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The sustentation situation for women in Arequipa

A field study on local development in southern Peru

Master Thesis in Political sciences

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Titel:	Försörjningssituationen för kvinnor i Arequipa: En fältstudie om lokal utveckling i södra Peru
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Sammanfattning

Klyftorna i det peruanska samhället är några av de största i världen och trots att ekonomin för tillfället växer så att det knakar, så hindrar den starka traditionen av politisk centralisering att överskottet kommer alla människor tillgodo. I staden Arequipa i södra Peru inleddes i början av 2007 *Programmet för landsbygdsutveckling* (PRD) med syfte att förstärka demokratiska processer och främja ekonomisk utveckling, framförallt för kvinnor. Programmet utvecklades av Svalorna tillsammans med deras samarbetsorganisationer på plats i Arequipa.

Denna undersökning är både deskriptiv och explorativ. Den har som syfte att både beskriva den nuvarande ekonomiska och sociala situationen i de aktuella områdena kring Arequipa samt att mer normativt beskriva möjliga vägar framåt och problem som behöver ytterligare uppmärksamhet från PRD. Studien genomfördes genom en kvalitativ fältstudie med målet att vara lyhörd för, samt främja, kvinnornas egna åsikter och synpunkter som grund för resultat och analysdel. Detta för att sätta kvinnan på gräsrotsnivå i fokus och därav har det övergripande metodiska angreppssättet bestått av en botten-upp implementationsanalys. Insamlingsprocessen av information har inneburit både en fältstudie där observationer, intervjuer och interaktioner har använts som tekniker, men också en omfattande litteraturstudie har varit nödvändig. Detta för att erhålla bakgrundsmaterial till den nuvarande socioekonomiska situationen i landet.

Genomförandet av denna studie har inneburit många intressanta och användbara slutsatser vad gäller den nuvarande och framtida försörjningssituationen för kvinnor och ungdomar på landsbygden i Arequipa. Undersökningen betonar betydelsen av osynliga handlingar inom landsbygdsutvecklingen, så som stärkandet av den gemensamma identiteten och sammanställandet av gemensamma mål att sträva efter, både gällande demokratisk deltagande och ekonomiska aktiviteter. Vad gäller entreprenörskap och uppstartandet av småskaliga affärsverksamheter så är komponenter som engagemang från resten av familjen, delandet av kunskaper och erfarenheter inom gruppen, tillgång till kapital, uppföljning och utvärdering helt avgörande för projektets framgång. För att konkludera så behöver invånarna delta i sin egen utvecklingsprocess och delta med assistens från ett holistiskt sammansatt program som tar alla delar av kvinnornas liv i betraktande.

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Abstract

The Peruvian society is one of the most unequal in the world and despite the growing economy the centralised political tradition impedes the trickling-down of wealth down to the people who need it the most. In Arequipa in southern Peru an initiative called the *Programme for Rural Development* (PRD) was commenced in the beginning of 2007 with the purpose of consolidating democracy and promote economic development, foremost for women. The programme was developed by Svalorna together with their cooperation organisations at location in Arequipa.

This investigation is both descriptive and explorative with a purpose of both describing the current economic and social situation in these departments as well as in a more normative manner explore the possible ways to go forward and issues that need further attention in regard to the PRD. The investigation has been realised as a qualitative field based study with the aim of emphasising on the views and opinions of the women in the different departments with the purpose of putting the women at a grass root level in focus. Therefore the methodological approach which permeates the entire study is a 'bottom-up' implementation analysis. The process of collecting information has implied field studies, where observation, interviews and interaction has been used as techniques, as well as a vast collection of background to the current socioeconomic situation which also has been necessary.

Conducting this investigation has lead to many interesting and useful conclusions regarding the contemporary and future sustentation situation for women and youth in the rural parts of Arequipa. This study will emphasise the importance of invisible actions within rural development, such as strengthening the common identity and objectives, considered to be the foundation to organising, both in regard to democratic participation as well as economic activities. In regard to entrepreneurship or the initiation of small scale businesses, components such as involvement from the rest of the family, sharing of skills and experiences within the group, access to capital, follow up and evaluation, are vital. Overall, the inhabitants need to participate in their own development process and receive assistance from a holistic programme that takes in consideration all elements in the life of the women.

Acknowledgements

Conducting this investigation has been a true pleasure and a dream coming true. To have been given the opportunity of discovering and studying the reality of the world is not merely an academic merit. It has also changed the way I today perceive and see the world and the challenges its inhabitants experience daily. I would here like to thank some persons and other actors involved in this project and its realisation.

Initially I would like to send gratitude to Svalorna Latinamerika for providing the opportunity of realising this field study and for believing in my abilities. They provided me with highly appreciated advices before the initiation of the study as well as after the implementation. Arriving in a country on the other side of the planet is not always an easy thing, and hence the warm welcome from Svalorna's office in Arequipa was of even greater value. So an enormous thank you to everyone in Arequipa for believing in and supporting me!

During the making of contact with the cooperation organisations in Arequipa I received invaluable assistance from Emir Figueroa who truly deserves to be mentioned. On the field the support by ASDE and CIED really made this investigation feasible, therefore I would like to direct a large thanks to them as well.

Before leaving for Peru the preparations received from Professor Benny Hjern on how to realise a field study was to be priceless in real life. In elaborating the results and process them towards becoming a thesis the support by my tutor Ann-Britt Karlsson has as well been invaluable. Without your academic and personal support Ann-Britt this thesis would not have been the same!

Last, but absolutely not least, I would like to send a thought of gratitude to all the struggling people of Peru. Thank you for letting me see the world through your eyes! Especial thanks to the committee of tourism in Yrabamba. Good luck with your future projects, do not lose hope! One day...

"We do not only want a piece of the pie, we also want to choose the flavour, and know how to make it ourselves" – Ela Bhatt

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1 Introduction

1.1 The context of the problem

Peru is today one of the most unequal societies in the world, both economic and socially (HDR, 2005). The economic inequality is associated with significantly higher levels of poverty than would be expected given the region's per capita income (Boullion, 2006). Social and economic marginalisation is a part of everyday life for a great part of the population, foremost in the rural areas of the country. "Absolute poverty and inequality may be different, but they are intimately related" (HDR, 2005). This statement reflects to a large extent the harsh reality in contemporary Peru.

Arequipa is an economic and political junction point in southern Peru. In the area the centralised tradition is very present with the economic and political power focused to the city where 86 percent of the population of the department¹ lives (Svalorna, 2006). The city provides all necessities to the rural parts such as health care, higher education, access to a market, etc. Here an initiative was commenced in 2007 in order to improve the rural sustention situation. The initiative referred to as the Programme for Rural Development (PRD), or in Spanish *Programa de Desarrollo Rural*, and was developed and commenced by the Swedish NGO, Svalorna, together with the local NGOs: CIED², ASDE³, CR-ESOA⁴ and SADA⁵. The different organisations all have different areas of expertise, both thematic and geographical, and may consequently contribute in different fields of the programme. The main problems stated for the PRD are the weak and disorganised institutional capacity in the operational area as well as the weak economic situation in the rural areas. In consideration to these problems the goal of the programme is to, within a five years range (2007-2011), improve, both quantitative as well as qualitative, the social, economic and political situation in seven different districts in the south east part of Peru. These districts are foremost in the regions of Arequipa Caylloma, La Unión and Condesuyos. The programme is based on an intercultural, equal, democratic and peaceful way of conduct, which foremost is meant to promote the participation of youth and women (Svalorna, 2006).

Due to a large migration to the urban areas during the last decade the rural population is caught in a vicious circle, where the economic stagnation in the rural areas may cause even more migration. Hence the alleviation of poverty is dependent upon, foremost in the rural areas, an economic entrepreneurship with creative economic solutions that create work opportunities and generally improve living conditions. The entrepreneurial climate will in turn be crucial for the development of the region in order to create an incentive for the population to reside. This activity is strongly intertwined with the projects of micro-credit and micro-finance where micro-finance and skill development are probably the largest components in

¹ There are 25 regions or departments (departamentos) and one province (provincia): Lima, in the departments there are regions and in the regions there are districts (See appendix 3)

² Centro de Investigación, Educación y Desarrollo

³ Acción Social y Desarrollo

⁴ Coordinadora Rural – Eje Sur Occidental Andino

⁵ Sociedad agrícola de Arequipa

NGO⁶ programmes in order to be successful in poverty alleviation and empowerment of the poor (Chowdhury, 2004). This has also been recognised by the PRD as well as the necessity of creating a more holistic view in regard to programmes and projects realised.

There are currently two main problems facing the PRD which needs to be addressed with utmost intensity: first, there exists a weak institutional framework in the area. This has much to do with the extensive political centralisation in the country and the scarcity of cooperation between organisations and institutions. Both the centralisation and lack of cooperation reinforces the failing commitment from the authorities concerning problems of poverty and marginalisation.

Second, which is the angle especially elucidated in this study, is the weak economic situation today existing in the rural areas of the mentioned territorial delimitation. Here shortfalls in visions, creativity and efficiency of the small-scale enterprises have been identified, i.e. large obstacles for further development. This is often due to the traditional directionality of the enterprises, which stagnate the production and hinders the enterprises from adapting new technologies. In this study further variables that impede the development in the different regions will also be recognised. Another crucial component is the access to credits in order to be able to extend and develop the existing enterprises, as well as initiating new ones. Together these variables convey the inability for the local enterprises to compete on other markets than the local and hence contribute to the development of the local economy.

