farmers not to be able to increase their production and maintain low development levels is the insufficient staff of human and social capital (poor education level, few managerial capabilities, inadequate organization level) (2006). Human capital derived from education and access to technology are other elements differentiating small farmers from those in other countries such as the above-mentioned, European countries and Japan, where the human capital development levels result in a different economic growth.

In that sense, Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz have found that it is important for small farmers to have the education level that can increase their probabilities to reach higher technical efficiency levels and that the total family members whose significant number is between two and five (2006) is also important. This research –carried out by the authors– explains that the high number of family members as happens in the poorest families hinders the access to better life and education conditions, restricting very much their work income in order to support big families under more optimal development conditions.

These authors highlight the fact that the rural sector is aging more quickly than the urban, which will result in future consequences. To start with, the demographic transition and the migration processes have led to the rural sector’s aging much faster than that of the urban. In fact, a smaller proportion of young adults live in these rural settings so that the family heads tend to be older.

“This fact causes two results: on the one hand, less people at their stage of highest productivity and innovation capability in rural areas; on the other hand, an increasing demand for social security programs in the countryside with the aim of caring for the population that ages, at rates considerably higher than those of other settings” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006:47).

There is a worldwide migration phenomenon in which the rural area youth tend to quit agricultural labor and move to the cities looking for different economic activities and benefits offered by urban settings under better conditions of life. As for Peru, the difficulties worsen because of the country’s huge centralization, focusing the entire progress and economic, cultural, social activities on the main cities such as the country’s capital city, Lima, and few other ones.
“In that sense, the best education, hospitals, companies and progress in general are located in such big cities, relinquishing rural areas and constituting an irresistibly attractive magnet for rural youth, especially for those who are able to achieve a better education level. A comparison between the age distribution of urban family heads and those from rural areas shows that the individuals aged between 15 and 59 years old are relatively fewer in the rural sector” (Escobal and Valdivia, 2004:36).

“This information is complemented with the fact that the youths have a higher education level than the rural elderly –remaining in the highland countryside– whose poor educational level has significant implications not only over the available managerial capital for an appropriate technological handling but also over the corresponding productive unit management” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006). Without well-based education, it is difficult for peasants to reach new technologies aimed at attaining better production and subsequently, access to more competitive markets. This lack of education also affects dealing with self-management difficulties and management of associations where there are no individuals capable of running these institutions or “partners” having the level to contribute to their evolution.

In that sense, Escobal and Valdivia state the Peruvian educational system limitations in the rural areas where the infrastructure and material supply are very poor and the teachers tend to be less qualified despite salary incentives. They also state that these teachers tend to be frequently absent, so students do not benefit from reaching proper school days in these areas (2004).

As stated by these authors, the difficulties worsen as for secondary school, where children take several hours to get to school because of the lack of a school facility in all of communities. In some additional cases, children are forced to migrate in order to continue their schooling so that those of lesser academic potential are who remain in town (2004). Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz state the “social capital” concept, quote several authors in their paper, and afterwards define it as a construction of multidimensional nature as long as this concept is usually associated with groups, networks, regulations and trust relationships among individuals, which enables to develop productive activities (2006).

The authors highlight the importance of these social networks and the way they help farmers perform in mass markets. “These social networks can be even extended to commercial networks as they are in some informal credit transactions or in certain relationships between producers and stockers, which usually include implicit insurance systems” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006).

These informal networks have been developed among Peruvian peasants, especially among neighbors, family and “compadres” (buddies) just as it is analyzed below. These informal links not only are truly a source of social capital which—if properly utilized—can constitute the basis of other stronger amalgam ways among people but also are to benefit the operation and management of peasants’ associations.

These authors refer to the bibliography on social capital and the channels whereby a person gets benefits from belonging to a network or social structure; “the bibliography
has identified as the most outstanding: access to information at lower costs; joint decision making aimed at performance to scale; suppression of opportunistic behavior by means of a suitable incentive structure when coordinating activities; and access to a range of resources through obligations undertaken by accepting favors beforehand in accordance with the dynamics of reciprocity and redistribution characteristic of Andean societies” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006:113).

A point that is also highlighted by the authors is the different organization level and relation to political capital shown by the diverse producers whose use of public support policies is influenced by both factors (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006). In that sense, there is often a “ politicization” of the existing farmer organization leaders who seek a political position into the community or the region, but being away from a strong economic support, it does not truly constitute a significant development element. Large agrarian companies having access to capital also control lobbies among politicians, so farmers obtain few political benefits. However, as for Peru, in the last few years a change in the government’s attitude has been observed, whereby it decided to firmly strengthen its support to the agrarian sector after the unfortunate terrorism experience and the yet significant population percentage involved in agricultural activities, especially in the Highlands.

An example of these policies is the so-called program “Sierra Exportadora” (“Exporting Highlands”, based on the assumption that the highland region is the country’s ‘larder’) driven by the Peruvian government with the support of international organizations such as the World Bank. These programs are devoted to creating among small farmers a productive capacity as well as, with regard to product export, are aimed at their getting involved in a more global economy and subject to more favorable conditions.

The authors reflect on the alternative of associative models, “the option concerning greater organization can improve information levels (about market opportunities, technology, etc.) and lead better agricultural exploitation management as well as larger and better access to mass and factor markets (better prices, better contractual terms, etc.), but to do so, a well-managed organization is required, with strong incentives so that all of the involved producers support its consolidation. It is not easy to create or maintain this sort of organizations which require governance diagrams, comprehensible incentives and a minimal level of technical support in order to advance and consolidate” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006:54).

In that sense, it is important to point out the State’s role—which will be analyzed below—and which should constitute a significant support in developing countries, not as to participate in the market but to offer minimal conditions so that such market economy works and where it does not, to complement or more decisively revolve around supporting the small farmers’ development. The authors reflect on “the fact that many producers do not belong to associations or organizations aimed at improving their relationship with markets yet, and others who –belonging to– do not perceive their gain on significant benefits. Creating, profiting and consolidating organizations are a mandatory support path to small farmers” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006).
In many cases, such as those observed in Piura –commented below–, farmers do not perceive their obtaining of larger benefits from being associated, making such alternatives unattractive to them and, in other cases, if they associate, it is only for specific purposes as to commercialize subject to better conditions, but ever in unendurably associations which do no consolidate. Barraclough refers to the importance of technology and quotes the example of Japan.

“Optimists will cite labor-intensive innovations such as fertilizer and improved seeds that yield more products from the same area or higher-quality sheep that yield more wool and mutton per head. Japan’s success in following this path to farm progress implies that it might be repeated in heavily populated areas in Latin America” (Barraclough, 2001). The technology has enabled countries such as Japan and others from the European Economic Community to reach high production levels regardless of the land dimension –small in comparison with other countries and very similar to Peruvian smallholdings.

In addition to the fact that farmers still have a strong protection from the government in such countries, these elements have enabled them to attain a development level and quality of life very similar to those of the intermediate levels and –yet in some cases– the highest of urban areas. Education, technical expertise and lack of access to technology are issues that have contributed to the lack of small agriculture development in Peru.

The lack of development elements in the agricultural sector and rural areas such as good education, high-level health, entertainment activities, among others, have resulted in the migration of the farmers’ youngest and best educated children who decided to move to the city searching for better conditions of life. The growth of social networks and the so-called social capital can contribute to the small Peruvian farmers’ developmental condition and strengthen their position of access to the market.

### 3.1.3. Financing difficulties

Among the difficulties of the small Peruvian agriculture, access to financing is emphasized, an element restricting development and growth possibilities. Productive financing for small farmers in Peru have not been developed since the bankruptcy of the Agrarian Bank which was the farmers’ financial institution in the 1980’s but closed down not only for misproducing but also for contractual breaching by a great deal of farmers whose credits were never paid back. The small agriculture is considered a risky activity so that there are not many private financial institutions willing to finance small farmers and only deal with prosperous agro-exporting companies.

Microfinancing has been an alternative to which medium and some small farmers have accessed in some cases, but the credits are very often limited with high interest rates. These financial companies –specialized in microfinancing– have developed their activities especially on the Coast, which is more prosperous, and expanded their operations in the country, forcing –in some cases– many so-called large banks to focus on those previously overlooked sectors as to be important market niches.
“Nowadays, the Peruvian government is assessing the possibility of reactivating the closed-down Agrarian Bank but subject to other conditions which enabled them greater viability and support to small farmers as mainstay of the sector’s development strategy.

The productive and consumption units’ vulnerability is derived from a set of factors, among which their limited access to key factor markets for managing risks is emphasized, such as credit and insurance markets” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2004).

Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz explain how in situations of imperfect and incomplete markets –due to effects of the high correlated risk– the profitability tends to be lesser. In contexts of imperfect or incomplete factor markets, producers tend to opt for safer enterprises but with lesser expected profitability. These decisions have direct implications in the possibilities of private development of such units as long as those safer projects tend to limit the accumulation possibilities but are predisposed to perpetuate the vulnerability of the enterprises and homes managing them, especially in small agriculture contexts (2004).

In their paper, Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz explain that when farmers have difficulties related to accidents, robberies or particular facts which individually harm them, they tend to use a social protection based on social and familial networks. This is a sort of social security at their disposal, developed on the basis of reciprocity.

As stated by the authors, this social protection is the result of the so-called “social capital” working as a productive hedge for small Peruvian farmers in practice. In that sense, each time a person or family has a difficulty he can ask for help to another person or family who will support him and it will be in turn developed reciprocity relationships. The relationships among relatives and those created by means of “compadrazgos” (parent hood) –analyzed below– are important elements in such social capital context among Peruvian peasants.

They also refer to other precaution and safety ways, such as the mechanisms that can be developed within their own agriculturally productive strategy through a larger diversification of cultivations, and the use of techniques requiring larger investment or apportionable work, among others. “But mechanisms can also be developed out of the sector through greater participation in the labor market, nonagricultural enterprise development or migration (geographical environment diversification in order to escape from shock)” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2004:33).

In that sense, in a subsequent work, the same authors explain that the diversification of nonagricultural activities is connected to a major occurrence of acts of God and it is also important to emphasize the fact that the migrants –in the case of people quitting the agrarian activity– are the youngest adults who have higher education levels (2004). Among the activities aimed at diversifying risks, it is possible to find small shops and activities connected to their work, such as craftsmanship, dressmaking for the community and so forth.
“An important element of the youth’s migration to the cities is the economic effect constituted by the “remesas” (remittances) sent to their relatives which currently are a significant percentage in the small farmers’ budgets. What the authors state about demographic pressure and future difficulties concerning small farmers is significant. The need for increasing agriculture productivity will certainly cause further pressures in order to decrease the ratio of workers to land unit. In that context, the need for driving nonagricultural rural activities in these areas is essential. Some of these activities will arise from the possible major dynamism offered in backward chains (input and factor markets) or forward chains (processing and marketing) of the agricultural activity itself. In other cases, the major dynamism must come from the development of nonagricultural activities (primarily industry and services)” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006:33).

The authors refer to other informal insurance systems. “Some examples may be found in the relationships among producers, suppliers and stockers, which result in working as a farm-price protection mechanism before any substantial change in the consumer price or in the links (mainly long-term) with informal moneylenders. These examples show the different types of implicit informal insurance that are contractless and the terms are not clear but constitute the operating instruments of a great number of rural homes” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006:32).

In the case of informal stockers and moneylenders, the economic benefits for small farmers are reduced very often and the decrease of middlemen in the market access chain should be a tendency, but this position is very difficult to be attained under the current conditions so that the peasants will continue turning to these financing ways as a sort of anti-risk insurance.

The lack of access to financial resources such as credits and even the lack of appropriate instruments for handling risks have contributed to the meager development of small agriculture in Peru. Farmers try facing these risks through social network systems which may informally support them in particular cases –such as robberies– and also by diversifying their activities so that they are led into dabbling in other activities out of the agricultural sector.

Another important issue to be considered is related to how small farmers count productive elements, being unaware of the workers’ value even though it is their own labor so that the result is negative if the ratio of production cost to the benefits gained is rigorously analyzed. According to them, agriculture is only a subsistence activity aimed at providing them with food, work and any small surplus.

3.1.4. Government subsidies

The State’s role is another important factor in the development of small farmers and, concerning the Peruvian case, the incessant subsidies granted by the government to the small farmers have been analyzed as a difficulty; they have frequently become used to waiting for the State’s support, without any incentive not only to manage their own fate but also to fulfill with their credit obligations or of any other kind, when searching alternatives to incorporate them in market development processes.
The state subsidies are a sensitive topic worth being dealt with to the light of each country’s reality and within the political decisions made by each government. It is worth mentioning again the cases of the European countries and Japan to quote cases in which farmers have many benefits—including subsidies—aimed at their support of the standard of living different from that of the small Peruvian farmers. In these cases, however, the differences are limited not only to subsidy issues but to more complex ones.

In that sense, it is worth analyzing subsidies as a difficulty when relating to small farmers as long as it is a recurrently paternalistic practice, making the small farmer a dependent element without encouraging him to undertake his own risks and responsibilities within the new market context in which the Peruvian economy is involved. It is worth acknowledging that in some cases, such as the Highlands—due to market imperfections and lack of conditions—, the State’s important role will be necessary and so must be mostly focused on creating infrastructure, developing ways of access to health services and implementing schools rather than on developing antitechnical direct subsidies that keep the small farmers’ dependence.

The research done by Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz in Piura and El Mantaro valleys is significant, presenting different results. In general, Piuran valleys’ producers and rice growers in particular strongly believe in the State’s support before an act of great magnitude from God. In case of bad climate, and consequently, production difficulties, the Piuran peasants hope that the State will support them directly through donations, debt forgiveness, social programs, special programs from any ministry, etc. Even when concerning rice, in which there is a strong producer organization, if the price falls, they hope that the State will aid them by purchasing from them directly, e.g., through the National Program of Food Assistance (PRONAA).

On the contrary, in El Mantaro valley, although producers would rather have the State’s support, they do not consider this option to be realistic because it has only been a sporadic aid so they do not think about it as a strategy to face with any act of God (2006). In that sense, “it is in Piura where the public sector and the State are a mandatory reference either as responsible entities for the difficulties and lack of opportunities in the region or as troubleshooters” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006:31).

In the research, small farmers’ frequent tendency to wait for the State’s aid and subsidies, direct write-off and other direct support is shown. Although it is true that—concerning El Mantaro valley—this tendency to depend on the State is lesser, it is because they do not access mostly to public support as it happens in the case of the Piuran valley. In that sense, there is a culture of strong dependence on the State by small farmers.

It is important to emphasize that these dependence attitudes are learnt and developed in accordance with the level of proximity to the State’s benefits, as proved by the small farmers in Piura and El Mantaro Valley cases, in which the reaction is based on their experience. Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz criticize the State’s role, which hat should be present in regulating markets where these do not operate due to monopoly or
monophony structures. However, in practice, its role in that realm is still very limited (2006).

In that sense, for instance, in the Piuran case, it is worth noting important economic powers acting as monopolies, specifically in relation to cotton, forcing small farmers to accept misleading conditions for them. Before these circumstances, small farmers’ associations may constitute an important alternative to balance the negotiation power between the parties; nevertheless, there are some intentions so that these alliances do not consolidate and the farmers breach their commitments in the end, an issue of which big companies taking advantage.

“The State should hold a promoter role in the productive transformation. By means of incentives, information, resources and clear and consistent guidelines, the agricultural sector and the regional governments should have as a core task the promotion of a change aimed at better production systems (more profitable, efficient and amicable to the environment), and better marketing of certain products whose perspectives are not good in the trade agreements being discussed and in the current internal market” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006:44).

Very often regional and local governments are far from the rural reality of their communities and only turn to small farmers in times of electoral campaigns, although they lack not only serious development plans for these sectors but also developed coordination channels to the central government. The lack of economic resources has typically been used to justify the lack of organized development plans for rural sectors by regional and local governments in Peru; however, due to a market situation as well as the discovery of big mining deposits in the past few years, there are some areas whose budgets have substantially increased but lack viable projects aimed at consistently utilizing these resources under a long-term development vision.

In that sense, Escobal and Valdivia refer to the fact that another element distinguishing the Peruvian rural Highlands –where the majority of poor small farmers live– is the basic infrastructure deficit of public services, so lacking such widespread public infrastructure creates substantial differences in accessing public services between these poor people and the non poor ones (2004). In that sense, the authors state that the small farmers lack major coordination not only among themselves but also among the main agents, which include both the central and the regional governments. “One of the bottlenecks the small agriculture faces is the coordination difficulties that small producers have not only among themselves but also between them and other private participants (NGOs, companies and productive chains, financial system, etc.) as well as between them and the public sector at local, regional or national scale. In order to promote coordination stages among the different participants, it is essential to have a common platform on the basis of which to prioritize, order and articulate such stages” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006:42).

The State is a core participant when defining opportunities and alternatives for small agriculture. It can be a large partner, insurance, a competitor, a low-cost source of resources or a service supplier (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006). According to the authors, it is worth stating that the State should have a very important role in developing
a strategy for small agriculture in Peru, and as such, should be articulated with the regional and local governments and implemented with the participation of the other agents such as the NGOs, private companies and, in general, the civil society which is a significant part of this effort and will be the beneficiary in the long run.

3.2. Options of development for small farmers in Peru

3.2.1. Investment development in agriculture activities and agro – companies

“Between years 1991 and 2001, there was an increase in the agricultural GDP by 5.2% annually, both for the increase of cultivated areas and for greater productivity. Another important aspect was the reforms made during the 90’s” (INCAGRO, 2002). “Agro industrial and agro-exportable crops grew supported by an increasing foreign demand. In the case of industrial crops, there has been also an increase, especially in recent years” (INCAGRO, 2002).

According to information by INCAGRO, in the case of the Coast, in this decade there has been an important and continuous growth of exportable crops, especially vegetables and fruits. Among these products, the most important have been asparagus, mango, sweet yellow onion, Marigold flower, paprika chilli pepper, and avocado (INCAGRO, 2002). With the new legal framework and reforms promoted in the decade of the 90’s, especially with the liberalization of the land market, the agricultural sector in Peru has gained dynamism, leading to a development of exporting agro industries more concentrated on the Coast. This brought up, as a consequence, a development and an increase in the purchase of land by companies drawn by this new market.

Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz explain that out of the almost 1.8 agricultural units existing in Peru, less than 8% own over 20 hectares and they are mostly companies that pay taxes and are considered part of the agricultural business of the country (2006). However, at the other end, there are small farmers, as these authors say, who are basically devoted to self-consumption activities and are not using these development opportunities for different factors, which were explained in Chapter 2 in relation to the problems of small farmers and their lack of competitiveness.

Escobal and Valdivia say that the liberalization of diverse markets of factors and products during the past decade led to a relative weakening of the anti-agricultural bias of prior policies, which facilitated the development of a small but striving agro-exporting sector, mostly composed of small producers from the Coastal valleys. However, the small producers may have been excluded from this process for their poor availability of public goods, human and managerial capital, and transactions costs, which cause atomization of rural property for the provision of financial and non-financial productive services (2004).

In the 90’s, a process of development of the agrarian sector in Peru started, driven by the liberalization of the market and the measures that allowed companies to purchase lands for agricultural purposes, deactivating by-laws created during the agrarian reform. However, this development was concentrated in the Coastal area, where easy access,
existing infrastructure, water, technology, and investment allowed the creation of an exporting industry.

The development in these years did not reach the Peruvian Highland areas, where the low quality of the land, difficult access, and other limitations did not allow industrialization. In these Highland areas, small farmers have concentrated and are mostly dedicated to subsistence activities or have decided to change to more profitable activities.

3.2.2. Migration to non farm activities

As a result of the Highland agricultural crisis, many farmers have found themselves in the need to migrate to other more profitable economic activities such as trading, for instance. Escobal and Valdivia say that literature shows that diversification of income may be an insurance mechanism for the poor in the face of fluctuations of some of their income categories and, at the same time, for those who have the necessary complementary assets, an additional source of income that allows them to defeat poverty (2004).

“On the Coast, where agro-exporting companies began to invest in purchasing land, there has come up a migration of some old peasants to other activities such as trade, and in many cases, they have moved out to big cities such as Lima. This phenomenon has also taken place in the Highlands where the greatest poverty rate of the country is concentrated, and it is estimated that 30% of the population can be rated in extreme poverty and altogether 65% are poor” (INCAGRO, 2002).

“Another important detail that shows the migration of peasants to other economic activities, especially in the Highlands, is the perception of lack of opportunities, which explains the aging of the rural population. Thus, as mentioned in the study by INCAGRO, peasants’ paradigm is that their children’s progress is out of their place, studying and working in the cities” (INCAGRO, 2002). In this sense, as mentioned in the same study, “peasants who stay or return are those youngsters less educated and talented, replicating in most cases the traditional ways of managing parcels” (INCAGRO, 2002).

Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz explain that there are two phenomena that affect small agriculture (they make reference to the research that they conducted in the Piura and Mantaro regions, but that can be applied in general to small agriculture in Peru), the demographic transition and the migration processes, which explain the faster gain of the rural sector in comparison with the urban sector (2006). The same authors explain that this produces a smaller proportion of young adults in rural areas, which leads to having older households, and consequently, causes two negative effects for the sector: fewer people in their age of the greatest productivity and innovation capacity in the rural areas, and a greater demand in the country of social security programs that can assist a population that grows older at a very fast pace (2006).

Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz explain in their paper that a greater technological development of small farmers will in the future tend to lower the labour ratio of land
unit, and therefore, they say that it is fundamental to promote non-agricultural activities that can employ that labour (2006). The authors explain that some of those activities can happen in the process of linking the same agricultural sector backwards (inputs and factors market) and forward (processing and commercialization), and in other cases, of other sectors too, such as industry and services (2006).

The National Survey of Rural Homes in 2002 confirms that rural incomes different from those made as independent farmer in Peru are significant: almost 70% of rural incomes stem from salary systems in agricultural and non-agricultural activities, from non-agricultural non-salary-systems, and from incomes for profits and transfers (Escobal y Valdivia, 2004). Escobal and Valdivia explain that if incomes from profits and transfers are left aside, the independent agricultural income accounts for 43% of the income, leaving 57% to be covered by a wide range of activities (2004).

Amongst the most important categories are private transfers, which result from the fact that the poorest migrated to the cities (and in some cases abroad), looking for other options and send money remittances to their relatives. Escobal and Valdivia’s analysis is interesting when they explain that it is the access to non-agricultural activities and the income from these activities the most important explanation to why some rural inhabitants make more money than others, instead of the differences in the income from independent agricultural activities (2004).

Thus, the authors conclude, “the richest homes are the ones that increase their opportunities to diversify over income sources other than agriculture (2004). The strategies of income diversification that feature rural homes, especially in the Highlands, respond to the high vulnerability they face, instead of being strategies addressed to exploring better opportunities of income generation” (Escobal y Valdivia, 2004).

The migration of small farmers to other economic activities is a phenomenon that may be observed in Peru; in some cases, farmers perform seasonal works so stabilizing their family budget. This behavior has yielded other economic phenomena, as is the case of overpopulation in the cities and the remittances that farmers working in the city send to their relatives in the countryside.

A possible solution to the problem of small farmers in Peru is to foster their migration to other economic activities, according to some governmental specialists and advisors such as economist Octavio Chirinos. In his opinion, with this option, it would be possible to promote a more active land market and thus, allow private capitals to invest in more technified agriculture with better yields.

There are some problems in relation to this alternative, among which the most important is the lack of adequate economic activities that can absorb labor unqualified for duties other than agriculture. Another problem is the saturation of the cities that are not prepared to host such a great number of people who decide to migrate from farms.
3.2.3. Associative models

In their paper included in Cernea’s book, Freeman and Lowdermilk mention that “the community task of creating and running organizations has always had core importance in social development. People from all cultures have realized that they must make permanent agreements to ensure and collectively administrate what they could not obtain individually” (Cernea, 1995).

Cernea focuses on the importance of strengthening base organizations for their contribution to development, but reflects that it is an issue little developed. “An area that urgently requires the creation of similar methodology is the strengthening of base organizations. Throughout the world, the degree of formal organization in rural communities has lagged behind in relation to that of urban populations. This is a fundamental characteristic of rural underdevelopment, which explains in great part the vulnerability of rural societies. Many rural programs fail for their lack of base organizations able to foster collective action (although these programs rarely try to establish organizations that combine and improve individuals’ capacities). Peasant organizations, livestock farmer associations, credit groups, and water users’ organizations, for instance, are essential for development, but the necessary methods and knowledge for their establishment at a large scale have not been coded nor has their publication been spread” (Cernea, 1995).

Cernea also mentions the importance of informal organizations, which many times are the foundations for future formal organizations, and which in Peru exist in the case of small farmers. “Informal organizations that exist in traditional societies can sometimes play the role of parent to establish more vigorous formal organizations” (Cernea, 1995).

Cernea points out the importance of having high-performance organizations and also says that there are few methodological efforts addressed to achieve this goal. “Having high-performance social organizations is no less important for development than having high-yield varieties of crops, and intensive agriculture cannot happen without a human organization equally intensive, and there is a shortage of sociological methodologies for the establishment of new peasant organizations or for the strengthening of those already existing. Sociologist and anthropologists must recognize that this is a great opportunity for institutional innovation” (Cernea, 1995).

Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz explain in their paper that it is fundamental for Peruvian small farmers to take advantage of economies of scale, and so there are two possible pathways: the land market, sales and rental; and the development and consolidation of associative schemes for producers, which should cover all the production process, or part of it, associated with social capital (2006). In the authors’ opinion, a greater degree of organization has many benefits for small farmers such as improving information levels (market opportunities, technology, etc), improving management, and achieving better access to product and factor markets such as better prices and contracts with more benefits (2006).

The same authors explain that the formation of organizations among small farmers is not easy, as it is not either to maintain them once they have been created, and it is
necessary to have good management and strong incentives to motivate all participants to support their consolidation (2006). In the Peruvian case, the cooperative model has had a great influence, having its clearest expression in the failing agrarian reform started during General Velazco Alvarado’s military government, and later reapplied in some communities of small farmers or in other cases, promoted by NGOs that work supporting Peruvian small farmers.

With the new policies of land market liberalization and the promotion of the agro-exporting activity, some private companies have started the application of business work models with groups of small farmers in Peruvian valleys. In some cases, these models have had relative success that has not been possible to maintain through time, and in other cases, they have failed, causing an increase in the incredulity in these models and their applicability in Peru.

One of the business models analyzed is known as “farming contract”, which is internationally used and has also been applied in the Peruvian case; as a representative case of initial success and later failure is the model developed by the company Critecnia in the valleys of Chincha, and which will be explained further below. Other associative models for small farmers were developed in Peru with the help of non-governmental organizations (hereafter NGOs) and with the goal of improving commercialization and access to financing.

Many of these associations are “informal” or have not been legally constituted, but work in practice. Furthermore, there are other organizations that play an important role in the farming activity and that can constitute the base for future stronger organizations and contribute to the development of the sector. Among other associations, we have the Water Irrigators Commissions that are in charge of administrating the use of this important input for the sector.

3.3. Associative models for small farmers in Peru

There is international literature that explains the importance of organizations for social development. For instance, Freeman and Lowdemilk mention it in their work (1995). In the case of agriculture, social organizations have a vital and even greater importance in other aspects that have traditionally been studied, as are for example, quality and variety of crops. As Cernea explains, “intensive agriculture cannot happen without an equally intensive organization” (1995).

The current research is performed over the premise that a group of Peruvian authors who mention “the creation of associative models as a viable alternative for the development of small farmers in Peru” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006). In this sense, some specialists of the sector, such as Octavio Chirinos, also join to strengthen this suggestion.

We must remark that the models analyzed as case studies have been selected because of their impact in Peru and the possibility to analyze cultural factors and idiosyncrasy linked to them, which will lead us to answer our research hypothesis. Firstly, we will analyze the farming contract as representative of the business models that have been
applied in Peru. We chose the farming contract model for its international diffusion and the initial success of some models adapted to the Peruvian reality, and that later failed because of cultural elements of small farmers as an essential element that is related to our research hypothesis.

Secondly, we analyzed the case of the Water Irrigators Commissions and especially the analysis conducted on these organizations in Piura. The analysis of these Water Irrigators Commissions as the informal base of future organizations is important within the framework of the research herein. As Cernea mentions, it can be observed in the analysis of this kind of organizations how social problems are immersed in the operation of each irrigation system whether it is large or small. People have to organize themselves to find water, transport it and divide it into portions of easy use. They also have to handle the rules for its distribution and pay for the costs. In that sense, the author says it is impossible to obtain deep knowledge of agricultural and technical problems of the irrigation process without understanding the social organization in which they happen (1995). This analysis will enable us to observe how the different cultural elements and idiosyncrasy work in the irrigation process of water use administration.

3.3.1. Business models and farming contract

“Contract farming can be defined as a system for the production and supply of agricultural and horticultural produce by farmers/primary producers under advance contracts, the essence of such arrangements being a commitment to provide an agricultural commodity of a type, at a specified time, price, and in specified quantity to a known buyer. In fact, contract farming can be described as a halfway house between independent farm production and corporate/captive farming and can be a case of a step towards complete vertical integration or disintegration depending on the given context. It basically involves four things – pre-agreed price, quality, quantity or acreage (minimum/maximum) and time. From a developmental intervention point of view, it is a situation in which the relationship between the agribusiness firm and the farmers takes the form of an expert endowing the apprentice with resources, knowledge and skills. Or alternatively, it is more a case of bringing the market to the farmers, which is navigated by agribusiness firms” (Singh, 2005).

“Forward integration can occur where a group of farmers own or control a marketplace or backward integration occurs where large processing and marketing firms either own farms or become directly involved in supporting and controlling production through contracts. The latter type of arrangement is called “farming contract” and usually involves a large agribusiness firm integrating backwards by forming alliances with groups of smallholders and, through written or verbal contracts, providing farm inputs such as credit and extension in return for guaranteed delivery of produce of specified quality often at a pre-determined price. Such contracting arrangement may also involve horizontal integration where firms not only provide direct inputs into farm-level decision making but also encourage integration of various activities across a population of smallholders through farm groups. These groups may coordinate planting and harvest as well as facilitate or manage storage and transport arrangements” (Simmons, 2002).
International literature offers many definitions of “farming contract”, an agribusiness model that has been applied with different outcomes in Asian and African countries, and that has also been applied in Peru for business initiative. The case of the company “Critecnia” in the Valley of Chincha is analyzed further below and constitutes a business model adapted to the Peruvian reality, and that worked well theoretically, but that in its later development and application had many problems.

3.3.2. Irrigator associations

As Cernea states, irrigation systems are a “social product” of human organization and, in the operation of management of the water, it is possible to analyze the social organization of the farmers and the patterns and cultural values that determined their behaviour. Authors like Cernea and Coward Jr. explain the importance of the organization in the irrigation systems and the impact of this element on the success of development projects. Coward Jr. includes the concept of “institution” and “organization” and mentioned the frequent inconsistency between what people believe should occur (the institutional element) and what actually occurs (the organizational element).

“Financially induced irrigation development programs have often focused only on technical and physical components: dams and canals, control systems, water levels, and drainage. Institutional concerns, when present, were limited mostly to strengthening central water agencies. It is being increasingly recognized now that major institutional weaknesses undermine the operation and maintenance of the physical infrastructure, that irrigation schemes perform below expectation, and that some even cause serious adverse environmental effects. These unintended effects often result not from technical causes, but from inattention to the social organization of water users” (Cernea, 1991).

Coward states that in all cases where irrigation systems have been in operation, there are institutional and social arrangements which organize fundamental tasks such as distributing water among users or maintaining the canals. These tasks may be performed by water users themselves or in conjunction with others such as local government officials or irrigation staff; the social arrangements may be formal or informal, highly individualistic or collective, chaotic or controlled – and, of course, judged (by outsiders or insiders) as effective or not. Nonetheless, we begin with the assumption that where canals (or wells, springs, or others) serve more than a single person, patterns of social interaction govern the use of those facilities (1991).

Coward Jr. mentioned the importance of two concepts in a sociological perspective of irrigation: institutions and social organization. He defines “institution” as a concept varyingly used in both sociological and every language, but here I employ it to refer to ideal behaviour and role expectations and as a generic concept for the variety of rules that help pattern social behaviour: norms, folkways, customs, conventions, etiquette, and law. Economists sometimes use a similar notion when they define an institution as a behavioural rule. In this sense, the rule of continuous irrigation, the custom of performing a ritual ceremony at the headwork of a local irrigation system, and the law requiring payment of a water fee are all examples of irrigation institutions (1991).
“In addition to these institutions, there are, in any human group, actual patterns of social interaction which are referred to as the social organization. These patterns of behaviour are sometimes formal, purposive, and enduring enough to warrant the use of a group name: the Royal Irrigation department, Subak Tamblang, the San Lorenzo Farmers’ Irrigation Cooperative Association, Inc., or the Muda Area Development Authority. Of course, a social organization is also composed of patterns and groups less formal, purposive, or enduring: an evening meeting between irrigation authorities and an assembly of water users, a partnership between two farmers which allows one to move water across the fields of the other, or a temporary band of farmers who share a common lateral working to clean a canal” (Coward Jr., 1991).

An understanding of the basic relationship between institutions and social organization requires recognition of the frequent inconsistency between what people believe should occur (the institutional element) and what actually occurs (the organizational element). The basic “lack of close correspondence between the ideal and the actual in many and pervasive contexts of social behaviour” is one important force for change in either the institutional or social organization arrangements. A major reason for this inconsistency is that changes in the social or physical environment make it difficult or impossible to act in certain established ways or make it easy or possible to act in certain new ways. Change in either the institutional or the social organizational element creates demand for change in the other (Coward Jr., 1991).

Cernea performs an analysis of the situation of development projects, especially those of the World Bank, which are addressed to technical and financial aspects but ignore the importance of the organization as an explanation to the success or failure of these projects. Cernea states that irrigation development programs with financial induction are frequently focused only on the technical and physical elements such as dams and canals, control systems, water levels, and drainage. Organizational concerns, if any, were limited mainly to the strengthening of water centralized organisms. But now, it is more highly recognized each time that the big institutional weaknesses undermine the operation and the maintenance of the physical structure, that the yield of the irrigation plans is lower than expected, and that even some of these plans cause serious environmental effects. Frequently, the author says, it is not technical factors that cause these undesirable effects, but the lack of attention to the social organization of the users of water (1991).

In the case of Peru, as in other developing countries, water is the most important element for the agricultural activity and the type of organization that has been more stable is the irrigators committees. In this sense, the participation of farmers in the irrigators committee is common in Peru. I found the importance of the irrigators committees in my fieldwork in the Nazca and Chincha areas, and in Chapter 5, I will analyze the Irrigators Committees of Cumbibira and Palo Parado as case studies.

3.3.3. Other models

There are some groups of small farmers that use other associative forms among them, and also some “groups” that have just an informal relation, which they keep based on a common interest among their members, as could be the commercialization of their
products and the search of better prices in the market. Once that interest is met, which not always happens, they disappear.

There are diverse NGOs and projects with funds from international organisms like the World Bank that are supporting Peruvian small farmers and promote their grouping into some associative form and becoming formal. These formalization attempts have had diverse outcomes that will be analyzed further below, especially in the case of the project of the World Bank and of the Peruvian Agriculture Ministry named “Innovation and Competitiveness for the Peruvian Agriculture” – INCAGRO (acronym in Spanish) and the work of the “Peasant Research and Promotion Center” – CIPCA (acronym in Spanish).

3.3.4. INCAGRO and new model of innovation and competitiveness

The Innovation and Competitiveness Program for the Peruvian Agriculture – INCAGRO is a project supported by the World Bank and has been instituted as a policy instrument of the Peruvian government to foster competitiveness of Peruvian agriculture. This program has been designed to be executed in three stages: (i) Stage I of establishment of a technological innovation system; (ii) Stage II of expansion of the system; and (iii) Stage III of consolidation of the system.

The purpose of the INCAGRO Program is to contribute to the establishment of a modern science, technology and innovation system that is decentralized, plural, and demand-oriented and led by the private sector, in order to increase the profitability and improve the competitiveness of the sector, through the generation and adoption of sustainable and environmentally clean technologies (http://www.incagro.gob.pe/).

INCAGRO’s mandate is to promote and strengthen the supply of non-financial services, specifically innovation services that comprise from basic research to services of extension to all projects from the value generating chain in the agrarian sector. For the implementation of its approach, the Program has been using funds awarded by contest as its principal instrument (http://www.incagro.gob.pe/).

On its first stage, the INCAGRO program was oriented to the organization of conferences. Currently, the program is on its second stage, which comprises three projects (http://www.incagro.gob.pe/):

1. Strengthening of the Innovation Services Market Project; the goal of this Project is to progress in the decentralized development of the specialized innovation services market, contributing to the strengthening and empowerment of producer organizations demanding services, fostering a business orientation in the supply of quality services, and facilitating agreement between the supply and the demand of services for an efficient functioning of the market.

2. Strengthening of Strategic Competencies for Research and Development Project; the goal of this Project is to strengthen agrarian technological research and development in strategic areas of national importance, contributing to the formation of institutional and professional competencies. Support mechanisms will be established both in excellence centres in emerging areas of science and technology and in
regional programs of training in services qualified for innovation, which are crucial to increase competitiveness in agrarian sector.

3. Policies, Information and Quality of Innovation Services; the goal of this project is to forge and institutionalize capacities in the public agrarian sector to formulate, coordinate with the private sector, and implement promotion and quality policies of the processes, services, and products, facilitating the availability and use of scientific and technological information for agrarian innovation.

This program is important for the research herein because it promotes, as one of its goals, the strengthening of organizations, of capacities for the hiring of services, and of capacities for business management of producer organizations, especially of small producers, of indigenous populations, and of women to improve both production and relation with the market (http://www.incagro.gob.pe/)

In the experience of the development of this program, it is observed that there is a lack of capacity in the people involved in the Peruvian agrarian sector where the best trained left cultivation fields and settled in the cities. The analysis done is important because it explains that training is traditionally focused on the crops, the areas, the prices, and the figures, but no policies were defined to create capacities in the people (2002).

As part of the program, it is observed that there is traditional knowledge coming from ancient ancestors’ practices (time of the Incas and before) and their combination with modern technology as a result of progress in productivity matters, but the cultural aspects and idiosyncrasy linked to this knowledge and the management of small farmers organizations has not been addressed in depth as an important aspect in this project.

There are some aspects that belong to the cultural reality and that are addressed in the study prepared by INCAGRO and published in its book named “Modernization of the Peruvian Agriculture: The Regional Vision in Question”. In the analysis of the case of the Highlands, this study makes reference to what it calls the don’t-pay culture among small farmers, through which the fact that they do not honor their debts makes other financing schemes unsustainable, and also causes the devaluation of contracts (2002).

In this sense, here the recommendation made by the study is not to consider the small farmer as a “handicapped citizen” and that the State must provide the capacity for the development, application and compliance of a modern contract system that can cover the different risks, and together with that, the training so that small farmers can work in organized fashion and with a business management (2002).

We may comment that the analysis does not look deeper into the CVI that underlie the so called don’t-pay culture and other visible behaviours of small farmers, aspects that are analyzed in our thesis paper. The INCAGRO project is in its implementation process and an in-depth study must be conducted among farmers’ organizations, which should allow determining positive and negative aspects that are the expression of internal factors (cultural) that underlie the farmers’ minds.

A comment in that respect is a recommendation for the future to include, among the requirements for created organizations, cultural aspects that may be analyzed and may
help us determine the viability and possibilities of these organizations, and so, watch for the future sustainability of the project.

3.3.4.1. CIPCA and the use of social capital

The qualitative research conducted by Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz in the Piura and Mantaro valleys is important because it analyzed the functioning of social capital and the importance, especially in Piura, to organize water distribution. In a lower degree, this social capital is also useful to access to machinery, work tools, and labor; it is little useful in the case of possibilities to access to greater land extensions or for the possibility to work them entirely as a unit (2006).

In this research, Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz found that while in the case of water administration, social capital was important, in practice; small farmers did not comply with an egalitarian distribution and made up power groups that took the best advantages. On the other hand, it was beneficial in areas such as security, that is, coordination between parcel neighbors to avoid water robbery. It also remarks the trust relationships among relatives and friends, which many times help them borrow or buy work tools by credit based on word. Another important aspect is the daily worker’s trustworthiness, especially in times of harvest because it is important to cut costs associated with control (2006).

These behaviors were also observed when the failure of the cooperative model of the agrarian reform was analyzed and points to the development of individualistic elements among farmers who prioritize in favor of their personal interest over that of the community. On the other hand, this “social capital” constitutes a kind of network and set of tacit alliances that can lead to greater cohesion among farmers and their future management of the associations they might found.

Inurritegui from CIPCA conducted research on the role of social capital in the small commercial agriculture in the Piura valleys, where Portes’ concept applies; who considers that social capital is the aptitude of players to ensure benefits for themselves as a result of remaining members of networks or other social structures (2006).

Inurritegui cites bibliography to develop sources of social capital, which are the components that allow a person to obtain benefits from a social structure (2006). First, there must be mutual recognition, either within the association to which one belongs or in an informal network. She also cites social norms acquired by the individual in his childhood, social norms acquired when identified with a given group (trust being the most important), values related to democracy (participation, transparency, reporting, equity, etc.), values attributed to religion (solidarity, honesty, etc.) and especially a reciprocity concept developed within a single social structure (2006).

Inurritegui distinguishes four types of organizations in Piura (2006):

- Irrigation organizations; which are the most important type of organization because water is key to production. The structure begins with the Irrigators Board which in turn comprises Irrigation Commissions.
• Production organizations; here the authors consider all groups directly related to the joint management of parcels and/or negotiation in the inputs and final product market. The cases of organic banana are mentioned as formally incorporated and some informal such as those of rice and cotton.
• Peasant communities; that of Catacaos and that of Querecotillo-Salitral being the only survivors.
• Other territorial associations by proximity; which comprise networks among neighbors or relatives in the same plantation.

Among the conclusions of the qualitative analysis by Inurritegui, it was found that “social capital turned out to be very advantageous to obtain benefits from economies of scale and to gain efficiency, mainly, through the coordination of activities and the joint decision-making in the different stages of production, as well as in the diffusion of information and cutting of transaction costs” (Inurritegui, 2006).