The task to empower individuals, here foremost women, both youth and adults, in their struggle to initiate small-scale enterprises and to take charge of their own economic situation, is hence an enormous one. There are distinct variables to help in the upswing of entrepreneurship ready to be exposed, variables that this study believes to be found with the individual themselves. This is the focal point of this study, and accordingly with this reasoning some questions arise. First, how and by which means the PRD may reach the poorest, most marginalised individuals and support them in their, foremost, economic empowerment and development of an entrepreneurial reasoning. Further how the PRD can help the build up of small scale, creative enterprises, support the young and female entrepreneurs and hence through economic development also strengthen the social development in the region. The way to self-sufficiency and future economic autonomy is in the hands of the people in need, how can we support them in the best possible way according to their own stated needs?

⁶ Non-Governmental Organisation

1.2 Outline

The continuing part of the introduction, i.e. the first part of the investigation, will present and problematise the area of investigation. The focus will be on introducing the line of approach in consideration to the area of investigation which also will be accounted for. Here the different types of delimitation used during the selection process will be outlined, followed by the purpose of the study as well as the contribution it expects to make. In the second part the methodological conduct of the thesis will be presented as well as the method of research. Here the literature study realised will be accounted for as well as the selection process. In this section it will also be outlined how the interviews have been carried out as well as the limitations of the study conducted.

In the third section of this thesis the work and background of PRD, Svalorna as well as the organisations participating in this study, i.e. ASDE and CIED, will be provided. This section explains the surroundings of PRD, the problems it faces, as well as the goals with the programme. In order to create the backbone of the study, an introduction to the economic and political situation of Peru and Arequipa is presented in the fourth section. The importance of this section is vast since a large part of the current situation in the country resides from historical political decisions. Since the focus of this study will reside on the rural development and poverty alleviation the next part will provide a brief introduction in this area as well as the current situation of the rural development in the area of Arequipa.

In section six the results gathered will be divided in two main parts. The first part of the results will treat the areas of Yarábamba, Quequeña and Polobaya separately. Even though the districts are fairly similar, they still possess important differences which are important to elucidate. The second part of the results, section seven, treats the district of Majes. In presenting and structuring the results in both sections six and seven the mould of the FWG⁷ will be used in order to facilitate for the reader and provide a consistent line of argument. In section eight the analysis will treat the issues presented in the results. The analysis will be divided in three parts: the first part treats the districts of Yarábamba, Quequeña and Polobaya, the second will treat Majes, and the third is a comparative and conclusive analysis concerning the both areas. The line of argument of the FWG will also penetrate the presentation of the analysis as well as the following discussion in section eight. In the discussion the investigation as a whole will be evaluated and to conclude, section ten will provide a short conclusion of the main results of the study where the main characters and variables are presented.

⁷ 'For Whom'-Group, presented in section 2.2.2.

1.3 Area of investigation

The rural areas of the department of Arequipa are highly affected by the inequalities existing in the Peruvian society. The overall and long term mission of the PRD is to create a sustainable development in the provinces of Arequipa, Caylloma, Condesuyos and La Unión, with a consolidated democracy and improved quality of life. Further that the organisations and institutions help enhance the sustainable rural development through consolidating the participation in the local administration and through encouraging the development of the family economy (Svalorna, 2006). These long term goals are fairly vague and general and are supplemented by more specific ones, which are elucidated further on.

The issue highlighted is, more specifically, how these processes of the PRD may be developed to be a product of the individual and her/his needs. The task is to develop a reference frame from which opinions and wishes of the poor and marginalised are revealed. This is conducted in order to develop the existing programme to contain variables which may convey empowerment and a sustainable sustention situation of women that originates in their own line of reasoning. These issues were elucidated through a field study which was realised during a period of nine weeks during the period May-June 2007. Within these areas, interviews will be conducted in order to reveal the concerns of the people at the root of society. The selection processes will be accounted for further on in the study.

The line of attack will hence reside in investigating the prospect of the PRD and the general economic development in the areas, departing from both women participating in the initiatives as well as women standing outside. This is done to get an image as wide as possible of the current situation in the area and of the needs and wishes of the women. Since the implementation of PDR is recently under way through the cooperation organisations, the study will also highlight the support or the legitimacy these organisations possess in the community, i.e. if people have confidence of the work conducted and how it has worked in the past.

The future sustention situation in the region depends to a large extent on the creation of small scale enterprises and nonfarm related activities, but also on the further development of current activities which today still make up the backbone of the livelihood. In many areas the agriculture and the milk production, which are often the main sources of income, is not enough for the sustention of the people and hence alternative incomes are frequently necessary for the survival of the villages. To maintain and expand this development, entrepreneurship and a positive vision and enthusiasm towards the future is essential. This development is often impeded by the traditional directionality possessed by the small scale enterprises, which in turn hinders the development of the local economy. Accordingly, the issue in how the PRD may contribute to this development, departing from the standpoint of the individuals involved in the Programme. Entrepreneurship will throughout the study be explained as a cultural phenomenon, a philosophy and a part of education. According to Mayoux (2003) entrepreneurship is about awakening the community towards excellence by arousing their motivation for seeking and sensing, developing their capacity for assessing, locating and mobilising resources and helping them to acquire ability to plan and manage.

1.3.1 Organisational delimitation

In handling the PRD, Svalorna have four different cooperation organisations, all with their own area of expertise. These organisations are CIED, ASDE, CR-ESOA and SADA. However, in this study the organisations used as point of departure are two: CIED and ASDE⁸. This is due to several reasons: First, due to the fact that these two organisations are specialised in sustainable social and productive development, targeted foremost toward women. They work with sustainable local development as well as the initiation of small scale enterprises. Second, their relation to Svalorna is well established and the cooperation is well developed. This will facilitate the contacts necessary with the civil society and the people living and working in the areas of interest. Thirdly, the two organisations represent different geographical areas with distinct economic, social and cultural preconditions. CIED is present in the areas of Quequeña, Yarabamba and Polobaya, Pocsi, Mollebaya, Characato and Sabandía in La Cuenca No Regulada del río Chili (CNR)⁹ whereas ASDE is more focused on the region of Caylloma.

1.3.2 Territorial delimitation

In the rural areas of the regions of Arequipa and Caylloma in southern Peru, the social marginalisation is widely recognised. The HDI (Human Development Index)¹⁰ for all eight different districts where the two organisations are active within the PRD (Pocsi, Polobaya, Mollebaya, Characato, Sabandía, Yarabamba and Quequeña in the region of Arequipa and Majes in the region of Caylloma) are below the Peruvian average of 0.767 (HDR, 2005). Here the district of Polobaya is located at the bottom with an index of 0.5921¹¹, and Characato in the top with an index of 0.6399. The two regions have a similar life expectancy (mean of 71.4 years), but in the former only 69.7 percent meet the educational standards, whereas in the latter, 92.2 percent (PNUD, 2006). Within the CNR the similarities are many, but also the differences. Majes is very distinct to the CNR in many ways which are accounted for later on.

These districts are prime concern for CIED and ASDE in regards to the PRD. However, for the investigation a delimitation of the areas was necessary due to limited resources. The limitation was hence required due to the vast number of people included in the programme, as well as the time limit for the field study, which was conducted during a period of nine weeks. The selected areas to be investigated are Quequeña, Yarabamba, Polobaya and Majes. The latter is distinct from the former three both in consideration to geographical location¹², number of inhabitants, as well as economic preconditions, whereas the former have many similarities. Majes will hence be investigated as a contrary to the other three; hence a cross analysis will be allowed.

⁸ More information of the organisations in chapter 3.

⁹ La Cuenca No Regulada del río Chili (further referred to as CNR) is the valley situated southeast of the city of Arequipa. In total it consists of seven districts mentioned above.

¹⁰ The Human Development Index is a composite index developed by the UNDP that measure the average achievements in a country in three basic dimensions of human development: life expectancy, education, GDP/PPP (purchasing power parity) in \$US (HDR, 2005).

¹¹ Where the Peruvian national index is 0.767 in 2004 (UNDP, 2006).

¹² See both map in chapter 6 as well as Appendix 3.

The reason for selecting the three districts of Quequeña, Yarabamba and Polobaya is due to a number of reasons: The first reason is the joined size of the districts compared to Majes, both geographically as well as regarding the population, in order to be able to do a cross analysis. The borders of the three districts are connected and can hence be considered to make up one unit, which may have a greater weight considering both the territory as well as the population. The aggregated population will not, however, reach the number of inhabitants in Majes. Secondly, the three former regions are socioeconomical fairly similar which also facilitates for the joining of the districts to one unit. More thorough information regarding the geographical and socioeconomic situation in the districts is to be accounted for further on. Thirdly, the districts possess a common history and traditional heritage which also makes the population more heterogeneous. Fourth, these three districts were suggested on behalf of CIED. This proposal was considered and was then accepted with the full insight that these district very well may be the districts that CIED want to symbolise the work that they are doing in general in the area. With this very present, the advantages of choosing these districts were many: The geographical accessibility, that they may create a unit, the presence of CIED in the districts with the passing of lists of participants, the access to documents of general information etc.

1.3.3 Social delimitation

As mentioned the social and economic marginalisation in the region is widespread. The population in the operational area is extremely vulnerable, much through the limitation in self employment through lack of access to capital, which in turn restricts access to credit. The women are often dependent on the men, despite the fact that they as well work outside the home and help with the support of the family.

This study will focus on women, both adult and youth. This for a variety of reasons: First, women and youth are the two focus groups within the PDR as well as they are the top priority for the cooperation organisations in their overall work in the districts. Secondly, women and youth often lack the adequate skills and an innovative milieu, where they receive support and may realise their ideas (Ames et al., 2003). This often causes, especially for youth, to migrate to other regions or the urban areas, which has also been a problem in the region investigated. Despite the natural migration needed (Svalorna, 2006), it may also excavate the future of the local rural economy (Ames et al., 2003). Thirdly, these groups are broadly considered the base for poverty alleviation in general (Islam, 2007, Mayoux, 2003). Women often work triple shifts with market and nonmarket jobs, as well as household responsibilities which aggravate their chances for an improvement of their livelihood. Also both knowledge, and capital earned by women, is proven to ‘trickle-down’ to the children in a higher grade than earned by men. As Islam (2007) writes “When women learn children learn” (p.11).

The adult women and female youth will not be considered two different groups within the study. They will be considered as one For Whom-Group (a concept explained further on) and as the interviews proceed diversity will be strived for, but no consideration will be taken to make interviews in special age groups. Nevertheless, interviews will be conducted with both women already participating in different initiatives, as well as women who are not

participating. This is done in order to increase the diversity and make the result as broad as possible.

1.4 Purpose of study

The purpose of this study is divided in two parts. Firstly, in accordance to above line of argument, the intention of this study is to create future tools or indicators for the contribution to an increasing democratic participation of the poor, especially woman, in their own development process concerning their sustention situation and entrepreneurial progress. The purpose is also to investigate which participation mechanisms that may support the individuals in the improvement of their livelihood, foremost in the economic sense. Hence the relationship between democratic participation, organising and economic development will be investigated. In order to make these assumptions an analysis of the current social and economic situation of the actual areas is required.

The second purpose of the study is to examine the general sustention situation in the mentioned rural areas of the department of Arequipa and how Svalorna and their cooperation organisations, through the PRD, can contribute to a positive development. The general understanding in the region that the creation of small enterprises and the process of entrepreneurship may be a variable providing poverty alleviation and diminished marginalisation is well recognised and the PRD recognises this in their development plan. The central questions which will be addressed throughout the investigation to fulfill its purpose hence are:

- Which are the main obstacles for the social and economic development and poverty reduction in the districts investigated?
- What do the women consider themselves to need in order to improve their sustention situation and increase entrepreneurship?
- How may the entrepreneurial climate be improved for women and youth?
- Which alternatives exist for women and youth to present sustention?
- How can the PRD and Svalorna labour towards social, but foremost economic, development of these districts and is the work currently conducted relevant and contributing?

1.4.1 Contribution of the research and its importance

In the rural parts of Arequipa the people have not yet received the fruits from the economic prosperity the country has experienced over the last years. The areas need to, by themselves, find ways out of poverty, with the knowledge that they need to do so without great help from the still centralised state. The PDR tries to, in a long term perspective, help these districts obtain economic prosperity, but the programme is dependent upon knowing that its contributions have effect. The importance of an impact study of a programme for social and economic development is crucial. This in order to assess the impact of the programme on society and whether it achieves its goals, and to investigate necessary future improvements of the programme (Islam, 2007). It is also of great importance to identify the sources of a

problem in order to find the mechanism to prevent it. That is one of the contributions this study hope to make; find mechanisms to alleviate the rural poverty, the economic exclusion and to create a dynamic and creative entrepreneurship where woman and youth are the prime concern.

In this study the whole PRD will not be investigated, merely parts of it. The parts that will be investigated are, nevertheless, essential for its future implementation since the intention is to contribute new tools and important variables in order to strengthen the local economy and to empower the individuals within it. This study will not contribute with specific investigation regarding the actor organisations themselves, they will more be investigated as a mean to reach the goals identified by the PRD.

Another contribution is that a cross analysis between the two different zones will be realised, putting them in a situation of investigation never before explored. The difference of the two areas is apparent, but the differences may also put these areas in a new light. The foundation to the study is despite the short period in the field extensive and give the qualitative research the base it needs. A qualitative research that has the bottom-up approach is, in this environment of top-down governing and long history of centralisation, extremely important since it allows the viewpoints and interests of the common citizen to be out in the spotlight. The situation of the women was also allowed to be better grasped by the researcher since a great effort was made in researching the area and the situation of the people living there before entering the field.

Hopefully the study will contribute to the continuous development of the PRD as well as a better general understanding of the areas. Effort has been made to in a straightforward way explain the situation in the districts in order to, together with the historical material, provide the reader with an understanding of the difficulties to economic and social prosperity suffered by the women and youth.

2 Method

In this section a brief overview of the methods used in conducting this study will be presented, which will be followed by a more elaborated methodology. Due to the character of this investigation it will be conducted in two parts; first through a descriptive literature review to set the ground work and create a point of departure for the second part, where a field research will be conducted. The literature study will be aiming at guiding the reader through the economic and social situation of the region of Arequipa in Peru as well as providing a general framework for the underlying reasons to the current economic situation in the country. Both in order to allow the reader to better grasp the content and results of the field research.

2.1 Methodological approach

As mentioned, in the first part of the study the line of attack will rest on generating a background for the reader regarding the social and economic situation in Peru in general and Arequipa in particular. In order to fully be able to grasp the current situation, a background to the Peruvian economic situation is crucial in order to understand the dimensions of rural poverty (Islam, 2007). Here it is also important to locate Peru on an international scale that measure poverty in order to apprehend current trends in its development. In particular the Andean areas investigated in the field research. Here will also the PRD be accounted for, including three of the cooperating parties in the process; Svalorna, CIED and ASDE. The PRD is the departure point of the study. Since Svalorna is the central figure of the initiative, the centre of gravity will rest at their organisation with an elaboration of the activities they conduct in the department of Arequipa, their role in the PRD and the intended impact of the programme. The focus of the investigation is however not on the organisations in their selves, but rather on the poor rural population and its needs. To conclude, the intention of the descriptive part of the study is to lay the foundation for the research on the field in order to better digest and analyse the different impressions and facts.

The second part is the field research conducted in the rural sites of the department of Arequipa. A field study, may be defined as “... the systematic study, primarily through long term interactions and observations, of everyday life. The goal of field research is to understand daily life from the perspectives of those in the setting or social group being studied” (Bailey, 1996, p. 2). Since field research is an interpretive process, i.e. it holds that there is no objective reality independent of the social meaning given to it by those in the setting, it is also the opposite to the positive research commitment to objectivism and value free science (Ibid). Further the participatory observation of the researcher is an important variable in the social anthropological part of the investigation which provides valuable information to the study (Erikssen, 1995). As a foundation of the qualitative part of the study, a grounded theory i.e. a theory which will be developed inductively and has its base in specific observations in social life, will be applied (Bailey, 1996). This is due to the fact that the purpose of this kind of study is often explanatory or descriptive and is here chosen by the researcher since field research is considered the best way to understand the social world (Ibid).

The field study will be realised through an implementation analysis which can be defined as a 'bottom-up' approach in performing the field study, which is closely pointed towards a process based participation. This approach will secure goal direction since hierarchical control is not favoured (Ryan, 1999). Hence instead of a hierarchical 'top-down' approach, the implementation analysis focuses on the structure of the organisation in itself. It is therefore suitable for this study for at least two reasons: first, the 'bottom-up' approach allows a greater focus on the individual and its role in the organisation; and second, it allows the researcher to find a structure through following processes, also 'bottom-up' (Ibid). The structure of the relationship between Svalorna and their cooperation organisations may also be observed and analysed through this approach.

The purpose in conducting this study is to use both deductive as well as inductive methods. These two approaches are often used simultaneously in research (Bailey, 1996, Trochim, 2006). This is since inductive reasoning is more open ended and exploratory and starts with the observation and move upwards towards the theory. Further deductive reasoning is narrower in nature and is concerned with testing or confirming hypotheses. The deductive part will lay in the testing of the impact of the PRD and also to investigate the contingent variables needed for its progress and development. The inductive part is conducted through the field study, where the point of views and notions extracted from the individuals regarding the programme, will be considered in explanatory and evaluating purposes. The inductive part will hence contribute to the empirical part of the research and first source material.

2.2 Method of research

2.2.1 Literature review for background purpose

As mentioned the first part of the study will be descriptive and conducted through a literature study. This section will partly be based on first hand sources where directions in documents regarding the rural sustentation situation and the development of small scale enterprises will be investigated. The purpose of the secondary sources used in the study is to broaden the general understanding, both socially, cultural and economical in the region. Literature regarding the economic empowerment of women and youth will here be specifically reviewed in order to broaden the general knowledge in this field. The secondary sources mainly treat the fields regarding sustainable rural development, the rural sustentation situation and the development of creative small scale enterprises. The literature is chosen to great extent through the reference lists of relevant pieces hunted out at the library and the library databases. This is an effective method since the authors are well informed regarding their specific line of research (Svenning 2003). Here a snowball effect occurred at times since all reference lists were examined. The journals articles were found through searching the library database on keywords such as: woman and youth empowerment, rural development and entrepreneurship in poor areas, both generally and in Peru.