Inurritegui says that, even though this social capital worked very well especially in the management of water by the Irrigation Board, caution is necessary in relation to power abuses by leaders; there must be mutual recognition by all and equity when making decisions, and there must also be respect to agreements.

Inurritegui also mentions the existence of “informal organizations” especially among production organizations and where there is a greater component of collaboration when there is trust among farmer groups that have a common work culture that dates back from before the ararian reform (2006). There are also other areas in Piura where more individualistic behaviours and strong distrust were observed, and where informal networks among farmers did not work (2006).

These two types of behaviours have been analyzed before and how in some cases the patterns of “community work” featuring the Inca agriculture subsisted, while in other cases colonial and later influences have modified behavioural patterns, producing more individualistic farmers.

In relation to peasant communities, Inurritegui concludes that social capital does not benefit peasants and that, on the contrary, in some cases it has harmed them because of leaders’ corruption and mismanagements, which has produced distrust among farmers (2006).

Without a kinship or co-parenthood relationship, many times the result is organizations among farmers that do not withstand the responsibility of the position, suffering from lack of important elements such as legitimacy of leaders, and finally, corruption that in the long term ends up undermining farmers’ trust on the community system.

3.4. Summary of Chapter 3

Chapter 3 analyzes the problems of small farmers in Peru and the development options for this sector. The main problems of the sector that are described are the size of the land, the lack of human capital and technology, the financial difficulties and the government subsidies.
In relation to the development options of the sector, the ones mentioned are investment and development in agrarian activities, and the creation of agrarian companies that purchase lands taking advantage of the market liberalization, developing a more efficient agriculture; the possibility of small farmers to migrate to other economic activities such as trade and so facilitate the movement of land to large and more efficient companies; and the creation of associative models for small farmers that could facilitate their development.

Some problems connected with the described options are analyzed, of which the most important are the lack of conditions that may make investment in companies especially in the Highlands attractive, the relationship between small farmers and their lands, which they see as a sort of informal insurance in situations of economic crisis (disincentive to sell lands) and also the lack of sufficient companies that may absorb farmers looking to migrate to activities other than agriculture, together with the saturation of the cities to receive more migrants.

There are associative models for small farmers that have been applied in Peru such as the “farming contract”, some associations actually work as “Irrigators Associations” and other associative models driven by NGOs and international organizations.

The current thesis work is immersed in the third development option for small farmers related to the creation of small farmers’ associations, developing the cases of business models for farmers, the irrigators associations and other models driven by NGOs and international cooperation organisms.
Chapter 4. Andean cultural values, idiosyncrasy and small farmers
Chapter 4. Andean cultural values, idiosyncrasy and small farmers

“The Peruvian culture is a crucible of races having many additions (Asian, African culture, among others) and in which the two greater components are the Andean and the Spanish culture. However, all contributions made by the Spanish culture have been thought over and interpreted on the basis of the Andean cultural patterns” (Matayoshi, 2003)

“All Peruvians have –at a higher or lesser level– a cultural miscegenation and people are repository of an Andean culture within such miscegenation. This influences people’s answers and even though they can be changed into different cultural options, these processes are not immediate and take time in breaking the structure and making a previously-existing cultural structure un-adapted” (Matayoshi, 2003)

4.1. Cultural values, idiosyncrasy and agriculture

The relation between agriculture and culture is significant and has been developed throughout mankind history. In that sense, as stated by Anders Arfwedson, “in the anthropological sense, cultures are as old as mankind. But with agriculture came the first settled communities – the basis of modern civilization. Large settlements required centralized power and an elaborate social infrastructure. It is no coincidence that the Egyptian pyramids or the temples of Angkor were built in countries where agricultural demands had developed civilizations marked by a strong central power structure” (1995).

Peter Lowrey states “agriculture is not only about seeds and soil, sun and rain, but also about the people who plan and produce each season’s crop. In this way, agriculture is intrinsically a cultural activity. Each farmer, whether he or she tills half a hectare or a thousand, is guided by the norms of his or her culture. Some work is traditionally done by men, some by women. Rural society has its conventions, for instance, in the relationship between large and small farmers, landowners and the landless. Gender relations, class structures and many other cultural factors influence how new ideas and technology are assimilated or fail to take root” (1995).

That intrinsic relation between culture and agriculture should be modernly proved in government policies and development strategies that include personal values and self-identity as a society; Anders Arfwedson states, “These traditional influences have fashioned our cultural identities. However modern we may seem in our attitudes to others, there is always an important strand of inherited traditional values at the heart of almost every individual which determines many of our reactions to change. And moderns politics, modern strategies for development all have to do with how to handle individual and collective reactions to change” (UNESCO, 1995).

The same author not only points out the importance of agriculture for a great majority of people in the world and the difficulties that it should face, but also emphasizes the way of understanding and interpreting such labor on the basis of culture. “Agriculture is the
source of livelihood for the vast majority of the world’s population, many of whom try to make a living under difficult conditions, and increasing their self-fulfillment capacity by respecting and understanding their culture would have a beneficial effect on their situation” (1995).

In the case of Peru, Garcia explains that each ethnic group has a characteristic life system as a result of the daily, seasonal and extraordinary coexistence that has been shaped throughout millennia in close relationship with nature coexisting today with the national society. Not only in the Andes but also in the Amazon, the peoples have built up a series of principles, knowledge and technologies throughout eight-thousand years of agriculture which facilitated both the development of the Andean agricultural production and the hunting and gathering activities. Principles, knowledge and technologies that not only set the standard and their inhabitants’ productive and spiritual-ritual behavior but also define the livestock schedule of their productive and festival-ritual activities as well as their cultures’ collective actions (2003).

In the case of Peru, agriculture has been an activity linked to the national activity since immemorial time and cultural aspects have been developed and evolved throughout time making up significant elements aimed at explaining small Peruvian farmers’ traditions and behavior.

4.2. Andean principles: reciprocity, redistribution and vertical control

“The Incas’ social system had an ancient Andean origin based on the ayllu, an extended family group with a common ancestor. The economic system was also based on ancient social structures and can be explained through several principles, namely reciprocity, redistribution, and vertical control” (Ferreira and Dargent-Chamot, 2003: 13).

According to Beyers, land was identified with kinship, and each ayllu was traditionally rooted into a particular parcel of land. Land was perceived to be inhabited by the ayllu’s ancestry, the members of whom were taken to exist in the present as living beings (insofar as they needed material offerings and sacrifices for their well-being). The attachment to land was thus very strong, as land provided not only the farmer’s material sustenance but also his or her social and spiritual sustenance (2001).

“Reciprocity was of two kinds: symmetrical reciprocity, which related to projects among equals who requested help from one another with tasks, such as building a house; and asymmetrical reciprocity, which could be in the form of communal work to support the empire’s religious and political structures, such as working on the lands of lords, or road or canal building and maintenance. Redistribution, a practice employed by the State, ensured that all agricultural goods not exchanged by reciprocity were to be distributed in different areas of the empire in case of bad crops” (Ferreira and Dargent-Chamot, 2003: 13).

In fact, Ferreira’s and Dargent-Chamot’s analysis is important when stating the two types of reciprocity characteristic of the Incan Empire, where apart from the obligatory relationships to the State, the community and the Church –elements that were the basis of the Empire’s machinery–, “symmetrical reciprocity” was also developed among
equals—that is, among the Empire’s citizens—which enabled them to develop individual or familial projects being supported by the other people, e.g., as stated by the author, building a house. Such symmetrical reciprocity relationships have endured nowadays and can be observed within many peasant communities.

Earls states that the fundamental social units are composed of a number of families linked into a complex set of interrelated obligations and mutual reciprocities. While these interrelations are usually phrased in terms of kinship relations, they do not determine those (1998). Ferreira and Dargent-Chamot explain that a resulting part of the crops was utilized in the army maintenance and—in some special cases—gifts for the noblemen (2003).

According to these authors, there was hierarchical control in form of political and social organization that was in charge of looking after the communities’ entire needs. In that sense, each ayllu got all of the food and products they needed and their members were organized in accordance with the different ecological elevations in order to work the land (2003).

4.3. Ayllu, kinship system and leadership

García explains that the ayllu is the social unit based on solidarity, reciprocity, mutual support and redistribution, principles of socio-economic and socio-cultural organization of the Andean towns. It is important to state that the relationships and the social networks are reproduced into the ayllu as well as traditions and customs, habits and behavior rules orally or imitatively transmitted from generation to generation so that the collective memory is constituted, thus, their identity basis (2003).

Matayoshi states that in the Andean ideology the reality is a whole that includes the family, the ayllu, the community and the ethnic group, where such levels of social organization are consolidated by very strong family and kinship bonds as well as by economic, social, cultural and religious ones (2003). García explains that the ayllu is a poly-semous category with several related meanings: family, kinship system, domestic unity, territorial unity, etc (2003).

However, in the Andean reality, the ayllu is used to refer to the nuclear or extensive family which includes close lineage relatives (kichpa ayllu) and distant relatives (karu ayllu) (García, 2003). Another meaning of the term ayllu is related to the neighborhoods and factions in which the community is divided as well as the community’s members who are far or not related to by any type of kinship (García, 2003). Both the collective customs and their observance are vital bonds between the Andean people and their community.

In his paper, Matayoshi quotes Marisol De la Cadena who explains the case of the central Highland’s peasants. Belonging to a group of relatives undertakes rights as well as economic, social and ritual obligations. As for such obligations, the first one imply agricultural production tasks along with economic reproduction of the domestic group which keeps their validity as such. Since the families integrating the group need to make a success out of it, they must fulfill their corresponding tasks in order to achieve such
aim. That’s why belonging to a group of relatives implies meeting obligations in order to maintain it so thus ensuring the nuclear family’s access conditions to scant but essential resources for their reproduction. In turn, meeting obligations grants all members a position when dividing the work—which is sexual and generational in nature—where not only men and women have been given tasks but also children and the elderly. The division of the work is organized in such institutions which not only are aware of social life rules but also regulate the way people who belong to the institutions access to and work the resources (2003).

Within the *ayllu* concept Zuidema includes the kinship relationships and the bond with land. The old Andean concept of *ayllu* is based on a hierarchical relationship of a group of people to the land they occupy and to the water needed to irrigate and cultivate this land. The hierarchical element in this concept involves its extension to a relationship between rulers or conquerors coming from elsewhere and of ruled or conquered people—with a local origin—who are tied to the land as its farmers, but who also may have other professions related to the earth, like potters (1973).

In such Andean society where “the man is respect”, it is important to state the woman’s role which is subdued to be the legal wife or the widow. In the Incan Empire there was a “matri-focal” system where the son’s legitimization depended on the mother (Matayoshi, 2003). In that sense, the mother was in charge of a double role, “administrator of agricultural resources” and “procreant mother of new children.”

“*Matri-focalidad*” (*matri-focal*) is to be comprehended differently from matriarchy, which was nonexistent according to the author. There was a “patriarchal role in the exo-family relationships and matri-focal in the endo-family ones” (Matayoshi, 2003).

According to Ossio, who studied the rural community of Andamarca in the Peruvian Andes, it can be observed in the daily interaction and the cooperation of relatives in different labor or ritual activities. These activities include sowing or crop of a product, shepherding, housing construction, rituals such as baptism, marriage and death (Ossio, 1992).

In relation to the kinship system there is still a debate among specialists of the Andean system, those who believe that there were “unilineal groups” and those that agree on the existence of “bilateral groups.”

According to Ossio, the unilineal trait referred to as “patrilineal” is based on the same connotations involving the term “*ayllu*”. These connotations are: collective, tripartite and masculinity. In that sense, it was the men’s privilege to be polygamous. Additionally, it is observed that the paternal line prevails over last name transmission, in the patrilineal emphasis of residence, in the transmission of not only ritual objects linked to livestock activities but also the authority principle (1992).

On the other hand, Ossio suggests that other spheres have also been found both the paternal and maternal lines predominate over. Among those who would tighten a bilateralism concept, it is worth considering transmission of land and matrimonial forbiddance (1992).
In that sense, Ossio explains that while unilineal groups—tightened by patronymic usage and endogamous orientation—fulfill a primary role in trying certain continued stay of social groups in space (which is to the conservation of the caste identity), the bilateral clans constitute the basis of the group’s expansion through both marriage and ceremonial kinship so that the necessary cooperation undertaken by those alliances is mobilized. Even though some close clan members support them, what is observed in any labor context or family ritual is that those most regular attendants are those being linked to the main participant by marriage bonds or ceremonial kinships. Either a house is roofed or the livestock is marked or a corn land is sown, those most committed to participating are the ceremonial relatives and the fellows who are far beyond the main participant’s clan boundary and tend to be engaged, in turn, within the clan heart with which the main participant’s clan members have gotten married or engaged into ceremonial kinship bonds. Rather than a co-operating group, an individual’s bilateral clan is a matrix that starts mobilizing as a result of the alliance. Since its spectrum covers as far as the fourth relative by both the paternal and maternal lines along with the ideal of having 12 children, its engaging margin is very high aimed at the access of a great volunteer flow coming from other peripheral clans (1992).

In relation to marriage, when reaching a certain age individuals get married in the Andean society. As Ossio states in the case of Andamarca, once having reached such stage, the society demands that the individuals of opposite sexes become couples. From then on, being single is forbidden by the society because all social opportunity implies events demanding the presence of couples. Either it is a ritual corn sowing or house roofing or a livestock marking or a baptism or a funeral, etc., the different components of these events demand the presence of couples (1992).

In that sense, Ossio explains that mating is an essential requirement for individuals to access to full social order provided that adulthood is defined subject to such access (1992). “On the basis of marriage, the individual will undertake a series of rights and duties imposed by the community. In the Incan community, the individual was trained to offer his services to the State while—in rural communities— the individual is granted the condition of “commoner”, which entails the obligations of holding public positions, taking part in community work as well as the right to have the use of community goods after getting married” (Ossio, 1992).

In the Andes, the wedding ceremony is called yananchacuy that derives from yantin which entails the concept of two equal things (Ossio, 1992). It is important to state that even though premarital sex was accepted in the Andean society, marrying involves a greater status of a social institution subject to the community’s responsibility which grants the right to fully enjoy as than that concerns to and that it grants the right of enjoying laws and duties set by the community.

It is worth stating that the Andean system includes a series of social relationships and links that turn the ayllu concept into an articulating institution of reciprocity relationships. Not only social requirements of the matrimonial community but also of the familial procreating contribute to such relationships and surrounding those is the development of an alliance system which will enable the community to both ensure their survival through time and strengthen ties among members.
We must remark at this point the existence and importance in the Andean culture of a structure known as “ayllu”, which makes up an extended family group with a common ancestor. This institution that has cultural, social, economic, and religious connotations is the one that allows the community to organize and develop with a set of rights and duties for its members.

This ayllu includes the family’s direct members joined by blood bonds and the members adhered by other kinds of bonds such as compadrazgo (co-parenthood), which we will analyze further below. We can also explain the reciprocity, redistribution, and vertical control relationships as well as the common work distribution, which will have a future implication in any associative model to be constituted by farmers. These supportive work conducts can be observed, for instance, when a person from the ayllu needs a house or needs to cultivate common lands.

Another important aspect is the need to get married when reaching a certain age for the individuals of both sexes; and since this is the beginning of their adult life, with full rights and proper duties before the community, individuals at this stage are also apt to undertake public posts in the community, although to this requirement, other requirements will be added related to knowledge and especially experience.

“In the community, the natural and traditional authorities are elected in accordance with their customs and traditions, while the official authorities and the representatives of the Andean communities are elected in accordance with the legal regulations” (Garcia, 2003).

“In these election ways, in relation to natural authorities, there are specific requirements considered within the community in order to be elected authority: having fulfilled religious positions (butler) and the civilians; being aware of the community’s traditions and parties, rituals, ceremonies, history as well as their boundaries and their territorial borders” (Garcia, 2003). That is, there is a double system which sometimes is put before each other, so it comes into conflict. While the natural authorities govern the community internal life, the government’s representatives constitute a political link between the communities and the State. As well explained by Garcia, sometimes the government’s representatives are subordinate to the community authorities because the latter enjoy greater local prestige. In other cases, either they act jointly or impose their authority (2003).

“The traditional authorities in the rural communities are the varayoq, community assembly and rural patrols. In addition, the Justice of Peace is short-listed by the community and appointed by the national judiciary authorities. The governor represents the government” (Garcia, 2003). “In the communities, there is also an informal authority exercised by people undertaking certain positions and important professional services for community life: teachers, priests, male nurses, etc” (Garcia, 2003).
4.4. Folklore, property ownership and customary law

“The ethnic groups’ traditionally collective and integral knowledge constitute an indissoluble part of their culture, they represent a strategic value for the socioeconomic development of such groups and a contribution to the sustainable development of the Andean countries”

Andean Community and Andean Corporation of Development

“We need to consider how people’s activities interact within the group and how people modify their activities over time in relation to changes in their circumstances and changes in their own aims”

Bill Sillar

In his paper, Quijada quotes Boggs who explains the importance of folklore and its validity at collective levels within a society. When studying a people’s traditional culture history, that is, their folklore, it is focused on a democratic culture depending on all the people but neither on the wealthy nor on the poor or any special group. The authors and benefactors of this artistic expression are the people. It is constituted by the whole people’s authority. It gets to be accepted, survives and is based on its right to only live on its popularity, the effectiveness to express the corresponding people’s feelings, likes and effective history. The formula is typically democratic (2003).

“Boggs also refers to the importance of the indigenous culture as the American nations’ identity when he states that in the tremendous struggle between what is aristocratic and what is democratic that today arises with a torrential strength, American nations find out that their most deeply rooted tradition is not archaic, aristocratic, foreign or European, but it is democratic, current, indigenous and American. Thus, they find that their cultural expression suits to the folklore rather than to the aristocratic cultural tradition, and that the folklore offers them more compatible means with their own life. The American nations have already achieved to be culturally adults. They have already learned not to fend for Mother Europe. The time when the New World’s culture had its basis and settled down in its own folklore or traditional American culture has already ended. And those who ask insolently, “What traditional American culture is there apart from the indigenous one?” , they will realize that what is Native, European, African and even Asian gets used to mixing and adapting to their American background and blending into a Pan-American unity like it is the European one, the Germanic, Romanesque, Greek, Jewish, Arabic mixture, etc. There is no great culture in the world, like the American or the European, having no complicated root network” (Quijada, 2003).

It is important to recognize the value of our Latin-American culture and particularly Peruvian, which is very rich thanks to the mixture and influence of many roots. From the Andean culture, which by itself is already a spectrum of cultures, the Inca culture, the Spanish influence and other migrations, we can assert that there is one Peruvian culture that is unique and different from the European culture and other cultures; and that constitutes an important source of values and principles that rule community life.
De la Cruz refers to the ethnic groups’ knowledge, innovations and traditional practice as the thorough knowledge the ethnic groups have about the relationships and practices with their environment, being often transmitted orally from generation to generation. Such knowledge is intangible and integral to all elderly erudition and practice, so that it constitutes the ethnic groups’ collectively intellectual heritage and is part of the human rights (2004).

“The traditionally collective and integral knowledge has an important value as part of the indigenous world view where the elderly and other specialists in traditional knowledge carry out an important role in the conservation through their age-old practices. They establish themselves as transmitters of the traditionally collective and integral knowledge to new generations in accordance with characteristic cultural norms, which is essential for the survival of communities as people in relation to their own cultural identity” (De la Cruz, 2004).

The autor highlights important aspects that must be taken into consideration in a cultural values assessment of the indigenous world. These aspects are the oral transmission of knowledge from generation to generation, and the way how this ancestral knowledge is adapting to the new reality day by day. Another important aspect is the elderly’s role in the community; they are in charge of transmitting and maintaining the validity of this knowledge.

De la Cruz’s comment on the validity of social systems that prevail over the private ownership concept within ethnic groups is important; on the other hand, in many towns private ownership is neither known nor applied to its social and economic relationships or even to its relationships with the market. There are still social and economic retraining systems, work-by-work exchange ways, surplus distribution, and element barter, reciprocity of services, materials and objects in use (2004).

De La Cruz’s remarks may be observed in the current peasant communities where currently private and consetudinary (by custom) right. In some cases, as in buying medicines, transactions are appropriate, but in others as in sale of land, in which the community’s consent is required, and subsistence of “trueque” (swap or exchange of products), custom is still applied.

Matayoshi explains the importance of the role of the potato as the Andean culture’s developer and reflection as well as its role within the Andean society linked to the poorest ethnic groups unlike the corn which was mostly the ruling class’ crop (2003). It is important what Matayoshi states in the sense that the difficult Andean geographical conditions along with the need for dominating the diverse ecological levels made indispensable to creating a reciprocity and exchange system within a mutually collective dependence (2003).

“In that sense, the reiterative and cyclical exercising of cultural practices around the main crop confers a type of physical, mental, valuable and spiritual training on who cultivates it” (Matayoshi, 2003), whereby the author explains that the potato production process involves something more than a simple agricultural exercising. In this process the Andean man sees the dissimilarity between the visible and the hidden, between the
apparent and the more important, a way of understanding human relationships, by the
author’s account, “that which is visible in the potato relates to that not usable; that
which is hidden underground relates to that important” (Matayoshi, 2003).

It is important to consider the comment by Matayoshi, who explains how the Andean
man is related to agricultural products and the hostile Andean geography, which forces
him to undergo special training, and is also a contact with the deity represented, by
mother earth and the revelation of invisible but tangible knowledge. In the Andean
communities ownership arises under a plurality of methods, that is, on the one hand, it
incorporates a great part of the legal terminology brought by the European dominion,
and on the other hand, it keeps a series of methods consistent with not only a social
system but also a set of historical usages and habits that are deeply rooted (Ossio, 1992).

Ossio explains that it is not true that the Andean man has given in entirely to the
national regulations. In that sense, even though individual ownership is an indicator of
the rural communities’ changes and integration in the capitalist economy, a careful
assessment proves that there is no relation to the free stake in supply and demand
behind that land privatization being carried out. On the contrary, there are a series of
contractually communal restrictions which prohibit them from selling lands to any
stranger and are intended to make transactions among relatives (1992).

Ossio reviews the evolutionary considerations concerning private ownership because
they do not take into consideration that all sorts of ownership is a right granted by the
society to their members and therefore, it is not possible to speak about property only as
a mere relationship between individual and object but a relationship among individuals
around an object or person (1992).

In his book, Ossio quotes Mónica Wilson “… either in civilized or in primitive
societies, land ownership is communal, in the sense that the individuals’ rights depend
not only on their social relations but also on affiliation to any social group having
clearly defined cultural language and social organization of their own; land ownership is
individual everywhere in the sense that private people have right to both participate in
the use and share the product of the plots at any time” (1992).

Ossio explains that in the Andean communities there is communal or collective and
individual or private ownership at the same time so that the dissimilarities are to be
found in their social and cultural systems. In short, in the transactions made in the
Andean areas personal relationships and those based on kinship prevail over those
simply more contractual (1992). As regards land, there are also communal pastures or
communal lands in the Andes where everybody’s livestock can go freely. It has
remained throughout time and today is still in use.

In view of the importance of reciprocity bonds, the main way to procure goods is by
making a gift. This in turn is aimed at strengthening a social relationship mainly based
on kinship and friendship bonds. The other way to access goods is through a purchase-
sale option which is a tradition initiated when the Spaniards arrived and, as observed, is
restricted to certain agricultural goods (Ossio, 1992). The author explains how people –
from a tender age in the Andean society– are getting “goods of their own” as gifts: from
the baptism in which they get an amount of money (*qelpuy*), a tender animal given by their godparents at the animal sign or marking ceremony (*suniay*), the gift they get from their parents at marriage time (dowry) and finally by inheritance (1992).

In his paper, Zimmerer also states the existence of commonly agricultural lands in Peru’s and Bolivia’s indigenous populations. Common field agriculture is predicated on the spatial-territorial designation of several sectors, typically numbering 6 through 12 within a community. Each sector is composed of multiple field sites (usually ranging from 30 to 100 fields) as well as some land that is permanently allotted to grazing and resource collection (chiefly the gathering of fuelwood, wild food plants, and medicinal herbs). Individual household, usually families, who hold the ownership rights or inheritable lifetime leases, active farm fields located within a designated sector. After one or more cultivation seasons, the entire sector is managed as a common-type community fallows for at least a couple of years. A full sequence of land use thus consists of the cropping of field sites during a few growing seasons, succeeded by the community-based management of the uncropped sites (2002).

“Common field agriculture is a community-coordinated custom of cropping and grazing among several areas” (Zimmerer, 2002). The author emphasizes the importance of socio-cultural factors in the handling of these commonly agricultural lands: “equally salient are the sociocultural aspects of landscape such as community-based rules and regulations for resource use in farming-fallow management” (2002).

Zimmerer emphasizes the importance of the commonly agricultural lands in the delimitation and defense of the community’s boundaries so that the community’s interests are protected; therefore, the existence of these common lands ends up being vital in their development (2002).

“In this common system of agricultural lands, a series of informal policies are developed to complement the formal ones of the community itself. An example of the importance of informal community politics might occur when a member chooses to sow a crop other than the one that predominates in a sector. That fairly frequent practice is generally permitted though it is not officially sanctioned under community rules. The cultivator’s decision in this case will undertake the taking of special precautions in order to protect the atypical field crop because it likely differs in maturation and harvest schedule and thus may be vulnerable especially to damage by livestock. While this crop-livestock interaction is –at first glance– a mere agro-environmental interaction, it is a serious local incident if the damage is sizeable. Interpretation and subsequent proceedings related to the atypical field will depend on community politics, both formal institutions, such as the community-appointed *damage judge (juez de danios)* as well as informal political processes. The roles of the latter –always considerable– are enlarged further by the fact that various dynamics of common field agriculture, as the example herein, involve an *amalgam of the formal rules of community institutions and the local practices that are adjudicated through unwritten law*” (Zimmerer, 2002).

In his paper, Zimmerer reflects on the future of indigenous institutions –as the commonly agricultural lands– in front of the changes arisen throughout time and free market policies which clash old-age rights of collective character that have endured for
ages in some communities and have given up in front of external forces in other ones. The future of common field agriculture is uncertain, although this community-based custom of landscape use may be imperilled under new neoliberal policies such as Peru’s land law. Findings of this study are framed in the fused perspective of cultural and human geography along with human environment and environmental change approaches (cultural and political ecology in particular) (2002).

The findings of this study recommend that common field agriculture should be considered for incorporation in plants and projects for Andean communities that seek to combine the sound use of resources with economic development that is socially just and equitable. This community-based coordination offers a blend of notable environmental and social benefits that are widely distributed among local land users that make use of the combination of farming and managed fallows. Moreover, the Andean grass-shrub fallows extend over a large expanse of tropical and subtropical mountain environments (2002).

One of the most important conclusions of Zimmerer’s study is related to the nature of the common field agriculture which may be accurately categorized as a form of community-based resource management. Yet like several other popular territorial designs for contemporary conservation, it is not solely a product of community-based processes of landscape formation. Zones of agriculture and land use within the variegated landscape of tropical mountains communities, for example, are widely thought of as community-based resource management although an in-depth study shows the influential role of multicomunity and intracomunity linkages. Thus, the present study as well as the research on irrigation units and land use zones demonstrate how local multicomunity and intracomunity relations, while less visible, are equally crucial to these environmental territories and to their potential as a promising focus on resource planning policy (2002).

Garcia states that in order to define the rural community’s identity, there are other influential factors apart from territoriality. Among these, she refers to self-regulation which is based on their customs and traditions as long as it is important to consolidate their identity community subject to the so-called common law (2003). This common law –on the basis of custom- usually contrasts with positive or formal law as long as the community’s customs have priority over it. An example of this phenomenon is the rural patrols that enabled the communities to organize and defend themselves from terrorists.

The rural communities’ autonomous projects and of free determination constitute their utopias, that is, their future projects that have not been fulfilled yet or are about to as it is suggested by their diverse myths, their legends, and their traditions as well as their daily life, the organization of the economic production, ayllu reproduction and concerning the same communities. These autonomous and utopian projects have enabled the rural communities to endure even after 500 years of western dominion (Garcia, 2003).
4.5. Communal work and support

When referring to the Andean communities which are the Incas’ successors, García states that due to the difficult environmental and geographical conditions the members of such communities have created strategies called “Andean rationality” and which include a mixture of new and traditional technologies with the varied ways of solidarity, mutual support, reciprocity and distribution that enable them to fulfill their productive process (2003).

“Because of the fact that the commoners often have to commute large distances to accomplish productive activities, it is resorted to ancient practices concerning the ayni (Inter-individual support), the minka (collective and festive work) and the mita (work carried out in favor of the State as a tax). The ayni and the minka yet keep on their characteristics, but the mita have been redefined as communal work” (García, 2003).

“Another important aspect found by the authors in this research is the people’s support in situations of negative actions committed against farmers individually, and the conditions that are important to be subject to this support. In the face of a negative idiosyncratic event, such as sickness, accident or death, besides family’s and friends’ support, the victim receives support from the people, who organize activities to collect money. In case a small loan is provided, what is important is that this person may have not only proved to be a good payer, but also that he has treated people well, which makes him deserve this support” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006).

These supportive behaviors in case of personal need from farmers have their antecedent in the Inca’s customs for community work, in which part of the support was for each farmer in specific cases such as building a house. In this case, it has been extended and works like an “informal insurance” in cases of need. It is important to remark that to become a beneficiary of this support; the person must have shown “reciprocity” with his mates in prior situations. Reciprocity is another strong feature that characterized Inca communities and that has thrived through time.

On the basis of a study carried out with farmers of the Mantaro and Piura valleys, Trivelli and Yancari analyze systems of informal taking of risks based on familial and amicable networks that work when acts of God happen. The capacity for pooling together risks or establishing informal insurance systems among those being in a par with depends not only on the characteristics, intensity and frequency of the acts of God but also on the existence of institutions and organizations capable of managing and processing such informal insurance systems as well as the environment (community, family, etc.) in which each home will be given by their corresponding social, political, cultural and economic networks. Therefore, it is important to take into consideration not only the affected producer’s situation but also that of the group of producers and their homes, that is, their background (2006).
“There are no social systems aimed at maintaining and re-creating them; the reproduction of social systems is a consequence of individuals who—often working in cooperation and under a commitment stage—are following what they see as desirable goals. Societies do not do anything; individual aims and intentions cause social reproduction. In order to understand this, it is necessary to consider what motivates people’s actions” (Sillar, 2000).

“This is not to say that humankind is entirely in control of its actions and social relations. Humans are born into pre-existing structures and every activity they undertake serves to further embed them in such structures. It is also through cooperation in various activities, and in their results, that a sense of community and shared group identity is reproduced. Society is created from a complex interaction of activities undertaken by different people at different times. This pattern may not be any individual’s ideal and different members of the community will value and try to maintain different aspects of it” (Sillar, 2000).

It is important to consider the analysis made at this point on the importance of the existing networks of peasants, invisible networks that keep them united by bonds of kinship, customs, and identity; and how these networks work creating a set of “informal” rules that have their base on the customs practiced for years in the community and that as such work by regulating individuals’ conducts within the community. This “informality” appropriately analyzed and understood can constitute
the base of stronger formal institutions, created over a consetudinary right and, as such, with viability in time.

The Andean world view is varied and abundant in meanings and institutions that emphasize the communal work and not only have remained throughout time in some communities but also have changed and disappeared as they were initially in order to change into new social development ways.

It is not only the basis on which the peasants establish their culture but also the influence that has yet firmly taken root into their unconscious, therefore, it is important to be aware of and find the way how such points influence the approach whereby nowadays their associative patterns are developed and managed.

4.6. Material practices and Andean values

To change culture and values through education, it is important to take children into account, and in that respect, Sillar explains the children’s socialization process in the Andes. The author mentions how children participate in different learning activities until they grow up (2000). “Children and their socialisation are little studied in archaeology, but they are vital to any consideration of how cultures are perpetuated and how techniques, beliefs, and principles of social organisation are reproduced within each generation” (Sillar, 2000).

“Another aspect to consider is the strength of the actions that repeat in a society, which in the end constitute a way to reaffirm or change cultural values. People’s material practices become a part of their culture’s “ways of doing”, thus activities maintain and reinforce cultural understandings as well as provide a context within which to challenge and change aspects of that culture” (Sillar, 2000).

Hence, Sillar cites various authors who strengthen these ideas and reaffirm the idea many ethnographers specialists in the Andes have, who point out the importance of material practices that may seem mundane everyday things but that help to build social relationships and ideological concepts (2000).

“Canal cleaning is understood to structure both a community’s internal social relations and its ritual position in the landscape. The roofing of a house both expresses kinship relations and creates a new social, economic, and ritual unit in society. The techniques used in weaving, and the cloth produced, serve both to register ideological concepts and to reproduce gender relations. Agricultural work also reproduces gender relations and structures inter-household cooperation at the same time that it is used to express and interpret people’s relationship with the land and its deities. Similarly, the pasturing and care of llamas structures people’s social relations and their cosmology” (Sillar, 2000).

Sillar cites Bourdieu who uses the term “habitus” to describe how people incorporate cultural norms and ideas into the subconscious habits of constantly repeated activities (2000). Sillar cites Barth who states, the concept of the “habitus” should not be seen purely as a mechanism for the constant repetition of previous action, the unthinking
replication of what went before. The potential for change must be central to any understanding of how social reproduction works (2000).

Sillar cites Giddens, who states, every material action that a person undertakes is an opportunity from which both the actor and any observers may learn; from this knowledge they may choose to either repeat or modify their behaviour in the future. However, every action is framed by the context of the previous material practices (activities, intentions, material products, and social conditions) which have led up to it, and people’s individual agencies are framed within the cultural structures which surround and inform those (2000).

“There can be no starting line for any society, no big bang, and no single point of cultural origin, only the continual transformation of the past by the present to create the future. Cultures are historically and socially constituted; as such they incorporate the basis for both continuity and change” (Sillar, 2000). In his research, Sillar proves how in peasant villages there is a process of permanent change and adaptation in their daily activities, and choose the most suitable socio-economic strategy according to their particular situation (2000).

Formal and informal education, the latter understood as the set of ways in which a community “learns”, in its day-to-day activities, in its oral traditions received from the elderly of the community or through the way they pass on their values to children, through play or activities in the community; both constitute a potential force to change the values of the people, the family, the community, and eventually, the society.

4.7. Co-parenthood (Compadrazgo)

“At the end of one stay in the community, while I packed my few belongings in preparation for my return to the city, Carmen, my comadre (co-mother), called me into her family’s eating area. They had prepared Pachamanca, a special meal (in this case, potatoes, lamb, and alpaca meat) cooked in a makeshift oven underground. There was a large pail of chicha (fermented corn beer) on the ground, and I suspected that several bottles of beer, though hidden from me then, would appear later” (Garcia, 2005).

Compadrazgo (co-parenthood) is a form of non-kinship relationship that had antecedents in the Andean society and it was the base of creation of networks among people for supporting each other. When Spaniards arrived and tried to apply this way of “spiritual relation” in the base of compadrazgo to the indigenous communities, especially in the basic form of baptism, the indigenous people accepted this concept because it was close to their own ancestral practices and extended the concept to other ceremonial relations for persons and also for things.

In his paper, Orrego describes the haircutting rite in the Andean Peru (“rutuchiku” in Quechua) as a rite of collective character that involved a series of social relationships, with exchange of goods and naming the child (Orrego, 2003). “This ceremony was based on a rite where the newly one-year-old child was given a haircut and named. His
closest uncle was called on to cut his first hair and subsequently the other relatives, who brought him a gift while the parents invited food and drinks. This ceremony had a “magic, causal and regulating sense of reciprocity” in the Andean culture” (Orrego, 2003).

Along with others, this custom was persecuted and aimed to make it disappear by the famous “heresy extirpations” begun by the Catholic Church. However, among others, this custom has outlived and the Andean communities are still practicing it with some variants mentioned by Morote, who is quoted by Orrego in his paper, “in the Andean communities there are many ways of ceremonial kinship, such as the haircutting, nail, belly, baptism, wedding compadrazgo(co-parenthood) and so forth” (2003).

Orrego explains that, in this sense, the “compadrazgo” tendency arises, which was linked to obtaining solidarity, protection, safety and tutelage. Whether the godfather was anyone from the family or an outsider, he was solvent. Afterwards, this godfathership was usually extended to baptism (2003).

Silva Santisteban, who is quoted by Orrego, explains the importance of such rite as to be a kinship bond and blood-related or political linkage, constituting within the community a way of cohesion of family relationships and externally a way of setting profitable bonds with people having an advantageous position in the economic-political structure (2003). These compadrazgo relationships imply reciprocity from now on in relation to the community’s agricultural work and social life. Above all, they are shown in the construction of their houses when being appointed party butlers and at mourning moments.

In his paper, Ossio quotes Gudeman who describes the Christian religion influence on compadrazgo, actually comprehended in a more contemporary context. Behind all of the above-mentioned variants of compadrazgo underlies the historically Christian theological distinction made between men as spiritual and natural beings or cultural and biological ones. Through baptism the transition from the state of original sin to the state of grace is reached: the man is thought to have been conceived with Adam’s sin; he is regenerated when such sin is washed during the baptism and he feels reborn to both Christ and a second relative group made up of the minister and the godfather. The belief in the man’s dual nature is obviously found in many cultures. What is distinctive about the spiritual Christian godfathership is that these two traits of human personality must be commended to two different groups of people: the biological and the spiritual parents (1992).

In his own analysis of Andean compadrazgo, Ossio himself comments that the most remarkable points to be observed are in regard with the facts that: the compadrazgo is not the only method of ceremonial kinship existing in the Andes, it is not simply a didactic contract, rather than replacing it, it is supposed to be a kinship system, like marriage, it involves both individual and collective dimensions according to which it can be symmetrical or asymmetrical, it is not necessarily restricted by the Catholic dogma, and, finally, among its multiple functions being carried out, it is emphasized not only that of mediation but also the consolidation of pre-existing bonds between clans as
well as individuals’ projection to communal scale through the accumulation of social relationships (1992).

As for Andamara, Ossio identifies up to 14 types of godfathership: compadrazgo and spiritual godfathership, health mass compadrazgo and godfathership, haircutting, confirmation, wedding godfathership, respect compadrazgo, material-world godfathership, and oath parents, siblings and children (1992).

The baptism godfathership is followed by the “health mass” which is usually carried out when the child begins to walk, yet existing a risk for them to fall down. Since their soul is even volatile, it is considered that a fall can make them caught by the ground. There are three mass ceremonies –sponsored by the godparents chosen for this opportunity– which are carried out on successive days and where everything ends up at a party with their relatives. Other rites of the cycle of life that are causal factors for compadrazgo relationships are the above-mentioned confirmation and wedding.

The above-explained haircutting is generally developed when the child is aged three years old. On such occasion, there are several relatives and guests who cut the hair and give away gifts. There are the so-called respect compadrazgo, oath kinship and the compadrazgo for material-world blessing sponsorship. The first one does not derive on godfathership bonds but it is the “conflictless” connotation or “friendly treatment” which implies greeting, giving away gifts but, above all, not fighting.

The oath compadrazgo is consecrated in front of a crucifix or a saint’s statue. This rite creates three types of kinship: father, brother and son. As explained by Ossio, the reasons for this bond can be ranged from having studied together at school, belonging to the same union, being namesake, sharing the same godfather, etc (1992).

The material-world blessing sponsorship happens when purchasing a new object for the family, its godfather is chosen but it is merely a godfathership way without developing a kinship bond. The compadrazgo is a way of bond and link that enables families to develop family and friend networks that will support them far beyond a simple rite implying access to community development and that he/she goes but there of a simple rite, meaning an access to a reserved space for those special people to the family who will support them when necessary and are tracing an individual and collective commitment at the same time.

“The behavior between compadres is surrounded by an elaborate etiquette that emphasizes the idea of respect and rests on religious and social values. This etiquette enables the compadres to act as intermediaries not only in the conflicts that may arise between their godchildren but also in those between the godchildren’s parents and their siblings. For this reason they are generally appointed as executors of wills. The value of respect is so highly prized that conflicts rarely occurs between compadres. Their behavior is extremely formalized and dominated by rules of reciprocity. Apart from the working contexts in which they help each other, these rules are expressed in the excess of generosity manifested in the exchange of gifts” (Ossio, 1984).
In relation to the kinship relations and specifically in the case of compadrazgo Ossio explains the support relations between compadres; “their behavior is extremely formalized and dominated by rules of reciprocity. Apart from the working contexts in which they help each other. Thanks to this dynamic attribute of compadrazgo and of ceremonial kinship in general, a person’s social networks may be expanded to the point where the person receives the necessary support for sponsoring the highest religious cargos, which involve the whole community” (Ossio, 1984).

It is important to consider Ossio’s comment in relation to the participation of the compadres as intermediaries in the conflict between siblings and also the high respect that each compadre shows over the reciprocity basis that conflicts rarely occur among compadres. It is meant that among compadres there are strong relations that motivate and maintain them linked over the base of rules of reciprocity. This strong relationship also provides to the compadres adequate support for the work and sponsoring of the religious positions.

Guaman Poma, quoted by Ossio, states that the collective dimension of compadrazgo corresponds to the structure of extended kinship groups and marriage exchanges. The ceremonial context in which spiritual compadrazgo is forged is the moment of marriage, and consequently the relation between the godparents and the future godchildren is not solely dyadic. The link is established between an individual, or pair of individuals, and all the descendants of a matrimonial union. Accordingly, it is common to find that full siblings – sometimes even half siblings – have the same person or couple as baptismal sponsors (1984).

Billie Jean Isbell, quoted by Ossio, mentioned the concept of Aura that indicates a symmetric relationship between two consanguine groups joined by marriage. The term is used when the speaker is referring to the members of the group who stand in a reciprocal relationship to his consanguine group, the ayllu. Aura is therefore a symmetric concept related to collectivities (1984).

The aura, or the compadrazgo social realm, insofar as it is the wider group that emerges from the interaction of the respective ayllu of a conjugal couple, finds expression on those ritual occasions when the couple occupies a central place: a wedding ceremony, roofing a house, or sowing a maize field (1984).