2.2.2 Selection process of the 'For Whom'- Group

In Arequipa and its surroundings a vast number of people are involved, or are prospective for involvement, in the PRD through the different cooperation organisations. Therefore it was crucial for the study to find a relevant population for my study within the programme. In order to do so the 'For Whom'-Group (FWG) approach was used, which is a step in the implementation, or 'bottom-up', approach previously described (Hjern, 1996). This approach suits the study since the programme does not possess one single target group within the different organisations and hence the approach is too narrow in this context. The FWG can take a wider stand and stretch over organisations and geographical areas. The FWG is not considered an organisational theory, rather a way of describing the actual organisational activity.

In order to attain the FWG within CIED and ASDE lists from previous workshops were used¹³. With a chosen population, or FWG, the sample selection was selected through a strategic selection which was based on that the researcher set up criteria for the sample to satisfy (Esaiasson et al., 2005). In this case the strategic selection consisted in lists that revealed woman who already where involved in the activities that were provided by the organisations. From these lists a random sample was then selected. Important was also to include women who were not present in these lists in the FWG who still had ideas and opinions essential for the study. Hence, as a complementary to the existing lists, women were randomly selected on the streets for interviews in order to create diversity on behalf of the investigation. This complementary was also desired in order to create a result as objective as possible from a sample as random as possible. At CIED the lists from previous workshops were easy to retrieve and gave a large base of selection. In the case of ASDE the lists were verbal, provided by the representative of that organisation.

Departing from the selected samples, the process forward will be performed through a 'snowball' sampling, which is a form of nonrandom sampling (Burnham et al., 2004). This approach entails the follow up by information received from the respondent, in order to move up the ladder, or even sideways, to investigate the origins of reforms or initiatives. This is also the way of progressing within the FWG, i.e. the persons or actors mentioned by respondents in interviews will be a part of the continuing evaluation (Hjern, 1996).

This approach entails that when the protocol is collocated, the names of actors revealed in the encounter with the respondent, will in turn also be interviewed. Hence, after the first collocation an assessment will be made regarding the level of contribution the different actors would make to the study. The same pattern of conversation as with the first respondents will be conducted. This first layer of actors may reveal further actors, and hence a 'snowball' sampling method is implemented (Ibid). How to reveal these actors is clarified below.

¹³ See appendix 2.

2.2.3 Conducting the interview through the ‘For Whom’- methodology

The interview method used is similar at all levels of implementation since the conversation methodology used in the FWG has the same overbridging scheme¹⁴ (Hjern, 1996). The point of departure is, as stated, a ‘bottom-up’ approach. There are, nevertheless, differences within the scheme depending on the study conducted. Here the point of departure, as well as the focus, dedicated to the conversation and the minimal interference of the story told by the interviewed and the way of telling this story.

In the initial stage of the interview it was however imperative for the researcher to relate to the person interviewed, to present the researcher and to explain the purpose of the interview. A brief explanation of the purpose of the study was provided and a clarification that the interview was voluntary and that they were to remain anonymous. The interviews then follow a pattern, ideally unnoticed by the respondent, which contains four different boxes. The boxes are filled with the content for the interview and are here briefly summarised (Ibid):

- **Box 1 – Define the needs of the interviewed**

In this step the fundamental needs of the respondent will be identified and put in its context. Focus will also reside in their general sustenance situation from their perspective and what impedes their development. For the women participating in initiatives they will be asked how they reached the conclusion that support was necessary and what kind of support they desire. Here the emphasis will also rest on how they came in contact with the organisation supporting them, i.e. with whom, and the forums used for this contact.

- **Box 2 – Prioritise alternatives for a solution to the need**

Once the needs are defined the interview will steer toward what the woman herself desire or need in order to improve her situation. Hence alternatives and possible solutions to the situation as well as a future desired scenario of the respondent will be deliberated. The question With Whom is once again important in order to investigate how the desired solutions may be provided who to provide it.

- **Box 3 – Realisation of alternatives and solutions**

In this step the conversation will focus on the solutions provided by the programme as well as the opinions of the respondent regarding these solutions. The person will be asked to reason regarding the sufficiency of the arrangements made, who provided them and the participation of the receiver in making these arrangements.

¹⁴ See appendix 2.

▪ **Box 4 – General evaluation**

In the evaluation all the previous steps will be concluded. Questions regarding whether the respondent have discussed their needs or alternatives for a solution with anyone, in that case with whom. Important is also how the individual evaluates the programme up until this point and whether they consider the resources of the programme to have been used in an efficient way. The interviews are rounded off through a brief summary of the interview, especially if something in particular needed further explanation or clarification.

As here elucidated, the question of ‘With Who’ is of utmost importance since it implicates the entire foundation for this way of conducting a research. It is also essential in order to pin point the different supportive actors to the PRD, their role in the programme, as well as the participants’ indirect views of the programme through the actor organisations.

The interviews are hence of a semi structured character since the questions possess a certain structure and the answers are arranged in an unstructured way (Svenning, 2003). Nevertheless, when the procedure follows the pattern of the FWG it is manageable at the same time as the personal contact between researcher and respondent is kept intact and profound.

2.2.4 Making contact with the interviewed

The persons interviewed were, as mentioned, randomly selected from lists as well as on the streets or on the fields of the villages. In order to approach the persons selected from the lists, help was received from CIED and ASDE, who with their knowledge of the districts and the participants of their workshops could assist with the localisations of the persons selected. Contact was then established and interviews conducted preferably in the home or somewhere secure for the interviewed. Important to mention is that the contact was made by the researcher and not by the representatives of the organisations and that the women interviewed hence were selected by the researcher. In the cases where the women were not participants in any initiatives, contact was made in different ways. In some cases contact was made simply on the street and with others when they were working their fields or realising other types of labour. Diversity was strived for, both in age as well as background.

In the case of the women in Yarabamba, Quequeña and Polobaya, the making of contact went more smoothly than in Majes. This was to a great extent due to the proximity in the villages as well as the accessibility to the persons desired to interview. The women were in general somewhat suspicious about being interviewed, but in the interim of the interview the respondent was explained the circumstances and the nature of the study and became more complaisant. In Majes the poor infrastructure and the distances increased the difficulties of approaching people in rural areas and made the making of contact more complicated. Due to this, the study was limited to the more rural part of La Colina as well as the more urban part of El Pedregal. In Majes ASDE helped with locating the women chosen from lists provided by them and the rest of the women interviewed were chosen randomly in El Pedregal and La Colina. The work in Majes was also monitored both through visit at the schools for the

younger women as well as the recording of one of the radio shows recorded through the *Red Juvenil*. The researcher also participated in the celebration of the completion of the first phase of the project in Sogay where important contacts were made, both with the inhabitants as well as representatives for organisations as well as for the municipality.

2.3 Limitations of the specified methodological approach

Conducting this study lead to several insights regarding its limitations that here will be presented. To start, lessons learned from other parts of the world regarding poverty alleviation and sustention situation may be of benefit, but one must remember the difference towards other poor regions in the world possessed by the Peruvian population. Differences such as geography, climate and cultural heritage deserve to be mentioned. These differences entail problems not present in other regions. The geography poses problems of infrastructure and accessibility, the climate brings extreme weather conditions which may pose problems for the agrarian sector and, the cultural pose problems of ethnical discrimination and marginalisation. This implies that the results of the study should not be used in generalising purposes. Hence the results here presented are specific and drawn from concrete conditions investigated in this specific investigation. However, as the study is of an explorative and descriptive nature its purpose is to increase the understanding of the reader regarding the situation of the actual areas. It will hence not solely describe the situation, rather explore and draw conclusions from the reality observed.

It is important to have in mind that this is a qualitative research, i.e. an interpretive process where the researcher interprets the world that she/he has entered (Rallis & Rossman, 2003). This entails a personal subjectivity on part of the researcher, which here has been attempted to minimise at all times. The reader must however be aware of its potential presence. The interviews has been processed by the researcher herself and some difficulties were encountered regarding the 'bottom-up' perspective or rather the ability of the people interviewed to refer to actors higher up the ladder. This lead to that treating the authorities mentioned the persons interviewed were partially selected by the researcher whereas the persons closer to the people, such as representatives for the organisations, where mentioned by the people interviewed.

Further there exist an inherit difficulty in evaluating programmes in which participation is voluntary and different clients uses the services with varying degree of intensity (Islam, 2007). In trying to prevent this problem a fairly large quantity of woman was interviewed, both actives as well as nonactives in initiatives. This in order to increase the diversity of the women interviewed and to create an image as accurate as possible of the reality. This may nevertheless create a drawback for the study that the results may vary depending on which people got interviewed.

This research was also limited in time to nine weeks of field studies. In some areas a longer research period would have been to prefer in order to fully grasp the situation and living conditions of the women interviewed. The time limit felt sufficient in the areas of Yarabamba, Quequeña and Polobaya in order to get their general picture of the current situation for

increased understanding since the areas are fairly small, both to the surface as well as to the population. In Majes, however, the situation was much more complicated as to the cultural, economic and social compound, and here more time would have been to desire. Due to this complexity, patterns in the community were hard to reveal, and for this as well more time would have been to desire in order to more profoundly grasp the nature of the cultural, economic and social situation in the area.

Another important limitation was the researcher's knowledge of the spoken language (Spanish). Even though a general understanding was conceived by the researcher, some details may have been lost during the interviews. Here interpretation advices were given by the assistant who joined during the investigations. The assistance did not make personal interpretations, merely of the language itself.

3 Svalorna and the Programme for Rural Development

3.1 The context of the PRD

The Programme for Rural Development (PRD) is a common contribution made by several organisations within the department of Arequipa in southern Peru. The skills and experiences of each organisation participating in the initiative have been crucial ingredients for its realisation. They have all contributed, and strive to continue contributing, to the development of the institutional capacity in the rural areas of Arequipa through consolidating the democratic processes through participation and development at an organisational level. The purpose of the organisations is further to use the PRD to alleviate the general economic situation for families in rural areas. Even though the initiative to PRD was taken by Svalorna Latin America, there are today four collaborating local NGOs for the implementation of the PRD: ASDE, CIED, CR-ESOA and SADA who all have contributed to the formation of the PRD.

Within thematic and geographical delimitations the penetrating power should mainly be directed towards women and youth and intended to be implemented in the provinces of Arequipa, Caylloma, Condesuyos and La Unión in southern Peru. The task to consolidate components such as a culture for participation, interactivity, access to information and possibility to influence, is essential in the development of methods and strategies within the PRD. The initial period for implementation of PRD is currently stretched over five years, 2007-2011.

3.2 Cooperation organisations within the PRD

As mentioned, there are four main partners for Svalorna regarding the implementation of the PRD. For this study, due to reasons before motivated, the two core organisations are CIED and ASDE. The organisations are both dedicated to research, guidance and the execution of projects within their areas of expertise. CIED and ASDE are part initiators of the PRD and executors of directives agreed upon with Svalorna, where the role of Svalorna is primarily the financier and assistance of guidance. Hence the PRD was evolved through discussion between all parts (Svalorna together with their cooperation organisations) where Svalorna gave directives stated both from the head office in Stockholm as well as from the office in Arequipa. These directives were modified and discussed to some extent to suit all parties. This entailed that Svalorna presented their requirements for cooperation and financing of the different projects conducted by the organisations in line with PRD and the cooperation organisations presented concrete ideas and views of possible implementation areas and projects. The cooperation organisations within the PRD are carefully selected by Svalorna, mainly through years of cooperation and continuous evaluation. They also have demands that the organisations conduct their work in a democratic manner and that a democratic foundation permeates all activities and projects. Svalorna accept that the organisations cooperate with

other financiers within their projects connected to the PRD, but a continuous evaluation and discussion is prominent. CIED and ASDE are hence the organisations that carry out the activities in the region with a direct contact with the beneficiaries. Below a brief presentation of these two organisations will be provided as well as their roles within the programme.

3.2.1 CIED – Centro de investigación, Educación y Desarrollo

The organisation was created in 1973 and is a private organisation with presence on national level. It hence functions in a decentralised manner with focus on development of the human capital and general improvement of the livelihood situation in areas where it operates (Svalorna, 2006). The general focus is on rural development, foremost agriculture, within the concept of decentralisation. Here they work to great extent departing from a ‘platform’ with assistance to entrepreneurs (foremost agricultural) with complementary services to facilitate their development (CIED, 2007).

Here the participation of the beneficiaries is essential and focus has before been on the self sufficiency of foremost women through participation in entrepreneurial activities (Zarauz et al., 2001). This is mainly done through technical assistance and skills improvements, as well as future desire of administration of microcredits (Ibid).

3.2.2 ASDE – Acción Social y Desarrollo

The ASDE was created in 1987 and implement their work mainly in the province of Caylloma, both the high parts as well as the low parts (ASDE, 2007), and is hence more local than the CIED. The work is sighted toward the many urgent and pressing needs of their target group in the area, foremost women and youth, through both social work and development. This is conducted through the implementation of programmes and projects for development cooperation within the areas of health, agriculture, cattle production, fish breeding, as well as marketing and education (Svalorna, 2007). Work recently executed is improvement within the healthcare, improvement of the production and commercialization, mainly of byproducts from alpacas as well as preventive education of emergency situations (such as natural disasters) (ASDE, 2007).

3.3 Objectives and strategies of the PRD

The PRD contains both general and specific goals for the period 2007-2011. In the long term the goal is to obtain a sustainable rural development, which is in line with the general ambition of the programme. The general goal is hence to make the regional civil organisations and the institutions can cooperate in the local administration in the task of dynamising the local economy and family livelihood (Svalorna, 2006).

There are two specific goals of the PRD:

1. Consolidate the democratic processes through an organised social participation, enunciation of coordinated propositions and political influence, all through an egalitarian perspective.
2. Improvement of the economic situation for women and youth in rural areas with focus on sustainability.

In order to meet these goals the programme will conduct two overbridging strategies: education and information. Due to the line of approach of this study, focus will be on the second specific goal. This part hence refers to sustentation and economy, where the activities within the PRD will focus on strengthening the reasoning among the woman and youth regarding business and economy, as well as advocating and stimulating initiative for starting small scale enterprises and improve the access to the market for the rural producers (Ibid). Intended concrete activities to meet the goals are composing marketing and business plans for microenterprises as well as consolidate the organisational abilities of the producers in order to exchange skills and experiences.

3.4 Expected results and future prospects

The PRD includes several expected results. The results presented below originate from the second specific goal for increased understanding regarding the economic development in the areas of implementation.

- **The local economy is strengthened by the creation and implementation of the microenterprises developed by women and youth.**
- **Local product chains are enhanced, with an access to local, parochial or regional markets.**
- **Rural producers organise themselves and are engaged in the work conducted by local authorities and institutions facilitating the decision making of the producer.**

The implementation of microenterprises is expected to, besides strengthening the local economy, create a diversification and widening of the local economy. This also demands an enhanced product chain with an easy access to markets, as well as education regarding marketing and consolidation of local producer's organisations. A concrete aim is here to establish an information centre for the local producers and entrepreneurs (Svalorna, 2006).

3.5 'CNR'¹⁵ and Majes

In this section a brief introduction to the areas is provided and a further elaboration follows under section 6 and 7. The economic presuppositions and the directionality of the production in the region around Arequipa depend to a large extent on geographical and climatological conditions. The altitude oscillates between 2500 and 4500 meters above sea level, with Majes as an exception at 800 meters. This naturally entails difficulties for the local producers when the accessibility to the markets both is limited and time consuming. This also affects the options of agricultural occupation. In the higher areas the main occupation is the breeding of alpacas and llama animals, whereas the lower areas are dominated by dairy farming and agricultural production (Svalorna, 2006).

In CNR the main sources of income are agriculture, which also lays the foundation to other economic activities, as well as the production of milk (CIED, 2006). In the villages people are highly dependent on variables such as water and technology in order to make the agriculture more efficient. In Majes the agriculture is joined by the commerce as a source of income. The inhabitants sell what can be sold and this offers an alternative to the traditional agriculture. Majes has around 40 000 inhabitants (number vary regarding to source) and CNR around 13 000 (CIED, 2006).

The area has a rough surface which is characterised by heavy layers of volcanic lava recovering large areas of its inter-Andean sector, and the agricultural sector is characterised by lack of permanent technical and credit assistance and a disadvantage in the low quality production of its soil where food plants like potatoes, wheat, quinoa or corn are mainly cultivated (PeruInfo, 2007). The exception is the district of Majes where small plateaus and dunes represent characteristics of the desert of Arequipa (Ibid). Majes consists to a large extent of immigrants, mainly from the Sierra, which started entering after the irrigation system in the area was ready in the mid 1980s, whereas CNR has a long history and is often referred to as the Traditional Villages.

¹⁵ La CNR (Cuenca No Regulada) is the general term for all 7 districts in the River Chili Valley. The term is here used in reference to Quequeña, Yaramba and Polobaya.

4. Background to the social, political and economic situation of Peru

4.1 Introduction

This section provides the reader, with a certain retrospect as well as more contemporary information, an introduction to the social, political and economic situation of Peru in order to increase the insight in the general situation in the country.

The apparent evidence of political instability and social exclusion has historically been worsened by Peru's irregular pattern of economic development (Morón & Sandborn, 2006). Temporary economic booms have occurred, but its benefits have fallen in the hands of a small group, without interest in redistributing the income. Peru historically also lacked a governing class capable of providing the firm leadership to the state and unifying the nation, which in turn led to an extensive military interference (Ibid). Peru has since 1979 oscillated between semi democratic and democratic regimes in the Latin American sense of the notion. This often implies an almost universal option for a president, rather than parliamentary type of democracy, widespread nepotism and corruption (Diamond, Hartlyn & Linz 1999).

The Peruvian economy is today enjoying its longest expansion on record with a real GDP growth which has averaged over 5 percent annually since 2002 (Countrywatch, 2007). Since the economic crisis during the 1980s, several cycles of liberalisation have left the domestic economy more vulnerable towards external factors. At the same time this liberalisation has contributed to the benefits provided by the international market with increased trade of goods, services and capital. The inflation rates, which reached a level of hyperinflation during the late 1980s, are also kept at stable levels providing both monetary and fiscal economic stability (Castillo, Montory & Tuesta, 2006). Despite this economic development its fruits have not yet trickled-down to the people in the greatest need of it.

4.2 General financial structure of Peru and development performance

In many key respects the Peruvian development performance has been inferior to the Latin American norm. This as the result of three things: First, during the period 1900 to 1987 the real GDP of Peru grew at an average rate of 3.6 percent to compare with 3.8 percent for the whole region (McClintock, 1999). Second, the growth has been almost exclusively reliant on the export sector for a longer time than other Latin American states. This open market economy has entailed some positive results when world market prices were kept at a high level, but also various negative dimensions, particularly the failure to address the historical economic inequalities (Ibid). Finally, there has never existed a positive correlation between democratic governments and economic growth or redistribution (Ibid).