Ossio mentioned the difference between marriage and compadrazgo and explains how through this dynamic of generation of compadres, a person created a network in order to find the adequate support in his life. He states that another important difference between marriage and compadrazgo is the monogamous nature of the former and the plural nature of the latter. In marriage, an individual may have only one spouse at a time; in compadrazgo, there is no restriction in the number of links that an individual or couple may forge. In this respect, the ceremonial kinship system is analogous to the religious cargo system: both are cumulative, and this accumulation occurs during the life cycle. Thanks to this dynamic attribute of compadrazgo and of ceremonial kinship in general, a person’s social networks may be expanded to the point where the person receives the necessary support for sponsoring the highest religious cargos, which involve the whole community (1984).
Ossio states that in this society the system of *compadrazgo*, or rather the system of ceremonial kinship in general, has the merit of showing clearly that we are not dealing with an institution that makes up for a possible deterioration in the kinship system, as Foster (1953) suggests, or that acts as an agent to maintain the solidarity of the group. The extended family actually retains great importance, and acts as a platform in the shaping of the ceremonial kinship system (1984).

I agree with Foster in that I believe that *compadrazgo* acts as a strong power that can maintain and even strengthen the solidarity of the group; in this sense, *compadrazgo* is an Andean non-kinship system that was maintained for generations and can contribute to the creation and strengthening of the cooperative relations among associations of small farmers in Peru.

When one looks to create and develop united farmer associations and shield them with mutual self-support mechanisms among their members, it is necessary to apply kinship extended family principles, in which the institution of “*compadrazgo*” has great importance in the Andean communities. As Orrego says in his paper, this institution encloses social cohesion elements such as reciprocity, solidarity, protection, security and tutelage that have been created through political bonds and are as strong as blood bonds.

If we succeed in understanding the importance of these political bonds and how they work in the Andean communities, we will be able to find a way to develop stronger farmer associations with future viability. These elements typical of “*compadrazgo*” will have to be analyzed and contextualized to the light of the main actors’ experience so that they can gain validity in their application.

### 4.7.1. Spanish influence in the co-parenthood (*compadrazgo*)

Compadrazgo does not seem to be constrained by the Catholic dogma. On the contrary, there is some evidence that shows a form of ceremonial kinship resembling spiritual compadrazgo existing in the Andean area before the arrival of the Spaniards (Ossio, 1984). Enrique Mayer, quoted by Ines Cottle, states that the essential function of compadrazgo is a reciprocity that manifested in three ways: voluntary, waje-waje and the minka. In consequence, these practices were original from the Andean society (1992).

“*Compadrazgo* in Andean society stands as an indicative case of the vitality of a sociocultural system that incorporates foreign institutions, yet permits them to remain as mere forms with a content completely different from that they originally had” (Ossio, 1984). It is important to understand how compadrazgo is a form of non-kinship relationship that had antecedents in the Andean society and it was the base of creation of networks among people for supporting each other.

“The individual in a bilateral society must build mutual aid relationship himself in order to survive. Thus, he/she forms kinship relations oriented toward him/her. For the individual, personal kindred is the only reliable form of human relation. While bilateral societies are focused on personal kindred, they also have to branch out to meritorious
contractual quasi-families that will be trustworthy. Therefore, they can also be called “sceptical or distrust society”. In bilateral societies, the basis for human relation is person-to-person, supported by gain-and-lost relations. In an obvious move to seek mutual aid relations, the individual tries to increase the number of people who can help each other through the ritual kinship system, such as compadrazgo in Catholic societies” (Kikuchi, 2005). As Kikuchi explains for the case of the Philipinnes, it is applicable in the case of Peru. This culture as a bilateral society was created over the base of Andean culture and the old Andean institutions of support were influenced by the Spanish coparenthood in order to provide the number of people who can help each other and as a characteristic of Catholic society but over the base of the Andean culture too.

When Spaniards arrived and tried to apply this way of “spiritual relation” over the base of compadrazgo to the indigenous communities, especially in the basic form of baptism, indigenous people accepted this concept because it was close to their own ancestral practices and extended the concept to other ceremonial relations for persons and also for things (see graphs 5 and 6). Compadrazgo implies the subsistence of the indigenous non-kinship relationship system, adapted and modified by the Spanish influence and the incorporation of modern values, characteristic of the new people necessities in the Peruvian society.
Graph 5
Compadrazgo Spanish influence (baptism)

- Padrino (Godfather, compadre)
- Co-father (compadre)
- "Ritual relationship"Spiritual father
- Godson (ahijado)

Graph 6
Compadrazgo – Spanish and Andean Fusion

- Padrino (Godfather)
- Co-father
- "Ritual relationship"Spiritual father
- Godson
- Spanish
- Andean
- Creation of "non-kinship" relations for economic security, support, etc
- House, hair cutting, marriage, etc
### 4.7.2. Validity of co-parenthood relationships in contemporary farmer’s communities. Analysis of co-parenthood in Monte Castillo (Piura)

I want to include Ines Cottie’s work in relation to *compadrazgo*. She developed her research in Monte Castillo, one of the areas included in the influence of the Irrigator Committee of Cumbibira and where I did my fieldwork. This work provides an anthropological perspective that allows a close-up of social mechanisms such as the “*compadrazgo*”, which thrive at an interior level in the peasant communities and organizations in Piura.

Ines Cottler’s work at the Monte Castillo plantation in Piura is one of the most representative and important of this area. The authoress looks to understand, describe, and analyze co-parenthood, from an ethnographic, religious, and anthropological approach, and to establish the kind of relationships that are structured through this bond (1992). Cottle focuses her research on co-parenthood, originated for religious, sacramental reasons, specifically Baptism and Marriage, which peasants call *spiritual co-parenthood*, and which is the most important in the relationships among peasants in Piura, from her point of view (1992).

“In the case of Monte Castillo which can be expanded to Piura, the system is oriented towards a patriarchal system that works as a mixed system of nuclear family and extended family” (Cottle, 1992). “The woman is entirely submissive to the man, as daughter, wife, or mother. She owes obedience, loyalty, and respect to him. She lives to serve him. Machismo is a typical feature of local society and it is lived more intensely in the country” (Cottle, 1992). This feature was observed directly and was also obtained from the focus groups held with peasants from the irrigator’s boards.

Cottle says that religious life is one of the structural elements of Monte Castillo, an aspect that is observed throughout Piura, and the population in general is around religion and related feasts (1992). This could be confirmed in the focus groups and interviews. For example, there is the figure of the “butler” that is the person who is in charge of financing the religious or patron feast of the community, and which includes the party, food and drinks for all the community, and is considered an honor. Many peasants save an entire year just to meet this “honor”.

Cottle points out that the population is organized in a democratic way and makes up diverse committees: development, pro-electric power, pro-water, defences, etc; and problems are solved in assemblies at community level (1992). This could be observed only in a few cases and as the authoress says, in relation to social projects promoted by the State. For Cottle, *co-parenthood* is an important relationship in the Piura population and is explained in the following way: a child is carnal son of his parents and is spiritual son –*godson*– of his godparents, who become his second parents or spiritual parents. This would be the vertical axis of the relationship godson-godparents. In turn, carnal parents and spiritual parents become *god-companions* between them, horizontal axis; in this relationship the child is the excuse or motive for which these bonds are established (1992).
Cottle explains that god-parenthood in Monte Castillo is a type of social bond essentially ritualized originated for religious sacramental reasons expressed in the Baptism, First Communion, Confirmation and Marriage (1992). Cottle remarks that spiritual god-parenthood is realized through a rite called “word giving” or “give one’s word”, which starts with the petition of god-parenthood, “the charity act”, and ends after the ceremony, when “they call each other god-companions” and celebrate a party (1992).

“The sacred value of the word given in the god-parenthood must be stressed, which is part of a religious rite that produces a spiritual relationship” (Cottle, 1992). The authoress explains that the peasant lives in two dimensions that are integrated for him, and express clearly in the god-parenthood. There is a natural dimension that comprises a carnal, biological relationship, expressed through the blood family bond, the biological kinship and the relationship network it involves. On the other hand, he also lives in a spiritual relationship with the Catholic God, which was taught to him with evangelization and with which he relates through different ways such as feasts, brotherhoods, cult to the dead, and also becomes important in the relationship parent hood-god parenthood. Here the peasant creates a new family, a new kinship that binds him to this spiritual dimension. With this relationship, a type of human relationship is sacred and this produces a sacred effect: a spiritual kinship, and produces a sacred feeling: respect (1992). The information obtained in the focus group is important, where it is noticed that peasants observe special respect toward their relatives and “co-parents”, with whom they usually have strong bonds, which are not shared with the rest of the community.

God-parenthood is a bond that is taken until death and as farmers say in the fieldwork conducted by Cottle in Monte Castillo, “the co-parent’s words must be respected until one dies; it is for something that they shake hands and invoke God so that the word never fades; when dying, then we lose co-parenthood” (1992). “Oral offences constitute offences to the co-parents’ relationship, in this sense, respect must be observed between co-parents, arguments for money or work are not allowed; failure to greet, serve when visiting, or help is unthinkable” (Cottle, 1992).

In this sense, Cottler remarks the importance of reconciliation when there has been some break-up and the co-parenthood proposes an ideal relationship, which by becoming true, places the peasant in an essential community situation, because he lives as reconciliated, through his co-parent, everything he represents: religion, family, nature, and society. Co-parenthood then performs an integrating and cohesion function at community level and also with other social classes in the case of vertical relationships. The authoress comments that this constitutes a powerful sap that runs and influences in the community organization (1992).

Another interesting aspect of co-parenthood in Monte Castillo, according to Cottler, is that for the case of Baptism godparents, people from the same place are chosen, because it is an unpaid act that requires christening a person (the godson) and also because it is possible to know better people who live nearby; but in the case of marriage godparents, people from outside the community, in the city, are chosen for reasons regarding economic solvency and social prestige, both are considered important for the couple’s
security (1992). Cottler also says that there is reciprocity between god-parenthood relationships; therefore, it is common to pay back a favour by appointing godfather of his own children someone who appointed him godfather before. What is important in these relationships is that they help the peasant to feel more cohesive within his own group and class, maintain service and aid reciprocity; and in the end, to maintain his own identity, strengthening the community nature of the community (1992).

“Among the so-called “positive affections” by the authoress, the following are remarked: greetings and recognitions, frequent visits and offering of what is in the house, lending’s of material objects, money lending’s, alliances to do a job, connections for a social promotion and even some level of authority of godparents over godchildren” (Cottles, 1992). From that mentioned by the authoress, the information obtained in the focus groups, and the in-depth interviews, we can observe that the god-parenthood relationships confer a strong bond among peasants in Piura, which in turn, enables them to create a network of mutual supporting relationships based on mutual respect.

God-parenthood, as it was analyzed before, constitutes an element that survived to the Inca culture and its blending with the Spanish culture, where native ancient popular beliefs, as well as community work customs and extended kinship practices merged with the Catholic ideas of “apre spiritual” (godfather). These practices have lasted for years in the peasant communities and constitute the base of the mentioned “informal organizations” among peasants.

I want to summarize the principal findings of Ines Cottle’s work in Monte Castillo:

– She focuses her research on the **compadrazgo**, originated for religious, sacramental reasons, specifically Baptism and Marriage, which peasants call **spiritual compadrazgo**, and which is the most important in the relationships among peasants in Piura.

– **Compadrazgo** (co-parenthood) is an important relationship in the Piura population and is explained in the following way: a child is carnal son of his parents and is spiritual son –godson– of his godparents, who become his second parents or spiritual parents. This would be the vertical axis of the relationship godson-godparents. In turn, carnal parents and spiritual parents become god-companions between them, horizontal axis; in this relationship the child is the excuse or motive for which these bonds are established.

– **Compadrazgo** in Monte Castillo is a type of social bond essentially ritualized originated for religious sacramental reasons expressed in the Baptism, First Communion, Confirmation and Marriage.

– In the case of Monte Castillo which can be expanded to Piura, the system is oriented towards a patriarchal system that works as a mixed system of nuclear family and extended family. The woman is entirely submissive to the man, as daughter, wife, or mother. She owes obedience, loyalty, and respect to him. She lives to serve him. “Machismo” is a typical feature of local society and it is lived more intensely in the country. The term machismo is used to describe Latino
masculinity and refers to the cultural expectation that males must show they are masculine, strong, sexually aggressive, and able to consume large amounts of alcohol (Giraldo, 1972).

– She found out that religious life is one of the structural elements of Monte Castillo, an aspect that is observed throughout Piura, and the population in general is around religion and related feasts. This was confirmed in the focus groups and interviews.

– The compadrazgo in Monte Castillo start with the “apalabramiento” (special speech from the “padrino” and “parents” in the case of baptism). This speech includes different codes such as “verbal”, “gesture” (offer hand, etc), “fiesta” (party for the celebration), “human relations” (expressed in solidarity, reciprocity, gifts and circulations of gods and services), “religious” (Catholic rite) and “cultural-ideological” (symbolic cosmovision).

– After the “apalabramiento” came the “poto of chicha” (alcoholic drink made in the base of corn) and the “padrino” (godfather) and parents.

– The “compadrazgo” is a relationship until the compadres die and God is a witness. It implies close relationship, rites and extension of gifts for the entire life. The “spiritual” origin means long duration not corrupted by human things. (Sacred).

– The “offense” is when one person incurs in bad words that criticize their behavior or attitudes. It is not possible to discuss with the compadre for money, work and it is a duty to manage the “regards” customs between compadres, to help each other. If one person commits offense, he/she is guilty of sacred offense to god. Usually compadres offend each other when they are drunk, for this reason they are careful in these situations.

– Compadrazgo implies among the farmers a sense of “reconciliation” in the religious life, the family, the nature and the society. It is a power of “integration” among social classes and impacts the community.

– Compadres must avoid sexual relations among them; it is a type of “symbolic incest”, like “brothers” because it produces the break of two dimensions, the material and the spiritual, and so motivates the extension of the alliances outside of the consanguineous and spiritual relation. Marriage with “compadres” is taboo in this society.

– Compadres can be inside the community or outsiders but the majority prefer to have a compadre from the same community. This is because they are close and have a continuous relationship.

– They say the economic condition of the compadres is not important but in practice (especially in the case of marriage) they are looking for a person with
the highest economic capacity, better social class, such as authorities, business people and lawyers.

- Relationships of reciprocity – symmetric – horizontal, especially in the baptism where the person who is elected as a padrino has the obligation to return the election. This relationship permits the small farmers strengthen the relationship among the farmers in the community.

- Relationships of reciprocity – asymmetric – vertical, especially in the marriage. The system permits intersocial class integration, openness to other socio-economic status and access to social prestigious and economic support.

- Compadres can be members of the same extended family (uncles, etc) but in Monte Castillo, especially for marriage the small farmers prefer people outside the family in order to extend the network and create new “spiritual” family.

- The personal characteristics of the person elected: strictly there are no economic-social requirements. The requirements are moral, affective, ethical and religious. Farmers prefer persons who have a good reputation and name in the community; they must enjoy respect in the community and will be advisor of the “ahijado” (godson). Generally, they prefer friends and persons in return of a favor.

- “Padrinos” (godparents) bring material and spiritual support to the “ahijado”, behave as second parents and can support in an economically and affective form, and offer advice. The “ahijados” maintain respect to the “padrino”.

- Compadres maintain “respect” to each other and this is an important social component in the community. They must extend the positive feelings and service. It is a continuous sense of reconciliation among the community and permits the integration of the community.

- “Positive affections” from compadrazgo include the following: greetings and recognitions, frequent visits and offering of what is in the house, lending of material objects, money lendings, alliances to do a job, connections for a social promotion and even some level of authority of godparents over godchildren.

4.8. Summary of Chapter 4

The analysis we carry out in this chapter is focused on identifying the cultural aspects and those of the Andean culture idiosyncrasy that still currently exist and have been incorporates by Andean communities for generations, and that show in different manifestations nowadays such as the compadrazgo, kinship relationships, informal leadership and other conducts that, when analyzed, can help us use this knowledge to improve the cooperative relations that can have an impact on their application in associative models of small farmers in the future.
We have emphasized some aspects that are analyzed in-depth such as the Andean principles of reciprocity, redistribution, vertical control, *ayllu*, the kinship system, leadership, folklore, community work and support, and compadrazgo. Thus, it is important to conduct the analysis of the social relationships and the cultural aspects that the Andean culture has passed on to new generations of Peruvian Andean small farmers in the historical context of its time and then, study how these cultural manifestations have survived and are still in vigor in different historical contexts and situations nowadays.

These institutions in the Andean society that are still in force at present enable us to understand Peruvian small farmers’ behavior and how these cultural patterns affect the analysis in this sector. Among the main findings, we can mention the following: the importance of being members of the community, share the same customs, the same ancestors, and recognize themselves through their ancestors; there is respect for the elderly as depositors of the community’s wisdom and who are in charge of extending knowledge and also advise the community in important decision-making moments; there is a part of the community goods that has a social nature and that are shared by everybody; for instance, the common lands, which in the times of the Incas were owned by the State; the leaders or “curacas” are facilitators of the process and are in charge of administrating and organizing work; they are not limited to just being served by privilege, but they are also servers of the community; the “*ayllu*” is the social base of the community and is formed by an extended family with a common ancestor linked with a complex network of rights and duties; social relationships among individuals have their origin in the kinship system and the relationships of “compadrazgo” established among people; the relationship with the land is very strong and does not limit itself to the material plane, but there is a spiritual nature in the relationship; there is an “asymmetric reciprocity” that is addressed to the community work (in the times of the Incas, it was for the State) and a “symmetric reciprocity” that is addressed to the relationship among peers, and shows, for instance, when building a house for somebody or help a neighbour in case of fire; “human energy” understood as the capacity to organize and work together with a common objective is the most important resource in the Andean society to perform in a hostile environment as that made up by the Andean mountains; there is an “informal base” of organization that precedes the formal one and that works in the relationships among individuals; there is a strong religious influence that mixes with daily activities; for the Andean man, to work in contact with nature is also a sacred activity; folklore contributes to the development of cultural values and in the case of the Andean culture, there are some mechanisms that repeat from generation to generation and survive in time. For instance, one of the mechanisms is the “trueque” (swap), through which people exchange goods without using money; another mechanism that has survived time is the set of “informal” rules that are the consequence of “custom” and coexist with the “formal” rules, for instance, in the case of some Andean communities, in order to sell some property, it is necessary to have the community members’ approval and acceptance of the new owner under some conditions; even though free trade market rules exist, there are also other “consetudinary” (by custom) rules that play an important role and in some cases prevail over ordinary laws; repetitive conducts create “habits” and those habits can create
positive behavioural patterns that may help us incorporate farmers organizations.
Among these repetitive conducts, we have everyday life activities.

Once we have identified the CVI that have been incorporated into the Peruvian small farmers’ activities during these historical periods, we may use this knowledge to establish its impact over the associative experiences held in Peru. The cultural values analyzed show how there are elements that constitute a source for the development of cooperation relationships among small farmers and that can be used to strengthen the organizations created to offer a development option to this sector.
Chapter 5. Evaluating the impact of Andean cultural values and idiosyncrasy on associative models for small farmers. Peruvian case studies.
Chapter 5. Evaluating the impact of Andean cultural values and idiosyncrasy on associative models for small farmers. Peruvian cases study.

5.1. Case study 1: Critecnia model

5.1.1. Summary

This “case study” analyzes the impact of the CVI on the success and subsequent failure of farming contract experiences in the Chincha Valley in Peru. The CVI of the small farmers in Chincha has important influence from the Andean culture. Moreover, this study considers the importance of the facilitator’s role in order to manage the relationship between the company’s and the small farmer's interests in this farming contract experience.

In 2000, I worked on an MBA thesis as part of a Peruvian student group from ESAN University, in Lima, and we discovered a successfully original model of farming contract in Chincha Valley (200 Km south of Lima) and decided to apply this model to the Nazca Valley (460 Km south of Lima) as an academic thesis project. We started the research over the Chincha experience and its applicability to Nazca Valley.

We identified the small farmers’ idiosyncrasy and cultural identity as a “critical factor” to the success of the Chincha model and decided to explore further in relation to this topic with the small farmers from Nazca. We found the role of the “facilitator” as fundamental in the model. The facilitator is the person who linked the farmer’s expectations and the company’s interest. He has special characteristics and skills in order to manage the communication between the two parts in the model.

The principal difficulty in the agricultural sector in Peru is the “Minifundios” (small properties as a result of the failed agrarian reform) and the small farmers’ impossibility to access to financing capital and technology in order to make their lands productive. The new model of farming contract, created by the Peruvian company “Critecnia” and applied to Chincha Valley, offered successful options for the small farmer’s development in Peru.

This model was created on the basis of the farmers’ company with the support of the professional company (the farmers’ company’s general manager) in order to manage from the production process to the commercialization one. The model was developed into the context of the Peruvian background where small farmers did not have access to private financing resources due to their lack of formal knowledge and the difficulties relating to the small land dimension.

In the complexity of the model the “human factors” –especially the farmers’ idiosyncrasy and cultural identity– were “critical factors”. The way of transmitting the benefits and risks of the model, managing communication, ensuring farmers’ fulfillment, and managing farmers’ expectations was to identify them as a fundamental step. To do this work, Critecnia recruited a professional (sociologist) –an indigenous person– who was born in the same Chincha area.
We conducted surveys and focus group to farmers from Nazca where we planned to apply the Chincha model for our thesis. We also interviewed the main participants concerning the success of the Chincha model, the owner company, the facilitator and the influential people in Nazca in order to cover all fields of the successful model. The result of the academic thesis was a successful description and analysis of the model ready to be applied to Nazca.

The model failed four years after being applied to Chincha Valley, and after interviewing the owner company and the agricultural sector’s specialist in Peru, it was concluded that there were many reasons for its failure, but the main one –from their point of view– was the farmers’ cultural identity and “idiosyncrasy”. The farmers’ behavior was to give up their obligations and wait for the government’s support.

I made complementary analysis of the data collected before and field work in 2007 in order to find out the “cultural” factors that impact the failure of the farming contract experience in Critecnia model, analyze the influence of the Andean culture values in the experience and propose to use the elements of this Andean culture in order to develop cooperative links between the farmers and made strong associations on this base.

5.1.2. Why Critecnia model as a case study?

In their paper titled “Peru: Towards a Development Strategy for the Rural Highlands”, Escobal and Valdivia explain the need to implement the design of mechanisms that allow the use of managerial capital from agents other than owners and current users of land (2004). In this sense, the authors promote the separation of ownership from management as a viable alternative for small farmers and their access to development.

Escobal and Valdivia mention small farmers’ organization as a viable possibility for the small agriculture, which could help cut transaction costs. However, the problem of human capital and the lack of managerial capacity cannot be solved with a simple organization of farmers; it is necessary to promote joint ventures among involved sectors and promote the participation of private agents as well as support from the State (2004).

In a context in which the land Market works slowly, policies addressed to boost collective action of small farmers to gain efficiency have special relevance. As Escobal (2000) shows, “the collective action of small farmers led by a professional management can take advantage of economies of scale, making profits in the collective purchase of inputs, preferential access to credit opportunities, better price for the sale of crops, and even, tax benefits. Moreover, after consolidated, such association can be the launch path of an investment process that allows changes in the crop bond” (Trivelli, Escobal and Revesz, 2006).

In this sense, one experience of farming contract was developed with small farmers on the Coast in order to use the sector potential and apply a creative model. The “Critecnia” company, from Peruvian entrepreneurs, developed a successful system based on the alliance with the small farmers in Chincha valley in order to export cotton. The model used by the Peruvian company Critecnia has special and interesting
characteristics applied to the Peruvian context case, and followed previous experiences, focused on the Peruvian small farmer’s idiosyncrasy and the access difficulties to financing resources.

Augusto Cilloniz, general manager of Critecnia S.A company, mentions in the workshop named “Strategies for the Access of the Small Farmer to the Domestic and International Market” held by the Valle Grande institute of Caniete, that the fundamental aspect of the model of Critecnia company relies on the business management of small farmers’ agricultural activity and its relation with the market. Through the association of small farmers, it is expected to have an appropriate production scale, lower cost, and access to technology, financing, and commercialization (1990).

Cilloniz’s comment is interesting when he refers to the need of changing the Peruvian small farmer’s “mentality” and instilling the idea that quality is important and that it is important to establish alliances that allow an institutional development (1990). Cilloniz mentions that the valleys of Chincha and Caniete were cozen because “farmers knew the founders of Critecnia and they in turn knew the farmers”, and this mutual trust favours receptivity of the model (1990). Another important aspect mentioned by Cilloniz is the transparency that was always maintained in the development of the model in front of farmers, in which they were aware of the operations performed by the management and their benefits.

There are two main reasons why the Critecnia model was elected as a case study for the PhD research herein. First, creating associative business models with the participation of small farmers and the investment of the private sector is one of the paths considered by the authors for the development of small agriculture in Peru. In this sense, the Critecnia model offered the advantages of analyzing an international farming contract model adapted and applied to the Peruvian reality. Second, each country has “special and unique” characteristics related to the idiosyncrasy and the cultural values of the people. In the case of the Critecnia experience, idiosyncrasy and cultural values of the small farmers were pointed out as “critical factors” for the model, and it is possible to analyze the impact of these elements on the success and later failure of the model. My complementary fieldwork over the base of qualitative research, contributed to understanding the influence of the Andean values in this experience and to support the hypothesis of the PhD research herein.

5.1.3. Nazca Valley, the application of the Chincha Model as an MBA Thesis Project and the complementary analysis for case study in PhD research

ESAN University at Lima, Peru, has a full-time MBA program and one of the requirements in order to obtain such academic degree is to finish a group thesis. My group finished the thesis in April 2000. The main goal of the thesis was to propose an Agro-Entrepreneurial management model for agriculture to be a profitable and sustainable activity throughout time, by means of organizing Nazca Province’s small-scale farmers under the guidance of an efficient management. As specific goals, we aimed at working out a way to transfer knowledge and technology to the small-scale
farmers, identifying critical factors for the implementation of the model, and proposing a mechanism that stimulates the profitability of the agricultural activity in order to attract investments to the sector.

In that sense, we decided to apply to Nazca Valley the successful model of Chincha Valley at that time, and focused on analyzing the possibility of developing a model for Nazca’s small farmers. In the process of the research, we identified the human factor, i.e. the farmers’ idiosyncrasy and cultural values as a “critical factor” for the success of the Chincha model and decided to use academic tools (qualitative and quantitative analysis) in order to analyze the case of Nazca’s farmers. The model failed four years after being applied to Chincha valley. The main reasons were, from the point of view of the general manager of the company and specialist from the government, the CVI. In order to identify these “cultural elements” that determined the failure of the model and analyze the high influence of the Andean values in the farmers in Nazca, I made a complementary analysis of the data we collected before the fieldwork in 2007.

This case study is prepared as a part of my PhD thesis, on my experience in the research as a part of the MBA thesis group at ESAN University in 2000, as well as on the complementary analysis of the data and fieldwork I conducted in 2007. The Critecnia model analysis was also the base of the presentation I made at the Anthropologic Conference held at Waseda University in January 2007. The present case study uses the information of my paper written for the Journal of the Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies (N.-15 / May 2008). This paper was structured as a future chapter that includes the case study for the PhD thesis herein.

5.1.4. Critecnia and the experience of contract farming in Chincha Valley

One experience of contract farming was developed with small farmers in the Peruvian Coast in order to use the sector’s potentiality and apply a creative model. Critecnia Company, from Peruvian entrepreneurs, developed a successful system based on the alliance with small farmers in Chincha Valley in order to export cotton.

Chincha Valley is located in Chincha province, Ica region, 200 Km south of Lima City, in Peru. Its territory comprises 2,987 Km2 and has a population of 176,732 inhabitants. The name Chincha comes from the indigenous word “chanchay” and its meaning is “Jaguar”. The early indigenous people that lived in this area before the Incas were the Chinchas. Critecnia’s managers chose Chincha for being located near Lima (the Peruvian capital city) and its highly traditional potentiality for cotton growth.

5.1.5. Definition of contract farming and the Critecnia model

Contract farming can be defined as a “system for the production and supply of agricultural and horticultural produce by farmers/primary producers under advance contracts, the essence of such arrangements being a commitment to provide an agricultural commodity of a type, at a specific time, price, and in specified quantity to a known buyer. In fact, contract farming can be described as a halfway house between independent farm production and corporate/captive farming and can be a step case towards completely vertical integration or disintegration depending on the given
context. It basically involves four facts – pre-agreed price, quality, quantity or acreage (minimum/maximum), and time. From a developmental-intervention point of view, it is a situation in which the relationship between the agribusiness firm and the farmers takes on an expert endowing the apprentice with resources, knowledge and skills. Or alternatively, it is further a case of bringing the market to the farmers, which is navigated by agribusiness firms” (Christensen, 1992: p 24).

Another definition explains it in the form of “forward integration, that can occur where a group of farmers own or control a marketplace; or backward integration that occurs where large processing and marketing firms either gain farms or become directly involved in supporting and controlling production through contracts. The latter type of arrangement is called “contract farming” and usually involves a large agribusiness firm integrated backwards by forming alliances with groups of smallholders and, through written or verbal contracts, providing farm inputs such as credit and extension in return for guaranteed delivery of specified quality produce often at a pre-specified price. Such contracting arrangement may also involve horizontal integration into where firms not only provide direct inputs into farm-level decision making but also encourage integration of various activities across a population of smallholders through farm groups. These groups may coordinate planting and harvest as well as facilitate or manage storage and transport arrangements” (Phil Simmons, 2002: p 3).

These two definitions of contract farming included the principal elements of farming contract, but the model used by the Peruvian company Critecnia has special and interesting characteristics applied to the Peruvian context and followed previous experiences, focused on the Peruvian small farmer’s idiosyncrasy and the difficulties to access financing resources.

The model proposed the creation of a company whose principal activity is “to offer integral management services for the agrarian sector”. This company selected a group of small farmers in order to create a company (integrated only by farmers). The “farmers’ company” signed contracts with the “service company” to be able to receive management services.
The “farmers’ company” used production and commercialization contracts in order to create relationships with the farmers themselves (which were the same people acting as owners of the farmers’ company) as an individual aimed at cultivating Agricultural products with special characteristics previously specified by the “farmers’ company”. This company provides the supplies and technical assistance.

The “service company” signed contracts with the “farmers’ company” in order to become the “manager” (as a company, which is possible under the Peruvian law) of the “farmers’ company”. The functions of the “service company” were: to look for financing resources –and utilized the farmers’ land (owners of the farmers’ company) and the likely future harvest as a loan guarantee, and managed all activities in the agricultural production process and the commercialization of the production. The “service company” obtained a fixed amount of money and a percentage of the produced extra income as payment for its successful management.
5.1.6. Research Methodology

The methodology used in the research for the MBA thesis included fieldwork based on quantitative and qualitative resources. The field work applied in the Nazca Valley was focused on the small farmers and was conducted in the period ranging from January to March 2000. The qualitative part of the field work included focus groups and interviews with the principal stakeholders of the Chincha model.

Complementary field work based on qualitative resources was conducted in the period ranging from May to June 2007. The complementary analysis was focused on the identification and description of the Andean CVI and their effect in the success and later failure of the Critecnia model four years after. This complementary analysis was conducted as a support for the PhD hypothesis in the present research.

5.1.7. Statistic information and findings from the quantitative research

We carried out a survey in order to obtain relevant information from the small farmers in Nazca Valley and decided to apply it to a sample of 117 small farmers organized as part of four farmer communities in Nazca: Ingenio (28 farmers), Las Trancas (31 farmers), Nazca (31 farmers) and Taruga (27 farmers). The information collected was useful in order to grasp the small farmers’ situation in Nazca, the number of units, size, property, financing, principal growths and so forth. However, in this case the qualitative research was more important in order to analyze the small farmers’ CVI in Nazca, the part of the research concerning this paper.
The relevant information we used for the research and the selection of the area of Nazca for the application of the model was organized and presented in tables. I wish to show the tables that contain the main information and the rest will be included as an annex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban and rural population in Nazca Province (districts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Urban %</th>
<th>Rural %</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nazca province</td>
<td>43,196</td>
<td>9,546</td>
<td>52,742</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazca</td>
<td>19,661</td>
<td>3,802</td>
<td>23,463</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Ingenio</td>
<td>1,275</td>
<td>1,939</td>
<td>3,214</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vista Alegre</td>
<td>8,531</td>
<td>1,708</td>
<td>10,239</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changuillo</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>2,028</td>
<td>2,838</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcona</td>
<td>12,919</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>12,988</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INEI 1993 Data

Nazca province was selected as a place for the application of the farming contract project because it is near Lima (capital city) and the percentage of the rural population is high (more than 20%) and concentrates in the communities selected for the survey sample. Nazca has high concentration of small farmers as a result of the failure of the Agrarian Land Reform applied by the military government. The configuration of the farmers is mixed; the majority comes from the highlands and another part is from the Coast.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ownership regime</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ownership regime</th>
<th>Ag unit (land utilized)</th>
<th>Surface</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazca province</td>
<td>2,298</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In property</td>
<td>2,186</td>
<td>95.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other forms</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 50% in property - plus 1 OR</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other forms – plus 1 OR</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INEI Agricultural census 1994

The majority of the small farmers in Nazca province are owners of the land and this situation is a characteristic of the agricultural sector in Peru. In the PhD thesis main document the concept of “minifundio” and the problems of the properties was explained. The condition of “owner” of the small farmers is a necessary element for the application of the farming contract model and it was other important information in order to decide the place.
### Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legal condition</th>
<th>Agrarian unit (land utilized)</th>
<th>Surface</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazca</td>
<td>2,298</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>2,151</td>
<td>93.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fact organizations</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private companies</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperatives</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INEI Agricultural census 1994

The judiciary condition of the majority of small farmers is “individual”; it means that the majority are not part of any organization. This information is useful because it explains the opportunity for the farming contract proposal and the lack of similar models in the area selected.

### Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literacy conditions</th>
<th>Product. (land utilized)</th>
<th>Surface</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Has.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazca</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>19,581.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literate</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>17,968.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>1,335.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No specification</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>277.82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INEI Agricultural census 1994

The level of illiteracy is not too high in this area and this information was interpreted as an important element that suggests that the farmers have basic knowledge in order to understand the farming contract proposal.

### Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession - economic activity</th>
<th>Product. (land utilized)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazca</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technician</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual activity</td>
<td>89.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercialization</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without profession – EA</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No specification</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INEI Agricultural census 1994

The majority of the population in Nazca province works in “manual activities” and this concept include agriculture (farmers) and other activities such as artisan work.
Table 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type organization-association</th>
<th>Product. (land utilized)</th>
<th>Surface</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazca</td>
<td>1,931</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Producers committee</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers associations</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrigators committee</td>
<td>1,853</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Agrarian organization</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle-milk organization</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No specification</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INEI Agricultural census 1994

There are not many associations or organizations in Nazca province. The only type of organization relevant in Nazca is the “Irrigators Committees” because water is the most important element for the agricultural activity in Peru. The participation of the farmers in the irrigators committees is common in Peru, and this is one of the reasons why I decided to include the analysis of the irrigators committee in Piura as a second case study.

Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Total interviewees</th>
<th>Ingenio</th>
<th>Las Trancas</th>
<th>Nazca</th>
<th>Taruga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 3 Ha.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 to 5 Ha.</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 to 10 Ha.</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1 to 15 Ha.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.1 to 20 Ha.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.1 to 30 Ha.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.1 to 50 Ha.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.1 to more Ha.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real base</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Survey in Nazca 2000 - Field work

The average of the land for small farmers in Peru is around 3.1 Ha. and in the case of Nazca province, the majority of the properties are around this size. There is also a group of medium farmers in this area but they are not part of the research.
Table 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Total interviewees</th>
<th>Ingenio</th>
<th>Las Trancas</th>
<th>Nazca</th>
<th>Taruga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In property</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other forms</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real base</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Survey in Nazca 2000 - Field work

This table is related to Table 2. The majority of the small farmers in Nazca are owners of the land. In this table, we can observe the detail by district.

Table 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Total interviewees</th>
<th>Ingenio</th>
<th>Las Trancas</th>
<th>Nazca</th>
<th>Taruga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agrarian advice</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng. Geologist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounting</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animals commerce</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No other activity</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real base</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Survey in Nazca 2000 - Field work

In this table, we can appreciate that there are not many farmers in Nazca who are working in other economic activities besides agriculture. This information is important because a group of academicians state that the migration of farmers from agriculture to other economic activities is a path for the development of the sector in Peru, but the reality is different.

Table 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Total interviewees</th>
<th>Ingenio</th>
<th>Las Trancas</th>
<th>Nazca</th>
<th>Taruga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real base</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Survey in Nazca 2000 - Field work
Acess to finance resources is poor in the opinion of small farmers in Nazca and this is an opportunity for Critecnia Company in order to persuade farmers of the advantages of the farming contract model.

Table 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Total interviewees</th>
<th>Ingenio</th>
<th>Las Trancas</th>
<th>Nazca</th>
<th>Taruga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real base</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Survey in Nazca 2000 - Fieldwork

Table 12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Total interviewees</th>
<th>Ingenio</th>
<th>Las Trancas</th>
<th>Nazca</th>
<th>Taruga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real base</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Survey in Nazca 2000 - Field work

In the opinion of small farmers in Nazca, the quality of the land and the water are good which means that there are minimum conditions in order to apply the farming contract model.

Table 13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Total interviewees</th>
<th>Ingenio</th>
<th>Las Trancas</th>
<th>Nazca</th>
<th>Taruga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beans producer’s ass.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAU</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperative</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers association</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real base</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Survey in Nazca 2000 - Fieldwork

This table explains the lack of associations for small farmers in Nazca; the majority of small farmers are working individually. The information is important because when I
analyze the qualitative information from the focus group I find out the feeling of frustration of the farmers in relation to associations proposals after the failure of the agrarian land reform.

Table 14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Total interviewees</th>
<th>Ingenio</th>
<th>Las Trancas</th>
<th>Nazca</th>
<th>Taruga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of direction</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low prices of products</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bad administration</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of control</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social problems</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lack of capacity</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lie</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad season (years)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of union</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law changes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subdivision of the land</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real base</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Survey in Nazca 2000 - Field work

This table finds out about small farmers’ opinion on the main reasons for the failure of the cooperative model in the agrarian land reform. The failure of the land reform caused a trauma in small farmers and provoked rejection to other associative proposals. Small farmers recognize the “lack of direction”, “bad administration” and “lack of capacity” as the main reasons for the failure of the cooperative system. This information is an opportunity for the proposal of the farming contract in order to show the farmers the advantages of work with professional management staff.

Table 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Total interviewees</th>
<th>Ingenio</th>
<th>Las Trancas</th>
<th>Nazca</th>
<th>Taruga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real base</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Survey in Nazca 2000 - Field work

128
When the research started in Nazca, the Critecia model was already working in Chincha valley (very near Nazca valley) but few small farmers knew this information. At that moment, other business experiences were applied to the Coast but the small farmers in Nazca lacked information.

Table 16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Total interviewees</th>
<th>Ingenio</th>
<th>Las Trancas</th>
<th>Nazca</th>
<th>Taruga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real base</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Survey in Nazca 2000 - Field work

In this question I wanted to know how many farmers had the predisposition to work in the farming contract model.

Table 17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Total interviewees</th>
<th>Ingenio</th>
<th>Las Trancas</th>
<th>Nazca</th>
<th>Taruga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real base</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Survey in Nazca 2000 - Field work

Table 18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Total interviewees</th>
<th>Ingenio</th>
<th>Las Trancas</th>
<th>Nazca</th>
<th>Taruga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forget about agriculture</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starvation of people</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of support</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social problems</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of finance</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of infrastructure</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Economic policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bureaucracy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Export projects</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real base</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Survey in Nazca 2000 - Field work
Table 17 and table 18 show the perception of small farmers on the role of the government. The majority of the farmers believe that the performance of the government is bad and the main reasons for this situation are: the government’s forgetfulness about agriculture, lack of support and lack of finance. The answers are closely related to each other and support Lacki’s idea (1995), who states as an element of the Peruvian small farmer idiosyncrasy the dependency from the government. They are waiting for the state support and they believe that the government has the obligation to provide support and finance and when they have a problem, they expect the pardon of their debts. This behavior was observed when the Critecnia model failed in Chincha.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Total interviewees</th>
<th>Ingenio</th>
<th>Las Trancas</th>
<th>Nazca</th>
<th>Taruga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No education</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-graduate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real base</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Survey in Nazca 2000 - Field work

This table is related to table 4 about the literacy of the people in Nazca province. We can observe that the majority of small farmers in the sample have finished only primary education. This information is important in order to know how to manage the “communication” between small farmers and the company. The model is not that complex but its explanations for the small farmers require “special channels”. In this sense, the role of the “facilitator” was crucial for the communication and I obtained relevant information in the qualitative research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Total interviewees</th>
<th>Ingenio</th>
<th>Las Trancas</th>
<th>Nazca</th>
<th>Taruga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium low</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium high</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real base</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Survey in Nazca 2000 - Field work

This table was made over the base of the “subjectivity” of the interviewers (including me). We tried to create a “first impression” of the cultural level of the small farmers from the sample and for this reason, we created a scale from “low” to “high” cultural level, but the parameters we used were our own “ideas about cultural level” and
“personal filters”. The concept of “cultural level” in this question is more related to aspects that we could appreciate superficially such as communication skills, general knowledge, life experience, etc. This exercise was important for the team in order to unify criteria. The result was that the majority of small farmers had low and medium low cultural level; it means that we need to take this factor into consideration for the communication strategy.

Table 21

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Total interviewees</th>
<th>Ingenio</th>
<th>Las Trancas</th>
<th>Nazca</th>
<th>Taruga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real base</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Survey in Nazca 2000 - Field work

This table, like table 20, was built over the base of the “subjectivity” of the interviewers (including me). The reason for this question was to access to the first impression of the “receptivity” and “openness” of the small farmers towards the farming contract proposal.

Table 22

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Value (%)</th>
<th>Nazca</th>
<th>Las Trancas</th>
<th>Taruga</th>
<th>Ingenio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Water access</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situation of the land</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication access</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variety of products</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favorable idiosyncrasy</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognize lack of knowledge</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization predisposition</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposal disposition</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low level of debt</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>3.02</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>3.93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Qualitative evaluation methodologist “points” - (Sapag Chain, 1997). Data from the survey and focus group in Nazca 2000 – Field work
We built a “Matrix of evaluation for critical factors in Nazca” in order to analyze the quantitative information and decided that the best place for the application of the Critecnia model was in Nazca. We used the “Qualitative evaluation methodologic points” from Sapag Chain (1997) and over the base of the main element of the proposal, we assigned values. The best community for the application of the model in Nazca was the community of Ingenio. It is important to notice the high value that was assigned to the “favorable idiosyncrasy”. The analysis of the idiosyncrasy was complemented in the qualitative research.

5.1.8. Findings from the qualitative research

We used interviews and focus groups in order to be aware of the farmers’ perception and figured out the farmers’ idiosyncrasy in Chincha Valley over the basis of the principal stakeholders’ experience as well as through direct contact with the small-farmers in Nazca Valley. We interviewed the principal participants in the model: the Critecnia Company’s owner, the facilitator in the Chincha model case, small farmers in Nazca Valley, the farmers’ authorities and leaders in Nazca, professionals in the area’s agricultural sector and government authorities.

The focus groups were applied to small farmers from the four above-mentioned farmer communities and developed in small groups of people: Ingenio (two focus groups and the attendance of 12 to 16 farmers), Las Trancas (two focus groups and the attendance of 7 farmers to 24 farmers), Nazca (two focus groups and the attendance of 7 to 24 farmers) and Taruga (two focus groups and the attendance of 10 to 17 farmers). The focus groups were conducted with general questions and open dialogues and included the farmers’ questions about the Chincha model that was proposed for its application to Nazca.

We used the advice of the key actors within the model in order to plan the contents of the focus group. Their recommendation was to apply more open dialogues and not close answers because of the possibility to obtain more information without “filters” (moderator’s analysis) and also to perceive the cultural level of the small farmers in this area. The information obtained in the focus group was complemented with the interviews and direct observation as well as literature. I participated directly in the facilitation of focus groups and interviews and I was present throughout the field research.

The participant’s direct observation –in order to grasp better people’s behavior and their life conditions– was another tool used in the research. We visited the farmer’s community during three months and shared their daily life with the small farmers in order to understand cultural values and their idiosyncrasy by working with them and we collected important complementary information for the focus groups and interviews.

In 2007, I conducted complementary fieldwork. I applied several interviews and analyzed the information collected previously, in order to find out about these “cultural values” mentioned in the previous research that provoked the failure of the model. As a result of the analysis I found high influence of the Andean values in small farmers and
proposed the requirements of the “facilitator”, key person for the model, based on the new analysis of the qualitative information.

The main findings from the qualitative research are presented in the next tables:

**Table 23**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key word</th>
<th>DO</th>
<th>FG1</th>
<th>FG2</th>
<th>FG3</th>
<th>FG4</th>
<th>FG5</th>
<th>FG6</th>
<th>FG7</th>
<th>FG8</th>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>&gt;3Repet</th>
<th>&lt;3Repet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agrarian reform</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Answer and decision</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colloquial language</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Community work</td>
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<td>Cooperatives</td>
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<td>Frustration</td>
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<tr>
<td>Idiosyncrasy</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individualistic</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Informal leader</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Qualitative research (direct observation, focus group and interviews) in Nazca 2000 – 2007 - Fieldwork.

**Table 24**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key word</th>
<th>DO</th>
<th>FG1</th>
<th>FG2</th>
<th>FG3</th>
<th>FG4</th>
<th>FG5</th>
<th>FG6</th>
<th>FG7</th>
<th>FG8</th>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>&gt;3Repet</th>
<th>&lt;3Repet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land-guarantee</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Late</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millenary culture</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non fulfillment culture</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non verbal behavior</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

133
Tables 23 and 24 show the “relevant key words” I used in the new analysis of the qualitative data. I used an original methodology in order to analyze the qualitative data. I classified the information from the qualitative tools (direct observation-DO, focus group-FG1 to FG8 and deep interview) in relation to one “key word” that explains the idea contained in one opinion. It is important to mention that the key words were mentioned for the small farmers and the main actors in the process of the qualitative research.

This original methodology was useful in order to organize the information; especially in the case of the focus group because under the recommendation of the main actors, we used open dialogues. The idea of the graphs is to find the key words that are often mentioned for the small farmers and/or main actors of the model in the qualitative research (direct observation, focus group and deep interviews) and analyze more deeply these cultural values related to the key word. We considered a key word relevant when it was repeated 3 or more times in the totality of the tools we applied for the qualitative research.

As a result of the analysis I find out about the importance of the following key words over the base of the number of times that were mentioned for small farmers in the qualitative research: agrarian reform (3 times), community work (4 times), community support (3 times), communication (4 times), compadre (3 times), cooperatives (7 times), couple (3 times), government (5 times), land (6 times), men (3 times), millenary culture (3 times), old person (9 times), organization (7 times), outsider (7 times), Quechua (4 times), religion (4 times), religion-party (3 times), trust (5 times), trust-compadre (3 times) and woman (3 times). I show the information collected in the qualitative research (opinions of the farmers and main actors and my personal direct observations) in the
tables 25 (direct observation); 26 and 27 (focus groups) and 28-A, 28-B, 28-C (deep interviews); and I analyzed and explained the influence of the Andean cultural values related to the key words.

In order to analyze more deeply the important “key words” after the previous classification (repeated 3 or more times) I returned to the original information resource, meaning the direct observation, focus group or deep interview and connect the “opinion of the farmers (actor) idea” to the theoretical background of the Andean cultural values explained in the PhD thesis main document. It means that I analyzed my PhD hypothesis and I probed the influence of the Andean culture and idiosyncrasy in the case of Critecnia farming contract for small farmers in Nazca.

Table 25

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key words</th>
<th>Opinions relate CVI</th>
<th>N.-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Answer-decisions</td>
<td>Farmers did not make decisions after the meeting, they needed more time</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colloquial language</td>
<td>“Colloquial” words in their oral communication (compadre, cumpa, family, etc)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individualistic</td>
<td>Some farmers show us individualistic behavior, especially the more educated</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal leader</td>
<td>It is possible to identify an “informal” leader among the groups</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late</td>
<td>Farmers arrive late for the meeting; for them, time has different values</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non verbal behavior</td>
<td>Gestures that “mean” agreement or not without oral expression</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old person</td>
<td>The high influence of elderly persons is visible</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old person</td>
<td>Sometimes they use other “names” for the elderly and leader such as “taita”</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old person</td>
<td>When he starts to speak everybody is silent and shows respect</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old person</td>
<td>In some moments only elderly people speak and the young only observe</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person “outside”</td>
<td>When persons “outside” the group speak, farmers show disagreement</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparatory meeting</td>
<td>Meet before starting the “ordinary” meeting, made groups and took seats together</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Some farmers do not feel comfortable with the use of Spanish (they prefer Quechua)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Qualitative research (direct observation) in Nazca 2000 – 2007 - Fieldwork.

Table 26

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key words</th>
<th>Opinions related to CVI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agrarian reform</td>
<td>Traumatic experience, they lost everything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community work</td>
<td>They cooperate among farmers for special occasions such as religious party or building of the school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community work</td>
<td>Other examples are to help new couples to build their new house or support family in case of fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community support</td>
<td>They have mechanisms of community support (fire, loss of relatives, community school, etc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Communication is basically “oral”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compadre</td>
<td>It means “solidarity, protection, safety, and tutelage”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Compadre  “To be compadre is stronger than to be brothers”

Cooperatives  Some structures of old cooperatives survive and they are still working

Cooperatives  No sharing of the land but share some common properties such as harvest tools and tractors

Cooperatives  They use “informal” rules that are working among the farmers

Couple  Social activities require the participation of the couple

Couple  To be married is to be “adult” and enjoy full rights and obligations in the community

Education  The level of education is very low. The majority finish only primary school

Frustration  Feeling of frustration and isolation

Government  It has the obligation to support farmers

Government  We are not waiting for its support

Land  Land is very important and the relation is also “religious”

Land  It is very complicated to use the land as a guarantee for access money

Land  Land is “social insurance” because it provides work and food

Land  I can transfer the land to my children

Men  Men represent the family in decision meetings

Millenary culture  We are recipients of millenary culture and knowledge

Qualitative research (focus group) in Nazca 2000 – 2007 - Fieldwork.

Table 27

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key words</th>
<th>Opinions related to CVI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elderly</td>
<td>The elderly transmit the history and knowledge of the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elderly</td>
<td>The elderly are respected and they are “informal” leaders and “wishes” in the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elderly</td>
<td>The elderly can solve social disputes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations</td>
<td>We experienced before such “potatoes organization” but they did not work very well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations</td>
<td>It did not work because of the ambition and personal interests of the leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations</td>
<td>More focus on commercialization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outsider</td>
<td>White people do not know more than us, farmers for generations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outsider</td>
<td>They are suspicious of people who offer “external” solutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popular compadres</td>
<td>“The doctor and teacher are very popular compadres” (solvent and good reputation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quechua</td>
<td>Quechua is the “native” language from the Incas, people speak Quechua and Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quechua</td>
<td>The majority of people use Quechua at home and their level of Spanish is poor (primary only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Religion is in the majority of cases “Catholic” but mix with “Andean customs”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Andean customs such as “land celebration” in the harvest, offer “food” or “drinking” to “Apus”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion-party</td>
<td>“Mayordomo” or person in charge of the community-religious party once a year (great honor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status quo</td>
<td>They prefer to maintain their small land not productive than to take the risk of losing their land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survival</td>
<td>Their mentality is “survive”, they do not have idea of business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>They express how they trust people from he same family group and community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>They explain how they are sharing the same space, social activities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative research (focus group) in Nazca 2000 – 2007 - Fieldwork.

The direct observation was applied in two different environments: first, in the community; and it was focused on the analysis of the observations we obtained from sharing the normal life of small farmers; and second, in the meetings between the research team and the farmers. In these meetings, we explained the farming contract proposal in order to analyze the farmers’ reaction and openness to the business idea. The focus groups were applied with open dialogues and managed in the community. The deep interviews were applied to the main actors of the model in order to contrast their opinion with the farmer’s opinions.

The most important key word I found in the qualitative research was the behavior and main role of the “elderly person” in the community. The observation was repeated and mentioned as a “key word” in the eight focus groups we applied in Nazca.

In the direct observation exercise, I could see the high influence of the elderly persons in the community and how the other farmers behaved in their presence. I heard names such as “taita” that is Quechua (native language) word and it means respect and superiority. In the meeting, I observed how young farmers showed respect and maintained silent when the senior farmers started to speak. In the focus group, small farmers explained how elderly persons transmit the history and knowledge of the community. They were mentioned as “informal leaders” and “wishes” in the community and also people attribute them the power to solve disputes.

The importance and respect for the elder members in the community was a traditional custom in the Andean society and this behavior has different explanations. For the Andean people the vision of the time is “circular” (different from the occidental “linear” vision) and the elderly are ahead because they have already experienced lifetime. The young come behind, they are learning, they have to ask in order to carry on with the cycle. From the social conception, the Andean culture is over the base of the community, the Ayllu with ancestors and common traditions, recognizing and identifying one another with the same origin, Paqarina. In this context, the elder person is the recipient of the traditions (oral transmission) and the link between people and culture.

The next key word is “organization” and it was mentioned 7 times in the qualitative research. The farmers mentioned the existence of other types of organizations but they are basically for commercialization. These organizations are not working very well and small farmers are thinking that the main reasons are the ambition and personal interests of the leaders. In the in-depth interviews the main actors of the model such as managers of the financial companies and government advisors in agriculture mentioned the disorganization among small farmers as a problem.

The next key word is “outsider” and it was mentioned 7 times in the qualitative research. In the meetings between the small farmers and the team research I observed
disagreement among the farmers when one person form the team speak and mentioned something relate to the farmers problems. The owner of Critecnia Company explained how the small farmers were very sensitive to the presence of people outside of the community. He experienced sometimes bad situations in places where the people did not know him. He looks European (blond hair and green eyes) and is suspicious of the farmers because they look different. In the focus groups, farmers mentioned “white people” do not have more knowledge of the farming activities than farmers who receive inheritance from millenarian culture (they refer to the Andean culture).

The explanation of this behavior from the analysis of the Andean cultural values is related to the two meanings of Ayllu stated by Garcia (2003). “First, in relation to the nuclear or extensive family, which includes close lineage relatives (hichpa ayllu) and distant relatives (karu ayllu); second, when it refers to the neighborhoods and factions in which the community is divided as well as the community’s members being far away from them who are not related by any type of kinship. In the Andean concept of community, the social organization was established over the base of strong family and kinship bonds, as well as economic, social, cultural and religious” (Matayoshi, 2003) and when one person outside from the “ayllu” wanted to establish relations to the group without any kinship bond, his initiative is unconsciously “rejected”. In this sense, as a consequence of these elements, I state the “critical role” of the facilitator in the model.

The next key word is “cooperative” and it was mentioned 7 times in the qualitative research. The farmers explained their frustration for the failure of the cooperative model in the land reform and how some structures of old cooperatives already survive and are still working. The small farmers in these cases do not share the land but they share the property of harvest tools and tractors. Farmers explained how “informal rules” are working among them. This last topic will be explained as a part of the key words “community support” and “community work”.

The next key word is “land” and it was mentioned 6 times in the qualitative research. Small farmers mentioned the importance of the land (Pacha Mama) and the religious relation implied. They expressed in their own words: land is inheritance from my father and I can also pass it on to my sons. Land is a social insurance they say, because when the economic situation is bad and we cannot find a job, land is always there and provides food and work. We cannot use the land as a guarantee for any business. Land is sacred and the risk to lose the property is high. In an in-depth interview the facilitator of Critecnia Company mentioned how he explains the need to use the land as a guarantee by the small farmers in the model.

The relation between the people and the land is characteristic of the Andean culture. Amat states that in the Andean world all of the elements are living parts of a whole in permanent and cyclical movement. He explains how elements such as light, the sun, the rain, lightning, energy, water, stones, earth, plants and animals are directly related to people. The human life depends on them so that it is necessary to make an offering as it used to be at that time (2006). The relation to the “earth” was especially important because of its characteristics. The Pachamama (Earth) was one of the most important Inca gods. The Pachamama is the whole to which humankind belongs. In fact, humankind is not only part of it but is also due to it.
As Garcia states, another important point is the intrinsic unit between what is divine and what is profane, that is, there is a special sphere linked to daily activities that connected the Incas to their gods. The simplest activities, such as cultivating the land, were part of rituals for people and a relationship also developed between them and the divinities. These divinities were expressed in elements characteristic of nature, as the land, sun and water. We can observe the presence of this unit between the divine and profane in the opinion of the small farmers.

The next key word is “trust” and it was mentioned 5 times in the qualitative research. Small farmers explained how important it is for them to be part of the same family, group and community. They mentioned the importance of sharing bonds and other aspects like the same physical space, social activities, etc. In the in-depth interview the facilitator of Critecnia Company explained how important it is to create among the farmers and the company relations over the base of trust.

The explanation of this cultural value from the analysis of the Andean cultural values I related to the meanings of ayllu we already explained for the key word outsider. “It means that in the Andean concept of community the social organization was established over the base of strong family and kinship bonds, as well as economic, social, cultural and religious” (Matayoshi, 2003).

Both the collective and the observance of customs are vital bonds between the Andean people and their community. They can trust each other inside the family, the group, the community because they are sharing more things than the simple space. They share complex network of relations, rights and obligations.

The next key word is “government” and it was mentioned 5 times in the qualitative research. In the focus group, I found two groups of small farmers in relation to their opinion about the government’s role. One group mentioned the obligation of the government to bring support and financial access to the small farmers and the other group expressed that they were not waiting for the government’s support; they could organize themselves and work without the government’s support. In this sense, Augusto Cilloniz, general manager of Critecnia expressed that the small farmers were expecting from the government to obtain debt forgiveness.

This behavior was the consequence of the government’s participation after the failure of the land reform. When the small farmers borrowed money from the financial institutions and decided not to return the money because of their economic problems, the government supported them with debt forgiveness. These populist measures contributed to creating the “non-fulfillment” culture.

We will analyze the key words “community work” (mentioned 4 times) and “community support” (mentioned 3 times) together. Small farmers mentioned how they cooperated for special occasions such as religious parties or in the case they needed to build a school. They also mentioned some “mechanism of community support” in special cases such as fire or natural disaster.
The explanation of this cultural value from the analysis of the Andean culture is related to the communal work practiced in the Incas’ time. As Garcia states, because commoners often have to commute large distances to accomplish productive activities, they resort to ancient practices concerning the *Ayni* (inter-individual support), the *Minka* (collective and festive work) and the *Mita* (work carried out in favor of the State as a tax). The Ayni and the Minka yet keep on their characteristics, but the Mita has been redefined as communal work (2003).

Trivelli and Yancari (2006) over the base of a study carried out in the communities of Mantaro and Piura, analyze systems of informal taking of risks based on familiar and amicable networks that work when an act of God happens. Ossio also mentioned the experience of the rural community of Andamarca in the Peruvian Andes, where it is possible to observe in the daily interaction the cooperation of relatives in different labor or ritual activities. These activities include sowing or crop of a product, shepherding, and housing construction, rituals as baptism, marriage and death (1992). It is possible to find more experiences among the farmers in Peru that reflect the high influence of the practices of community work and community support as an inherency of the Andean culture.

The next key word is “communication” and it was mentioned 4 times in the qualitative research. I analyze communication in relation to three key words obtained from the direct observation and focus group dynamics; “Colloquial language”, “non verbal language” and “Quechua”. Small farmers explained in the focus group how communication is basically oral and they used their mother tongue Quechua (native language) in their ordinary life and Spanish on some occasions. The general manager of one of the most important financial institutions for small farmers in Nazca explained in the interview how important it is to manage the same level of communication with the small farmers; they need especial attention he said.

In the direct observation we found the importance of the use of the “non verbal language” among small farmers. The use of “gestures” by small farmers can explain agreements, doubts, and decisions before they express any word. This element is an important part of communication in the community and it is mixed with the use of “colloquial” words such as “cumpa”, which means *compadre* and it is used in order to show close relations among friends or colleagues. In some contexts, “cumpa” does not mean exactly *compadre*.

As Garcia states, the ethno-peasant cultures essentially communicate their knowledge by orally means, so oral literature has a role of intergenerational diffusion where its narrations, knowledge, techniques and human values are shared (2005). His opinion is related to the role of the “elder person” in the community we have already explained. Garcia explains how the role of the elderly is decisive because they are transmitters and essential communicators of wisdom and collective memory shared with the family and community at communal parties or family talks. This process is spontaneously carried out when the family and neighbors gather to assess the working day, share or exchange experiences, systematize and learn lessons from them in order to subsequently listen to the elderly wisdom. This is a continuous process of knowledge construction where the
The Andean communication was over the base of oral means and in farmers communities like Nazca we could observe the importance of oral communication and the predominance of “Quechua”. The majority of farmers in Nazca finished only primary school and they managed the rudimentary elements of Spanish but the language they spoke at home was the native language; through Quechua, they express feelings and desires. In our research, we could observe the use of their native language among the farmers, especially when they were alone or in daily activities.

The next key word is “religion” (it was mentioned 4 times) and I will analyze with the key word “religion-party” (it was mentioned 3 times). Small farmers mentioned religion; in the majority of cases, it is Catholic but they preserve some “Andean” religious customs. There are popular festivities such as “Land Celebration”, “Apus Offertory” (Mountains Offertory). They explained also the old custom of the “Mayordomo”, who is the person in charge of the community party for one year. It is a great honor to be a mayordomo and when one person receives this distinction, he needs to save money all year only for the festivity. The mayordomo pays for all the costs of the party, including the drinks and food for everybody in the community and the guests.

We could observe from the focus group with the small farmers in Nazca the influence of the Andean culture and the resistance to the Spanish religion. The method of surviving for the Andean people was to adapt their rites and religious practices to daily activities in order to escape from the Conquerors.

Sillar’s comment on the Andean cosmology is important, as social relationship and daily subsistence activities that are a complex set of cultural interrelations occur subject to certain conditions, which have remained beyond the conquest reflected even nowadays on the peasants’ daily activities (2000). These daily interrelations that have remained throughout time and even today can be observed in the small farmers, especially those of the Highlands, are elements keeping people together by means of an invisible link transmitted from generation to generation.

Sillar states that even when the Spanish colonial authorities thwarted an early uprising against the Catholic Church, the Taki Ongoy, and the indigenous people of the Andes did not abandon their faith. Their pact with their Apu or Senior (local deity) was renewed as it had always been with every important daily act: when cleaning the irrigation canals, at planting, or when roofing the houses of new couples (2000). I observed this exercise in the direct observation when the farmers started to make a new house or when they received good harvest one year. They offer drinking and food to their “gods”. It is interesting to see how the farmers also go to the Catholic priest if he is available in the community in order to ask for blessing.

The Andean gods are the explanation for the close relationship between the farmers and their land. In the “holistic” vision of the Andean world the Pachamama (Earth) is the whole to which humankind belong. The whole is under an everlasting cyclical movement. Wiracocha is the universe’s great driving force and organizer. It is the
world’s maker and, in turn, is a part of that unity. *Ukhu Pacha* is the inner energy and snake; *Kay Pacha* is the present force and cougar; and *Hanan Pacha* is above and the condor.

As Beyers states, the Incas economy was as a sacred imperial economy, which interacted with other local sacred economies in a way that defined the nature of the imperial power relationship in question. A better understanding of the tremendous cultural and religious importance that land had in the Andean community would invaluably contribute to explaining why the Incas were so concerned about providing relative autonomy to the communities (2001). This influence is possible to find today in the farmer’s communities where the relation to the land is sacred. When they offer drinking and food to the land they are exercising a religious practice.

Small farmers in Nazca are used to share food and drinks in the religious parties as commemorations of especial social events. This practice is also originally from the Andean culture and Garcia explained the holistic contents concerning the Andean world view and how it is related to the harmony that supports the ethno-peasant towns in a culture of sharing. He states an Andean saying which explains this sharing system: *Ruraqman chayaspa, rurapakuna; mikupman chayaspa, mikupakuna; tusuqman chayaspa, tusupakuna; yachaqman chayaspa, yachapakuna* (Sharing work, sharing fruits-food, sharing celebrations-parties and commemorations, sharing knowledge and technology) (2005).

The next key word is “compadre” (it was mentioned 3 times) and I will analyze it with the key word “trust-compadre” (it was mentioned 3 times). Small farmers from Nazca mentioned compadre and the meaning of this word implied a person who shared close relationship to another person and included “solidarity, protection, safety and tutelage” relations. This close relationship was created over the base of ritual or religious ceremony such as baptism and weddings. A group of farmers mentioned “to be compadre is stronger than to be brothers”, a phrase that contains important meaning.

*Compadrazgo* is a way of bond and link that enables families to develop a family and friend networks that will support them. Academicians such as Orrego researched on “*compadrazgo*” and explained how these customs were originally from the Andean culture and after the arrival of the Spanish, they were maintained alive and adopted by the western concept of “godfather”. Orrego states, along with others, that this custom was persecuted and intended to make it disappear by the famous “heresy extirpations” begun by the Catholic Church. However, among others, this custom has outlived and the Andean communities are still practicing it with some variants (2003).

Orrego also clarifies the “answers” I obtained from the small farmers in the focus groups. He states that the “*compadrazgo*” tendency arises, which was linked to obtaining solidarity, protection, safety and tutelage. Either the *godfather* was anyone from the family or an alien to them, he was solvent. Afterwards, this godfathership usually was extended to baptism (2003). I can illustrate the analysis of Orrego with the result of the focus group where the “teachers” and “doctors” were mentioned as a popular compadres.

Another author also explains the importance of the compadrazgo in the creation of
relations among the community. Silva Santisteban, who is quoted by Orrego, explains the importance of such rite as to be a kinship bond and blood-related or political linkage, constituting within the community a way of cohesion of family relationships and externally a way of setting profitable bonds with people having and advantageous position in the economic-political structure (2003).

The next key word is “couple” (it was mentioned 3 times) and I will analyze it with the key word “woman” (it was mentioned 3 times) and the key word “men” (it was mentioned 3 times). The small farmers in Nazca mentioned that the social activities in the community require the participation of the couple. A group of farmers also mentioned in the “practical” life to be married is to be adult in front of the people in the community. I could not see any woman in the meetings celebrated by the farmers in relation to the farming contract proposal; they stayed at home but they had strong informal power, managed the administration of the house and organized some social activities with the other wives. Men represented the family in the decisions meetings.

The man was respected in the Andean society and was the head of the social system. Ferreira and Dargent Chamot state that the Incas’ social system had an ancient Andean origin based on *ayllu*, an extended family group with a common ancestor (2003). I could observe how men were the head of the social organization among farmers, only men attended the meetings for the farming contract model proposal. Also, when we conducted the research in Nazca very few wives were present; the majority were men.

In the Incas Empire “there was a “matri-focal” system where the son’s legitimization depended on the mother” (Matayoshi, 2003). In that sense, the mother was in charge of a double role, “administrator of agricultural resources” and “procreant mother of new children”. We could see this double role in the wives in Nazca. They maintained the house and children were her responsibility.

In relation to the opinions of a group of farmers about the need of being married in order to exercise the full set of rights to the eyes of the community, I found antecedents in the Andean system and also the contemporary application of these customs in other rural communities in Peru. As Ossio states in the case of Andamarca, once having reached such stage, the society demands that the individuals of opposite’s sexes become couples. From then on, being single is forbidden by the society because all social opportunities imply events demanding the presence of couples. Either it is a ritual, corn sowing or house roofing or a livestock or a baptism or a funeral, etc., the different components of these events demand the presence of couples (1992).

In that sense, Ossio explains that pairing is an essential requirement for individuals to access to full social order provided that adulthood is defined subject to such access. On the basis of marriage, the individual will undertake a series of rights and duties imposed by the community. In the Incan community, the individual was trained to offer his services to the State while, in rural communities, the individual is granted the condition of “commoner” which entails the obligations of holding public positions, taking part in communal work as well as the right to have the use of communal goods after married (1992). In the Andes explains Ossio the wedding ceremony is called *yananchay* that derives from *yantin* which entails the concept of two equal things (1992).
In this sense, as I observed in Nazca, it is worth stating that the Andean system includes a series of social relationships and links that turn around the *ayllu* concept as articulating institutions of reciprocity relationships. Not only social requirements of the matrimonial community but also of the familiar procreating contribute to such relationships and surrounding those is the development of an alliance system which will enable the community to both ensure their survival throughout time and strengthen ties among members.

The last two words (mentioned 3 times) are “millenary culture” and “agrarian reform”. In relation to the “millenary culture”, the small farmers in Nazca manifested several times that they received heritage from the Incas culture. This heritage includes knowledge, especially related to agricultural activity. It is important to mention this word because when the team explained the farming contract proposal, the farmers showed a questioning attitude about how “outsiders” can have better knowledge about the farming activity than they who are recipients of the millenary culture. In relation to the “agrarian reform”, small farmers in Nazca expressed how they felt after the traumatic experience of failure of the agrarian reform. This experience caused the suspicious of small farmers in Nazca about new associative model proposals.

### 5.1.9. The human factor and the farmer’s idiosyncrasy

Lacki described the Peruvian farmer’s idiosyncrasy as a; “little inclined to change, lack of self-esteem, and lack of feeling to improve oneself, mentality of underdevelopment, dependency and fatalism. They are passively waiting for the government’s support and it is impossible to believe in their own willpower as to be able to solve their difficulties” (Polan Lacki, 1995: p 148).

Lacki (1995) tries to explain how the Peruvian farmer’s idiosyncrasy is one of the principal reasons why they were not able to succeed and manage their own development. In this sense, I realized that many projects had already failed when I had interviews with relevant people involved in those projects in Chincha as well as with people experienced in agricultural projects with small farmers in Nazca. I found that small farmers did not trust the new models (see “findings from the qualitative research”) at that time and these new models sometimes started successfully but failed after a short time because the small farmers decided to give up their obligations and return to the original position where the government could support them without any duty of theirs (see “findings from the qualitative research”).

On the basis of the qualitative research that I applied to the small farmers in Nazca Valley (focus groups, interviews and direct observation) and with Critecnia Company’s main stakeholders as well, the human factor and the farmer’s idiosyncrasy were identified as critical factors for the success of the Chinchon model. In the interviews with the owner-author of the model, the facilitator of the model in Chincha and academicians from Peru’s Agriculture Ministry, they agreed on the importance of these factors in the success of the model. Making them change their mentality and incorporating the small farmers’ own ideas and experiences as part of the project were the main goals for Critecnia’s staff in order to maintain the sustainability and to try to change agriculture from a surviving activity into a business one. In this sense, the present research wants to
find out the Andean cultural values that have strong influence in the small farmers (we analyzed in “findings from the qualitative research”) and can be the base for future and strong associative models.

In this sense, several focus groups were applied to small farmers in Nazca in order to be aware of the common elements of the farmers’ idiosyncrasy and the cultural values that we can take into consideration for applying the Chincha model to the new environment. In order to complement the information collected by the focus group, I interviewed important stakeholders in Nazca such as farming community leaders, water management association leaders, local agriculture authorities and agricultural academicians with relevant experience in Nazca.

The description of the Peruvian farmer by Lacki (1995) created an image of a subsistence farmer, whose priority is to work the land in order to access to daily food, they have no knowledge of profitability and competitiveness as a development element. The focus groups’ results confirmed the characteristics stated by Lacki, but in some cases I found farmers who wanted to change their choices and were open-minded about accepting new proposals in order to improve their economic situation (see Table 16 and 21). The analysis demonstrated profound problems concerning poor level of knowledge as result of the lack of formal education (see Table 19) and access to technical information for agrarian productivity, but I also found informal “knowledge” over the base of the ancient Andean culture (see “findings from the qualitative research”) that can be useful for the application of future models.

It is important to identify two different sizes in the group of “small farmers” in Nazca, medium-sized farmers, who were more skillfully trained (some of them professionals), and micro-sized farmers, who were more indigenous and poor farmers. The first group was more individualistic and conjectured a defensive position. This group was very inquisitive about the model. In the second group, most of the farmers were quieter and only limited their behavior to hearing the proposal of the new model (see the analysis of this behavior in “findings from the qualitative research”).

The micro-sized farmers, who showed poor conditions, said that they were waiting for the government in order to improve their situation (see the analysis of this behavior in “findings from the qualitative research”). I found lack of leadership and very poor level of education (see Table 19). Most of them had not finished primary school.

The government’s role was insufficient and it mistook their political decisions for a long time. The extreme protection and subsidies, including debt forgiveness, contributed to creating a “non-fulfillment culture” among the farmers. The farmers’ behavior to maintain debts force financial institutions to reject loans for small farmers (see Table 17, 18 and “findings from the qualitative research”).

I observed a frustration feeling and an isolation pattern among the farmers. And, as a consequence of the failure of many previous models, the farmers were suspicious of people who were interested in offering solutions to their situation (see “findings from the qualitative research”). Farmers sometimes preferred to maintain their small land nonproductive and they declined new proposals because they were afraid of the
possibility of losing their property. Land itself is a guarantee, even without productivity (see “findings from the qualitative research”). The mentality is of survival. Octavio Chirinos, advisor of Peru’s Ministry of Agriculture, pointed out in an interview, “the principal difficulty with this type of model is the farmer, in order to convince the farmer, you need to know his way of thinking, his idiosyncrasy and it is important to offer him something attractive”.

Goodell referred to the importance of the cultural and historical contexts; “I will show that the way farmers perceive contract farming, i.e. defining, negotiating and accepting contracts and contractual relationships with food industries, differs in each cultural context, and that such perceptions can only be understood as a reference to the economic, political, and cultural forces to which they are inexorably linked. In other words, the norms, skills and rules for contractual interaction are created and nurtured by people in a specific cultural and historical context” (Goodell, 1980: p 285). In this sense, I found the high influence of the Andean cultural values in the way farmers from Nazca perceive the Cri-tecnia model contract farming proposal.

Taussig stated the link between the cultural context and the farmers’ production relationships, which was complex in the Peruvian case; “Obviously, such norms, skills, and rules have not only been constituted within the narrow contexts of industry-farmer relationships: they must have been constituted in the largest context of change and increasingly complex farmers’ production relationships. Such norms, skills, and rules also emerged over a long time and were perhaps built upon antecedent norms, skills, and rules of relationship for agricultural production” (Taussig, 1980: p 275). I analyzed this transformation and evolution in time in the case of the concept of “compadrazgo” and its evolution into “godfather” after the Spanish influence.

Asano underlines the farming contract as a cultural and historical phenomenon; “The study herein is therefore not only anthropological, as I try to view local farmers’ perceptions of their production relationships in the context of their everyday life, but also historical because I will deal with such perceptions for over a century, from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. Thus, I will argue that contract farming should be viewed as a cultural and historical phenomenon rather than as an imposed legal category of universal human relationships, and that it should be viewed from the participants’ perspective, in this case, that of farmers” (Asano, 1988: p 434).

Asano introduces contract farming as a cultural and historical phenomenon rather than as an imposed legal category, and based on this assumption, the model must try to find the elements derived from historical evolution and specific contexts in order to convince the farmers of the benefits of the new model. In this sense I found in the case of the small farmers in Nazca high influence of the Andean cultural values because this historical period developed perceptions and ways to understand the world for thousands of years, and these cultural values are working today.

I realized that the process of applying the Chincha model to Nazca involves considering the Peruvian small farmers’ idiosyncrasy and cultural values in general as well as their own specific conditions and experiences (from their own locality) in order to know not only the farmers’ way of thinking but also the development of a strategy aimed at
changing their mentality through education and an explanation of the benefits of the model and their obligations as an active part of the project. The other components of the model were complementary to this “human” part and followed the construction of the management company – small farmer relationship.

5.1.10. The facilitator as a key for the management of relationships with the farmers

In my research on the Chincha model, I found that the facilitator’s role was decisive in the model application during the first four years. It was necessary to start contacting and managing the relationships with small farmers in order to apply the model (see the analysis of the communication in “findings from the qualitative research”). The consideration of critical variables in the relationships with the small farmers was undertaken by Critecnia through the designation of a “facilitator”, who was selected from the farmers’ same area.

When the small farmers’ idiosyncrasy was identified as a critical element for the success of the model in Chincha, Critecnia decided to look for a person who was able to manage the relationships between the company and the small farmers. The importance of the designation of this person was found crucial in the research and his election followed special guidelines: high level of knowledge that permits him to understand the model (academic studies and relevant practical experience), high credibility among the farmers, and belief in the benefits of the model and advance skills of communication and leadership.

In the case of Chincha model, Critecnia decided to work with an experienced professional in psychology from Chincha (the area of the model application). This person knew very well most of the farmers involved in the project and had a good reputation among them because of his academic studies and leadership.

The facilitator managed the relationships with the farmers from the beginning, explained the benefits and obligations of the model and was in charge of the communication between the company and the farmers. The role included the training of the farmers on the basic principles of the business model in order to understand how it works, welcome the farmers’ complaints, solve their requirements and open a channel of communications between the company’s directors and the farmers. In this sense, an important part of the initial success of the model was attributed to the facilitator’s efficient work.

In their paper about the African case, Porter and Phillips-Howard stated; “The appointment of field officers indigenous to the region as farm advisers facilitated communication between contracting farmers and the company. There was the recognition on both sides of the strengths and weaknesses of the other and the benefits of successful cooperation” (Gina Porter and Kevin Phillips-Howard, 1997: p 230). It was possible to observe this positive synergy in the first four years of the application of the Critecnia model and the knowledge of the facilitator of the idiosyncrasy of the farmers was crucial.
Porter and Phillips-Howard described the creation of teamwork in an African project and underlined the indigenous manager’s role as fundamental in the success of the project; “At the North Pondoland sugar scheme in Transkei an on-site management comprised four men – an English administrative officer, two white South African agronomist and workshop managers, and, crucially, a Xhosa liaison manager. This latter appointment was critical to the success of the project. The man concerned was an indigene of the region and knew some of the scheme farmers when he joined the company in 1985. While the other three managers lived close to the company office in a special compound on the nucleus estate, he lived at the edge of the scheme where his wife ran a small business which served the local community. In 1994, he knew every one of the 130 out-growers on the state and was able to successfully negotiate between farmers and companies in despite of the volatility of this region throughout the pre and early post-election period. He is clearly well-linked and respected by the small-growers and remains in close touch with their affairs. He organizes extension services, attends formal farmers’ association meetings, takes farmers to courses organized by the Sugar Association and is present at the mill when sugar is harvested in order to organize the farmers’ payment. Mill’s statement, have been a contentious issue on cane schemes in Natal” (Vaughan, 1992: p 430). Ronald Rivera, the Critecnia’s facilitator had personal contact to every single farmer in the project. He lived in Chincha area and he was available any time for the farmers. The facilitator, as in the African experience described by Porter and Phillips-Howard, was in charge of attending the formal farmers’ association meetings, organize the training courses and manage the activities relate the application of the model.

“This liaison officer has been particularly effective in explaining statements (regarding sucrose content, which is the basis on which payment is made) to growers so that they know they have not been cheated by the company. He is also involved in settling disputes which sometimes arise between absentee male landowners – many of whom are migrant workers – and their wives, who undertake most or all of the work on the farms, and prepared to support women whose husbands persistently cheated them at their cane check” (Gina Porter and Kevin Phillips-Howard, 1997: p 230). In the case of the Critecnia model facilitator Ronald Rivera, he was trusted by the small farmers as one more of the community and the professional title of psychologist contributed to increasing the respect and good reputation. He was able to solve disputes between farmers and between the company and the farmers. The key was the possibility to manage the same level of communication and the native language.

“Poor and ineffective communication between growers and companies are discussed in rare detail in an unpublished dissertation by Sokhela (1983) concerning Pez kwon Khono Development Company in KwaZulu. In this case, growers were faced with a company policy which was never explained, with company extension officers unknown to nearly half of the 50 survey respondents (which comprised a 12% sample of growers) and extension officers who did not themselves fully understand the financial statements issued to growers by the company. Consequently, the majority of respondents felt, they had been cheated by the mill and were suspicious of all company activity” (Gina Porter and Kevin Phillips-Howard, 1997: p 230). The communication of the farming contract proposal was critical for the success of the model and avoids problems of
misunderstanding from the farmers in the future. This first duty of the facilitator in Critecnia model was to explain the characteristics of the model, the rights and obligations of the farmers and the risks involve in the business.

When the staff and the facilitator failed in their role, it resulted in the circumstances Glover and Kusterer described in their paper; David Glover and Kuster (1997) state the highly visible presence of such a large ASAGRO field staff was described by several farmers as a hindrance, not a help. Among themselves, and in the monthly meetings of their Asparagus Growers’ Association, they describe ASAGRO’s technicians as an army of parasites living off the farmers’ asparagus production. When these farmers were asked about the company’s technical assistance, they answer in no terms of their recollection of advice taken but in terms of their general attitudes toward the company, whether it is helping them or harming them, and their general level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the project. An important factor is the confidence between the farmers and the facilitator. Transmit the benefits of the model and manage the farmers’ and company’s expectations simultaneously. In the qualitative research I found the importance of “trust” and the relations developing among people from the same family and community. In this sense, it was important to find for the Critecnia model somebody from the same community as a facilitator. The Critecnia model uses the support of technical staff but they manage the communication and organization of the activities with farmers through the facilitator.

The research for applying the model in Nazca provided information about the facilitator’s general skills. The facilitator needs leadership skills and knowledge of the farmer’s idiosyncrasy, credibility, belief in the model, technical, empirical or professional level that permit to understand the benefits of the model within the community. The recommendation is to recruit indigenous people from the application area of the farming contract model with formal or/informal special knowledge that provide this person with the skills mentioned. I used the same methodology of the important “key words” and I made a table with the “requirements of the facilitator” based on the qualitative research (see Table 29).

The interview with Critecnia’s facilitator in Chincha was useful in order to understand his strategy for communication with the farmers. He explained how important it is to tell the truth in order to have their credibility. Farmers appreciate straightforward and simple way of communication. Critecnia’s facilitator maintained his views on the importance of the business and how decisive commitment from both sides is (the company’s and the farmers’) in order to achieve the project goals. It is not free support to the farmers; it is a business with obligations and rights. In this sense, the facilitator started to ask about the farmers’ traditional labor system, which is performed without technology or high quality standards.

The farmers were convinced of the need for implementing new labor systems in order to obtain high productivity and access to the market with good revenues. The model was working successfully throughout a four-year period and the facilitator was the bridge between the farmers’ and the company’s expectations. I need to state not only the importance of the facilitator’s role in the success of the Chincha model initiation but
also how the farmers’ CVI are their strong mental powers, and these factors determined the subsequent failure of the model.

Table 28

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key word</th>
<th>Requirements</th>
<th>Skills</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community work</td>
<td>From the same town</td>
<td>Know the CW system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community support</td>
<td>Same town, relatives, “compadres” in the town</td>
<td>It is part of the network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>From the same town</td>
<td>Same language (Quechua)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Good communication</td>
<td>Oral/Writing communication skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Compadre”</td>
<td>“Compadres” in the town</td>
<td>Strong relations (bonds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Can be wife from the same town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land</td>
<td>Land in the town or relatives land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millenary culture</td>
<td>From the same town</td>
<td>Share the same cultural inherence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old person</td>
<td>Middle age</td>
<td>Farmers became adult young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Leader</td>
<td>Leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outsider</td>
<td>From the same town</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quechua</td>
<td>Speak Quechua</td>
<td>Fluently for communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Catholic/Andean customs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion-party</td>
<td>“Mayordomo” before in the town</td>
<td>Know the “meaning” (great honor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>Prestigious – professional - leader</td>
<td>Preference local leader before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust-compadre</td>
<td>“Compadres” and network in the town</td>
<td>Good reputation, prestigious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>Wife better same town</td>
<td>Wife know Andean social bonds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Qualitative research (direct observation, focus group and interviews) in Nazca 2000 – 2007 - Fieldwork.
Table 29

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other findings</th>
<th>Requirements</th>
<th>Skills</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Professional, technician</td>
<td>Basic level understanding proposal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthropological knowledge</td>
<td>Sociologist, anthropologist, psychologist, etc</td>
<td>Can be trained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management knowledge</td>
<td>Base of administration</td>
<td>Can be trained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposal</td>
<td>Believe in the business proposal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Qualitative research (direct observation, focus group and interviews) in Nazca 2000 – 2007 - Field work.