The implications brought by the export oriented economy are numerous, such as economic instability with a high volatility. The economy has been described throughout history as 'dualistic'. This implied that one part of the economy was modernised with a focus on export

of primary commodities that registered economic growth and the other part of the economy was the traditional sector based on subsistence agriculture that did not grow (McClintock, 1999). This phenomenon has to great extent laid the foundation of the worsening of the income distribution as the result of increasing concentration of land ownership and as well as land scarcity, both of which worsened the landlessness (Ibid).

During the period 1980s to 1990s the Peruvian economy, together with a great part of Latin America, suffered an enormous economic crisis with a growth rate of -3.4 percent in GDP/capita (McClintock, 1999). The region fell into a deep economic crisis which was initiated in 1982 when Mexico announced that they could not continue paying their huge foreign debt. This action was rapidly followed by other Latin American countries, including Peru, initiating the worst crises during the 20th century (Cavarozzi, 1991). During this time poverty increased, affecting not only the before marginalised groups such as the highlands peasants, but increasingly urban families as well. The incidence for poverty in both rural and urban Peru increased from 50 percent of families in 1970 to 52 percent in 1986 and after 1986 it was increased even more (McClintock, 1999).

Between 1990 and 1997, Peru's economy was thoroughly transformed with the adopting of a structural adjustment programme. These adjustments were initiated by Alberto Fujimori who occupied the presidency between 1990-2000 and managed, despite his other shortages, to achieve general fiscal stability (Morón & Sanborn, 2006). These reform efforts faltered during 1998-2001 due to a combination of political and external shocks and policy slippages. But since mid 2001, further reforms and fiscal consolidation have been implemented and created stability. The participation of the State has increased in productive activities while decreased its regulatory role. As a result, the Peruvian economy has been reaping the benefits of sound policies in recent years, in the context of a favourable global environment (Countrywatch, 2007). As mentioned the economy has grown at an annual average rate of over 5 percent since 2002, the longest expansion on record, along with low inflation, a solid external position, and declining indebtedness.

4.3 The current socioeconomic situation: Peru in general

The 28 million people today inhabiting the enormous country (Sweden, Finland and Norway put together) are descendants of a variety of different cultures and ethnic background. Peru's distinct geographical regions are mirrored in a socioeconomic divide between the coast's mestizo-Hispanic culture and the more diverse, traditional Andean cultures of the mountains and highland areas (Countrywatch, 2007).

The profound inequality in the country descends from the Spanish conquest during the 16th century which institutionalised existing geographic, ethnic and cultural disparities, driving a wedge between the small European ruling class and the mass of Indians and Africans (Morón & Sanborn, 2006). Today the political and economic development can be claimed to mainly focus on two things; the globalisation of trade, services and capital and the internal process of decentralisation. The process of decentralisation in this historically extremely centralised country is considered an important variable since it may consolidate democracy and

contribute to human development in a region with a strong heritage of central governance (PNUD, 2006). Unfortunately the political climate is still coloured by historical political decisions which has contributed to perpetuate the historical legacies of authoritarianism, personalism, social inequality and conflict. Historically this has led to deployment of power, then foremost during the presidency of Alberto Fujimori (Morón & Sanborn, 2006).

Despite these favourable developments, Peru is still faced with substantial challenges. Poverty remains widespread with half of the population still living below the poverty line. Despite the significant economic growth during the last few years it has had a limited effect on the unemployment rate and the poverty situation. This since the growth has been generated primarily in the mining sector where few new employments are created (SIDA, 2004). Hence the historical pattern repeats itself when the distributive concept of 'trickle-down' does not work.

During the past decade, the Peruvian rural sector has been exposed to a major liberalisation program. These reforms have swept away much of what had been highly interventionist policies. In addition to macroeconomic reforms, the government implemented major structural reforms in the areas of trade policy, privatisation, and the financial sector. In agriculture the reforms included substantial liberalisation of agricultural trade, the elimination of price controls over agricultural products, the liberalisation of the land market allowing land ownership by domestic firms and foreigners, the elimination of most agricultural input subsidies, and a severe downsizing of most public agricultural institutions. Together with these policy reforms, there was a major investment effort undertaken in the rural areas, including rural roads, electrification, and drinkable water and sewage systems (Escobar, 2001).

Even though many of the structural changes has been in the economic field, many improvements has also been realised to consolidate democracy. As mentioned, the democratic foundation in the country is weak with a limited civil participation and influence. Hence it has been essential in recent times to increase civil participation and promote organisation and influence in the political life in order to provide people with the possibility to influence their own lives. Recently the State has therefore constructed a law active in all municipalities regarding civil participation in the local governments called *Presupuesto Participativo* (freely translated: *Participatory Budget*) as a part of the process of decentralisation. In this forum citizens can make their voice heard once a year in an assembling where people who are organised can impel their wants and needs. This is intended to increase the participation of the citizen, give them an incentive to organise and hence create a counterweight to the local government. This forum does not, however, include all citizens of e.g. a village. This could be the case if all citizens were to be members of an organisation which possessed a *Libro de Actas* which is necessary in order to be allowed to participate in the *Participatory Budget* meetings. In other words, in order to participate the citizen needs to be member of a registered organisation which in turn possesses a *Libro de Actas* that is provided by the municipality to every registered organisation. To clarify, all citizens are allowed to passively participate, but in order to present proposals and opine a *Libro de Actas* is mandatory.

5 Rural development

5.1 An introduction to rural development and poverty

Poverty alleviation is about enabling the poor to have sustainable livelihoods and improving the qualities of their lives. One definition for sustainable development could be referred to as: "...improvement in livelihoods which does not undermine the livelihoods of future generations (environmental sustainability), and which can be sustained over time (institutional sustainability)" (Shepard, 1998, p.3). Further livelihood should be seen as more than just income and wealth, also quality of life and society, security, and dignity might be just as important to those whose livelihoods need improving (Ibid).

By nearly all definitions of poverty in use or proposed, the phenomenon is more serious in rural than in urban areas (Berry, 2004). This is also the case in Peru, particularly in the Andean highlands and in the south of the country (PNUD, 2006). Important is, however, to apprehend that 'rural' means population concentration (village/town) below a threshold that varies (in official definition) by country, usually concentrations of approximately 1000 or less (Reardon et al., 2001). Traditional measures of poverty, which relates merely on purchasing power, may be misleading due to several reasons, especially in the case of rural poverty. These reasons include the fact that income or consumption measures carried out at a family or household level (e.g. per capita family income) do not make any distinctions by gender, age or position within the family (Berry, 2004). This kind of measurement also excludes variables such as the positive benefits of having a job or the consumption of public services not traded in the market. During the 1970s the 'Basic need' approach to poverty was developed in order to modify the narrowness of the standard income/consumption approach. This was done by drawing the attention to other determinants of welfare (Berry, 2004). This definition focuses on basic nutritious needs, access to health, education and housing services. The UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI) is a compound of the two.

Rural development is a process of development designed to improve the quality of life of village people and may be equated with rural prosperity, rural modernisation and upliftment (Islam, 2007). Reducing rural poverty must be the dominant focus of the war on poverty, not only because a large majority of the world's poor is rural, but also because the urban poor are migrants trying to escape rural poverty. One can hence claim that attacking rural poverty is in some sense tackling the problem at its source (Khan, 2004). Poverty is not either merely a question of lack or dearth of income, but also of marginalisation, deprivation and exclusion. Hence eradication of poverty requires sufficient attention towards these noneconomic related issues as well (Burra, Deshmukh-Ranadive & Murthy 2005).

5.2 The rural situation in Peru in general and Arequipa in particular

Arequipa is the second largest city in Peru with a population of around one million. The area is an extension of the Atacama Desert which stretches northward from the north part of Chile. This entails a dry climate with only a couple of months of rain each year and hence a great part of the activities in the area depend on the water supply.

According to SIDA there are three different approaches to divide poverty in Peru (SIDA, 2004). The first one is *cyclical*, as a result of economic crisis, and comes into evidence in the larger cities. The latter two are of a structural character; the *endemic*, i.e. prevalent in, or particular to, a specific region and the locality of people; and *chronic* poverty, which is mostly present on the rural areas where there is no or little access to basic services or opportunities for personal development (Ibid). During Peruvian history all three of these types of poverty have been, or still is, experienced. The cyclical to a great extent during the late 80s and beginning of the 90s, the endemic which is present at all times within the structure of society and the chronic poverty which foremost is evident in the rural parts, foremost in the mountainous areas (the sierra).

In Peru regional disparities are large and increasing (Escobal, 2001). Most reduction in poverty realised in the past decade has occurred in only two zones that are both urban: in the capital region of Lima and in the urban Sierra. Rural Peru maintains a high poverty rate: in 2001 83.4 percent of the inhabitants in the sierra rural¹⁶ were found under the poverty line compared to the national index of 54.8 percent (ENAH0, 2001). This poverty profile can partly be explained by the distinct regional allocation of human, physical, financial and organisational assets as well as the endowment of public goods.