5.1.11. Four years later – the failure of the model

The Chincha model failed four years after initiating. After interviewing the company’s owner, a specialist in the agricultural sector in Peru, the reasons were many but the main, from his point of view, was the farmers’ “idiosyncrasy” and their cultural identity. These “cultural” elements and idiosyncrasy –that resulted in the failure of the Critecia model in Chincha– were observed in the farmers’ behavior when the agricultural sector in Peru was affected by “El Niño” Phenomenon.

In 2002 and 2003, Peru suffered from the “El Niño” phenomenon effects (climatic phenomenon that caused the warming of the ocean and produced droughts in some areas and unusual raining in other ones) that seriously affected the agrarian business. As a consequence of this phenomenon, the difficulties among the farmers started, they fought and became jealous of other farmers from the same group, who managed the critical situation better. The farmers decided to give up the repayment of their debts to credit companies and decided to call for government assistance to obtain debt forgiveness. This behavior that showed the CVI of the farmers in Chincha was based on past experiences by Peruvian small farmers, described by Lacki (1995) and stated by Nazca’s small farmers in the focus groups set up in our research.

The situation was impossible to manage for the “service company” and for the facilitator, so they decided to cancel the model. Today, Critecia is a successful company and has decided to buy lands in northern Peru, but they are convinced that it is quite complex to work with small farmers because it is difficult to manage their idiosyncrasy and their cultural factors in the Peruvian context.

The frustration feelings and isolation patterns that I observed in my research with the farmers as a result of their negative experiences (see the “findings of the qualitative research” in relation to the “agrarian reform”), their waiting behavior for the government’s support (see Table 17 and 18 about the opinion of the farmers of the government support) when difficulties arose and the “non-fulfillment culture” were worth noticing when the Chincha model failed. Finally, and after difficulties came about, the farmers’ main goal was to “survive”. The loss risk set for business model
parameters was supplanted by the “traditional principles”, without obligations and maintaining their dependency on the government’s support.

In this sense, I collected important information from the interview with Critecnia’s owner and other stakeholders in order to analyze how the CVI were not only determinant in the success of the Critecnia project throughout the first four years but also how these elements provoked the failure of the model. I found in the analysis of the failure of the Critecnia model relation with the Andean cultural values that were reviewed in the qualitative research and it is possible to identify four additional reasons.

(1) Lack of support from the “informal leaders” and “old persons” from the community. I found in the qualitative research (see the Table 25-“Analysis Direct Observation-Comprehensive Summary” and Table 27 “Findings from the 8 Focus Group-Comprehensive Summary”) the importance of elderly persons in the community and how this Andean value influenced the decision making among the farmers; however, these “informal leaders” were not considered an important element in the Critecnia model. When the problems came up, farmers went to their advisors (elderly persons) and they did not feel any attachment to the model and they even did not have clear information about the advantages of the business model so they could not support the model in front to the community.

(2) Lack of analysis of the kinship system and “compadrazgo” network in the community. I found out in the qualitative research the importance of the kinship system and compadrazgo relations in the Andean culture and their high influence in the Nazca small farmers. When the farmers “fought and became jealous of other farmers from the same group”, it means that they did not have any other attachment but the “business relation”. The company staff was not careful with creating farmers groups for the projects over the base of stronger relations, that is, between families, relatives and compadres; in order to use the existing “informal” networks.

(3) Use of the land as a guarantee. I found out the close relationship between the farmers and the land. In the Andean culture, the relationship between people and land had religious connotations and for the small farmers in Nazca this idea survive mixed with other practical applications such as the land as insurance (see the land in the “findings from the qualitative research”) in crisis time. In this sense, it was negative to use the land as a guarantee in the Critecnia model. If the staff had conducted detailed analysis of the Andean cultural values of the small farmers in Nazca, they would have learned about the inapplicability of this guarantee in practical life. Farmers can say yes but when the situation comes, they will refuse to lose their land.

(4) “Community work” and “community support”. I found the existence of the “informal” insurance systems that came from the Andean culture and are still working in Nazca today. These informal insurance systems that provide support to the farmers in critical situations (fire or natural disaster) were not incorporated in the Critecnia model. Staff from the company did not know the existence and functioning of these systems so they lost the opportunity to extend the coverage for situations such as El Nino Phenomenon, in favorable conditions for the farmers who are applying this insurance system for generations.
The main elements gathered in our qualitative research with the farmers in Nazca confirmed that there is difficulty in managing culture and idiosyncrasy in national contexts without the knowledge of the main aspects and values that influence the small farmers’ behavior. In this sense, I found the high influence of the Andean cultural values in the behavior of small farmers in Nazca and the farming contract experience. I think it is possible to use the elements of the Andean culture in order to develop cooperative links between the farmers and create strong associations over this base.
5.1.12. Conclusions and lessons from the case study

Associative models with the participation of small farmers and the investment of the private sector is one of the ways considered by the Peruvian authors as a path for the development of the small farmers in Peru. Several business models were applied in Peru with different results but not many of them included the cultural aspect as relevant. Over the base of historical analysis of the Peruvian agriculture, I state the impact of the Andean culture on contemporary Peruvian agriculture as a basic component. Andean CVI have impact on the models of associations for small farmers in Peru.

In this sense, Critecia model offered the opportunity to analyze the impact of the Andean values on a business association model in Peru and supported the hypothesis of the PhD research herein. The Critecia business model for small farmers was applied to the reality of Peru and the CVI were appointed as a critical factor for the success of the model. These are the reasons why this model was selected as a case study.

There is high influence of the Andean CVI in the behavior of small farmers in Nazca. This influence is expressed in the following aspects:

- The high influence of “elder people” in the community and their role as wise and informal leaders.
- The importance of the land as a religious and economic element. Land plays the role of social insurance that is received as heritage and can provide food and job in time of crisis.
- The importance of the strong family relations, kinship bonds and compadrazgo as sources of economic, social, cultural and religious relations. The “sense of trusting” is developed over the base of these social relations.
- The existence of forms of “community work” developed over the base of Andean Ayni (inter-individual support), Minka (collective and festive work) and Mita (work carried out in favor of the State as a tax that was redefined also as community work).
- The importance of “oral language”, especially the use of Quechua (indigenous language), colloquial and non verbal language. Small farmers receive the indigenous knowledge, techniques and human values by narrations. Elder people are the ones who pass on this knowledge to new generations.
- There is a mix of Catholic beliefs and the existence on ancestral Andean practices such as “land celebration” and “Apus offertory”.
- The importance of the “compadrazgo” as a source of solidarity, protection, safety and tutelage for small farmers.
- The social role of the man as a leader of the community, the role of the woman as an administrator of the house and the importance of being married in order to be officially part of the community (adult) and to exercise rights and obligations.
The application of the business model for small farmers in Nazca (and in Peru) involves considering the Peruvian small farmers’ idiosyncrasy and cultural values in general as well as their own specific conditions and experiences in order to know not only the farmers’ way of thinking but also the development of a strategy aimed to develop associative business models with sustainability as a path for development. In this sense, to access the idiosyncrasy and cultural values of the small farmers in Nazca (and in Peru) implies the analysis of the Andean CVI and their impact, as I demonstrate in the case study herein.

The importance of the “facilitator’s” role in the application of the business model is another main conclusion of this case study. I identify additional characteristics of the facilitator in order to ensure a better relationship with small farmers: relatives and/or compadres in the same community, married to a wife from the same community, men, middle-mature age (respect to elder people), speak Quechua, “mayordomo” before in the community (in charge of the community party as a great honor).

The Critecnia model failed four years after it began for many reasons, starting with the “El Niño Phenomenon”, for which small farmers fought and became jealous of one another, decided to give up the repayment of their debts to credit companies and decided to call for government assistance to get debt forgiveness.

I identify important elements form the Andean culture and idiosyncrasy that the small farmers in Nazca share and were not incorporated for the Critecnia Company in order to ensure the commitment from small farmers and develop cooperative relations. These elements can provide additional support to the business idea and contribute to the development of cooperative relations among the farmers that permit sustainability in the future.

The first element in consideration is the inclusion of “elder people” in the model and the importance of using their informal leadership and influence in order to provide consensus surrounding the model; second element, the analysis of kinship system and compadrazgo network in the community in order to use these strong relations in favor of the model; third, change the decision of using the land as a guarantee for the financial functioning of the model (I explained why not to use the land as a guarantee in the present case study); and four, the incorporation of “community work” and “community support” and the informal insurance already practiced by small farmers in order to provide security to the model in situations like El Niño Phenomenon.

Finally, I want to state the impact of Andean values and idiosyncrasy in the business model of Critecnenia as a support of the hypothesis of the PhD research herein and the importance of the incorporation of these elements in the design and operation of business models in Peru in order to develop sustainability in time.
5.2. Case study 2: Irrigator committees in Piura

5.2.1. Why irrigator committees as a case study?

“The water that flows through the irrigation systems is both a social product in the human organization and a natural advantage. Sociological problems are immersed in the operation of every irrigation system, large or small: people must organize themselves socially to find water, transport it, divide it into useful portions, set norms for its distribution, pay its cost and get rid of unused volumes. Consequently, it is impossible to obtain a deep understanding of the technical and agronomical problems of agriculture with irrigation without understanding the social organization in which it is enclosed” (Michael Cernea, 1991).

As a Cernea states, irrigation systems are a “social product” of human organization and in the operation of management of the water, it is possible to analyze the social organization of the farmers and the patterns and cultural values that determined their behaviour. Authors like Coward Jr. who is included by Cernea, explains the importance of the organization in the irrigation systems and the impact of this element on the success of the development projects. Coward Jr. includes the concept of “institution” and “organization” and mentioned the frequent inconsistency between what people believe should occur (the institutional element) and what actually occurs (the organizational element).

“Financially induced irrigation development programs have often focused only on technical and physical components: dams and canals, control systems, water levels, and drainage. Institutional concerns, when present, were limited mostly to strengthening central water agencies. It is being increasingly recognized now that major institutional weaknesses undermine the operation and maintenance of the physical infrastructure, that irrigation schemes perform below expectation, and that some even cause serious adverse environmental effects. These unintended effects often result not from technical causes, but from inattention to the social organization of the water users” (Cernea, 1991).

Coward states; “in all cases where irrigation systems have been in operation, there are institutional and social arrangements which organize fundamental tasks such as distributing water among users or maintaining the canals. These tasks may be performed by water users themselves or in conjunction with others such as local government officials or irrigation staff; the social arrangements may be formal or informal, highly individualistic or collective, chaotic or controlled – and, of course, judged (by outsiders or insiders) as effective or not. Nonetheless, we begin with the assumption that where canals (or wells, springs, or whatever) serve more than a single person, patterns of social interaction govern the use of those facilities” (1991).

Coward Jr. mentioned the importance of two concepts in a sociological perspective of irrigation: institutions and social organization. He defines “institution” as a concept varyingly used in both sociological and in every language, but here I employ it to refer to ideal behaviour and role expectations and as a generic concept for the variety of rules
that help pattern social behaviour: norms, folkways, customs, conventions, etiquette, and law. Economists sometimes use a similar notion when they define an institution as a behavioural rule. In this sense, the rule of continuous irrigation, the custom of performing a ritual ceremony at the headwork of a local irrigation system, and the law requiring payment of a water fee are all examples of irrigation institutions (1991).

“In addition to these institutions, there are, in any human group, actual patterns of social interaction which are referred to as the social organization. These patterns of behaviour are sometimes formal, purposive, and enduring enough to warrant the use of a group name: the Royal Irrigation department, Subak Tamblang, the San Lorenzo Farmers’ Irrigation Cooperative Association, Inc., or the Muda Area Development Authority. Of course, a social organization is also composed of patterns and groups less formal, purposive, or enduring: an evening meeting between irrigation authorities and an assembly of water users, a partnership between two farmers which allows one to move water across the fields of another, or a temporary band of farmers who share a common lateral working to clean a canal” (Coward Jr., 1991).

“An understanding of the basic relationship between institutions and social organization requires recognition of the frequent inconsistency between what people believe should occur (the institutional element) and what actually occurs (the organizational element). The basic “lack of close correspondence between the ideal and the actual in many and pervasive contexts of social behaviour” is one important force for change in either the institutional or social organization arrangements. A major reason for this inconsistency is that changes in the social or physical environment make it difficult or impossible to act in certain established ways or make it easy or possible to act in certain new ways. Change in either the institutional or the social organizational element creates demand for change in the other” (Coward Jr., 1991).

Cernea performs an analysis of the situation of development projects, especially that of the World Bank, which are addressed to technical and financial aspects but ignore the importance of the organization as an explanation to the success or failure of these projects. Cernea states that irrigation development programs with financial induction frequently focused only on the technical and physical elements such as dams and canals, control systems, water levels, and drainage, but organizational concerns, if any, were limited mainly to the strengthening of water centralized organisms. But now, it is more recognized each time that the big institutional weaknesses undermine the operation and the maintenance of the physical structure, that the yield of the irrigation plans is lower than expected, and that even some of these plans cause serious environmental effects. Frequently, the author says, it is not technical factors that cause these undesirable effects, but the lack of attention to the social organization of the users of water (1991).

In the case study herein I apply the two concepts from Coward Jr. in order to probe the hypothesis of my PhD research. In this sense, I analyze the social organization called “Irrigator Committee” and I found out from the patterns of interaction among the farmers’ leaders and the farmers’ families in the community, the impact of the institution, composed of the high influence of the Andean CVI (customs, informal rules, conventions and folkways) and other factors such Spanish influence (Catholic compadrazgo, etc.).
5.2.2. Irrigator committees of Cumbibira and Palo Parado in Piura

In this sense, I performed a fieldwork on the function met by the Irrigator Committees in its role of formal, and essentially informal social organizations, on the functioning of habitual values, with the purpose of understanding their effect on the success and failure of these organizations and their relation with the Andean CVI. For this aim, I chose the department of Piura because of the accessibility of the communities (geographically), the possibility to analyze farmers in area that includes part in the Highlands and another part on the Coast and finally, because of the easy access to irrigator committees in that area through the help of the NGO CIPCA.

Piura is a city in North-Western Peru. It is the capital of the Piura Region and the Piura Province. The population is 400,000 people. It was here that Spanish Conqueror Francisco Pizarro founded the first Spanish city in South America, San Miguel de Piura, in 1532.

This research was applied in the “Cumbibira Irrigators Committee”, which comprises the communities of Monte Castillo, Paredones and San Miguel; and in the “Palo Parado Irrigators Committee”, which comprises the communities of La Piedra, Paredones, San Miguel, San Jacinto and La Legua.

5.2.3. Research methodology and sample for the focus groups

The fieldwork in Piura was conducted in the period ranged from May to June 2007. The methodology used was of qualitative nature, consisting of direct observation of farmers’ behaviours during the meetings held in the premises of their Irrigators Committees, focus groups with the leaders of the farmers communities as a part of the Irrigators Committees, and in-depth interviews with leaders of the medium farmers’ associations and the representative of CIPCA in the area of Piura, engineer Fabian Zapata.

Two focus groups were conducted among farmer’s leaders of the irrigators committees mentioned above, in order to deepen my perception resulting from the direct observation and to identify Andean cultural factors that could affect the development of farmer’s organizations at an informal level and also why they fail in their attempt to become formal; obtaining the following information:

I managed many possibilities for the focus groups in order to obtain rich and useful information for my research but I decided to apply the focus groups to the “leaders” of the communities. The conversation and in-depth interview with the manager of the operations from the NGO CIPCA was very useful in order to make the decision of work with the leaders of the communities.

The reasons why I chose to work with leaders were many but the most important were three: (1) the feeling of “close” from the farmers in front of “outsider” that meant a difficulty to work with big groups of farmers; (2) the level of education of the leaders

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2 Medium farmer; for the research herein, is defined in relation to the farmer who owns more than 3.1 hectares in average and produces with business orientation, different from the small farmer who produces for self-consumption and subsistence.
who can transmit better their ideas and experiences; and (3) the possibility to work with a group of leaders from different communities (they are part of the irrigators committees), “contrast” their opinions and receive rich information.

I want to refer to Crabtree and Miller, authors who state the sample in the case of focus group and the importance of the information richness. “All investigators work within the limitations of time and funding available for their efforts. In quantitative research, the investigator endeavours to make N only as big as it has to be for statistical significance. Similarly, the qualitative researcher generally samples new sources up to, but no beyond, the point of saturation. Furthermore, by using pragmatic strategies such as maximum variation or critical case sampling, investigators focus the majority of effort on information-rich cases and derive more return from effort. They may find that after the first three interviews, they are getting the same kind of information on a given topic and they will choose, therefore, to devote relatively less time to that area in the fourth and fifth interviews in favour of exploring new, related topics or looking for information that will challenge their understanding » (Crabtree and Miller, 1999). In this sense, I decided to focus in the quality of the sample for the focus groups in Piura. I managed two alternatives; first, to apply the focus group in a group of farmers in the community, and second, to apply the focus group only to the leaders of the communities, as I explained before.

I decided to apply two “focus groups” with the leaders of six communities who were part of the Irrigators Committees of Cumbibira and Palo Parado in Piura. The leader status of the farmers in the focus group offers rich and substantive information that was complemented with “direct observation” in the area and “interviews” from the main stakeholder’s participants in the small farmers’ activities.

5.2.4. Leader participants in the focus groups

The leader participants in the irrigators committees are part of different communities and I did not find close relationships among them of kinship or compadrazgo, unlike the case of the relations among the farmers inside their own communities.

“Irrigators Committee of Cumbibira” in Piura

Communities: Monte Castillo, Paredones and San Miguel

Leaders: 1. Hilario Zapata Santos  
2. German Farfan Covenias  
3. Pascual Ancajima Santos  
4. Jorge Durand Estrata  
5. Isaac Farfan Pingo  
6. German Chero Chero  
7. Walter Chiroque Zapata  
8. Cruz Santos Castillo

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“Irrigators Committee of Palo Parado” in Piura

Communities: La Piedra, San Jacinto and la Legua.

1. Antonio Ipanaque
2. Euguenio Martinez Cruz
3. Felix Sandoval Timana
4. Pedro Yarleque Castillo
5. Bernardo Cruz Olivares
6. Cesefino Olivares Olivares
7. Baltazar Chavez Castillo

5.2.5. Findings from the qualitative research

Tables 30, 31, 32 and 33 show the “relevant key words” I used in the analysis of the qualitative data from the tools, direct observation and interviews. I classify the information in relation to one “key word” that explains the idea contained in one opinion. It is important to mention that the key words were mentioned by the small farmers and the main actors in the process of the qualitative research.

This original methodology was useful in order to organize the information; especially in the case of the direct observation and interviews where I used open dialogues for the interviews. The idea of the methodology is to find the key words that are often mentioned by the small farmers and/or main actors of the model in the qualitative research and analyze more deeply these cultural values related to the key word. It means that when I used the criteria of open conversation with the main actors in the interviewees and also when I collected the information from the direct observation, I needed to use specific criteria in order to organize the information. In this sense, I decided to use the concept of the “key word” that permitted to organize the information without the alterations of pre-conceived “filters”.

In the case of the focus groups, I used the methodology of the “key word” but I included also a “questionnaire guide” that was adapted from the questionnaire for “Community Sustainability Assessment” (CSA) used by the Global Ecovillage Network and for the interpretation of the comments of the small farmers leaders, I used my experience from the fieldwork I conducted for the MBA thesis “Agricultural-Entrepreneurial Management Proposal to Make Feasible Nazca Province Small Scale Agriculture” and the “Social Development Handbook. A Guide to Social ODA Projects and Programmes – ODA Overseas Development Administration Social Development Department” in U.K. It was useful to consider Mr. Fabian Zapata’s advice, which is an agricultural engineer and is the facilitator from the NGO CIPCA. He is working closely with the farmers from the Irrigators Committees of Cumbibira and Palo Parado. He introduced me to the leaders of the communities, explained the social and economic context and helped me to organize the fieldwork in Piura.

The questionnaire guide (see Annex Q) includes as main areas:

- Openness, trust and safety; community space
• Communication – the flow of ideas and information
• Networking outreach and service – resource exchange (internal/external)
• Social sustainability – diversity and tolerance; decision-making; conflict resolution
• Education
• Sustainable economics – healthy local economy
• Cultural sustainability
• Arts and leisure
• Spiritual sustainability – rituals and celebrations; support for inner development and spiritual practices
• Community glue
• Community resilience

The questionnaire guide includes “sixty questions” altogether, which were the base for the conversation with the leaders in the focus groups but the dynamic I used was open dialogues, following the advice of the CIPCA facilitator.

For the analysis of the data from the qualitative research, I use the “focus groups” information (over the base of the tools I already explained) as a main resource (small farmer leaders’ opinion) and I combine with the information I obtained from other tools (direct observation and interviews), and connect the “opinion of the farmers (actor) idea” to the theoretical background of the Andean cultural values explained in the PhD hypothesis and I probe the influence of the Andean culture and idiosyncrasy in the case of the small farmers in Piura represented by their leaders in the Irrigators Committees.

The main findings from the qualitative research are presented in the next tables:
Table 30

Analysis from direct observation activity - Comprehensive summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Irrigator Committee Cumbibira” - Leaders communities of Monte Castillo, Paredones and San Miguel</th>
<th>“Irrigator Committee Palo Parado” - Leaders communities of La Piedra, San jacinto and La Legua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Key words</strong></td>
<td><strong>Opinions related to CVI</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>The majority of farmers were from 45 to 70. No young people in the leader meetings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercialization</td>
<td>Farmers want to join in organizations for commercialization. Farmers can not agree on a price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilitator</td>
<td>There are some facilitators who are working for NGOs and try to organize small farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer-motivation</td>
<td>Farmers start very enthusiastic but quit little by little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individualistic</td>
<td>Farmers show individualistic behavior in the meetings and it is complicated to agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal-organization</td>
<td>The irrigators committee manage the water but it is not “formal” (legal representatives) itself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late</td>
<td>Farmers arrived late for the meetings, looks like it is not their priority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leader-men</td>
<td>All leaders in the meetings are men, there are not any woman as a leader in the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>There are lack of leadership and disorganization in the meetings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>There are some NGOs working in the area and providing support to the small farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-fulfillment culture</td>
<td>I observed lack of fulfillment of previously agreed-upon commitments in the organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old person</td>
<td>I observed many elder people among the leaders of the communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>I observed lack of organization among the farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>I observed the farmers are jealous and distrustful of one another. They do not feel trusted by others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>There is no woman participation in the irrigators committee as a leader of communities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Table 31

### Analysis of interviews - Comprehensive summary

#### “Irrigator Committee Cumbibira” - Community Leaders of Monte Castillo, Paredones and San Miguel

#### “Irrigator Committee Palo Parado” - Leaders communities of La Piedra, San jacinto and La Legua

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key words</th>
<th>Opinions related to CVI</th>
<th>Interviewees</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agrarian reform</td>
<td>Some cooperatives are working and maintain assets, but farmers are disorganized</td>
<td>F. Zapata</td>
<td>Facilitator NGO CIPCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate. culture</td>
<td>There is lack of associative culture aimed at creating organizations</td>
<td>J. Rivera</td>
<td>General Manager Assoc. Export Mango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big companies</td>
<td>Big companies determined prices (cotton) - manage the market. Small farmers can not compete individually</td>
<td>F. Zapata</td>
<td>Facilitator NGO CIPCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>Small farmers are not interested in doing business, they do not have sense of business</td>
<td>J. Rivera</td>
<td>General Manager Assoc. Export Mango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>Small farmers understand business in a different way, they cannot identify market opportunities</td>
<td>F. Vega</td>
<td>Association’s Chairman PROMANGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>Medium farmers (more professional and high education level) are businessmen</td>
<td>J. Rivera</td>
<td>General Manager Assoc. Export Mango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercialization</td>
<td>CIPCA wants to promote organizations of farmers in order to receive better price (rice, cotton)</td>
<td>F. Zapata</td>
<td>Facilitator NGO CIPCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercialization</td>
<td>Medium farmers want to create “network of commercialization”</td>
<td>F. Vega</td>
<td>Association’s Chairman PROMANGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competition</td>
<td>Competition concept is not including small farmer’s knowledge. They are not interested in doing business</td>
<td>J. Rivera</td>
<td>General Manager Assoc. Export Mango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture work. Tog.</td>
<td>I believe we can improve small farmers’ organizational level, they need to convince themselves of the necessity to work together</td>
<td>F. Zapata</td>
<td>Facilitator NGO CIPCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic scale</td>
<td>Associative organizations permit to reach economies of scale in importing inputs, cheaper prices, etc</td>
<td>J. Rivera</td>
<td>General Manager Assoc. Export Mango</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Table 32

### Analysis of interviews - Comprehensive summary

**“Irrigator Committee Cumbibira” – Community Leaders of Monte Castillo, Paredones and San Miguel**

**“Irrigator Committee Palo Parado” - Community Leaders of La Piedra, San Jacinto and La Legua**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key words</th>
<th>Opinions related to CVI</th>
<th>Interviewees</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic need</td>
<td>Small farmers are not looking for the opportunity to meet for economic reasons as are medium farmers</td>
<td>F. Vega</td>
<td>Association’s Chairman PROMANGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Export</td>
<td>Medium farmers (different from small farmers) are basically aimed at economic and exportation purposes</td>
<td>J. Rivera</td>
<td>Assoc. General Manager Export Mango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informality</td>
<td>Many “informal” organizations but there is not a sense of belonging to strong organizations among farmers</td>
<td>F. Zapata</td>
<td>Facilitator NGO CIPCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>If you have association, you can handle information and support your members (prices, intern. Mark.)</td>
<td>J. Rivera</td>
<td>Assoc. General Manager Export Mango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International market</td>
<td>Medium farmers (different from small farmers) are focused on international markets not on subsistence</td>
<td>J. Rivera</td>
<td>Assoc. General Manager Export Mango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilitator</td>
<td>I am from this area and an agricultural professional engineer and also I can understand their idiosyncrasy</td>
<td>F. Zapata</td>
<td>Facilitator NGO CIPCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer culture</td>
<td>I believe we can improve the level of organizations if we can convince them of the necessity to work together</td>
<td>F. Zapata</td>
<td>Facilitator NGO CIPCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>Small farmers want to receive governmental support but they do not like to manage their own projects</td>
<td>F. Zapata</td>
<td>Facilitator NGO CIPCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>Small farmers are waiting for government support. They are not able to work together with their own resources</td>
<td>F. Vega</td>
<td>Association’s Chairman PROMANGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Subsidy</td>
<td>Small farmers believe it is their right to receive the support from the government (subsidy)</td>
<td>J. Rivera</td>
<td>Assoc. General Manager Export Mango</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 33

Analysis of interviews - Comprehensive summary

“Irrigator Committee Cumbibira” – Community Leaders of Monte Castillo, Paredones and San Miguel

“Irrigator Committee Palo Parado” - Community Leaders of La Piedra, San Jacinto and La Legua

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key words</th>
<th>Opinions related to CVI</th>
<th>Interviewees</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land reform</td>
<td>Medium farmers (different from small farmers) are not thinking of the agrarian reform, they see forward</td>
<td>J. Rivera</td>
<td>Assoc. General Manager Export Mango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leader</td>
<td>Leaders lost credibility among farmers because of their personal ambitions and lack of fulfillment</td>
<td>F. Zapata</td>
<td>Facilitator NGO CIPCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leader</td>
<td>Small farmers leaders have political interest rather than service, different from the association’s interests</td>
<td>F. Vega</td>
<td>Association’s Chairman PROMANGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>There are markets of NGOs that receive money from international organizations working with small farmers</td>
<td>F. Zapata</td>
<td>Facilitator NGO CIPCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-fulfillment culture</td>
<td>When the small farmers commit to doing something, in many cases they did not complete their duty</td>
<td>F. Zapata</td>
<td>Facilitator NGO CIPCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>There are not many successful experiences involving small farmers organizations, most are informal</td>
<td>F. Zapata</td>
<td>Facilitator NGO CIPCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outsider</td>
<td>Small farmers do not trust other people outside the community</td>
<td>F. Zapata</td>
<td>Facilitator NGO CIPCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Medium farmers (different from small farmers) are majority professionals and apply technical production</td>
<td>F. Vega</td>
<td>Association’s Chairman PROMANGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>Farmers can follow your advice when they trust you and believe you can offer something to them</td>
<td>F. Zapata</td>
<td>Facilitator NGO CIPCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value-added</td>
<td>Associations should be aware of the implicit value-added alternative to continue working separately</td>
<td>F. Vega</td>
<td>Association’s Chairman PROMANGO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 34

Findings from the focus group - Comprehensive summary

**“Irrigator Committee Cumbibira” - Community Leaders of Monte Castillo, Paredones and San Miguel (8 leaders)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Openness, Trust and Safety; Community Space</td>
<td>Safety and trust</td>
<td>Some</td>
<td>We trust only people from the family and compadres</td>
<td>Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Support of neighbors</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>We support our neighbors in specific situations - fire, security</td>
<td>Com. Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indoor spaces gathering</td>
<td>Adequate</td>
<td>We use houses of neighbors</td>
<td>Com. Gathering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Outdoor spaces gathering</td>
<td>Inadequate</td>
<td>We do not have community building or assembly space</td>
<td>Com. Gathering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency social gathering</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>Usually religious parties, birthdays and national holidays</td>
<td>Com. Gathering</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 35

Findings from the focus groups - Comprehensive summary

**“Irrigator Committee Palo Parado” - Community Leaders of La Piedra, San jacinto and La Legua (7 leaders)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Openness, Trust and Safety; Communal Space</td>
<td>Safety and trust</td>
<td>Little</td>
<td>We trust only relatives, compadres. We do not trust other people.</td>
<td>Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Support of neighbors</td>
<td>Often</td>
<td>We support our neighbors from the same area, agricultural activities.</td>
<td>Com. Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indoor spaces gathering</td>
<td>Adequate</td>
<td>Our houses, school building</td>
<td>Com. Gather.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Outdoor spaces gathering</td>
<td>Adequate</td>
<td>We have a lot of space outside</td>
<td>Com. Gather.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency social gathering</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>2 or 3 times. Religious parties, community parties, sport festival</td>
<td>Com. Gather.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2.5.1. Openness, trust and safety; community space

The explanation came from the analysis of tables 34 and 35. The base of the analysis is the information from the focus group complemented with the direct observation and interviewes (tables 30 to 33).

Small farmers in Piura mentioned that the sense of trust within the community is very high but with people from different communities is very low. I observed a little level of trust among the leaders who attended the Irrigators Committee meetings in Cumbibira and Palo Parado in Piura. When I tried to explore more in relation to this “sense of trust”, the farmers explained how the level of close relationship determines the level of trust. It means that they trust people only among relatives (importance and analysis of the kinship system) and friends. When they are talking about friends it includes the “compadres” who have a high reputation in the community value scale.

The explanation to this cultural value from the analysis of the Andean cultural values holds a relation with the meanings of ayllu. It means that in the Andean concept of community, the social organization was established in the base of strong family and kinship bonds, as well as economic, social, cultural and religious (Matayoshi, 2003). Both the collective and the observance of customs are vital bonds between the Andean people and their community. They can trust each other inside the family, the group, and the community because they are sharing more things than the simple space. They share complex network of relations, rights and obligations.

In the focus group, small farmers mentioned the relations among compadres and the high reputation in the community. I will analyze in detail the compadrazgo and its importance as the foundation of social relations in the Andean community further ahead in this case study, but I wish to mention in advance the Ossio’s comment, which states that the value of respect is so highly prized that conflicts rarely occur between compadres. Their behavior is extremely formalized and dominated by rules of reciprocity. Apart from the working contexts in which they help each other, these rules are expressed in the excess of generosity manifested in the exchange of gifts (1984).

Ossio states that in this society, the system of compadrazgo or rather the system of ceremonial kinship in general, has the merit of showing clearly that we are not dealing with an institution that makes up for a possible deterioration in the kinship system, as Foster (1953) suggests, or that acts as an agent to maintain the solidarity of the group. The extended family actually retains great importance, and acts as a platform in the shaping of the ceremonial kinship system (1984).

It is possible to complement the information obtained from the focus group in this topic with information from the direct observation. I observed in the Irrigators Committees meetings how the farmers’ leaders (from different communities) were jealous and distrustful of each other. They did not feel trusted by the others and had some discussions among them.

When I explored the topic of “safety” it was very interesting to find how people in the community include in this concept “physical security and anti-violence”
especially because they suffered the terrorism time in Peru. In this sense, Garcia made a comment; a model of community work based on the need for mutual protection was the so-called “rondas campesinas” (rural patrols). As indigenous and peasant opposition to “Shining Path” increased, peasants organized into rural patrol units, modeled after the village patrols in the northern regions of Cajamarca and Piura that proliferated in the 1970’s and 1980’s in effort to stop thievery and oversee small public work projects (2005).

People in the community have a strong sense of “neighbor support system” that is working very well. For example, when there is a fire and one house is destroyed all the community works in order to rebuild the house and in the process they offered housing and food for the family in problems. They explain how this rule is working without any formal or writing rule; it is a social duty they explain and when you are part of the community you are automatically involved in a complex red of rights and obligations. Another example give us for the farmers was in the case of agricultural activities when everybody use to work in the land of the other members of the community and they are expecting the same behavior form the other farmers.

The explanation of this cultural value from the analysis of the Andean culture is related to the communal work practiced in the Incas time, as I explained for the Critecnia case study. As Garcia states, because commoners often have to commute long distances to accomplish productive activities, they resort to ancient practices concerning the Ayni (inter-individual support), the Minka (collective and festive work) and the Mita (work carried out in favor of the State as a tax). The Ayni and the Minka still keep their characteristics, but the Mita has been redefined as community work (2003).

Trivelli and Yancari (2006) on the base of a study carried out in the communities of Mantaro and Piura; analyze systems of informal taking of risks based on familiar and amicable networks that work when an act of God happens. Ossio also mentioned the experience of the rural community of Andamarca in the Peruvian Andes, where it is possible to observe, in the daily interaction, the cooperation of relatives in different labor or ritual activities. These activities include sowing or crop of a product, shepherding, and housing construction, rituals as baptism, marriage and death (1992).

It is possible to find more experiences among the farmers in Peru that reflect the high influence of the practices of community work and community support as a heritage of the Andean culture. In relation to the kinship relations and specifically in the case of compadrazgo, Ossio explains the support relations between compadres; “their behavior is extremely formalized and dominated by rules of reciprocity. Apart from the working contexts in which they help each other (1984). Thanks to this dynamic attribute of compadrazgo and of ceremonial kinship in general, a person’s social networks may be expanded to the point where the person receives the necessary support for sponsoring the highest religious positions, which involve the whole community” (Ossio, 1984).

They have adequate indoors space for gathering and other community activities. Usually they use the community center or “municipality”, but in other cases, they can
use their own houses for small gatherings. They also have adequate outdoor spaces for gathering and other community activities. They usually have special outside activities that are very important for the community, such as religious festivals and community anniversary.

They usually choose one person every year from the community in order to organize and provide the food, drinks and enjoyment. This person uses his own money, but it is a great honor to be elected “mayordomo” (it means major of the celebration) and he saves money for one year. Also, weddings and other social events (such as birthday, national holiday, etc) usually include all the community and people try to collaborate in the organization. As Ossio explains, ceremonal kinship in general and compadrazgo relations are also important because, a person’s social networks may be expanded to the point where the person receives the necessary support for sponsoring the highest religious positions, which involve the whole community.

The frequency of the social events and gathering depends on the community and also on the annual schedule for ceremonies and social events. Sometimes the number of weddings and baptisms is high but the farmers calculate as an average the frequency in two or three times per month.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Communication system</td>
<td>Adequate</td>
<td>We use microphone to call all community and cell phones</td>
<td>Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Use of the system</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>We use the microphone sometimes and often cell phones</td>
<td>Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Function community system</td>
<td>Commerce.</td>
<td>We use it for commercialization, and transport of fresh fish, etc</td>
<td>Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Talk face to face</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Only among leaders assembly or among friends, relatives, etc</td>
<td>Communication</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 36

Findings from the focus group - Comprehensive summary
“Irrigator Committee Cumbibira” – Community leaders of Monte Castillo, Paredones and San Miguel (8 leaders)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Communication system</td>
<td>Adequate</td>
<td>We use microphone to call all community and cell phones</td>
<td>Communication</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
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<td>Sometimes</td>
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<td>Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Function community system</td>
<td>Commerce.</td>
<td>We use it for commercialization, and transport of fresh fish, etc</td>
<td>Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Talk face to face</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Only among leaders assembly or among friends, relatives, etc</td>
<td>Communication</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 37

Findings from the focus group - Comprehensive summary
“Irrigator Committee Palo Parado” - Community leaders of La Piedra, San Jacinto and La Legua (7 leaders)
5.2.5.2. Communication, the flow of ideas and information

The explanation came from the analysis of tables 36 and 37. The base of the analysis is the information from the focus group complemented with the direct observation and interviews (tables 30 to 33).

The community system provides members with opportunities to regularly share information, exchange ideas and announce needs. Today, communication technology is common use even in small communities in Peru. Microphones and speakers for massive meetings and the cell phone are of normal use. Small farmers explain how microphones are used in order to call people when fresh fish is arriving in the community carried by fishermen or also for commercial activities that are important for the community. In other cases, microphones are important when farmers want to invite people for important meetings. Cell phones are very common and are the principal instrument of communication among people there.

On the other hand, only the leaders in the assembly have the opportunity to talk face to face and discuss about important topics for the community. Farmers usually talk face to face inside their families, with relatives, neighbors and friends. I also analyzed in the case of Critecnia case study how “oral communication” is the most important channel of communication as it was in the Andean culture.

As Garcia states, ethno-peasant cultures essentially communicate their knowledge by oral means, so oral literature has a role of intergenerational diffusion whereby its narrations, knowledge, techniques and human values are shared (2005). It is important to notice the use of the native language Quechua, which is the mother tongue language for the majority of small farmers and through this language they can express feelings and necessities.

5.2.5.3. Outreach networking and services – resources exchange – internal/external

The explanation came from the analysis of tables 38 and 39. The base of the analysis is the information from the focus group complemented with the direct observation and interviewes (tables 30 to 33).

In relation to this topic, I found out from the focus groups useful description of the communication situation in the communities: The information is not available for everybody in the community, only the leaders have access to the important information in the general assemblies but usually they do not have a mechanism of registering the information for the general public. The way of transmitting information from the leaders to the community is oral.

The lack of information system and organization in the community reflects how the Andean system was broken with the Spanish conquerors, the large landholdings and the failed land reform. The Andean society was structured over the base of a hierarchic system in which the leaders managed the organization, coordination and effective use of the activities including the information (basically oral). “The Curacas (Curators) were
the authority and the ones who had the capability of assuring order and facilitating the system operation. They were in charge of organizing, motivating and managing their community” (Garcia, 2003).

Amat explains that the obligations between a governor and his subjects were mutually strengthening and interdependent. “The better the Curacas’s organization, coordination and management, the higher the productivity, the larger the surplus, the more abundant the parties, the more often and wealthier the gifts, the higher the populations standard of living and the bigger the community. The Curaca delegated authority to lower-rank lords so that they helped to organize the community’s works and redistribute the goods. The more the Curaca provided, the more his subjects’ obligations to acknowledge with labor services and the easier for him to request help and manipulate, convince and force them to obey his commands. The more they produced, the higher the community’s standard of living taken as a whole and the more possibilities for the Curaca to make other people join” (Garcia, 2003).

In relation to the assistance for needed people and community projects I found out form the focus group: the community can provide assistance to people who need it in the form of food, work (for making houses, schools, etc), and security but in general it is the lack of organization. There are few community projects in which the community is involved. Usually these projects are related to the building of schools or health care centers.

As I have explained before and as Ferreira and Dargent-Chamot state, the Inca’s social system had an ancient Andean origin based on the ayllu, an extended family group with a common ancestor. The economic system was also based on ancient social structures and can be explained through several principles, namely reciprocity, redistribution, and vertical control (2003). In this sense, people are covered for this social network and in case of necessity the family and ayllu will take care of them.

Community work was a characteristic of the Andean society and was explained as a part of the asymmetrical reciprocity by Ferreira and Dargent-Chamot; reciprocity was of two kinds: symmetrical reciprocity, which related to projects among equals who requested help from one another with tasks, such as building a house; and asymmetrical reciprocity, which could be in the form of communal work to support the empire’s religious and political structures, such as working on the lands of lords, or road or canal building and maintenance. Redistribution, a practice employed by the State, ensured that all agricultural goods not exchanged by reciprocity were to be distributed in different areas of the empire in case of bad crops (2003). Later with the influence of the Spanish individualistic values and the disappearance of the Incas state this reciprocity was conserved in its symmetrical form but it was loosing in the time.

The community has little contact with other communities in order to organize activities. They usually exchange information and services for trade and community markets. In this sense, each community, each ayllu maintains its own “union system” over the base of kinship bonds but with the disappearance of the Incas Empire the interconnection between communities was broken and the Peruvian government was not able to rebuild it.
Table 38

Findings from the focus groups - Comprehensive summary

“Irrigator Committee Cumbibira” – Community leaders of Monte Castillo, Paredones and San Miguel (8 leaders)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outreach networking and Services - Resources exchange (internal/external)</td>
<td>Availability of information</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Only for leaders, no mechanisms to register the information</td>
<td>Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assistance people need</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Security, building schools, health care center, etc</td>
<td>Com. Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Engage in service projects</td>
<td>Very little</td>
<td>Example to build health center</td>
<td>Com. Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relation with other communities</td>
<td>Very little</td>
<td>Only for commercialization, open markets (different communities)</td>
<td>Other communities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 39

Findings from the focus groups - Comprehensive summary

“Irrigator Committee Palo Parado” – Community leaders of La Piedra, San Jacinto and La Legua (7 leaders)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outreach networking and Services - Resources exchange (internal/external)</td>
<td>Availability of information</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Only for leaders, no mechanisms to register the information</td>
<td>Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assistance people need</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Security, building schools, health care center, etc</td>
<td>Com. Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Engage in service projects</td>
<td>Very little</td>
<td>Example to build health care center, school</td>
<td>Com. Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relation with other communities</td>
<td>Very little</td>
<td>Only commercialization and open markets (different communities)</td>
<td>Other com.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General aspect</td>
<td>Question guide</td>
<td>Answer</td>
<td>Comment</td>
<td>Key word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N.- Main topic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Diversity and tolerance</td>
<td>Most</td>
<td></td>
<td>Majority community is catholic, few protestants and Mormons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Self governance</td>
<td>Little</td>
<td></td>
<td>Majority of decisions are individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Method community decision</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Main decisions in general assembly. Only men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Decision-making</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Transparency information. Open access information assembly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Availability of information</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Only for leaders in the general assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Decision making participation</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Only men and in their majority of age. Married generally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voice participation</td>
<td>Most</td>
<td></td>
<td>Men as a representative of the family in general assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Communities govern. Participation</td>
<td>Some</td>
<td></td>
<td>Leaders and some male members who attend the general assembly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Training for decision making</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>It is not training for decision making available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Effectiveness decision making</td>
<td>Most</td>
<td></td>
<td>Most conflicts are solve individually or formal authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>System supportive/punitive</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rarely the system support solution social disputes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Access conflict resolution</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>There is not “formal” system for resolution conflict. Old people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 41

Findings from the focus groups - Comprehensive summary

“Irrigator Committee Palo Parado” - Community leaders of La Piedra, San jacinto and La Legua (7 leaders)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>Main topic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 14 | Diversity and tolerance | Most | Majority community is catholic, few protestants, Mormons. Respect | Tolerance |
| 15 | Self governance | Little | Majority of decisions are individual | Com. Decisions |
| 16 | Method community decision | X | General assembly made decisions | Com. Decisions |
| 17 | Decision making | X | Transparency information. Open access to information the assembly | Com. Decisions |
| 18 | Availability of information | Sometimes. | Leaders in the general assembly | Information |
| 19 | Decision making participation | Sometimes | Only men and mostly elderly | Com. Decisions |
| 20 | Voice participation | Most | Men representative of the family in general assembly and age 18 | Com. Decisions |
| 21 | Communities govern. participation | Some | Leaders and some male members who attend the general assembly | Com. Decisions |
| 22 | Training for decision making | X | It is not training for decision-making available | Com. Decisions |
| 23 | Effectiveness decision making | Most | Most conflicts are solved individually or through formal authority | Com. Decisions |
| 24 | System supportive/punitive | Rarely | Rarely does the system support solution of social disputes | Com. Decisions |
| 25 | Access conflict resolution | X | There is no “formal” system to resolve conflicts. Elder people. | Com. Decisions |
5.2.5.4. Social sustainability, diversity and tolerance; decision making; conflict resolution

The explanation came from the analysis of the tables 40 and 41. The basis of the analysis is the information from the focus groups, complemented with the direct observation and interviewes (tables 30 to 33).

In relation to religious preference in the communities I found out: the majority of the farmers population in the communities is Catholic, there are a few Protestants and Mormons. People have a high level of tolerance for differences. The area is a mix of races (see the explanation in the thesis main document about Peru, country of cultural mix), religion and they come from different areas in Peru (migrants who decide to arrive in the community).

Garcia states the intrinsic unit between what is divine and what is profane, that is, there is a special sphere linked to daily activities that connected the Incas to their gods. The simplest activities – as cultivating the land – were part of a ritual for people and a relationship developed between them and the divinities. These divinities were expressed in elements characteristic of nature, such as the land, sun and water (2003). Garcia explains the close relationship between religion and the daily life in the Andean culture. When the Spaniards arrived, they changed the religion and imposed the Catholic doctrine but indigenous people tried to maintain their own gods and beliefs inside the ordinary daily activities. The reality today is a mixture of Catholic beliefs with Andean religious practices such as offering food and drinks to the Apus (mountains) or to the Pacha Mama (Mother Earth). I observed these practices in the communities as part of the normal activities and customs that they received as heritage from the Incas.

In relation to the process of decision-making, I found out the following fact from the focus groups: the communities have little power of self governance from the point of view of the formal authorities because the majority of the decisions are individual and when the topic is important, it is common to use the elderly, considered as high reputation people (informal leaders) in order to ask for advice and the solution. In this case, the informal way works.

In the communities, “the natural and traditional authorities are elected in accordance with their customs and traditions, while the official authorities and the representatives of the Andean communities are elected in accordance with the legal regulations” (Garcia, 2003). In the elections, in relation to natural authorities, there are specific requirements considered within the community in order to be elected authority: having fulfilled religious position (butler) and the civilians; being aware of the community’s traditions and parties, rituals, ceremonies, history as well as their boundaries and their territorial borders” (Garcia, 2003).

“The Andean world view shapes the Andean inhabitants’ mental map, they sensitize their affectivity and motivate their collective behavior; they unite society and are the foundation for social consensus; they establish and legitimize political authority; they organize and make sense of productive activities; they model architecture and encourage the construction of religious and administrative monuments; and they also
inspire astonishing iconography in knitting, ceramics and ritual and utilitarian goldsmithing – silversmithing” (Amat, 2006).

The Curacas (Curators) were the authority and the ones who had the capability of assuring order and facilitating the system operation. They were in charge of organizing, motivating and managing their community. Amat explains that the obligations between a governor and his subjects were mutually strengthening and interdependent. “The better the Curacas’s organization, coordination and management, the higher the productivity, the larger the surplus, the more abundant the parties, the more often and wealthier the gifts, the higher the populations standard of living and the bigger the community. The Curaca delegated authority to lower-rank lords so that they helped to organize the community’s works and redistribute the goods. The more the Curaca provided, the more his subjects’ obligations to acknowledge with labor services and the easier for him to request help and manipulate, convince and force them to obey his commands. The more they produced, the higher the community’s standard of living taken as a whole and the more possibilities for the Curaca to make other people joint up” (Garcia, 2003).

There is a double system which is sometimes placed before one another, so they come into conflict. While the natural authorities govern the community internal life, the government’s representatives constitute a political link between the communities and the State. As well explained by Garcia, sometimes the government’s representatives are subordinate to the communal authorities because the latter enjoy greater local prestige. In other cases, either they act jointly or impose their authority (2003). Garcia also explains, in the communities there is also an informal authority exercised by people undertaking certain positions and important professional services for communal life: teachers, priests, male nurses, etc (2003).

In the communities in Piura I observed how the important decision (it has consequences for all the community) was taken by “general assembly”. Usually only men in their legal age (18) are allowed to attend. To be married is important in the community and imply responsibility. The decision making process is transparent and they use democratic ways. Information is available for all who attend the meetings. The leaders of the community and the people who participate in community governance with voice are male in their legal age (18) as representatives of the families. In the direct observation, I did not see any lady in the leaders meetings.

A man was respected in the Andean society and was the head of the social system. Ferreira and Dargent Chamot states, the Incas’ social system had an ancient Andean origin based on the ayllu, an extended family group with a common ancestor (2003). I could observe how men were the head of the social organization among farmers, only men attended the meetings in the Irrigators Committee.

It is interesting to consider the comments made by actors in relation to the role of the leaders in the Irrigators Committee activities and in general about the small farmer’s leaders. Fabian Zapata and Frank Vega (interview) agree about the bad reputation of the leaders in the community today. They said the leaders lose credibility because of their
personal ambitions and lack of fulfillment. They are more interested in their political interest rather than in serving the community.

In relation to women’s role in the communities I did not see any woman in the formal meetings but they have an important role inside their houses and among women in the communities. “In the Incas Empire there was a “matri-focal” system where the son’s legitimization depended on the mother” (Matayoshi, 2003). In that sense, the mother was in charge of a double role, “administrator of agricultural resources” and “procreant mother of new children”.

In relation to the opinions of a group of farmers about the need of being married in order to exercise the full set of rights in the eyes of the community, I found antecedents in the Andean system and also in the contemporary application of these customs in other rural communities in Peru. As Ossio states in the case of Andamarca, once having reached such stage, the society demands that the individuals of opposite sexes become couples. From then on, being single is forbidden by the society because all social opportunities imply events demanding the presence of couples. Either it is a ritual, corn sowing or house roofing or a livestock or a baptism or a funeral, etc., the different components of these events demand the presence of couples (1992).
### Table 42

**Findings from the focus groups - Comprehensive summary**

**“Irrigator Committee Cumbibira” – Community leaders of Monte Castillo, Paredones and San Miguel (8 leaders)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>Main topic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Value of learning</td>
<td>Anything</td>
<td>Any “formal” learning process. Chat, stories, informal conversations.</td>
<td>Learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Educational opportunities</td>
<td>Some</td>
<td>Only early and basic education. High school, another big city</td>
<td>Basic education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Educational opportunity</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Only for children (basic). Few adult programs (NGOs)</td>
<td>Education Opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Promote cooperative interdependency</td>
<td>Little</td>
<td>Very little, only some games for children</td>
<td>Educ. Coop. Skill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 43

**Findings from the focus group - Comprehensive summary**

**“Irrigator Committee Palo Parado” – Community leaders of La Piedra, San Jacinto and La Legua (7 leaders)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>Main topic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Value of learning</td>
<td>Anything</td>
<td>No learning process. Chat, stories, informal conversations</td>
<td>Learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Educational opportunities</td>
<td>Some</td>
<td>Only early and basic education</td>
<td>Basic educ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Educational opportunities</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Only for basic education. Few adult training programs</td>
<td>Education Opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Promote cooper. interdependency</td>
<td>Little</td>
<td>Very little, not really</td>
<td>Educ. Coop. Skill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

179
5.2.5.5. Education

The explanation came from the analysis of the tables 42 and 43. The base of the analysis is the information from the focus groups, complemented with the direct observation and interviews (tables 30 to 33).

I found out from my conversation with the small farmers and authorities in the communities: education and learning are valued in the community but the emphasis is only on basic education (primary and secondary in few cases). When young people finish successfully their basic education, they usually migrate to the city and look for complementary education and qualifies job. Only the people who could not finish their basic education and elder people usually live in the community.

NGOs are working in the area and they usually offer some specific training course but more focused on technical aspects for agriculture itself. They are not education oriented to promote cooperative interdependency and community building skills. In this sense, some NGOs are working in order to promote the association of the small farmers for commercialization but they had many difficulties as explained by engineer Fabian Zapata from CIPCA and as I show in the case study herein.

Gomez Espinoza’s and Gomez Gonzales’ paper deals with traditional agricultural knowledge of indigenous people and peasants, and their attempt to use this traditional knowledge for the benefit of peasants in interesting. It stems from three assumptions; the existence of a great wealth of “traditional knowledge” in the peasant communities that becomes richer cycle by cycle, and is passed on through oral tradition and is dispersed and maintained mainly in the place of origin of corn; that this knowledge mutually correspond with the communities’ Cosmo vision and has enabled the poorest peasant families to thrive, for whom comparative advantages and price fluctuations in the international market are irrelevant, so they continue cultivating corn with traditional techniques and that forgetting these traditional systems has caused changes in the way education is conceived and problems are approached, so new theoretical and methodological paradigms come up, which have led to an ecologic crisis (2006).

“The concept of Traditional Agricultural Knowledge (TAK) to comprise practices, techniques, knowledge and/or Cosmo visions that respond to problems that curtail agricultural production. This knowledge is produced in the rural communities based on diligent, systematic observation and coexistence with nature, and is passed on from generation to generation by oral tradition” (Gomez Espinoza and Gomez Gonzales, 2006). In her book, Garcia makes a reflection on a contemporary project that must give indigenous people a main role in their own history, including in their education aspects of their own culture, history, and identity, which becomes crucial in a multicultural country, and make it a national project (2005).

“The contemporary project is also about positioning indigenous peoples as actors in the making of their own history. It is about preparing them, through education that emphasizes their culture, history, and identity (or activist interpretations of them) as positive and crucial components of Peru as a multicultural nation. Work in the Ministry of Education, changes to the national curriculum, and an emphasis on intercultural
education at all levels of society (even if implemented only in indigenous rural areas), make this, in some ways, and still a national project. However, it is also a project that challenges the imagined community that is Peru” (Garcia, 2005).

It is important to remark that, according to Ferreira and Dargent-Chamot, there is consensus among scholars studying this issue, that culture from an anthropological point of view is learned and not genetically determined, so we can venture to assume that through education we can influence people and change cultural values in a group of people, in a community, and in the long term, in a society (2003).

Education is crucial in order to improve the level of quality of life of farmers in the rural areas and in the case of Peru we have rich and millenary Andean heritage of knowledge that is used by small famers today but it is possible through education to use this millenary knowledge and create an educationzl system that emphasizes the values of the traditional culture and recognize the positive element of the western elements already mixing by the Spanish conquest.
Table 44

Findings from the focus group - Comprehensive summary

“Irrigator Committee Cumbibira” – Community leaders of Monte Castillo, Paredones and San Miguel (8 leaders)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sustainable Economy</td>
<td>Entrepreneurs community</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Not private initiatives and few NGOs working in the area</td>
<td>Entrepreneur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healthy Local Economy</td>
<td>Providing basic need</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Everybody has access to provide for their basic needs</td>
<td>Basic needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Economic system</td>
<td>Some</td>
<td>Self sufficient (basic needs), small business, leaving community paid work</td>
<td>Paid work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 45

Findings from the focus group - Comprehensive summary

“Irrigator Committee Palo Parado” - Community leaders of La Piedra, San jacinto and La Legua (7 leaders)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sustainable Economy</td>
<td>Entrepreneurs community</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Not private enterprises and few “small business”</td>
<td>Entrepreneur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healthy Local Economy</td>
<td>Providing basic need</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>People can provide for their basic needs</td>
<td>Basic needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Economic system</td>
<td>Some</td>
<td>Self sufficient (basic needs), small business, leaving community paid work</td>
<td>Paid work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2.5.6. Sustainable economy – healthy local economy

The explanation came from the analysis of the tables 44 and 45. The base of the analysis is the information from the focus group complemented with the direct observation and interviews (tables 30 to 33).

I found out the following fact from the focus groups in the communities: there is no explicit encouragement for community members creating business that enhances the local community. Only few cases managed by private initiatives and NGOs are working in the area. There are no people from the community who have problems providing for their basic needs (food, shelter, clothing, etc). There is self-sufficiency for basic needs in the community where everybody has his own activity independent from the community.

From the economic point of view the economic vision of the Andean society is analyzed by Amat; “the population worked in Mitas organized by the Curaca. What they obtained was redistributed around the town. The Inca did the same by redistributing the goods as far as the most remote places. The Curaca assigned lands and granted water use in accordance with the community’s necessities and characteristics. It was paid a tax for the use of lands and resources. The tax nature was varied: corn, clothes, pepper, and workers for the construction or maintenance of public goods of for military and administrative service. The ayllu got a third what was produced and two thirds were transferred to superior levels in order to support the activities of the religious administration and the regional lords and Inca’s management. The Curaca was in charge of managing everything and redistributing surpluses as well as supporting the Inca State with the production” (Amat, 2006).

In this sense in the Andean society everybody has access to provide for their basic needs as a part of the Incas system. Amat explains that among the governing guidelines for managing the Andean system, human energy was the most important resource within the system; everybody had the right to access and dispose of the harvest resources and the obligation to take part in the production. In that sense, ownership derives from belonging to the group and there was shared world view and a legitimated authority (2006). In the case of the rural communities in Piura and in general in Peru the Incas system of organization was broken but the strong links and network created in the base of kinship and compadrazgo bonds subsisting and every ayllu and family take care of their own “integrants”.

There are few sustainable small businesses promoted by NGOs. Many of the people usually leave from the community for paid work and in most of the cases, they are young people. There are differences between “small farmers” (surviving, kinship and non-kinship relations) and “medium farmers” (business motivation). In the direct observation, I observed among the leaders more elder people and in general, there are few young people in the community. Many families have one or more children working in the city for paid work.

It is important to consider the opinions of Juan Rivera y Fabian Zapata (interviews) in relation to the different ideas of doing business from the small farmers and the medium
small farmers. They mentioned that small farmers are not interested in doing business; they do not have a sense of business. I will explain further below in detail the differences between small farmers and medium farmers.
### Table 46

Findings from the focus group - Comprehensive summary

“Irrigator Committee Cumbibira” - Leaders communities of Monte Castillo, Paredones and San Miguel (8 leaders)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Sustainability</td>
<td>Preservation cultural heritage</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Some</td>
<td>They preserve common cultural heritage ceremony, celebrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 Openness cultural activities</td>
<td>Cultural activities are open to everybody and public</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 Participation cultural activities</td>
<td>Everybody in the community join the festivities</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 Availability cultural activities</td>
<td>Community offered cultural programs periodically (religious Parties)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 Knowledge community history</td>
<td>Some members (old persons) know the history of the community</td>
<td>Some</td>
<td></td>
<td>Comm. History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 Celebration cycles of life</td>
<td>Some celebrations for cycles of life-related agriculture</td>
<td>Occasion.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Celebrations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 47

Findings from the focus group - Comprehensive summary

“Irrigator Committee Palo Parado” - Community leaders of La Piedra, San Jacinto and La Legua (7 leaders)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Sustainability</td>
<td>Preservation of cultural heritage</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Some</td>
<td>Usually in ceremonies and celebrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Openness to cultural activities</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Open to everybody and public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participation in cultural activities</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>All people join the festivities, also people from out of the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Availability of cultural activities</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Some periodic cultural programs (religious feasts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Knowledge of community history</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Some members (elder persons) know the history of the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Celebration cycles of life</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Some celebrations related to agriculture. Offer food-drink land</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2.5.7. Cultural sustainability

“When a knowledgeable old person dies, a whole library disappears”
An old African proverb

The explication came from the annalysis of the tables 46 and 47. The base of the annalysis is the information from the focus group complemented with the direct observation and interviewes (tables 30 to 33).

I found out from the focus groups in the communities: the common cultural/ethnic heritage of the community is celebrated and preserved through ceremonies and celebrations, especially religious ones. The community values encourages the development of local entertainments especially the religious ones and in the school kids learns about these celebrations. There are group spaces (indoor and outdoor) available for activities and events. These cultural and religious activities have their own annual schedule that people in the community follow carefully. Also there are some celebrations for the cycles of life or natural elements that were received from the Andean society in the form of daily activities and religious rites.

The influence of the religious parties in the life of the community was observed in the Critecnia case study and I found the same influence in the small farmers in Piura. In the informal conversations after the focus group the small farmers mentioned the existence of the “Mayordomo” (it was also explained in detail in the Critecnia case study), who is the person in charge of the community party for one year.

I would like to mention in this topic, the same authors I use in the Critecnia case in order to explain the importance of the religion and how the old Andean customs were incorporated in the daily activities for the farmers in order to preserve it from the Spaniards and how in this process it was created a “mixing of beliefs and rites” between the Catholic ideas and Andean rites.

Sillar’s comment on the Andean cosmology is important, as social relationship and daily subsistence activities that are a complex set of cultural interrelations occurring subject to certain conditions, which have remained beyond the conquest reflected even nowadays on the peasants’ daily activities (2000). These daily interrelations that have remained throughout time and even today can be observed in the small farmers, especially those of the Highlands, are elements keeping people together by means of an invisible link transmitted from generation to generation.

Sillar states, even when the Spanish colonial authorities thwarted an early uprising against the Catholic Church, the Taki Onqoy, and the indigenous people of the Andes did not abandon their faith. Their pact with their Apu or Senior (local deity) was renewed as it had always been with every important daily act: when cleaning the irrigation canals, at planting, or when roofing the houses of new couples (2000).

As Beyers states, the Incas economy was as a sacred imperial economy, which interacted with other local sacred economies in a way that defined the nature of the imperial power relationship in question. A better understanding of the tremendous
cultural and religious importance that land had in the Andean community would invaluably contribute to explaining why the Incas were so concerned about providing relative autonomy to the communities (2001).

In his paper, Lozada analyzes the rites whereby another way of assessing the Andean society’s cultural elements is acceptable, he states that, in the case of the Andean ritual, it is pertinent to emphasize that not only it expresses the regulative dimension but also shows the social conditions of existence of the groups. In this sense, the world conception, articulated in the native community’s imaginaries, realizes that the rites are a special scenario to emphasize ancient ideological contents. Apart from that, the rites enable to come upon the guidelines aimed at implying the philosophical notions shared about temporality, history, society and sacredness, which, as the collective unconscious arcane strata, are revived and dance around symbolic attitudes (2003).

Additionally to the Andean religious customs that we can still observed in the daily life of the community in Piura there are Catholic “religious” parties in the communities. These parties are important aspect of the life of the small farmers and constitute the most important social events in the year. The mayordomo is the protagonist every year and is in charge of affording the expenses of the activity. One of the most popular religious parties in Piura is on 24th June every year called the “festivity of San Juan”. People celebrated mass, shared drinks, food and traditional dances.

In the focus group the small farmers explained how old people use to tell histories to the kids and it is includes the traditions with community important meanings. In the direct observation in the place of the Irrigating Committees I observed how the majority of leaders were old persons.

The importance and respect for the elder members in the community was a traditional custom in the Andean society and this behavior has different explications. For the Andean people the vision of the time is “circular” (different from the “lineal” vision occidental) and the elderly are ahead because they have already experienced lifetime. The young come behind, they are learning, they have to ask in order to carry on with the cycle. From the social conception, the Andean culture is in the base of the community, the ayllu with ancestors and common traditions, recognizing and identifying one another with the same origin, Paqarina. In this context, the elder person is the recipient of the traditions (oral transmission) and the link between people and culture.

As state by Garcia, the ethno-peasant cultures essentially communicate their knowledge by means of orally so that oral literature has a role of intergenerational diffusion where – by means of its narrations – knowledge, techniques and human values are shared. In this sense, the elderly role is decisive because they are transmitters and essential communicators of wisdom and collective memory shared with the family and community at communal parties or family talks. This process is spontaneously carried out when the family and neighbors gather to assess the working day, share or exchange experiences, systematize and learn lessons from them in order to subsequently listen to the elderly wisdom. This is a continuous
process of knowledge construction where the elderly will make the most significant decisions concerning family and community life (2005).

The traditionally collective and integral knowledge has an important value as part of the indigenous world view where the elderly and other specialists in traditional knowledge carry out an important role in the conservation through their age-old practices. They set themselves up as transmitters of the traditionally collective and integral knowledge to new generations in accordance with characteristic cultural norms, which is essential for the survival of communities as people in relation to their own cultural identity (Cruz, 2004).

In general I can comment how the traditional Catholic parties are mixing with ancestor Andean rites and both survive in the rural communities and how important is the role of the old people as a bridge from the ancestral Andean culture, the Catholic influences exercise by the time and the new generations through oral transmission.

5.2.5.8. Art and leisure

The explication came from the analysis of the tables 48 and 49. The base of the analysis is the information from the focus group complemented with the direct observation and interviewes (tables 30 to 33).

There are very few opportunities for artistic talents as a professional or workers, traditional artists use to play in communities festivals and usually they have another activity for the financial support. Community enjoys and encourages the participation of the population in dances and artistic festivals in the religious parties but not as a permanent activity. Artistic activities are seasonally and fixed in the community calendar. There are other famous communities in Piura like “Catacaos” that contains good artist especially in paintings and ceramic. I observed influence of the Andean dances in the communities and in the colorful clothes specially design for the dances. It is an Andean dance called “Hauyno” and is characteristic by sad music and words reflect of the mood of the indigenous people and suffer from the life.
Table 48

Findings from the focus groups - Comprehensive summary

“Irrigator Committee Cumbibira” - Leaders communities of Monte Castillo, Paredones and San Miguel (8 leaders)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>Main topic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Opportunities artistic talents</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>Very few opportunities for artistic talents. Schools and traditional.</td>
<td>Learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Value of local entertainment</td>
<td>Somewhat.</td>
<td>School, religious traditional dances</td>
<td>Basic education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Group space for activities</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Some spaces in the community for activities. The town itself</td>
<td>Education Opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Frequency of artistic events</td>
<td>Season.</td>
<td>The artistic events are seasonally, specially religious festivities</td>
<td>Educ. Coop. Skill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 49

Findings from the focus groups - Comprehensive summary

“Irrigator Committee Palo Parado” - Leaders communities of La Piedra, San Jacinto and La Legua (7 leaders)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>Main topic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Opportunities artistic talents</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>Children school, typical dances</td>
<td>Learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Value of local entertainment</td>
<td>Somewhat.</td>
<td>School presentations, religious, communities parties</td>
<td>Basic education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Group space for activities</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>There a lot of free space in the community</td>
<td>Education Opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Frequency of artistic events</td>
<td>Season</td>
<td>Seasonally, specially religious festivities and community anniversary</td>
<td>Ed. Coop. Skill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 50

**Findings from the focus groups - Comprehensive summary**

**“Irrigator Committee Cumbibira” - Leaders communities of Monte Castillo, Paredones and San Miguel (8 leaders)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>Main topic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious freedom</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>The majority of the community is catholic but everybody is free</td>
<td>Religious freed.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency spiritual practices</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>Few cases of spiritual (ancestors) practices connect Earth</td>
<td>Spiritual practices</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisdom of old people</td>
<td>Small part</td>
<td>Some old people are respect as a wisdom but not everybody</td>
<td>Old people-wisdom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 51

**Findings from the focus groups - Comprehensive summary**

**“Irrigator Committee Palo Parado” - Leaders communities of La Piedra, San jacinto and La Legua (7 leaders)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>Main topic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious freedom</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>The majority community is catholic but everybody has free religion</td>
<td>Religious freedom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency spiritual practices</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>Few cases of “shamans”</td>
<td>Spiritual practices</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisdom of old people</td>
<td>Small part</td>
<td>Old people are respect as wisdom. Some “shamans”</td>
<td>Old people-wisdom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2.5.9. Spiritual sustainability – rituals and celebrations; support for inner development and spiritual practices

The explication came from the analysis of the tables 50 and 51. The base of the analysis is the information from the focus group complemented with the direct observation and interviewees (tables 30 to 33).

I found out from my conversations with the small farmers in the communities: the majority of the population in the community is Catholic but everybody has the freedom to practices their own religious choices. They are some occasions when the community shares their religious communion. There are cases of religious mass, for example when arrived to the town one priest for the special occasion.

The community has their own wisdom and spiritual experts (shamans) who are usually older members of the community and they practiced mixing between the Andean rituals and Catholic beliefs. They said they are not often asking for advice of these people but in the reality is an important part of their diary life. The common practices are the “egg cure” and the “Cuy cure” but they are more practices for example in relation to the love.

As stated by Garcia, the ethno-peasant cultures essentially communicate their knowledge by means of orally so that oral literature has a role of intergenerational diffusion where – by means of its narrations – knowledge, techniques and human values are shared. In this sense, the elderly role is decisive because they are transmitters and essential communicators of wisdom and collective memory shared with the family and community at communal parties or family talks. This process is spontaneously carried out when the family and neighbors gather to assess the working day, share or exchange experiences, systematize and learn lessons from them in order to subsequently listen to the elderly wisdom. This is a continuous process of knowledge construction where the elderly will make the most significant decisions concerning family and community life (2005).

It is important recognize the role of the elderly people in the Andean culture where has a protagonist role and this role is maintained in the rural communities today and also differentially from the role of the spiritual wisdom called “shaman”. This is an Andean inherency of the person specialist in the physical and “spiritual” illness in the Andean society.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.-</td>
<td>Main topic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Glue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Share beliefs, values, experiences</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>General moral principles community</td>
<td>Little</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Own moral principles Community</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Community vision</td>
<td>Little</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Review of community vision</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Plays, relaxes, enjoy together</td>
<td>Occasion.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Harmony, caring, support women</td>
<td>Inadequate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Harmony, caring, support men</td>
<td>Adequate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Harmony, caring, supp. men-w.</td>
<td>Adequate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Harmony, caring, support child.</td>
<td>Adequate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Harmony, caring, support Various age</td>
<td>Inadequate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Endeavors strengthen internal</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General aspect</td>
<td>Question guide</td>
<td>Answer</td>
<td>Comment</td>
<td>Key word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Glue</td>
<td>Share beliefs, values, experiences</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td></td>
<td>Share beliefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General moral principles community</td>
<td>Little</td>
<td>Few influenced by the education, school for children</td>
<td>Moral principles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Own moral principles Community</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>There are “indigenous” (own) moral principles. They learned house</td>
<td>Moral principles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community vision</td>
<td>Little</td>
<td>Not common vision community, some agreement for commercial.</td>
<td>Comm. vision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Review of community vision</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td></td>
<td>Comm. vision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plays, relaxes, enjoy together</td>
<td>Occasion.</td>
<td>Occasionally plays and enjoy together. Parties, sport festivals</td>
<td>Enjoyment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Harmony, caring, support women</td>
<td>Inadequate</td>
<td>Not many activities for support only women</td>
<td>Com. Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Harmony, caring, support men</td>
<td>Adequate</td>
<td>Basically for commercialization, business and water management</td>
<td>Com. Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Harmony, caring, supp. men-women</td>
<td>Adequate</td>
<td>There are some ways but more women support men</td>
<td>Com. Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Harmony, caring, support children</td>
<td>Adequate</td>
<td>People in the community support children-school</td>
<td>Com. Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Harmony, caring, sup. Various age</td>
<td>Inadequate</td>
<td>The family take care of members, not community mechanism</td>
<td>Com. Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Endeavors strengthen internal</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>There are not endeavors strengthen internal (each group or family)</td>
<td>Com. Strengthen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2.5.10. Community glue

The explication came from the analysis of the tables 52 and 53. The base of the analysis is the information from the focus group complemented with the direct observation and interviewees (tables 30 to 33).

I found out the following fact from the focus groups in the communities: people in the community share their values, beliefs and experiences few times. They have different ways to connect their spiritual life, more individualistic and in connection with the natural life. Any diary activity has its own meaning.

The moral principles like responsibility and personal integrity are part of the community philosophy but the way of showing is different. When I asked small farmers they said they do not use to share these moral principles in the “formal way” but when I observed their activities I could identify respect and some level of common moral principles.

The community does not have common “vision” in the way we understand for this concept (Western conception) but I believe from my observation there is a type of common goal but they do not know how to call it in the formal way. It is something informal that they maintain inside their own personalities but when the situation came they behave following this ideas; for example in the case of community security.

In the Andean culture the “Society Vision” was in the base of reciprocity. In this sense Amat explains how reciprocity is the essential relationship to be linked with diversity, compensate differences, acknowledge what is obtained, keep up the recurrent movement of events and assure the continuation of the whole (2006). “There are other important elements include in this society vision: nature is comprehended as an alive, highly sensitive organism, capable of generously replying to good manners and ferociously to an aggression; well-being is to be part of a community, with ancestors and common traditions, recognizing and identifying one another with the same origin, “paqarina”; ownership derives from belonging to the system and, therefore, from the right to accessing the resources and from the obligation to work them and share their results” (Amat, 2006).

Respect to the “Political Vision” the Curacas (Curators) were the authority and who had the capability of assuring order and facilitating the system operation. They were in charge of organizing, motivating and managing their community (Amat, 2006). The rural communities maintained their idea of “vision” in their daily activities as an inherence of the Andean ancestors and the principles are passing from generation to generation through the old persons (histories and rites). The leadership exercises by the Curacas loose their power to maintain the unit of the goals when they were replacing by the formal authorities, therefore there are informal authorities who appears in specific situations and rebuild these “Andean vision” in order to solve difficult situation for the community (fire or security matters).

Sillar states that the meaning of the material culture concerning daily work reaches common people who are aware of such meaning. The significance of material culture is not something that only has meaning at moments of heightened ritual. Rather, as the
examples of canal cleaning, house roofing, and agricultural work demonstrate, the mundane “subsistence activities” that are the daily preoccupation of most people are fully imbued with meaning (2000).

“The Andean world view shapes the Andean inhabitants’ mental map, they sensitize their affectivity and motivate their collective behavior; they unit society and are the foundation for social consensus; they establish and legitimize political authority; they organize and make sense of productive activities; they model architecture and encourage the construction of religious and administrative monuments; and they also inspire astonishing iconography in knitting, ceramics and ritual and utilitarian goldsmithing – silversmithing” (Amat, 2006).

García quotes Levi-Staruss when referring to the Andean world view. The construction of the Andean thought is based on a holistic conception of the world when they articulate in a sole process and unit the material, human, sacred and ritual realities, developing around them a set of perceptions and unique representations that comprise knowledge, technology and moral, ethical, Andean and Amazonian values that regulate the daily, seasonal and astonishing life of their cultists.

Knowledge and technology that are not only universal but also local and specific having integral or holistic contents, based on agro-cosmos-ethno-centered foundations and result of a historical, projectable and progressive process. Perceptions represented by means of abstraction that are symbolized with logical and concrete categories in order to be transmitted and communicated (2003).

I found out from the direct observation and focus group: the community occasionally laughs, plays, relaxes and enjoys life together, especially in religious and sports festivals. It was not easy to observe the level of harmony, caring and support between the women of the community because they do not use to attend the meetings in the general assembly. When I asked them they about this topic, they said they have good relations among them and try to maintain good administration in the house and the child who are their priority. Men in the community have a good level of harmony, caring and support between themselves but more specifically in activities of commercialization and water management. The level of harmony, caring and support between kids is good and they use to expend time together and they start to support the parents in some domestic and agrarian activities.

The explication of this cultural value from the analysis of the Andean culture is related the concept of ayllu. Matayoshi states that in the Andean ideology the reality is a whole that includes the family, ayllu, community and the ethnic group where such levels of social organization are consolidate by quite strong family and kinship bonds as well as economic, social, cultural and religious ones (2003). García explains that “ayllu is a poly-semos category with several related meanings: family, kinship system, domestic unity, territorial unity, etc. However, in the Andean reality, the ayllu is used to refer to the nuclear or extensive family which includes close lineage relatives (hichpa ayllu) and distant relatives (karu ayllu)” (Garcia, 2003). In the Incas Empire there was a “matri-focal” system where the son’s legitimization depended on the mother (Matayoshi, 2003). In that sense, the mother was in charge of a double role, “administrator of
agricultural resources” and “procreant mother of new children”. I observed see this double role in the wives in Piura. They maintained the house and children were her responsibility.

In his paper, Matayoshi quotes Marisol De la Cadena who explains the case of the Central Highland’s peasants. Belonging to a group of relative’s undertakes rights as well as economic, social and ritual obligations. As for such obligations, the first ones imply agricultural production tasks along with economic reproduction of the domestic group which keeps their validity as such. Since the families integrating the group need to make a success of it, they must fulfill their corresponding tasks in order to achieve such aim. That’s why belonging to a group of relatives implies meeting obligations in order to keep it as such because of ensuring the nuclear family access conditions to scan but essential resources for their reproduction. In turn, meeting obligations grants all members a position when dividing the work up – which is sexual and generational – were not only men and women have been given tasks but also children and the elderly. The division of the work is organized in such institutions which not only are aware of social life rules but also regulate the way people belonging to the institutions access to and work the resource (2003).

Man was respected in the Andean society and was the head of the social system. Ferreira and Dargent Chamot states, the Incas’ social system had an ancient Andean origin based on ayllu, an extended family group with a common ancestor (2003). I observed how men were the head of the social organization among farmers, only men were attended the meetings in the irrigators committees. Also when we made the research in Nazca very few waives were present, the majority were men.
### Table 54

Findings from the focus groups - Comprehensive summary

**“Irrigator Committee Cumbibira”** - Leaders communities of Monte Castillo, Paredones and San Miguel (8 leaders)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Main topic</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community Resilience</td>
<td>Community support for crisis</td>
<td>Little</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Little support members in crisis. Family solve problems</td>
<td>Comm. Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Resilience</td>
<td>Support of marginalize members</td>
<td>Little</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Little support. Not many marginalize people. Elderly is respect.</td>
<td>Comm. Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Resilience</td>
<td>Ability for handle crisis</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Community rarely solve private crisis (family), only for public cases</td>
<td>Comm. Support</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 55

Findings from the focus group - Comprehensive summary

**“Irrigator Committee Palo Parado”** - Leaders communities of La Piedra, San Jacinto and La Legua (7 leaders)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General aspect</th>
<th>Question guide</th>
<th>Main topic</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Key word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community Resilience</td>
<td>Community support for crisis</td>
<td>Little</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Little support members in crisis. Family solve problems</td>
<td>Comm. Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Resilience</td>
<td>Support marginalize members</td>
<td>Little</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>There are not marginalized people.</td>
<td>Com. Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Resilience</td>
<td>Ability for handle crisis</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>General assembly</td>
<td>Com. Support</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2.5.11. Community resilience

The explication came from the analysis of the tables 54 and 55. The base of the analysis is the information from the focus group complemented with the direct observation and interviewees (tables 30 to 33).

I found out in the focus groups with the community: the extent to which the community is able to respond beneficially to community members in crisis is low in accord to the answers of the farmers, but later when they explained me more specific situations I observed how was working the “informal” support for the members of the community. I will explain how this support (informal) is working when I describe the cases of fire or security.

The explication of this cultural value from the analysis of the Andean culture is related the communal work practiced in the Incas time. As Garcia states, because of the fact that the commoners often have to commute large distances to accomplish productive activities, it is resorted to ancient practices concerning the Ayni (inter-individual support), the Minka (collective and festive work) and the Mita (work carried out in favor of the State as a tax). The Ayni and the Minka yet keep on their characteristics, but the Mita has been redefined as communal work (2003).

In the basis of a study carried out with farmers of the Mantaro and Piura valleys, Trivelli and Yancari analyze systems of informal taking of risks based on familial and amicable networks that work when happening acts of God. The capacity for pooling together risks or establishing informal insurance systems among those being in a par with depends not only on the characteristics, intensity and frequency of the acts of God but also on there being institutions and organizations capable of managing and processing such informal insurance systems as well as the environment (community, family, etc) in which each home will be given by their corresponding social, political, cultural and economic networks. Therefore, it is important to take into consideration not only the affected producer’s situation but also that of the group of producers and their homes, that is, their background (2006).

From my direct observation and conversations with the small farmers I found out: there are no formal mechanisms that established ways to support marginalized community members (poor, ill, dying, troubled, disabled, elderly, etc) but the families take care of their own integrants. In this sense it is not the concept of marginalized people so when somebody from the family or close kinship group need help receives support. This is consequence of the influence of the kinship and compadrazgo, system inherit from the Andean culture.
5.2.6. Medium farmers (economic interest and association for business) vs. small farmers (survival and association in the base of kinship relations)

I found out from the focus group and my conversations with the leaders of the small farmers communities that the economy from their point of view is “self sufficient” (for their own basic needs) and recently with the support of some NGOs they started to create small business. I heard opinions about how the young people in the community leave from the rural areas to the city looking for “paid work”.

The idea of start business and became entrepreneurs is not close to the small farmers. They are very conservative and scare to loose their small land, reason why they are skeptical about the “business models” that imply the use of the land as a guarantee (see the analysis in the case of Critecnia model). Another important reason is the low level of education of the small farmers; they did not finish primary school in the majority of the cases.

CIPCA (NGO) supported the creation of small business for farmers in the communities. Small farmers sell “Chicha de Jora” (alcoholic drinking made in the base of corn) and other farmer sell products for the diary life in the community (food, staff for cooking and cleaning products). CIPCA is working in a new project with small farmers in order to create small business for selling cuyes (guinea pig) and ducks. Another project from the same NGO provide micro-credit to women (require organization) in order to finance small business. The innovation in this project is the utilization of “solidarity credit” that is mean one group receive the credit and when one woman can not pay the money, the other women assume the debt. In the practice this situation is a little complicate to accomplish but the NGO try to support the idea.

There are other groups of farmers with business ideas and their associations have different goals and characteristics. I interviewed leaders of “medium” farmers in Piura in order to be aware of the different relations among them (business relations) as a part of one organization in comparison to the small farmers (more kinship relations oriented). I interviewed a group of the leaders of medium farmers association in Piura (see tables 31, 32 and 33) and I received important comments that permit to understand the different with the small farmers in relation to the idea of business. This topic is important because many business and associative models for small farmers were created in the premise of small farmers will be “business people” but the reality and the historical analysis of the Andean cultural values show contradictory results.

The base of the organization of medium farmers in Piura is economic and the partners decided to associate only for the convenience and the possibility to access international markets in better conditions. There are not social, kinship or compadrazgo relations that determine the conditions of the association. When the economic goal is done the association disappears or turned to other economic goals. In this sense I want to show the Table 56 that contains the differences between small farmers and medium farmers in Piura and the Graphic 1 that explains the orientation of medium farmers to business motivation and small farmers to kinship, compadrazgo relations.
Table 56

Differences observed between small farmers and medium farmers in relation to the idea of business

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Small farmers</th>
<th>Medium farmers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>● Farmers want to joint in organizations only for commercialization of specific products and without long compromise</td>
<td>● Farmers are looking for business and their idea of association is long time with economic benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Low level of education (primary level)</td>
<td>● High level of education (professional)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Focus in exporting and international markets because they are more beneficially</td>
<td>● Focus in internal markets and oriented to local markets (community)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Leaders are looking for “political” power</td>
<td>● Leaders are interesting in the “economic” benefit of the association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Internal conflict and problems. People do not trust each other</td>
<td>● Business relations among the partners. Business contracts and control of the management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Informality in the meetings (late and absent) and non-fulfillment culture</td>
<td>● Network of commercialization, better negotiation power, better prices, information access</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Not idea of the market conditions and not able to compete with the medium farmers</td>
<td>● Ready for the “market competition” in the base of good quality and prices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Kinship and compadrazgo relations are important as a “natural condition” in order to motivate the association</td>
<td>● There are not kinship or compadrazgo relations that determines the existence of the association</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Resource: qualitative research (direct observation, focus groups and interviews).
The explication of the economic behaviour of the small farmers came from the Andean culture. Ferreira and Dargent-Chamot state, the Incas’ social system had an ancient Andean origin based on *ayllu*, an extended family group with a common ancestor. The *economic system* was also based on ancient social structures and can be explained through several principles, namely reciprocity, redistribution, and vertical control (2003). It is mean the economic system in the Andean culture was connect to the social structures and regulated by the principles of reciprocity, redistribution and vertical control. The characteristics were more similar to “social cooperative” where did not exist the idea of “private income” for business and it was working the idea of “sharing the communal production”, in the base of social rules that established the rights and obligations of the individuals; and social networking (kinship and compadrazgo) that established the role of the individuals in the community work.