Equally important in poverty alleviation is an active State committed to eradicating poverty, providing the proper environment for proper broad political of the poor through participation an effective local government system, and creating various partnerships for pro poor growth (Chowdhury, 2004). The decentralisation process is well under way in Peru, but the administration is still extremely focused on the urban areas of the country and foremost of the capital region of Lima. Nevertheless, the characterisation of macro and microeconomics of rural poverty in a region gives the basis for understanding the logic of different types of poverty reduction strategies, since development cannot succeed without favourable macro and sartorial policies (de Janvry & Sadoulet, 2004). Most official reports produced by the Peruvian government or by multilateral institutions, such as the World Bank who have shaped the Peruvian agricultural policy agenda during the past 15 years, have focused almost exclusively on agricultural development as the way to reduce rural poverty and achieve sustainable economic growth in rural areas. This approach could be seen as mechanical and inflexible and important researchers in the area have during the last few years understood the importance of a holistic concept of development, i.e. a struggle departing from programme rather than sectorial approach (Shepherd, 1999, Islam, 2007). This holistic approach has been admitted by the work conducted by Svalorna in Arequipa through the implementation of the PRD and a work focusing on programmes rather than projects in the rural areas of Arequipa.

¹⁶ The rural areas up in the mountains.

Escobal (2001) elucidates that there are many studies done that has shown the importance of nonfarm activities in the area around Arequipa, where the nonfarm activities accounted for as much as 37 percent of the total income of the region. Hence the importance of creating alternatives to the present sustenance in order to decrease vulnerability of the population as well as increase the possibilities for the population to fight poverty. That study also showed that access to public goods and services together with an adequate endowment of private assets (especially education and credit) can improve access to self employment nonagricultural as well as wage employment income sources in rural Peru (Ibid). Hence the presence and support of the state through public institutions is a crucial component for the development in the region.

6 Yarabamba, Quequeña and Polobaya

6.1 Introduction

The districts of Yarabamba, Quequeña and Polobaya are three out of seven districts which make up *La Cuenca no regulada del río Chili* (CNR), which is a region situated east of the city of Arequipa. In 2005 the area had a joined population of 13839 people (CIED, 2006). Yarabamba and Polobaya are two of the largest districts in the area, whereas Quequeña is fairly small. As the districts oscillates between different altitudes a natural biodiversity within the areas are created, since different crops are preferred to different altitudes (CIED, 2006). Polobaya is situated higher than the others at an altitude of more around 3000 meters above sea level, whereas the other two are found at around 2300 meters above sea level. Foremost in the district of Yarabamba copper is extracted in vast quantities. The districts all together have a long and interesting history with an extensive cultural heritage and that is why the villages are often referred to as ‘traditional villages’. This has created a common identity among the villagers, a sense of a common history and that they have the same roots. The districts are located close to the city of Arequipa, which vicinity is vital for the economic life of the region due to the necessary access to its market, higher education and basic services.

In the three districts of the CNR investigated one can observe two main ways of sustentation: agriculture and the raising of cattle for milk production. A third way is within the commercial business, but it is less spread and consists foremost of restaurants or small convenient stores. Further, a forth way of sustentation is through tourism. This source of livelihood is increasing in importance but is still fairly insignificant in the total economy. The area of tourism is currently the main focus for the CIED which today foremost is engaged in developing the village of Sogay in Yarabamba into a ‘pilot village’ as an example for other villages to follow. Today the tourism that exists is foremost local, i.e. people from Arequipa visit the ‘traditional villages’ over the weekend. There are, however, great scarcities in the infrastructure and sanitation etc. in order for the tourism to develop even more at this stage even thought the prerequisites are there. Since the focus today lays on Sogay, the activities in the village of Yarabamba and in Quequeña are at present put on hold. The work today conducted in Sogay is a part of the regional investment in the project *Ruta del Loncco* (Route of the traditional farmer) which is to become a tourist attraction in the area with a decided route where the tourist can enjoy all the traditional splendour offered by the region. The other focus area for CIED is the ecological agriculture in Polobaya through the organisation APEP. The work realised by CIED in line with the PRD in the region was generally perceived as positive by the women interviewed in the three districts and also that the work was relevant. A major critique, foremost in Quequeña and Yarabamba, was however that the work at times was inconsistent. “The workshops in themselves are good, but sometimes it is too long between the times we meet and we never know how long it is going to be between the meetings” (Interview: B.1). This meant that minor benefits came out of engaging in the workshops and the women could not see any long or short term profit, both economical and personal.

As a part of the *Presupuesto Participativo*, i.e. the civil participation, the different municipalities in the CNR have commenced an initiative referred to as *Organisation of*

Municipalities (Asociación de Municipalidades). This was initiated in order to be able to increase the importance of CNR at a regional level since they together have a stronger voice. In this way the opinions and views of the participating citizens will have better penetrating power and be better able to influence even at a higher level in the decision making machinery. The thought behind the *Organisation of Municipalities* is to bring the results from the *Presupuesto Participativo* up to the regional level and also that the different municipalities have many issues in common and might as well struggle together in order to reach their goals.

The migration from the villages in the different districts is a common phenomenon that threatens the rebirth. This is due to the fact that all higher education is situated in the cities as well as the work opportunities when they have finished their education. In Yarabamba two primary education facilities are found, in Quequeña one and in Polobaya six, while secondary facilities are more scarce with one in Yarabamba, none in Quequeña and one in Polobaya. This entails that the adolescences sometimes have to travel long distances in areas with poor (CIED, 2006) infrastructure in order to get to school.

In a majority of the areas in the districts the basic services are also scarce. This includes, among other things: potable water: the water in the tap is not drinkable and the inhabitants has to wait for the lorry that arrives with water; drain: majority of the inhabitants does not have water closet or eduction; infrastructure: the road to Yarabamba and Quequeña was recently improved, but the access to Polobaya and the roads within the districts are often inadequate.

6.2 Yarabamba

The district of Yarabamba is spread over a fairly large area with the river Yarabamba as the artery running through the main village also called Yarabamba. In the year of 2005 the number of inhabitants in the district reached 1245 persons and 68 percent of them live in rural areas (CIED, 2006). Where the river or the irrigation does not reach the landscape is fairly pebbly and dry and one can easily notice the necessity of the access to water. The main part of the interviews was conducted in the village of Yarabamba. Since the village is small it was easy to get in touch with women conducting all types of labour. The cooperation organisation active in the area is CIED, which has concentrated its main activities to another village in the same district; Sogay. Sogay is a small, beautiful village situated about 10 km from the village of Yarabamba. Here CIED is under way with constructing an office and they have lately undertaken a variety of projects mainly concerning the investment in tourism in the village. However, the focus of the work conducted by CIED in the area of Yarabamba is concerning the agriculture, foremost ecological as well as different initiatives concerning the upcoming tourism. The focus of the workshops in Yarabamba has been on gastronomic and tourism activities. The main topic in the gastronomic workshops has been on traditional culinary art that the region is known of since before. One important part of this traditional food is the guinea-pig which forms a part of many traditional courses.

6.2.1 Problems and challenges recognised in Yarabamba

“There is no future for the adolescence here; they need to emigrate to the city in order to get work and/or education” (Interview: A.1¹⁷). “Without an improved water situation the village will not survive” (Interview: A.6). Yarabamba is a district with great potentials, but also with vast problems. The economic situation has during the last years improved, but the pace is slow. Even though the majority of the women interviewed consider the living conditions to have improved they also express their frustration for the slow development and say that many are still only working for their survival. In Yarabamba people foremost make their living from agriculture and dairy production, but also on part time labour either for the municipality or on the fields at harvest time or other periods when extra labour force is required. The milk is sold to Gloria that is the leading dairy company in the area and the fact is that the competition is very low is also reflected in the price they receive (1.21 SEK/litre) which do not represent the real value of the product. Further regarding the milk production is that there exist no refinement of the milk, i.e. the production of cheese or yoghurt and other lacto products. Within the agriculture the main crops are alfalfa (forage to the cows), corn, garlic and wheat.

The production is run in a traditional manner and is constantly overshadowed by the main problem for the agriculture: the lack of water. The common perception is that the situation has worsened during the last years and that it keeps deteriorating. The allocation of the water is done through an irrigation committee, but the problem is still severe. As with many areas of the Peruvian society either bribes or ‘amigismo’¹⁸ creates a bias in the way the water is handled out to the people. “The access to water is not equal for everyone. Favourable contacts with members of the water committee may improve your access considerably” (Interview 1.4). This issue creates severe problems between different districts; Yarabamba and Quequeña has joined forces towards Polobaya since the latter is situated higher up in the mountain and hence receives more water, and between Yarabamba and Quequeña where the former has a larger cultivated area and less water than Quequeña which they consider not fair. This tense situation was also possible to notice at the municipalities of Yarabamba and Quequeña where they expressed difficulties of cooperation between the two neighbouring districts. Through interviews it became clear that if this situation does not improve the situation is going to become catastrophically in the district with even higher emigration as a consequence.

Apart from the problem with the water as a large restraint for the development of the community, the lack of work opportunities was the problem most frequently brought up. The work opportunities that do exist are frequently temporary and do not provide a secure income over time. The situation was even more severe for the adolescences that were more or less forced to move to the city in order to obtain a job or an education. Both the active and the nonactive group had in common that they considered that something needs to be done for the youth if they are to stay in the districts in the future. Some of the youth have gained work in the many mines in the area, but the common notion is that the mines together with the municipality should do more for the local economy and for the youth.

¹⁷ See appendix 4.

¹⁸ ‘Amigismo’ freely translated implies when friends enjoy benefits among themselves with an exchange of services.