In his paper, Matayoshi quotes Marisol De la Cadena who explains the case of the Central Highland’s peasants. Belonging to a group of relatives *undertakes rights as well as economic, social and ritual obligations*. As for such obligations, the first ones...imply *agricultural production task along with economic reproduction* of the domestic group which keeps their validity as such. Since the families integrating the group need to make a success of it, *they must fulfill their corresponding tasks in order to achieve such aim*. That’s why belonging to a group of relatives implies meeting obligations in order to keep it as such because of ensuring the nuclear family’s access conditions to scant but essential resources for their reproduction. In turn, meeting obligations grants all members a position when dividing the work up – which is sexual
and generational – where not only men and women have been given tasks but also children and the elderly. The division of the work is organized in such institutions which not only are aware of social life rules but also regulate the way people belonging to the institutions access to and work the resources (2003).

In that sense, Ossio explains that while unilineal groups – tightened by patronymic usage and endogamous orientation – fulfill a primary role in trying certain continued stay of social groups in space (which is to the conservation of the caste identity), the bilateral clans are the basis of the group’s expansion through both marriage and ceremonial kinship so that the necessary cooperation undertaken by those alliances is mobilized. Even though some clan members support them, what is observed in any labor context or family ritual is that those most regular attendants are those being linked to the main participant by marriage bonds or ceremonial kinships. Either a house is roofed or the livestock is marked or a corn land is sown, those most committed to participating are the ceremonial relatives and the fellow ones who are far beyond the main participant’s clan boundary and tend to be engaged, in turn, within the clan heart with which the main participant’s clan members have gotten married or engaged into ceremonial kinship bonds. Rather than a co-operating group, and individual’s bilateral clan is a matrix that starts mobilizing as a result of the alliance. Since its spectrum covers as far as the fourth relative by both the paternal and maternal lines along with the ideal of having 12 children, its engaging margin is very high aimed at the access of a great volunteer flow coming from other peripheral clans (1992). In the base of kinship relations people from the same clan or link clans work together and show the importance of the alliances that provide cooperative support in the Andean society.

Silva Santisteban, who is quoted by Orrego, explains the importance of such rite as to be a kinship bond and blood-related or political linkage, constituting within the community a way of cohesion of family relationships and externally a way of setting profitable bonds with people having and advantageous position in the economic political structure (2003). Compadrazgo relationships imply reciprocity from now on in relation to the community’s agricultural work and social life. Above all, they are shown up in the construction of their houses when being appointed party butlers and at mourning moments.

According to Ferreira and Dargent-Damon, there was hierarchical control in form of political and social organization that was in charge of looking after the communities’ entire needs. In that sense, each ayllu got all of the food and products they needed and their members were organized in accordance with the different ecological elevations in order to work the land (2003). The cooperative social system has hierarchical configuration and the State and the local Curaca were in charge of the central planification of the production in the Andean society.

The economic vision in the Andean society was considering as: the population worked in the Mitas organized by the Curaca and what they obtained was redistributed around town. The Curaca assigned lands and granted water use in accordance with the community’s necessities and characteristics. It was paid a tax for the use of land resources (corn, clothes, pepper and work for the construction or maintenance of public goods or for military and administrative services). The ayllu got a third of what was
produced and two thirds were transferred to superior levels in order to support the activities of the religious administration and the regional lords and Inca’s management. The Curaca was in charge of managing everything and redistributing surpluses as well as supporting the Incan State with production.

Amat explains that among the governing guidelines for managing the Andean system, *human energy* was the most important resource within the system; everybody had the right to access and dispose of the harvest resources and the obligations to take part in the production. In that sense, ownership derives from belonging to the group and there was shared world view and a legitimated authority (2006) Earls explains that effective coordination was a requirement for the success of the agriculture in the Andes (1998).

Such concept of belonging to an organization and effective coordination – that yet remains informally in peasant communities but was not successfully emulated by modern attempts to crate farmer organizations – was the reason for the Incas’ achievement and the basis of their economy development.

It may be conceived that the Incan economy was a *sacred imperial economy*, which interacted with other local sacred economies in a way that defined the nature of the *imperial* power relationship in question. A better understanding of the tremendous cultural and religious importance that land had in the Andean community would invaluably contribute to explaining why the Incas were so concerned about providing relative autonomy to the communities (Beyers, 2001).

According to Beyers, land was identified with kinship, and each *ayllu* was traditionally rooted into particular parcel of land. Land was perceived to be inhabited by the *ayllu’s* ancestry, the members of whom were taken to exist in the present as living beings (insofar as they needed material offerings and sacrifices for their well-being). The attachment to land was thus very strong, as land provided not only the farmer’s material sustenance but also his or her social and spiritual sustenance (2001).

In this sense as I explaind in the case study Critecnia the land had religious-economic importance for the Andean people and unconsciously the small farmers maintained this relation to the land, in this sense it is possible to understand the failure of models that requires the use of the land as a guarantee. Land was not “business instrument”, it was the base of the cooperative system and it was the element surrounding by the social relations and kinship networks that developed the production and economic system.

It is important what Garcia points out in his explanation of the holistic contents concerning the Andean world view and how it is related to the harmony that supports the ethno-peasant towns in a culture of sharing. He even states an Andean saying which explains the system: *ruraqman chayaspa, rurapakuna; mikupman chayaspa, mikupakuna; tusuqman chayaspa, tusupakuna; yachaqman chayaspa, yachapakuna* (sharing work, sharing fruits-food, sharing celebrations-parties and commemorations, sharing knowledge and technology) (2005).
### Table 56

1.- Farmers Relation (working with CIPCA) 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nº</th>
<th>Old</th>
<th>New</th>
<th><strong>Irrigator Committee</strong></th>
<th><strong>Group</strong></th>
<th><strong>Farmers</strong></th>
<th><strong>Product Area</strong></th>
<th><strong>Total Area</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Rice</strong></td>
<td><strong>Cotton</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Antiguos</td>
<td>Cumbibira</td>
<td>Pampa Silva</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bautista Silva Anselmo</td>
<td>0.50</td>
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<td>Pampa Silva</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Pampa Silva</td>
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<td>Chero Chero José Angel</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Antiguos</td>
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<td>2.00</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Ipanaque Jimenez Reynaldo</td>
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<td>Madrid Chero José Luis</td>
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<td>1.50</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>Pampa Silva</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ramos Chero Eugenio</td>
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<td>Pampa Silva</td>
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<td>Sosa Prado Pedro Miguel</td>
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<td>Ramos Sosa Guillermo</td>
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<td>Sosa Prado Jose Laureano</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>Pampa</td>
<td>Silva</td>
<td></td>
<td>Moscol Alvines Francisco</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CIPCA 2008
Table 57

1.- Farmers Relation (working with CIPCA) 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Old</th>
<th>New</th>
<th>Irrigator Committee</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Farmers</th>
<th>Rice</th>
<th>Cotton</th>
<th>Bean</th>
<th>Total Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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CIPCA 2008
Table 58

1.- Farmers Relation (working with CIPCA) 2008

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CIPCA 2008
5.2.7. Conclusions and lessons from the case study

The analysis of the irrigators committees in Piura permit to understand the social organization that managed the water and the cultural Andean values immerses in the behaviour of the small farmers. In the present case study I apply these two concepts in order to probe the hypothesis of my PhD research. In this sense, I analyze the social organization call “Irrigator Committee” and I found out from the patterns of interaction among the farmer’s leaders and the farmers families in the community, the impact of the institution, composed for the high influence of the Andean CVI (customs, informal rules, conventions and folkways) and other factors such Spanish influence (Catholic compadrazgo, law, etc.).

In my opinion the failure of the associative models for small farmers in Peru (the organizational element) is in related to the frequent inconsistency with the farmer’s CVI influenced by the Andean society (the institutional element) or in other words what small farmers believe should occur. I state the lack of correspondence between the ideal (CVI) and the actual (associative models) in the case of small farmers in Peru make difficult or impossible to apply some type of associative models and make easy to apply certain type of associative models.

My research goal is to find out the ideal (Andean CVI) that permit in the future make better and sustainable actual (associative models). Finally, like the author state, I believe a change in either the institutional (for example with education) or the organizational element creates demand for change in the other. It is mean, must be correspondence between the analysis of the CVI of the small farmers (high influence of the Andean) and the design of associative models.

The main characteristics of the Andean cultural values that influenced the farmers in the Irrigators Committee of Piura are: small farmers determine the level of trust among people in the community in the base of kinship bonds and compadrazgo relations; small farmers have strong sense of “neighbour’s support system” based in the Andean customs and informal rules (unwitting and customer). The case of fire and security are examples; there are Andean forms of communal support that are still applying in the communities in Piura. Ayni (inter-individual support), the Minka (collective and festive work) and the Mita (it was work carried as a tax but today is redefined as a communal work); kinship bonds and compadrazgo permit small farmers expanded their social networks and receive the necessary support; the importance of the oral communication is maintained in the small farmer’s communities in Piura as same to the Andean society; part of the Andean organizational system (Curaca leadership) was broken with the Spanish conquest but other parts are still working (symmetrical reciprocity); the religious in the farmers community have strong influence and it is the result of the mixing of Catholic beliefs with Andean religious practices like offer food and drinks to the Apus (mountains), there are informal authorities in the communities of small farmers exercise by people undertaking certain positions and important professional services for the communal life: teachers, priests, male nurses, etc; men have preponderant position in the Andean society and also maintained his position in the organization of the small farmers in Piura. They take decisions and exercise the leadership in the assemblies; there is “traditional knowledge” that small farmers in Piura
receive as an inheritance of the Andean society and it is convenient to incorporate as a part of the agricultural system mixing with Western knowledge; the importance and respect of elder members of the community that was an Andean traditional custom is maintained in the small farmers’ community in Piura; the Andean knowledge is communicated generation by generation through the elder persons in the community in the form of stories and narrations; the small farmer’s community express their vision in the form of reciprocity as an inherency of the Andean society and they maintain the value of the vision through the daily activities; there are systems of informal take of risk basic on family and amicable networks receive from the Andean customs, which works when happen act of God. It is possible to use this “informal insurance system” and incorporated it in order to make stronger the associations of small farmers.

There are different orientation to the business ideas between the small farmers (self sufficient) and medium farmers (business oriented). The base of these differences is the Andean cultural values influence in the small farmers, where the main characteristics of the economic activity was for generations in relation to social orientation, kinship and compadrazgo that determines the conditions of the association. The Incas social and economic system origin based in the ayllu, an extended family group with a common ancestor is replicate in its main characteristics in the farmers community where are working the principles of reciprocity and redistribution. In the case of medium farmers (criollos and well educated) the reason of the association is pure economic, where the partners of the association are looking for better negotiation conditions and access to international markets.

Compadrazgo is a form of non-kinship relation created as an influence of the Catholic Church and adopted by the indigenous people easily because the similarities to Andean ancestral practices. Compadrazgo is working in the small farmer’s community and provide for people the possibility to extend the network of social relations and receive economic support. Compadrazgo is important because can acts as a strong power that can maintain and even stronger the solidarity of the group among the associations of small farmers. In this sense compadrazgo is a found of cooperative relations among farmers.

I believe in the “Social Reproduction” of the Andean values in the culture of the small farmers that I show it in the present case study. In this sense I think is possible to use this “base” (knowledge and customs like compadrazgo) in order to develop cooperative relations among the small farmers and create strong associations with sustainability. The study results show the influence of Andean values in the association of small farmers in Piura and support the hypothesis of the present PhD research.

5.3. Summary of Chapter 5

As a summary of this chapter, we can assure that there is an influence of the Andean CVI in the associative models for the small farmers analyzed in the two case studies described. That this influence determines behavioural patterns in small farmers, which influence directly in the success or failure of the associative models and which constitute an indispensable element to analyze before the application of any associative model.
The analysis and study of these elements may allow us the incorporation of Andean cultural values in the creation of associative models that may generate cooperative relationships among small farmers and than strengthen the organizational capacity over the base of institutions such as kinship relationships, compadrazgo, community work, and others as the study of the cases discussed demonstrates.
Chapter 6. Conclusions

Andean CVI has an impact on the associative models for small farmers in Peru. This impact is analyzed in the influence of the Andean culture as the base of the Peruvian culture and idiosyncrasy, and its relationship with the small farmers as depositaries of this millenary heritage.

There is a Peruvian culture and idiosyncrasy that is represented by its traditions, beliefs, customs and cultural activities. This culture and idiosyncrasy determines all Peruvians’ behavior consciously and unconsciously in a learning process developed through the years.

The base of the Peruvian culture and idiosyncrasy is in the Andean culture, which has developed for over 11,000 years and where the Inca culture accounts for the last years of that blend of pre-Inca cultures. This influence can be found these days at a greater degree in Andean communities, especially in the Peruvian Highlands, but also in the Peruvians from the cities.

There are other influences that have contributed to the formation of the Peruvian culture and idiosyncrasy. The Spanish culture during their conquest had a great influence and was the beginning of a race mixing process and transculturization. Afterwards, other influences brought by immigrants from other countries contributed to enrich the Peruvian culture.

Despite the blend of many cultures that contributed to form the Peruvian culture and idiosyncrasy, the cited authors agree in claiming that any interpretation of them must have the analysis of the Andean culture as starting point that for its influence during thousands of years constitutes the base that gave birth to the Peruvian culture and idiosyncrasy.

In Peru, there is a constant process of transculturization and tension between the Andean culture with its own values and the western culture brought by the Spaniards, which has caused a division among Peruvians through the years, developing two different countries: a “deep Peru” represented by the indigenous population mostly direct descendants from the Andean culture, and a “formal Peru” represented by the ruling class and the “creole” descendants from Europeans and “mestizos”.

The main elements of the Andean system, related to agriculture, are a holistic vision of the world, the reciprocity as a social rule, the concept of the ayllu as an organizational unit, and the importance of the kinship and compadrazgo relationships that maintain the community human group united and adhered.

With the Spaniards’ arrival and the conquest, the “faro” (Highlands) and the “plantations” (Coast) replaced the Andean system, imposing hierarchical relationships from the landowner with all his powers and rights to the indigenous people without any rights. This new economic system that replaced the Andean system caused poverty and inequality.
The military government starts a process of “agrarian reform” in Peru, looking to implement a cooperative system and trying to create new mutual support models among farmers. This attempt of agrarian reform fails for several reasons related to the lack of analysis and inclusion of the kinship relationships as a unifying and cooperating factor, the lack of administrative capacity, and some farmers’ individualistic motivation, among other reasons.

As a result of the failed agrarian reform in Peru, the problems of small farmers in Peru appear, generating “smallholdings” (small extensions of land in which an individual farmer develops activities under poor conditions) in contrast with “largeholdings” (large extensions of land belonging to a single owner), which existed before the agrarian reform.

The liberalization in the 90’s in Peru got small farmers into more severe conditions, because of the lack of favourable economic conditions. Especially those from the Highlands suffered from the consequences of a lack of development, whereas those from the Coast has succeeded from agri-exporting companies.

The main problems affecting small farmers in Peru are related to the following factors: reduced size of land, lack of human capital and technology, financial difficulties and subsidies from the State.

Development alternatives for small farmers in Peru are: investment and creation of agrarian companies that can buy small farmers’ lands, developing a more efficient agriculture; the migration of small farmers to economic activities other than agriculture; and the creation of associative models for small farmers, which should facilitate their development.

The aspects that hinder development alternatives for small farmers are: the lack of conditions that can make investment by agricultural companies in the sector attractive so that they buy small farmers’ lands, especially in the Highlands; the relation between small farmers and the land, to which they see as an informal insurance in situations of economic crisis (provides work and support), which unmotivates them from selling their lands; and the lack of adequate opportunities in other economic sectors that can absorb the great number of small farmers.

There are associative models for small farmers which have been applied in Peru with different outcomes. We have business associative models such as the “contract farming”, some associations, in fact, do work such as the “Irrigators Associations” and other associative models driven by NGOs and international organizations.

The Andean cultural elements and idiosyncrasy are in effect and we may find them at present in the Andean communities. These Andean cultural elements show in different ways such as kinship relationships, compadrazgo, informal leadership, work practices, and community support.

This influence of the Andean CVI enables us to understand the behavior of small farmers as part of the Andean communities, showing the following conducts: the
importance of being a member of the community and sharing the same customs, ancestors, and recognizing oneself through common ancestors.

This influence of the Andean CVI enables us to understand the behaviour of small farmers as members of the Andean communities, showing the following conducts: respect towards the elderly of the community as depositaries of the local wisdom, as the means of intergenerational conveyance of knowledge, traditions and customs through stories told orally, and as advisors in important decisions.

This influence of the Andean CVI enables us to understand the behavior of small farmers as members of the Andean communities, showing the following conducts: the existence of common goods in the community, which have a social nature and are shared by all the members of the group.

This influence of the Andean CVI enables us to understand the behavior of small farmers as members of the Andean communities, showing the following conducts: leadership exercised by “informal” leaders, inheritors of the ancient “curacas”, who were facilitators of the social process and were in charge of administrating and organizing the activities.

This influence of the Andean CVI enables us to understand the behavior of small farmers as members of Andean communities; we identified the following conducts: the permanence of the “ayllu” as the social base of the community and institution that survives in their kinship relationships and the influence of the common ancestor, who leads a complex network created over the base of rights and reciprocal obligations, which have remained for thousands of years and guarantee the community’s survival.

This influence of Andean CVI enables us to understand the behavior of small farmers as members of the Andean communities; we have identified the following conducts: the permanence of the relationships of “compadrazgo”, which allow broadening the mutual help networks, and over the base of reciprocity, it extends the social group’s influence and support.

This influence of Andean CVI enables us to understand the behavior of the small farmers as members of the Andean communities; we have identified the following conducts: the permanence of the “symmetric reciprocity” rules, represented by the assistance and peer relationships, and of “asymmetric reciprocity” addressed to community work.

This influence of Andean CVI enables us to understand the behavior of small farmers as members of the Andean communities; we have identified the following conducts: the permanence of “informal rules” created over the base of custom and that govern social behavior in the community and that coexist with the “formal rules” created by the State.

This influence of Andean CVI enables us to understand the behavior of small farmers as members of the Andean communities; we have identified the following conducts: the permanence of trade and economic mechanisms such as the “trueque” (exchange of products), which coexist with free market mechanisms introduced by the western
culture; and the need of authorization to sell land in the community, abiding by the requirements and approval of the community itself.

This influence of Andean CVI enables us to understand small farmers’ behavior as members of the Andean communities; we have identified the following conducts: the strength of folklore and of everyday activities that are constantly repeated and constitute a creating element of habits and culture.

There is an impact of the Andean culture and idiosyncrasy on the functioning of the associative model of “farming contract” of the Critecnia company. The application of this associative model allows knowing small farmers’ way of thinking and the importance of cultural factors.

There is a great influence of the Andean CVI on the behavior of the small farmers in Nazca, according to the analysis of the development model of Critecnia. This influence shows in the following aspects: the great influence of elderly people in the community and their role as counsellors and informal leaders, the importance of the land as a religious and economic element, and as a social insurance (provides work and support in times of crisis), the importance of kinship and compadrazgo relationships as sources of social, economic, cultural and religious relationships; the importance of these kinship and compadrazgo relationships as an element to develop trust among small farmers, the importance of the compadrazgo as a source of solidarity, protection, security and tutelage, the existence of work and community support models, the importance of “oral” transmission of traditions and knowledge, as well as the “non-verbal language”, the mix of Catholic religious beliefs and Andean ancestral customs, the role of the man as a leader in the community and the need to get married to exercise all rights that the community offers its members.

The “facilitator”, who is a linking person between the company and the small farmers, has an important role in the success of the application of the model. The facilitator needs to handle cultural and idiosyncrasy elements, so its position requires special qualifications such as: credibility among farmers (preferably born in the same area), knowledge of the local idiosyncrasy, leadership, trust on the model, empirical technical or professional knowledge that may help handle organizational and managerial aspects required by the model and capacity to explain them to the small farmers. Other elements that contribute to the success of this role are: relatives or compadres in the community, wife from the community, mature age (respect for elderly people), knowledge of the native language, in this case Quechua, “mayordomo” in the community (sponsored an important celebration in the community).

The Critecnia model failed four years after its implementation for several reasons, but one of the most important ones was not to have included in the model the (Andean) cultural and idiosyncrasy elements that could guarantee commitment and strengthen the cooperative relationship among small farmers. Among these elements we have: the importance of elderly people as informal leaders (were not considered by Critecnia), the lack of detailed analysis of the kinship and compadrazgo relationships that may have allowed the use of this contact network to strengthen the model, the wrong decision to use land as a form of collateral against financing disregarding the religious nature and
its importance as an informal form of insurance which did not make it recommendable to use land as a form of collateral, and finally, the failure to include the community work and support models that would have offered a form of informal insurance in case of crisis such as that experienced by the model because of the El Niño phenomenon.

There is an impact for the Andean culture and idiosyncrasy on the functioning of the “Cumbibira and Palo Parado Irrigation Committees in Piura”. The analysis of these committees helped understand the organizational management of water and the cultural values immersed in small farmers’ behavior.

In the analysis of the case study, we proved the influence of the Andean CVI from two perspectives: the “social organization”, referring strictly to the Irrigation Committee and in which we analyzed the conducts and the way the leaders interact in these committees and these leaders’ families in the community; and the “institution”, made up basically of rules, customs, conventions, formal and informal laws, folklore, and social forms of relationship between the leaders and their families over the base of the Andean culture.

We proved that there is a divorce between what small farmers expect as “ideal” over the base of their (Andean) beliefs and customs and what “actually” happens in the organizations, as in this case, in the Irrigations Committees. In other words, the search of correspondence between these two elements considering as a base the influence of the Andean CVI will help us determine associative models that will have less chance of success. These cultural patterns can be changed using education as a tool, but must consider a change both in the “social organization” and in the “institution”. A change in one of these two elements automatically requires a change in the other element.

There is a great influence of the Andean CVI on the behaviour of the leaders of the Irrigation Committees and their families (small farmers) in Piura, according to what we analyzed in the Cumbibira and Palo Parado Committees. This influence is expressed in the following aspects: small farmers determine the level of trust among people in the community on the basis of kinship and compadrazgo relationships, small farmers have a strong sense of support among neighbors, based on informal rules (for instance, in case of fire and security), there are community work and support models, kinship and compadrazgo relationships enable small farmers to expand their social network and receive the necessary support, important oral communication, important religious aspect, and mix of Catholic and Andean beliefs, permanent informal authorities especially people who hold an important position in the community such as teachers, priests and nurses, men’s leadership position in the community, traditional knowledge received from ancestors, respect towards the elderly in the community, who are in charge of receiving and passing on this knowledge from generation to generation, using stories and narrations, the vision of the community which is expressed through reciprocity relationships and maintained in everyday activities, and the permanence of informal insurance systems in case of natural disasters.

There are differences between the business concept of “small farmers”, who are concerned about self-support and whose kinship and compadrazgo relationships are over the social and economic base; and that of “medium farmers” who have a business orientation.
We proved the importance of the “compadrazgo” as an element created in the Andean culture, maintained and adapted in accordance with the Spanish influence with the conquest for its similarities with the indigenous custom. The compadrazgo, which is still in force in small farmer communities in Piura, provides a social relations network that helps them receive economic support and acts as a powerful way to tighten solidarity bonds within the group. Thus, we found that the compadrazgo is a source of cooperative relationships among small farmers.

The deep analysis of the Andean CVI, and their incorporation into the creation of associative models for small farmers in Peru, can contribute to generate and strengthen cooperative relations on the basis of institutions such as kinship, compadrazgo, and community work and support. The contribution of the analysis of these elements is oriented to the development and sustainability in time of the associative models as a development alternative for Peruvian small farmers.
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Appendix A: Summary of the Conclusions and Recommendations from an MBA Thesis in Peru

NOTE: the author of the PhD thesis was a member of the team that prepared the MBA thesis in Peru and the topic is relevant for the research herein. We include the conclusions and recommendations relevant for the research herein.

Title of the MBA thesis: Agricultural-Entrepreneurial Management Proposal to Make Nazca Province’s Small Scale Agriculture Feasible (2000).

University: ESAN University.

Conclusions (relevant for the PhD thesis)

- The Peruvian legal framework recognizes land property as a path in order to spur individual or collective investment and the promotion of land market.
- Small farmers see their land as a method of subsistence and in case of difficulty they can decide to sell their property. This situation discourages the creation of an active land market in order to improve investment in the agrarian sector.
- An alternative to this situation is the organization of small and medium farmers as a way of investment in the sector, in order to find sustainability in the long-term.
- Small farmers show negative predisposition to become part of organizations because of their past negative experiences. In order to succeed in this proposal, it is important to maintain small farmers’ trust on the activities from the business models. To be transparent is crucial.
- It is possible to develop a proposal that mixes professional management staff and the small farmers’ capacity in order to work the land and generate positive results.
- There are several critical factors that determine the beginning and growth potential of organizations. In our research on Nazca, we identified the “small farmer idiosyncrasy” as the most important critical factor for the business-model application.
- In the proposal of the business model, the organization of small farmers and maintaining good relations among farmers are fundamental. They must feel they are part of the project, in this way it is easy for them to create commitment to the model and they believe that the success of the proposal depends also on their contribution.

Recommendations (relevant for the PhD thesis)

- It is necessary to conduct continuous analysis of similar experiences in the agricultural sector in order to study the key factors of the success or failure of the model.
- Qualitative analysis is necessary to determine small farmers’ idiosyncrasy before the implementation of the model in other valleys.
- In relation to the organization of small farmers, it is important to know what the farmers really want, that is, to analyze if they are ready to be part of one organization or they prefer to work individually.

It is important to offer conservative benefits to the farmers to prevent creating false expectations and later breaking small farmers’
Appendix B: Report on the direct observation of Piura’s Irrigator Committee’s meetings

- Lack of leadership and skills for group management discussion and organization. The meetings were promoted by the Water Management Association.

- Lack of organization and fulfillment of previously agreed-upon commitments. For instance, a farmer had committed himself to negotiate better prices for the group with mill companies, but he did not do so.

- It is an informal organization; they actually meet in the premises of the water administration office (Irrigators Committee), but there is not a formal organization. It means that they are not an association of farmers itself which could imply formalization in the public registry and legal representatives by law.

- At the beginning there were many enthusiastic farmers, but afterwards they quit the informal organization little by little. It is not a motivation or incentive for the small farmers to expend time in the meetings when they are not receiving specific benefits.

- They are late for the meetings and many farmers do not show up. It means that they do not think that the meetings are a priority. If they have another activity, they usually skip the meetings.

- There are many difficulties, especially at the commercialization stage where it is difficult to negotiate better prices. If farmers do not agree on a price or maintain their behavior before the market, they will not be able to negotiate better prices and conditions.

- We observed that the farmers are informal as well as jealous and distrustful of one another. This factor is one of the most important factors because if they feel they are not trusted by the others, it is impossible to create an organization.

- They are aged 45 to 70 years old. There are no young people, who prefer to move to the city to work in other activities. These old people show lack of knowledge and education in many cases.

- There is no participation of women within these organizations. In the water management organization meeting that all the leaders of the communities usually attend, I did not see any woman.

- There are some NGOs working in this area and they bring support to the farmers for specific aspects such as commercialization. In this case, I met people from CIPCA, who were seriously interested in promoting better conditions for small farmers, but I observed that there are very difficult situations for the facilitator.
Appendix C: Report on the direct observation and focus groups in Nazca I - “General Statements”

NOTE: The main topics in the qualitative research were: farmer’s idiosyncrasy, recognition of the lack of knowledge (technical, management, etc) and debt level. The “organization predisposition” and “proposal predisposition” are analyzed separately.

Nazca Valley:

- We observed the presence of small and medium farmers. In this area, medium farmers have strong influence in decisions.
- Medium farmers usually have higher education level than small farmers and they have family properties.
- Farmers behave in defensive attitude in the meeting. They asked many questions and showed themselves uncomfortable in the meeting.
- They do not trust people outside of their influence area.
- We could see in their gestures how these farmers reacted negatively to new proposals that implied changes in their traditional operation system.
- They showed individualistic characteristics and they did not show interest in becoming a part of collective organizations.
- Farmers decided to mention the government, the Agrarian Bank or other persons as a culprit for their problems.
- They were not able to recognize their failure as farmers.

Las Trancas Valley:

- We observed the presence of more small farmers in the meeting.
- This valley has the biggest number of small farmers in Nazca and they lack good examples of successful projects in the area (it means that there are not any medium or large farmer that are doing well in their agricultural project).
- They looked tired and showed low motivation as a consequence of their current financial crisis.
- They showed in their faces and corporal presence suffering for their situation and they were open to new proposals.
- We observed a lower level of education than medium farmers and we think they will need strong support in order to success in their projects.
- They are waiting for governmental support.
- The farmers from this valley recognize their lack of knowledge in commercialization.
- They recognize their failure but they are waiting for governmental support in order to change their situation.

Taruga Valley:

- We observed the presence of more small farmers in the meeting.
- The small farmers in this valley looked quiet and showed lack of initiatives.
They are waiting for the government’s support and they have experienced this paternalistic help before.

They show lack of leadership and need somebody to explain which way to go.

The education level of this area is one of the poorest in Nazca (in the meeting we could not find anybody with complete secondary school studies and 56% of the farmers who attended the meeting had finished only primary school).

We observed how the low level of education has influence in the farmers’ behavior.

They look very passive in front of the crisis and they mention the government as a culprit of their situation.

They mentioned the lack of financial support from the government and also the recent introduction of free market policies that affect their situation.

They are thinking they have the agrarian knowledge as a heritage from their parents and they can manage the situation in the field.

**Ingenio Valley:**

We observed the presence of many small farmers in the meeting.

We could see high expectation for the presentation of the business-contract model and its advantages.

When we arrived, they were organized already and had high motivation unlike the behavior of farmers in other valleys.

We observed their intention of working together and creating their own organizations in order to improve their current situation.

Another good impression was their opinion on governmental support. They said that they have not received governmental support before and that they cannot wait for this situation; they said they preferred to solve the problems themselves.

They show interesting behavior and through the leadership of Ms. Juana Paz Garcia and after heated discussion, they recognized their limitations and assumed themselves as culprit of the situation.
Appendix D: Report on the direct observation and focus groups Nazca II - “Organization Predisposition”

General Statement:

- This factor is important for the implementation of the farming contract model because it analyzes the farmers’ predisposition to join in community work and their past experiences (positive or negative). It includes the analysis of the pressure factors that affect the farmers groups
- This factor is key in the implementation of the proposal and the management of human resources for the business model
- It is important to mention the small farmers’ current crisis, a reason for which they are open to new proposals in order to escape from their situation
- Another important topic is the orientation of the government’s support. It means that the government is helping only farmers who are part of any organization. Individual farmers will not receive financial or technical support from the government
- We observed several organizations of small farmers. These organizations are oriented only to commercialization activities but need the support of private orientation

Nazca Valley:

- We observed an individualistic tendency in medium and small farmers
- They have past experiences in organization models but without success. For example, the “Potatoes Association” and the “Asparagus Association”
- They do not believe in new organization model proposals because of their negative past experiences
- They have had negative experiences in organization models because of the leaders’ personal interests and ambition

Las Trancas Valley:

- We found two organizations that have outlived the agrarian reform in the form of “Agrarian Cooperative” but the farmers maintain the property of their land
- They work resources such water, tractors, and other machines under the cooperative system

Taruga Valley:

- We also observed individualistic tendency
- We observed hopelessness about governmental support
- They have the “Beans Farmer Association”, which means that they have the knowledge and experience of community work as a way to escape from their crisis
Ingenio Valley:

- We found a singular model of organization. This organization is not related to the agrarian activity itself, it is more a “community organization”
- The “community organization” means that people are ready to collaborate in any activity in the community
- The government has a “Technical Irrigation” project in this area and a group of farmers in the community have already created their organization and proposed alternatives for the financing of this project to the government
- They realize that they have some problems and are open to training programs and new ideas of change
Appendix E: Report on the direct observation and focus groups Nazca III - “Proposal Predisposition”

General statement:

- This factor is important for the implementation of the farming contract model because it analyzes the farmers’ predisposition to join the model
- We can analyze whether the proposal was welcomed and how strongly interested farmers are to join the model

Nazca Valley:

- We found interest in the model among the farmers but also we found a high level of questioning
- We spend much time trying to clear the farmers’ doubts in the meeting
- They showed fear because of the negative experience in other valleys
- The majority of farmers in this valley are medium-sized, so they do not feel comfortable yielding the administration of their lands to other people

Las Trancas Valley:

- A group of farmers decided to leave the meeting place before we started with our proposal
- Another group of farmers expressed their opinion that they are not ready to participate in any model without the government’s concern
- Another group of farmers were interested in the proposal

Taruga Valley:

- We found many doubts and questions in relation to the proposal
- The major problem was about the necessity to use their land as a collateral for the financing of the model
- At the end of the meeting they were interested in the proposal and gave us ideas about how they can collaborate in the implementation of the model in the valley
- We understood how important it is to be trusted and have the farmers’ confidence before starting any implementation of the model

Ingenio Valley:

- The farmers agreed from the beginning with the proposal in this valley
- Few farmers showed their fear and we were asked questions on their doubts
- Finally, after the meeting they were interested in implementing the proposal in their valley
Appendix F: Questionnaire guide for the focus groups

NOTE: In the case of the focus groups in Piura I included a “questionnaire guide” that was adapted from the questionnaire for “Community Sustainability Assessment” (CSA) used by the Global Ecovillage Network, my experience from the field work in Nazca and the “Social Development Handbook. A Guide to Social ODA Projects and Programmes – ODA Overseas Development Administration Social Development Department” in U.K. This “questionnaire guide” was utilized only as a topic reference for the dialogues with the farmer leaders but not as an interview questionnaire, following the recommendations of the key actors.

The questionnaire guide (see annex) includes as main areas:

- Openness, trust and safety; community space
- Communication – the flow of ideas and information
- Networking outreach and service – resource exchange (internal/external)
- Social sustainability – diversity and tolerance; decision–making; conflict resolution
- Education
- Sustainable economics – healthy local economy
- Cultural sustainability
- Arts and leisure
- Spiritual sustainability – rituals and celebrations; support for inner development and spiritual practices
- Community glue
- Community resilience

The questionnaire guide includes “sixty questions” altogether, which were the base for the conversation with the leaders in the focus groups but the dynamic I used was open dialogues, following the advice of the CIPCA facilitator.

Based in:
- COMMUNITY SUSTAINABILITY ASSESSMENT (CSA) - Global Ecovillage Network (www.ecovillage.org).
Openness, Trust & Safety; Communal Space

1. The extent to which there is a basic sense of safety and trust within the community:
   Mostly
   Some
   Little
   Not at all
Note: “Security” includes also physical security and protection anti-violence. Care in the terrorism time in Peru.

2. The extent to which people in the community know and relate supportively with their neighbors:
   Almost always
   Often
   Sometimes
   Not at all
Note: number of people in the community. Includes indigenous practices and the way they call themselves (by name, etc)

3. Indoor spaces available for communal gatherings and activities are:
   Excellent
   Adequate
   Minimal
   Inadequate/none
Note: Includes description of physical environments and the contexts.

4. Outdoor spaces available for communal gatherings and activities are:
   Excellent
   Adequate
   Minimal
   Inadequate/none
Note: Includes description of physical environments and the contexts.

5. The frequency of social gatherings for the whole community: Check as many as apply:
   Daily
   Weekly
   Monthly
   Seasonally
   Annually
   Rarely
Note: Includes the reason of the social gatherings (religious, birthdays, national or local holidays, etc)
Communication - the flow of ideas & information

6. The community’s system to provide members with opportunities to regularly share information, exchange ideas and announce needs is:
   - Excellent
   - Adequate (microphone, cell phone)
   - Minimal
   - Inadequate
Note: specific the system that are used

7. The members of the community use this system:
   - Frequent
   - Sometimes
   - Rare
   - Not at all
Note: specific the periodicity

8. Communication systems are used and work well in the community for the following: Check as many as apply:
   - Announcing social events
   - Announcing group work activities
   - Encouraging discussion of important community decisions
   - Making information about past community decisions and policies available
   - Providing opportunities to share resources, skills, transportation, etc.
   - Providing personal support at times when a community member is in need
   - Uncensored exchange of ideas and discussion of values and visions
   - Other

9. There is adequate accessibility for community members to meet and talk face to face:
   - Often
   - Sometimes – only among leaders in the general assembly
   - Rarely

Networking Outreach & Services - resource exchange

10. Information about the community is available for others (general public) in some form:
    - Yes
    - No
Note: specific the mechanisms

11. The community provides assistance/service to those in need within the community
    - Yes
Note: explain the detail of the service y/or assistance

12. The extent to which community members engage in service projects: Check as many as apply:
Within the community -
Often
Sometimes
Very little
Not at all
Note: explain the detail of the service and the periodicity

13. The community builds relations and exchanges information, resources and support with other Communities and related organizations:
Often
Sometimes
Very little
Not at all
Note: specific type of relations, interchange of relations and mechanisms

Social Sustainability - diversity & tolerance; decision-making; conflict Resolution
14. An estimate of how many community member value diversity and practice tolerance:
Within the community -
All - very few exceptions
Most
Some
Few/none
Note: in the case of Peru includes aspects of race, migration from other communities, sex and religion.

15. The extent to which the community has the power of self-governance regarding community issues:
Completely
Mostly
Some
Little
None
Note: analyze with participants the concept of “self-governance” and the type of decision that are includes. Take care with the context.

16. A non-discriminatory method agreeable to the community is used for important community decisions and directions:
Yes
In part or sometimes
No
Note: analyze with participants the concept of “non-discriminatory method” and its utilization in the community
17. Decision-making is transparent:
Information about decision topics is available to all -
   Yes
   No

18. Information about the discussion topic is available for everybody:
   Yes
   No
   Sometimes – for leaders in the assembly

19. Any community member regularly participates in community governance and decision-making is best described as:
   All - very few exceptions
   Most
   Some
   Few/none

20. Any community adult member regularly participated with voice in community governance and decision-making is best described as:
   All –very few exceptions
   Most – males as representatives of the families
   Some
   Few/none

21. An estimate of how many community members regularly participate in community governance and decision-making is best described as:
   Is successful in dealing with difficult people/situations
   All - very few exceptions
   Most
   Some
   Few/none

   Note: includes government mechanism, duration, salary and mechanism of election

22. Information and training for decision-making is available for adult community members:
   Yes
   No

23. How many community members would agree that the making-decision system is successful in dealing with difficult decisions and difficult situations?
   Most
   Some
   Few/none
   Most of the conflict is solve individually or by the formal authority

   Note: analyze the concept of “successful and difficult situations”

24. Social difficulties and disputes are successfully managed by an agreed upon system that is supportive, not punitive:
Almost always
Usually
Sometimes
Rarely/never

25. Community members have easy access to this conflict resolution system:
    Yes
    No
Note: specific the system (the informal leader, the oldest, etc)

**Education**

26. Education and learning are valued in the community as demonstrated by the following: Check as many as apply:
    Community gatherings for information exchange and group learning (3)
    Community gatherings to discuss and learn from issues and mistakes and make changes
Note: specific and make examples

27. Educational opportunities (appropriate to the community) are available and accessible within the community, including: Check as many as apply -
    Early education (pre-school learning activities)
    Basic education
    Vocational/livelihood skills training
    Formal/higher education (college)
    Special interest workshops/seminars/group programs
    Wholesome programs/activities for youth, outside of school
    Life experience learning opportunities
    Other – describe

28. Education opportunities are available to all age groups:
    In the community
    Yes
    No

29. The extent to which educational systems and teaching methods promote cooperative interdependence and community building skills
    Great
    Somewhat
    In small part
    Not at all

**Sustainable Economics - healthy local economy**

30. There is explicit encouragement for community members creating businesses that enhance the local economy:
    Yes
    No
31. An estimate of how many community members have difficulty providing for their basic needs (food, shelter, clothing, etc.):
   - Most
   - Some
   - Few
   - None

32. Economic systems active in the community: Check as many as apply -
   - Self-sufficiency for basic needs
   - Sustainable small businesses
   - Barter and exchange systems
   - Education/programs
   - Telecommunications or other work at home
   - Volunteerism - work contribution
   - Local market days
   - Fund raising for modeling sustainable practices
   - Voluntary levies within the community for sustainability project development
   - Fund raising for community operations
   - Leaving the community for paid work
   - Other, specify:

**Cultural Sustainability**

33. The common cultural/ethnic heritage of the community is celebrated and preserved through: Check as many as apply:
   - Oral transmission or story telling. Note: includes examples
   - Written records and archives
   - Person(s) serving as historian
   - Training/apprenticeship in expertise specific to the community (artisan, indigenous
   - Language, folk products, etc.)
   - A shared vision/method for ensuring continuity of the culture in the future
   - Ceremonies and celebrations
   - Art (photographs, murals, songs, etc.)
   - Does not apply

34. Cultural programs, festivals and celebrations, open to anyone, are offered: Check as many as apply:
   - Yes
   - Note: explain if the people are migrants, foreigners, etc

35. Though community members do not share a common heritage, they join in celebrating the heritage(s) of fellow community members
   - Yes

36. The community offer cultural programs for everybody openly:
   - Yes
No37. An estimate of how many community members know the history of the community is:
   Most
   Some
   Few
   None

38. Cycles/transitions of life are acknowledged and shared in celebrations, ceremonies and rites of passage:
   Always - very few exceptions
   Usually
   Occasionally
   Never

Arts & Leisure

39. Opportunities are available for community members to develop artistic talents (classes, apprenticeships, and support for individual artistic pursuits):
   Almost always
   Usually
   Sometimes
   Rarely - schools
   Never

40. The extent to which the community values and encourages the development of local entertainers and entertainment:
   Great
   Somewhat
   In small part
   Not at all
   Note: specific and describe

41. There is group space available for art activities and events:
   Yes
   No

42. Indicate the frequency of artistic events/celebrations in the community: Check as many as apply:
   Daily
   Weekly
   Monthly
   Seasonally
   Annually
   Never
   Note: specific and describe
Spiritual Sustainability - rituals & celebrations; support for inner development & spiritual practices

43. Community members are free to worship the creator/creation, and celebrate their connection with the divine, through devotional practices of their choice:
   Yes
   No

44. How often community members come together for spiritual practices that connect them to a deeper level of consciousness within themselves and/or to the Earth:
   Regularly
   Occasionally
   Rarely
   Never

Note: explain the type of spiritual practices

45. The extent to which the wisdom and spiritual expertise of older community members is seen as a community resource and used as a guide in community matters:
   Great
   Somewhat
   In small part
   Not at all

Community Glue

46. Sharing occurs among community members about beliefs, values and experiences:
   Frequently
   Sometimes
   Rarely
   Never

Note: explain, detail and periodicity

47. The extent to which moral principles (such as respect for oneself and others, responsibility for personal mastery and personal integrity) are part of the community’s philosophy and activities:
   Great
   Somewhat
   Little
   Not at all

48. The community includes its own moral principles and philosophy:
   Yes
   No

Note: which ones are and the way of application
49. The extent to which a common vision or purpose aligns and unites the community:
   - Great
   - Somewhat
   - Little
   - Not at all
   Note: explain the vision

50. Community review and renewal of a shared vision and purpose occurs:
   - Regularly
   - Occasionally
   - Rarely
   - Never
   Note: explain who make it and the mechanisms

51. The community laughs, plays, relaxes and generally enjoys life together:
   - Regularly
   - Occasionally
   - Rarely
   - Never

52. The level of harmony, caring and support between the women of the community is:
   - Excellent
   - Good
   - Adequate
   - Inadequate
   - Poor
   Note: specific and detail the activities

53. The level of harmony, caring and support between the men of the community is:
   - Excellent
   - Good
   - Adequate – basically for commercialization and water management
   - Inadequate
   - Poor
   Note: specific and detail the activities

54. The level of harmony, caring and support between the men and women of the community is:
   - Excellent
   - Good
   - Adequate
   - Inadequate
   - Poor
   Note: specific and detail the activities
55. The level of harmony, caring and support between the children of the community is:
   Excellent
   Good
   Adequate
   Inadequate
   Poor
Note: specific and detail the activities

56. The level of harmony, caring and support between the various age groups within the community is:
   Excellent
   Good
   Adequate
   Inadequate
   Poor
Note: specific and detail the activities

57. The community endeavors to strengthen its internal (community glue) bonds:
   Regularly
   Occasionally
   Rarely
   Never
Note: specific and detail the activities

Community Resilience

58. The extent to which the community is able to respond beneficially to community members in crisis:
   Completely - very few exceptions
   Mostly
   Somewhat
   Little
   Not at all
Note: specific

59. The extent to which the community is able to respond supportively to marginalized community members (the poor, ill, dying, troubled, disabled, elderly, etc.):
   Completely - very few exceptions
   Mostly
   Somewhat
   Little
   Not at all
Note: specific

60. The community endeavors to strengthen its ability to successfully handle challenges/crisis:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regularly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasionally</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rarely</td>
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<td>Never</td>
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Appendix G: Questionnaire guide for the focus group Cumbibira

Based on:
- COMMUNITY SUSTAINABILITY ASSESSMENT (CSA) - Global Ecovillage Network (www.ecovillage.org).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Openness, Trust &amp; Safety; Communal Space</th>
<th>Mostly</th>
<th>Some X</th>
<th>Little</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The extent to which there is a basic sense of safety and trust within the community</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Note: “Security” includes also physical security and protection anti-violence. Care in time of terrorism in Peru.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The extent to which people in the community know and relate supportively with their neighbors</td>
<td>Almost always</td>
<td>Often</td>
<td>Sometimes X</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note: number of people in the community. Includes indigenous practices and the way they call themselves (by name, etc)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Indoor spaces available for communal gatherings and activities are</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>Adequate X</td>
<td>Minimal</td>
<td>Inadequate/none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note: Includes description of physical environments and the contexts.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Outdoor spaces available for community gatherings and activities are</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>Adequate</td>
<td>Minimal</td>
<td>Inadequate/none X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note: Includes description of physical environments and the contexts.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The frequency of social gatherings for the whole community: Check as many as apply</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Monthly X (2 OR 3 TIMES)</td>
<td>Seasonally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note: Includes the reason of the social gatherings (religious, birthdays, national or local holidays, etc)</td>
<td></td>
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Communication - the flow of ideas & information
6. The community’s system to provide members with opportunities to regularly share information, exchange ideas and announce needs is

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Excellent</th>
<th>Adequate</th>
<th>Inadequate</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(microphone, cell phone)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: specify the system that is used

7. The members of the community use this system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequent</th>
<th>Sometimes X</th>
<th>Rare</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Note: specify the periodicity

8. Communication systems are used and work well in the community for the following Check as many as apply

- Announcing social events
- Announcing group work activities
- Encouraging discussion of important community decisions
- Providing opportunities to share resources, skills, transportation, etc.
- Informing about past community decisions and policies available
- Providing personal support at times when a community member is in need
- Uncensored exchange of ideas and discussion of values and visions
- Others X COMMERCIALIZATION, ARRIVAK OF FRESH FISH, ETC

9. There is adequate accessibility for community members to meet and talk face to face

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Sometimes X – only among leaders in the general assembly</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Networking Outreach & Services - resource exchange (internal/external)**

10. Information about the community is available for others (general public) in some form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No X ONLY FOR LEADERS AND THERE ARE NO MECHANISMS TO REGISTER THE INFORMATION. ONLY INSIDE THE COMMUNITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Note: specify the mechanisms

11. The community provides assistance/service to those in need within the community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes X SECURITY, BUILD SCHOOLS OR OTHERS</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Note: explain the detail of the service and/or assistance

12. The extent to which community members engage in service projects: Check as many as apply within the community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very little X FOR EXAMPLE TO BUILD HEALTH CARE CENTERS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>13.</strong> The community builds relations and exchanges information, resources and support with other communities and related organizations</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> explain the detail of the service and the periodicity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>14.</strong> An estimate of how many community members value diversity and practice tolerance within the community</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> specify the type of relation, interchange of relations and mechanisms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Sustainability - diversity &amp; tolerance; decision-making; conflict resolution</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>15.</strong> The extent to which the community has the power of self-governance regarding community issues</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> in the case of Peru, includes aspects of race, migration from other communities, sex and religion.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>16.</strong> A non-discriminatory method agreeable to the community is used for important community decisions and directions</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> analyze with participants the concept of “non-discriminatory method” and its utilization in the community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>17.</strong> Decision-making is transparent: information about decision topics is available to all</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>18.</strong> Information about the discussion topic is available for everybody</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>19.</strong> Any community member regularly participates in community governance and decision-making is best described as</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>20.</strong> Any community adult member regularly who participates with voice in community governance and decision-making is best</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAMILY</td>
<td></td>
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<td>---------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Few/none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21. An estimate of how many community members regularly participate in community governance and decision-making is best described as: is successful in dealing with difficult people/situations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAMILYSOME LEADERS AND PEOPLE WHO ATTENDED THE ASSEMBLY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All – very few exceptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: includes government mechanism, duration, salary and mechanism of election

22. Information and training for decision-making is available for adult community members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Note: includes government mechanism, duration, salary and mechanism of election</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23. How many community members would agree that the decision-making system is successful in dealing with difficult decisions and difficult situations?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Note: analyze the concept of “successful and difficult situations”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Almost always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X Rarely/never</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24. Social difficulties and disputes are successfully managed by an agreed upon system that is supportive, not punitive

25. Community members have easy access to this conflict resolution system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Note: specify the system (the informal leader, the oldest, etc)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Education

26. Education and learning are valued in the community as demonstrated by the following:

Check as many as apply

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community gatherings for information exchange and group learning—people from the community have meetings to exchange information (3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community gatherings to discuss and learn from issues and mistakes and make changes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: THEY DON’T HAVE THESE MECHANISMS.

Note: specify and give examples

27. Educational opportunities (appropriate to the community) are available and accessible within the community, including:

Check as many as apply

<p>| X Early education (pre-school learning activities)                           |
| X Basic education                                                           |
| Vocational/livelihood skills training                                       |
| Formal/higher education (college)                                          |
| Special interest workshops/seminars/group programs                         |
| Wholesome programs/activities for youth, outside of school                 |
| Life experience learning opportunities                                      |
| Others – describe                                                          |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>28. Education opportunities are available to all age groups in the community</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No X BASIC EDUCATION AND FEW TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR ADULTS.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29. The extent to which educational systems and teaching methods promote cooperative interdependence and community building skills</td>
<td>Great</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sustainable Economics – healthy local economy</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No X PRIVATE INITIATIVES AN FEW NGOS WORKING IN THE AREA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. There is explicit encouragement for community members creating businesses that enhance the local economy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. An estimate of how many community members have difficulty providing for their basic needs (food, shelter, clothing, etc.)</td>
<td>Most</td>
<td>Some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Economic systems active in the community Check as many as apply</td>
<td>X Self-sufficiency for basic needs</td>
<td>X Sustainable small businesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural Sustainability</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. The common cultural/ethnic heritage of the community is celebrated and preserved through Check as many as apply</td>
<td>Oral transmission or story telling. Note: includes examples</td>
<td>Written records and archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Answer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Cultural programs, festivals and celebrations, open to anyone, are offered</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note: explain if the people are migrants, foreigners, etc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Though community members do not share a common heritage, they join to celebrate the heritage(s) of fellow community members</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. The community offer cultural programs for everybody openly</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. An estimate of how many community members know the history of the community is</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Cycles/transitions of life are acknowledged and shared in celebrations, ceremonies and rites of passage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arts &amp; Leisure</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Opportunities are available for community members to develop artistic talents (classes, apprenticeships, and support for individual artistic pursuits)</td>
<td>Almost always</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. The extent to which the community values and encourages the development of local entertainers and entertainment</td>
<td>Great</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note: specify and describe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. There is group space available for artistic activities and events</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Indicate the frequency of artistic events/celebrations in the community</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Check as many as apply</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note: specify and describe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spiritual Sustainability – rituals &amp; celebrations; support for inner development &amp; spiritual practices</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Community members are free to worship the creator/creation, and celebrate their connection with the divine, through devotional practices of their choice</td>
<td>Yes – THE MAJORITY ARE CATHOLIC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. How often community members come together for spiritual practices</td>
<td>Regularly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
that connect them to a deeper level of consciousness within themselves and/or to the Earth | Occasionally | X Rarely | Never
---|---|---|---

Note: explain the type of spiritual practices

45. The extent to which the wisdom and spiritual expertise of older community members are seen as a community resource and used as a guide in community matters | Great | Somewhat | X In small part | Not at all
---|---|---|---|---

**Community Glue**

46. Sharing occurs among community members about beliefs, values and experiences | Frequently | Sometimes | X Rarely | Never
---|---|---|---|---

Note: explain, provide details and periodicity

47. The extent to which moral principles (such as respect for oneself and others, responsibility for personal mastery and personal integrity) are part of the community’s philosophy and activities | Great | Somewhat | X Little | Not at all
---|---|---|---|---

48. The community includes its own moral principles and philosophy | X Yes | No
---|---

Note: which are they and the way of application

49. The extent to which a common vision or purpose aligns and unites the community | Great | Somewhat | X Little | Not at all
---|---|---|---|---

Note: explain the vision

50. Community review and renewal of a shared vision and purpose occurs | Regularly | Occasionally | Rarely | X Never
---|---|---|---|---

Note: explain who does it and the mechanisms

51. The community laughs, plays, relaxes and generally enjoys life together | Regularly | X Occasionally | Rarely | Never
---|---|---|---|---

52. The level of harmony, care and support among women of the community is | Excellent | Good | Adequate | X Inadequate | Poor
---|---|---|---|---|---

Note: specify and give details of the activities

53. The level of harmony, care and support among men of the community is | Excellent | Good | X Adequate – BASICALLY FOR |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>54. The level of harmony, care and support between men and women of the community is</td>
<td>Excellent, Good, Adequate, Inadequate, Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. The level of harmony, care and support among children of the community is</td>
<td>Excellent, Good, Adequate, Inadequate, Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. The level of harmony, care and support among the various age groups within the community is</td>
<td>Excellent, Good, Adequate, Inadequate, Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. The community endeavors to strengthen its internal (community glue) bonds</td>
<td>Regularly, Occasionally, Rarely - Completely – very few exceptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. The extent to which the community is able to respond beneficially to community members in crisis</td>
<td>Completely – very few exceptions, Mostly, Somewhat, Little, Not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59. The extent to which the community is able to respond supportively to marginalize community members (the poor, ill, dying, troubled, disabled, elderly, etc.)</td>
<td>Completely – very few exceptions, Mostly, Somewhat, Little, Not at all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: specify and give details of the activities.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>60. The community endeavors to strengthen its ability to successfully handle challenges/crises</th>
<th>Regularly</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Appendix H: Questionnaire guide for the focus group Palo Parado

Based on:
- COMMUNITY SUSTAINABILITY ASSESSMENT (CSA) - Global Ecovillage Network (www.ecovillage.org).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Openness, Trust &amp; Safety; Community Space</th>
<th>Mostly</th>
<th>Some</th>
<th>Little X – ONLY AMONG RELATIVES AND FRIENDS. THEY ARE WAITING FOR GOVERNMENT SUPPORT</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The extent to which there is a basic sense of safety and trust within the community</td>
<td>Mostly</td>
<td>Some</td>
<td>Little X – ONLY AMONG RELATIVES AND FRIENDS. THEY ARE WAITING FOR GOVERNMENT SUPPORT</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note: “Security” includes also physical security and protection anti-violence. Care in times of terrorism in Peru.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The extent to which people in the community know and relate supportively with their neighbors</td>
<td>Almost always</td>
<td>Often X (IN THEIR AREA)- WHEN THE GROWING PERIOD STARTS. LACK OF ORGANIZATION.</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note: number of people in the community. Includes indigenous practices and the way they call themselves (by name, etc)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Indoor spaces available for community gatherings and activities are</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>Adequate X</td>
<td>Minimal</td>
<td>Inadequate/none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note: Includes description of physical environments and the contexts.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Outdoor spaces available for community gatherings and activities are</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>Adequate X</td>
<td>Minimal</td>
<td>Inadequate/none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note: Includes description of physical environments and the contexts.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The frequency of social gatherings for the whole community: Check as many as apply</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Monthly X (2 OR 3 TIMES)</td>
<td>Seasonally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Communication - the flow of ideas &amp; information</strong></td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. The community’s system to provide members with opportunities to regularly share information, exchange ideas and announce needs is</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adequate (microphone, cell phone) X</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Minimal</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inadequate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> specify the system that is used</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. The members of the community use this system</td>
<td>Frequently</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sometimes X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> specify the periodicity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Communication systems are used and work well in the community for the following Check as many as apply</td>
<td>Announcing social events</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Announcing group work activities</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Encouraging discussion of important community decisions</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Providing opportunities to share resources, skills, transportation, etc.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Informing about past community decisions and policies available</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Providing personal support at times when a community member is in need</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uncensored exchange of ideas and discussion of values and visions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Others X COMMERCIALIZATION, ARRIVAL OF FRESH FISH, ETC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Networking Outreach &amp; Services - resource exchange (internal/external)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. There is adequate accessibility for community members to meet and talk face to face</td>
<td>Often</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sometimes X – ONLY FOR LEADERS IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Information on the community is available for others (general public) in some form</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No X ONLY FOR LEADERS AND THERE ARE NO MECHANISMS TO REGISTER INFORMATION. ONLY INSIDE THE COMMUNITY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> specify the mechanisms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. The community provides assistance/service to those in need within the community</td>
<td>Yes X SECURITY, BUILD SCHOOLS OR OTHERS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> explain the detail of the service and/or assistance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

253
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>12.</strong> The extent to which community members engage in service projects: Check as many as apply within the community</td>
<td>Often</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> explain the detail of the service and the periodicity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>13.</strong> The community builds relations and exchanges information, resources and support with other communities and related organizations</td>
<td>Often</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> specify type of relations, interchange of relations and mechanisms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Sustainability - diversity &amp; tolerance; decision-making; conflict resolution</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>14.</strong> An estimate of how many community members value diversity and practice tolerance within the community</td>
<td>All – very few exceptions</td>
<td>Most X MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION IS CATHOLIC, FEW PROTESTANTS AND MORMONS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Few/none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> in the case of Peru, includes aspects of race, migration from other communities, sex and religion.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>15.</strong> The extent to which the community has the power of self-governance regarding community issues</td>
<td>Completely</td>
<td>Mostly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Little X THE MAJORITY OF DECISIONS ARE INDIVIDUAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> analyze with participants the concept of “self-governance” and the type of decision that are included. Be aware of the context.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>16.</strong> A non-discriminatory method agreeable to the community is used for important community decisions and directions</td>
<td>Yes X GENERAL ASSEMBLY</td>
<td>In part or sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> analyze with participants the concept of “non-discriminatory method” and its utilization in the community</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>17.</strong> Decision-making is transparent: information on decision topics is available to all</td>
<td>Yes X</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>18.</strong> Information on the discussion topic is available for everybody</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>19.</strong> Any community member who regularly participates in community governance and decision-making is best described as</td>
<td>All – very few exceptions</td>
<td>Most</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Response Options and Explanations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Any community adult member who regularly participates with voice in</td>
<td>Few/none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>community governance and decision-making is best described as</td>
<td>All – very few exceptions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Most X MALE AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FAMILIES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Some</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Few/none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. An estimate of how many community members regularly participate in</td>
<td>Few/none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>community governance and decision-making is best described as: is</td>
<td>All – very few exceptions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>successful in dealing with difficult people/situations</td>
<td>Most</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Some X SOME LEADERS AND PEOPLE WHO ATTENDED THE ASSEMBLY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All – very few exceptions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Most</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Some X SOME LEADERS AND PEOPLE WHO ATTENDED THE ASSEMBLY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: includes government mechanism, duration, salary and mechanism of election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response Options and Explanations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22. Information and training for decision-making is available for adult</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>community members</td>
<td>No X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Most</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Few/none</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23. How many community members would agree that the decision-making system is successful in dealing with difficult decisions and difficult situations?

Note: analyze the concept of “successful and difficult situations”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response Options and Explanations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24. Social difficulties and disputes are successfully managed by an</td>
<td>Almost always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agreed upon system that is supportive, not punitive</td>
<td>Usually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X Rarely/never</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response Options and Explanations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25. Community members have easy access to this conflict resolution</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>system</td>
<td>X No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: specify the system (the informal leader, the eldest, etc)

**Education**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response Options and Explanations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26. Education and learning are valued in the community as demonstrated</td>
<td>Community gatherings for information exchange and group learning - people from the community have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by the following:</td>
<td>exchange information (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Check as many as apply</td>
<td>Community gatherings to discuss and learn from issues and mistakes and make changes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NOTE: THEY DON’T HAVE THESE MECHANISMS.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: specify and give examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response Options and Explanations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27. Educational opportunities (appropriate to the community) are</td>
<td>X Early education (pre-school learning activities)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>available and accessible within the community, including:</td>
<td>X Basic education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Check as many as apply</td>
<td>Vocational/livelihood skills training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Formal/higher education (college)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Special interest workshops/seminars/group</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 28. Education opportunities are available to all age groups in the community | Yes  
No **X BASIC EDUCATION AND FEW TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR ADULTS.** |
|---|---|
| 29. The extent to which educational systems and teaching methods promote cooperative interdependence and community building skills | Great  
Somewhat  
**X In small part**  
Not at all |
| **Sustainable Economics – healthy local economy** |  |
| 30. There is explicit encouragement for community members creating businesses that enhance the local economy | Yes  
No **X PRIVATE INITIATIVES AND FEW NGOs WORKING IN THE AREA** |
| 31. An estimate of how many community members have difficulty providing for their basic needs (food, shelter, clothing, etc.) | Most  
Some  
Few  
**None X** |
| 32. Economic systems active in the community  
Check as many as apply | **X Self-sufficiency for basic needs**  
**X Sustainable small businesses**  
Barter and exchange systems  
Education/programs  
Telecommunications or other work at home  
Volunteerism – work contribution  
Local market days  
Fund raising for modeling sustainable practices  
Voluntary levies within the community for sustainability project development  
Fund raising for community operations  
**X Leaving the community for paid work**  
Others, specify |
| **Cultural Sustainability** |  |
| 33. The common cultural/ethnic heritage of the community is celebrated and preserved through  
Check as many as apply | Oral transmission or story telling. Note: includes examples  
Written records and archives  
Person(s) serving as historian(s)  
Training/apprenticeship in expertise specific to the community (artisan, indigenous language, folk products, etc.)  
A shared vision/method for ensuring continuity of the culture in the future  
**X Ceremonies and celebrations**  
Art (photographs, murals, songs, etc.) |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Does not apply</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34. Cultural programs, festivals and celebrations, open to anyone, are offered</td>
<td>Yes X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: explain if the people are migrants, foreigners, etc

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>35. Though community members do not share a common heritage, they join in celebrating the heritage(s) of fellow community members</th>
<th>X Yes No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36. The community offers cultural programs for everybody openly</td>
<td>X Yes No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. An estimate of how many community members know the history of the community is</td>
<td>Most X Some Few None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Cycles/transitions of life are acknowledged and shared in celebrations, ceremonies and rites of passage</td>
<td>Always – very few exceptions Usually X Occasionally Never</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Arts & Leisure**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>39. Opportunities are available for community members to develop artistic talents (classes, apprenticeships, and support for individual artistic pursuits)</th>
<th>Almost always Usually Sometimes X Rarely – SCHOOLS AND RELIGIOUS CELEBRATIONS Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40. The extent to which the community values encourage the development of local entertainers and entertainment</td>
<td>Great X Somewhat – SCHOOLS AND RELIGIOUS CELEBRATIONS In small part Not at all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: specify and describe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>41. There is group space available for art activities and events</th>
<th>X Yes No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42. Indicate the frequency of artistic events/celebrations in the community Check as many as apply</td>
<td>Daily Weekly Monthly X Seasonally Annually Never</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: specify and describe

**Spiritual Sustainability – rituals & celebrations; support for inner development & spiritual practices**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>43. Community members are free to worship the creator/creation, and</td>
<td>X Yes – THE MAJORITY ARE CATHOLIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>celebrate their connection with the divine, through devotional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>practices of their choice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. How often community members come together for spiritual practices</td>
<td>Regularly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that connect them to a deeper level of consciousness within</td>
<td>Occasionally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>themselves and/or to the Earth</td>
<td>X Rarely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note: explain the type of spiritual practices</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. The extent to which wisdom and spiritual expertise of elder</td>
<td>Great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>community members are seen as a community resource and used as a</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guide in community matters</td>
<td>X In small part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Community Glue</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Sharing occurs among community members about beliefs, values and</td>
<td>Frequently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experiences</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X Rarely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note: explain, detail and periodicity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. The extent to which moral principles (such as respect for oneself</td>
<td>Great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and others, responsibility for personal mastery and personal integrity)</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>are part of the community’s philosophy and activities</td>
<td>X Little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. The community includes its own moral principles and philosophy</td>
<td>X Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note: which are they and the way of application</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. The extent to which a common vision or purpose aligns and unites the</td>
<td>Great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>community</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X Little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note: explain the vision</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Community review and renewal of a shared vision and purpose occur</td>
<td>Regularly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Occasionally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rarely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X Never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note: explain who does it and the mechanisms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. The community laughs, plays, relaxes and generally enjoys life</td>
<td>Regularly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>together</td>
<td>X Occasionally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rarely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. The level of harmony, care and support among women of the</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>community is</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adequate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X Inadequate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 53. | The level of harmony, care and support among men of the community is | Excellent  
Good  
X Adequate –  
BASICALLY FOR COMMERCIALIZATION AND WATER MANAGEMENT  
Inadequate  
Poor |
| 54. | The level of harmony, care and support between men and women of the community is | Excellent  
Good  
X Adequate  
Inadequate  
Poor |
| 55. | The level of harmony, care and support among children of the community is | Excellent  
Good  
X Adequate  
Inadequate  
Poor |
| 56. | The level of harmony, care and support among the various age groups within the community is | Excellent  
Good  
X Adequate  
Inadequate  
Poor |
| 57. | The community endeavors to strengthen its internal (community glue) bonds | Regularly  
Occasionally  
X Rarely - COMMERCIALIZATION  
Never |
| 58. | The extent to which the community is able to respond beneficially to community members in crisis | Completely – very few exceptions  
Mostly  
Somewhat  
X Little  
Not at all |
| 59. | The extent to which the community is able to respond supportively to |   |

Note: specify and give details of the activities
marginalize community members (the poor, ill, dying, troubled, disabled, elderly, etc.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>very few exceptions</th>
<th>Mostly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: specify

60. The community endeavors to strengthen its ability to successfully handle challenges/crises

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regularly</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X Rarely</td>
<td>Never</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix I: Summary interview Augusto Cilloniz – General Manager
CRITECNIA S.A

- The reasons why the Chincha model failed four years after initiating were many but the main was the farmers’ “idiosyncrasy” and their cultural identity.
- These “cultural” elements and idiosyncrasy -that resulted in the failure of the Critecnia model in Chincha- were observed in the farmer’s behavior when the agricultural sector in Peru was affected by “El Niño” Phenomenon.
- In 2002 – 2003, Peru suffered from the “El Niño” phenomenon effects (climatic phenomenon that caused the warming of the ocean and produced droughts in some areas and unusual raining in other ones) that seriously affected the agrarian business. As a consequence of this phenomenon, the difficulties between the farmers started, they fought and got jealous of other farmers from the same group, who managed the critical situation better.
- The farmers decided to give up the repayment of their debts to credit companies and decided to call for government assistance to obtain debt forgiveness.
- Small farmers were waiting for the government’s support when difficulties arose and the “non-fulfillment culture” was worth noticing when the Chincha model failed. Finally, and after difficulties came about, the farmers’ main goal was to “survive”. The loss risk set for business model parameters was supplanted by the “traditional principles”, without obligations and maintained their dependency on the government’s support.
- The situation was impossible to manage for my company and for the facilitator, so we decided to cancel the model.
- Critecnia is today a successful company but we changed the model. We are a private company and decided to buy lands in northern Peru. We are convinced that it is quite complex to work with small farmers because it is difficult to manage their idiosyncrasy and their cultural factors in the Peruvian context.
Appendix J: Summary interview Jaime Quezada – General Manager of the Rural Microfinance Institution (Caja Rural) “Senior of Luren” in Ica

- The Peruvian agriculture has many problems such as credit access, lack of technical assistance, lack of business orientation, lack of credit culture, planning, etc.
- Small farmers must understand the importance of technical assistance and use the support of professionals such as engineers and technicians. The use of technical support can improve their level of the production.
- Another problem is small farmers’ disorganization. When harvest finishes, they are looking only for their personal interest and it is impossible to agree on commercialization and better prices.
- When small farmers decide to sell their production individually, they lose money because the intermediary determines a low price and farmers will receive little income. In these cases, intermediaries receive better profit margin.
- There are some small farmers associations but they are not working. The agrarian reform caused big damage to the Peruvian agriculture.
- Another problem is the lack of insurance for agrarian activities. There are few agro insurances and their coverage is small. The risk in agriculture is high.
- The incentives from the government are used only by the big and medium farmers, but the small farmers are not using these incentives for their lack of planning.
- Our experience with small farmer’s credit was good because they usually pay back their credit without any problem. Recently, we decided to extend the payment schedule for small farmers because of the damage in their harvest for “El Niño Phenomenon”.
- As a consequence of the high risk of the activity and the lack of insurance, credits for small farmers are expensive.
- The role of the government in the sector was not efficient because it tried to promote the association of small farmers (minimum 30) using PROMIAGRO but the lack of commercialization channel was a critical factor for the failure of the project.
- The small farmer needs special attention; you need to communicate using their level. Many of them lack formal education. I believe the best way to improve the conditions of small farmers is through the creation of associations.
- Another problem is small farmers’ traumatic experience in the land reform. They show fear because of the failure of the cooperative system.
- The solution will be an entrepreneurial model in which professional staff manages the administration decisions and small farmers maintain the land and can work as a part of the model.
- I believe with this type of associative models, it will be easier for small farmers to access to credit channels.
Appendix K: Summary interview Octavio Chirinos – Economic Advisor to the Ministry of Agriculture / ESAN University Professor

- In relation to agriculture organizational problems, there are only two paths: small farmers decide to join and generate group power to access to better financial resources, scale economies, and other advantages; or the big will eat the small as simple as that.
- The Agriculture Ministry is looking for mechanisms that facilitate the organization of small farmers so that they can develop sustainability in the long-term.
- I think it is important for Peru to promote the creation of agro-enterprises as a possibility of development of small farmers and also of private investments.
- In my opinion, the creation of these companies is an efficient path to escape from small and medium farmers’ problems.
- The Ministry of Agriculture has PROMINAGRO, an institution that is working for the creation of associative models of small farmers; it has been successful and is working on a project with IADB’s funds.
- The project between PROMINAGRO and the IADB is looking for enterprises that promote associative models for small farmers with sustainability and adequate commercialization mechanisms in order to provide them with financial resources.
- In my experience, the most complicated aspect in this type of agro-enterprises is the small farmer itself. You need to convince him, have an idea of his way of thinking, his idiosyncrasy, and offer him attractive projects.
- Other troublesome aspects are the situation of the land (legal status and property situation), the election of the correct crop, because these elements have influence in the price and the market.
- In conclusion, I believe in this type of agro-enterprises but it is necessary to show economic and financial sustainability and the other problems will be solved in a more simple way.
Appendix L: Summary interview Roberto Palomino – President of the Association of Beans Producers in Nazca

- The composition of the Nazca Valley is: small farmer with lands between 3 Ha. and 5 Ha., small-medium farmers with lands between 5 Ha. and 20 Ha., medium farmers with lands between 20 Ha. and 50 Ha., and big farmers with 50 Ha. or more.
- The most troublesome aspect in the Nazca valley is water. It is scarce and expensive. The government needs to bring help to small farmers in order to clean water channels too.
- The technification of the water system will be helpful for small farmers and if the government can bring access to the financing of these facilities, it can contribute with the critical situation of agriculture in Nazca.
- In addition to the financial support, we need to think of the correct use and rationing of water for small farmers.
- I know about the experiences of different agro-enterprises working in Nazca and other cities such as Caniete and Chincha.
- I went to Chincha in order to analyze the experiences of these agro-enterprises and my intention was to suggest small farmers in Nazca to adopt this type of model.
- In my visit to Chincha, I could see the good outcome of the application of the agro-business models, but the only problem was that for small farmers, it is still difficult to change their commercial customs and in this system, they receive the money only after the harvest.
- We invited the agro-company “Critecnia” to Nazca so that they could explain the advantages of their system. Some farmers thought that the way the company proposed managing the agrarian campaign was questionable. The farmers in Nazca thought that they could do better without this company’s help.
- I am ready to cooperate with entrepreneurs who wish to start this kind of project in Nazca because I believe that only through similar models can small farmers create associative models and work efficiently. In my condition of president of the Association of Beans Producers in Nazca and my proximity to farmers, I am ready to play the role of facilitator in the model.
Appendix M: Summary interview Ronald Rivera – Manager of CRITECNIA in Chincha

NOTE.- Mr. Ronald Rivera is the facilitator of the CRITECNIA project in the Chincha area. He was born in Chincha and after finishing his university studies in social sciences (psychologist) he was recruited by CRITECNIA for his deep knowledge of the farmers in this area. His role was considered key for the company for the success of the implementation of the model in Chincha.

- The way that we use to explain our proposal to the small farmers is simple and relies on truthfulness. We start to explain how they lose credibility in front of financial institutions because of their reiterative lack of fulfillment of their credits. Then, we explain that we are not interested in offering free support or giving money; we want to offer business proposals and we want to use small farmers’ strength plus the use of professional management support.

- The way that we use to explain the need to use their land as a collateral is to ask them about one big farmer for whom they feel admiration. After we explain how this big farmer does not use his money, but he uses credit from financial institutions. They just need a simple and detailed explanation in order to abandon their fear.

- We identify two critical factors for the success of the agri-business model: first, financial resources; second, and even more important is to organize small farmers. The model will work better if the relation among farmers is stronger and they develop “moral commitment” among them and with the “managing” company in order to succeed.

- We have experienced many problems such as: when farmers listen to our proposal, they complain because they say how these people (staff from the agro-company) can have deeper knowledge of agriculture than they who are farmers’ children.

- The implementation of the project must start in agreement with the beginning of the agrarian campaign. This is the reason why when the agrarian campaign had already started and we could not find the minimum number of farmers in order to develop the model, we needed to wait until next year to start again.
The Peruvian Association of Mango Producers and Exporters has a Board of Associates and a Board of Directors composed of a president, a vice president and three directors.

The Board of Associates is in charge of designing the association's policies. The president is elected every two years.

The association has a management department and three committees: Thermal Treatment Plant Committee, Market Opening Committee and Quality Committee.

The association has been working for 7 years and is composed of medium farmers who own between 30 and 200 hectares each.

The total number of associates is 23 and they are classified as exporting producers, packers and importers.

Belonging to the association is in their behalf and when it does not happen, associates quit just as some packers did.

Associate farmers basically aim at economic and exporting purposes.

All of these medium farmers are businessmen.

All of them are business-minded and none of them thinks of land reform, nor of State’s subsidy.

They are working on some projects with the Interamerican Development Bank – AIDB in order to implement good agricultural practices.

It is intended to reach international markets: Mexico, China, and Japan and extend the current quota of the American market.

The representativeness attained through the association is aimed at watching over their interests before national and international institutions and offering a broader negotiation power to associate farmers.

Among the main national and international institutions, it is worth mentioning SUNAT, ATDEA, TLC, SENASA and PROMPEX.

The associativity also permits to reach economies of scale in importing inputs at cheaper prices and better negotiation power before foreign purchasers, the shipbuilders, and in general, contributes to the value-added individual performance of each associate.

Handling information is another important service offered by the association to their members presenting the main news, events and price operations in international markets.

There are some internal difficulties related to conjunction of interests, different profiles and partners’ personalities. There are also some cases of default on payments by some associates.

According to the General Manager’s point of view, small farmers’ difficulty deals with the belief that the State’s subsidy is a right for them and there is a lack of associative culture aimed at creating organizations. The “competition” concept is not included into their knowledge. That is, they are not interested in doing business at all.
• Small farmers are supported by programs of international assistance such as INCAGRO in order to access to finance and aid, but the organizations are automatically dissolved when the project is terminated (there is no viability).
• There is a difficulty with the regional and local governments, which do not support - prevailing political interests- or keep track of subsidies among small farmers with the purpose of getting political return at elections.
• Nowadays, the Peruvian Association of Mango Producers and Exporters is part of another larger organization called Union Association of Agro-Exporting Producers - AGAP which is a broader platform having more political connotation aimed at influencing target groups. It is composed of various associations such as IPEH (asparagus), PROVID (grapes), PROHAS (avocados) and PROCITRUS (citruses).
Appendix O: Summary interview Frank Vega – Chairman of the Association
Peruvian Association of Mango Producers- PROMANGO

- PROMANGO has 28 associates who own between 8 and 500 hectares. Most of them are professionals and medium farmers.
- PROMANGO has been working for 5 years.
- The association’s aim is to defend the mango price against exporters (sometimes they make agreements on the purchase price).
- The associates have joined for an economic need.
- According to the association’s chairman, the small farmers’ difficulty deals with the fact that the small farmer association leaders’ interests are different from those of the organization. Their orientation is political rather than of service.
- In that sense, associates should be aware of the implicit value-added alternative of continuing to work separately.
- We do not usually work with small farmer because they cannot see the business opportunities that the market offers in the way that we understand the business.
- Small farmers in Piura are waiting for the government’s support; they are not able to work together with their own resources.
- In order to be a part of our association, farmers need to meet the necessary requirements and small farmers are not ready to pass this filter.
- The goal of our association is to export to international markets, so we have created a trade network and offer information and exporting platform to our associates, and they need to pay a certain amount of money monthly. This amount of money is investment from our point of view but for small farmers is cost.
- We are not interested in developing other types of relations among our associates; we have strictly commercial and economic relations and this is the priority of our organization.
- We have some associates who can be considered small farmers for the size of their land, but they are professional and develop very technical and high quality production of mango, so they are doing business with their land.
Appendix P: Summary interview Eng. Fabian Zapata – CIPCA Technical Manager and Facilitator in Piura Valley

- There are not many successful experiences involving small farmer organizations, most of them are informal aimed at some specific purposes such as negotiating better prices or organizing patron-saint feasts, but there is not a sense of belonging and strong organization among partners.
- The current organizations being promoted by CIPCA are related to the likelihood of attaining a better commercialization price for cotton and rice, which are the main crops of the area.
- In my experience it was complicated to try to organize associations of small farmers in Piura because the farmer does not have the culture of working together. There are types of informality among the people and they usually meet only for parties or town festivals, especially religious festivals and social activities.
- Leaders lost credibility among the farmers, and people do not usually trust other people out of the community. They prefer to maintain small agreements for specific reasons like commercialization but when the situation required more commitment, they were not interesting in participating.
- When they commit to doing something, it is common for people not to complete their duty.
- They want to receive support especially from the government but they do not like to organize themselves and manage their own common project.
- There are some big companies in the area that manage the market of the cotton (main crop in the area). They are monopolies and they determine the price. When small farmers try to join in a common project to improve their conditions and receive better prices, they cannot succeed.
- There is a market of NGOs and organizations that receive funds from international organizations, and they are working in the area of Piura. Microfinance is a new and successful business with farmers in this area.
- In the area of Piura, it has been working before cooperatives were created in the agrarian reform during the military government. Cooperatives are still working in one area of Piura and they maintain some agricultural assets such as machines the farmers are not able to organize themselves to improve the quality of their role.
- My experience is focused on the work with small farmers of this area in Piura and I believe we can improve the level of organization of small farmers here but it is necessary to convince them of the necessity to work together.
- In my case, I am from this area, and in addition to my technical knowledge, I can understand the idiosyncrasy of the small farmers in this area because the only way they can follow your advice is when they trust you and they believe you can bring something to them.
- When I have a chat with the farmers, they always mention the role of the government and how they hope that in the future the government will pressure big companies so to regulate the price and offer better conditions to farmers.
Appendix Q: Questionnaire guide used for the interviewees

NOTE: This questionnaire guide contained the relation of the questions used as a base for the interviewees with the key actors. The number and type of questions apply to the key actors were different and managed in relation to its familiarity with the topics analyzed.

- Why the Critecinia model fail?
- Describe the behaviour of the small farmers after Critecinia model fail?
- Decisions of the company after Critecinia model fail?
- Problems of the small agriculture in Peru
- Explicates alternative of solutions for the problematic of small farmers in Peru
- Opinion about the role of associations of small farmers in Peru
- Explicates experiences of credit for small farmers in Peru
- Explicates the role of the government in the problem of small farmers in Peru
- What is the solution for the problem of small farmers in Peru?
- Role of Agriculture Ministry in the problematic of small farmers in Peru
- Percentage of small farmers in Nazca
- Problematic of the agriculture sector in Nazca
- Experiences of associations of small farmers in Nazca
- Explicate your role as a facilitator in the Critecinia model
- How you explicate the company proposal to the small farmes in the Critecinia model?
- Explicate your experience with small farmers in the Critecinia model
- Explication of the role of the Peruvian Association of Mango Producers and Exporters
- Explicate the experience of the Peruvian Association of Mango Producers and Exporters with small farmers in Piura
- Explicates the benefits of the associations of small farmers
- Explication of the role of PROMANGO
- Explicate the experience of PROMANGO with small farmers in Piura
- Explication of the role of CIPCA
- Explicate the experience of CIPCA with small farmers in Piura
Appendix R: Bilingual glossary of terms

Age-old – (‘Ancient; from immemorial time’) – **Ancestral**.

Bond – (‘A uniting or binding element or force’) – **Vinculo**.

Canteen – (‘A small cafeteria in poor suburbs or slums to feed huge crowds, esp. children and the elderly’) – **Comedor Popular**.

Collectives - (‘An organization in a collectivist system, especially a collective farm’) – **Cooperativas Comunales**.

Condemn (Ed) – (‘to entrust for care or preservation’) – **Encomendar**.

Co-attendance – (‘Associations as companions; fellowship’) – **Compadrazgo**.

Crucible – (‘A situation where strong action changes or influences things’) – **Crisol**.

Curator – (‘Chief of an administrative region of the Inca Empire’) – **Curaca**.

Dissimilarity – (‘Differences’) – **Diferencias**.

Destitute – (‘Without means of subsistence; lacking food, clothing, and shelter’) – **Indigente**.

Emolient – (‘An Andean beverage for medicinal purposes made by boiling and blending typical herbs, such as barley, linseed, Bermuda grass and **bolodo** –type of herbal tea-’) – **Emoliente**.

Forbidance – (‘The act of proscribing from or as is from the position of authority’) – **Prohibición**.

Imaginariness – (‘The condition of existing only in the imagination or fancy’) – **Imaginario**.

Intelligentsia – (‘Intellectuals considered as a group or class, esp. as a cultural, social, or political elite’) – **Intelectualidad**.

Interfere (d) – (‘to enter into or take a part in the concerns of others’) – **Mediatizado**.

Larder – (‘A room or place where food is kept’) – **Despensa**.

Matriarchy (“Matri-focal”) System – (1. - ‘A family, group, or state governed by a mother’ / 2.-‘A system of social organization in which descent and inheritance are traced through the female line’) – **Matrifocalidad / Matriarcado**.

Meager – (‘Very little’) – **Poca (o)**.

Miscegenation – (‘Interbreeding between members of different races’) – **Mestizaje**.

Outlive (d) – (‘to survive the effects of…’) – **Sobrevivir a...**

Peruvian – (Whatever the relevant nationality may be, it means ‘National to any Latin American born to European parents’) – **Criollo**.

Sharecropping – (‘The practice of being a sharecropper, a tenant farmer who pays as rent a share of the crop’) – **Yanaconaje**.

Silversmithing / Goldsmithing – (‘Work done to make or repair jewelry or objects with silver, gold or any other fine mineral’) – **Orfebrería**.

Smallholding – (‘A small farm’) – **Minifundio**.

Tenancy – (‘The state or condition of being a tenant (farmer), someone who farms the land of another and pays rent with cash or a portion of the produce ) - **Colonato**.

Terrace (s) – (‘A flat, elevated piece of ground’) – **Andenes**.

The specifics – (‘The particular qualities, the details’) – **Pequeños detalles**.

The supernatural – (‘The world of spirits or events beyond our knowledge of the natural world’) – **Lo sobrenatural**.
Three-wheeled motorcycle – (‘A special means of transportation for slums and suburbs where it is not possible for other larger vehicles to access due to ground conditions’) – Taximoto (-cholo).