The community in Yarabamba has a long tradition and old forebears. They have all preconditions for constructing an important organisational life in order to strengthen democratic participation and economic development, but yet women still express lack in incitements for organising and in confidence for other women. The importance of organising in order to obtain economic development was well recognised among the women, foremost due to that organising indirectly means more influence in the municipality. In the search for an explanation of the difficulties for organising one explanation according to the women could be that it is not something they prioritise in their regular lives where they instead struggle every day just to have food on the table. "I do not have time to get involved in different initiatives since all my time is spent to put food on the table" (Interview: A.4). Another explanation is the widespread mistrust and that the egoism and individualism is extremely present. "Everyone struggles to improve their own economic situation without a sense of the common good or common goals to strive for" (Interview: A.3). The third explanation is that it is hard to keep members active and engaged in activities if they cannot see immediate and concrete results. This problem was expressed by the tourist committee in Yarabamba that quickly lost active members without a concrete result of its work. This lack in organisational power also reflected upon the possibilities for entrepreneurship and the initiation of small scale enterprises. The women recognised the essentiality of organising, both directly and indirectly. Directly since many of the initiatives mentioned, such as the breeding of guinea pigs, required a joined commitment, but also indirectly since the lack of organisation held back the elaboration of business ideas among the women. This was proved since the group of women involved in different initiatives had more ideas of alternative sustentation than the women who stood outside any initiative.

Another indirect reason mentioned was the hardship of finding engaged and motivated leaders within the community with the confidence of the people behind him/her. Since the community seems to lack strong hierarchical tendencies the important question of leadership is a delicate one. The lack of fostering of new leaders is another problem restraining the district from economic development.

6.2.2 Alternatives and solutions to identified problems in Yarabamba

Regarding the future economic situation for the women in Yarabamba the women interviewed took a reserved standpoint where they did not dare to amplify their belief in the future development of the district. Neither did they possess many concrete ideas for how they wanted a possible change to look like, their role in it and how they themselves could improve their situation. This was foremost among the women who were not part of any capacitating activities, whereas the women who regularly participated in any of the two activities provided by CIED (gastronomy and tourism) had much more ideas and energetic regarding their and the future of the village. The women involved in the village of Yarabamba also seemed to be the same group of women the whole village is involved in the initiatives under way and that they also were more positive to the future, which seems to have much to do with the initiatives initiated by the CIED during the last two years.

The alternative sustentation methods which were deliberated during the base interviews were, as mentioned, limited. In the group that was not active in any initiatives provided by CIED or

the authorities, the focus was pointed towards the improvements necessary within the agriculture and the milk production. This treated foremost which type of crops that could be more rentable as well as how to make the production of milk more efficient. In the more active group they spoke more of tourism as an alternative, foremost in Sogay. A part of the most active group spoke of the initiation of a tourist centre where guides could show the tourist the many places to visit in the region. These women spoke of the vital cooperation between the inhabitants in the village in order to enable the initiation of an initiative like this.

The workshops already realised in the district did all focus on future tourism in the district, where better supply of quality food and a better treatment would improve the visit of the tourist. Two years ago a group of women started the Committee of Tourism that has as a goal to improve the environment for the tourists and to initiate a tourist information facility. During the time of existence many women have however left the group, much due to the lack of concrete results, according to the women still in the group. This group also expressed their frustration over that they have participated in many capacity increasing activities, but when they finished they have nowhere where they can use their knowledge. “We are capacitated enough. Now we need to transform our theoretical knowledge into practice!” (Interview: 3.1). The lack of capital and help to commence initiatives is constantly present as impediments to convert the theory to practice. One example of this was a workshop regarding guinea-pig breeding where they had visited real farms to see how the work was conducted. The majority of the women were very interested, but to make the business profitable large quantities of guinea-pigs are needed for the market and they therefore thought of production cooperation. To make that reality many variables needs to be considered however, such as how who will be the leader, rules of production, input of money, access to the market etc. Too many difficult questions to address for a close group of women not used to cooperate. They expressed the necessity in these situations of a third part to help organising, which was not the case in this example.

For the younger people of the community education was mentioned as a key variable in the struggle of making them stay put in the village, or at least return after a time in the city. Education in the form of practical professions was asked for. With skilled labour, such as shoemakers or electricians, the district could develop and strengthen the local economy. They also consider a higher technical education to be extremely positive for the economic development of the district with local plumbers, carpenters, shoemakers or hairdressers, none of which you today can find in the district.

6.3 Quequeña

Quequeña is one of the smallest districts in CNR and the smallest of the districts participating in this study. Quequeña had in the year 2005 774 inhabitants and of those 56.6 percent lived in rural areas (CIED, 2006). The district has limits towards both Yarabamba and Polobaya, but the relation to Yarabamba is of greater importance since the road to Arequipa runs through Yarabamba. Through interviews it surged that the relation to the neighbour is somewhat infected, solely due to the question of water. Due to the size of the district the inhabitants are also concentrated to around the village, something which made the interview process less complicated. In Quequeña all of the interviews were conducted in the village

area, but the majority still feed themselves in a traditional manner. In Quequeña eight base interviews were carried out both with women involved in different initiatives as well as with women outside. Interviews were also made with CIEDs representatives in the district and an employee in the municipality who was especially involved in the economic development of the village¹⁹.

In Quequeña two different NGOs are active: CIED, which is included in this study and El Taller ('The workshop') which also is active in the district of Polobaya and to a very small extent in Yarabamba. The activities in the district are foremost aimed towards the tourism with workshops that both CIED and El Taller are engaged in. El Taller have, however, also plans of initiating cultivation of spices in Quequeña, a project already commenced in Polobaya.

6.3.1 Problems and challenges recognised in Quequeña

Regarding the general sustention in the district the situation is very similar to that in Yarabamba. People are foremost involved in small scale milk production and agriculture. Within the agriculture it is common that you do not own your own land, rather you cultivate the land of others or help with other chores such as cleaning the water channels. The land can also be leased, i.e. either the farmers pay for renting the land in money or in part of the crops. In both cases a large part of the income needs to be dedicated to consumption and a very small part can be sold at the market. The most common crops were potatoes, pumpkin, alfalfa and corn, but all cultivation was said to be restrained from the lack of water in the area.

As mentioned, the access to water was decided by a water committee, but none of the women interviewed considered themselves to have enough water. One woman explained her situation with the water: When choosing which crops to cultivate the woman always needed to consider how much water they needed since she only had access to water every 23rd day. One solution to the problem was that a couple of farmers joined forces, agreed on one piece of land, and watered only that piece with their common rations of water. This was made in order to get one piece of good harvest instead of a larger piece of land with nothing. During the interviews the women spoke about the villages higher up in the mountain (Polobaya among others) which took a larger part of the water than they needed as well as the situation had gotten worse with the arrival of the mines in the area. The work on the fields was hence described as very uncertain since the income could vary severely from year to year and since they could not afford to keep an emergency buffer, they felt exposed. The people working with milk production had on the other hand a more secure income even if the revenue was low.

The lack of work opportunities was however mentioned as the largest problem. The young people that did not want to work within the agriculture or milk production were today forced to move to Arequipa, both for education and for work. After a meeting with one young woman who temporarily stayed in the village after having her first child said that she would love to stay in the village, but she could not because she needed a job. As she expressed it: "My dream is to open a beauty salon, but to do so I need to move to Arequipa. I would like to

¹⁹ Informants 1.3-1.4 and 2.2, see appendix 1.

stay here with my family and let my child grow up here, but I do not think I can...” (Interview: B.2). Some working opportunities were created by the municipality, such as maintenance and garden work, but some of the women considered that they should hire more. The entrepreneurial reasoning in line with above definition was almost nonexistent since people could not see other ways out than an improvement of already existing businesses of a development of the tourism. The general motivation and belief in the future was limited as well as the common mobilisation of the villages’ resources in an organisational manner, i.e. no concrete initiatives existed to join powers in order to develop their business and improve their future. The initiation of small scale businesses was hardly considered an alternative for the women, they rather considered that the municipality should take a larger responsibility in employing more people. The ideas that did exist for mobilising economic common interests originated from either the municipality or the NGOs on place.

6.3.2 Alternatives and solutions to identified problems in Quequeña

The size of the district creates the feeling of that people here are closer linked together than in the other districts. The general apprehension is that they want the village to develop and that they want to do it together. Through the interviews some of the women, as well as the representative from the municipality, suggested that a fund should be created in order to give enough security to the farmers to initiate an improvement of their present activities, foremost regarding the irrigation systems. In order to improve the irrigation systems people mentioned that it is necessary to do it collective or at least that you have a pilot project so people can see for themselves that it works in practice. To start this kind of initiatives they considered to need help to organise from a third party. “It seems hard to organise the women around something. Here in the village we know each other well and since we do not have a natural leader it becomes difficult to cooperate and organise due to internal polarities” (Interview: B.7). The women also expressed an improvement in the democratic influence in the district in after years with the legislation regarding the *Presupuesto Participativo*. This influence was however still experienced as limited and the confidence for the local politicians was moderate. Both women and the representative from the municipality spoke of the essentiality of a modernisation to be preceded by an example that demonstrate the profitability, both regarding time as well as money, i.e. pilot projects, as well as the necessity of forming new leaders.

The will to create alternative sustentation in line with the tourism was definitely something women in the district possessed. E.g. a productive organisation of handcraft was suggested. They already considered themselves to have some knowledge, but an organisation like this posed too many problems. First the capital: in order to start a production some initial capital is needed, something none of the women possessed. Second is the market: for the production to be profitable a market is needed, preferably in the village with the arrival of tourists. However, the stream of tourists is still small and very irregularly and does hence not create a secure income. To sell the products outside the village, e.g. in Arequipa, more investment is needed, such as a car as well as contacts to get in to a market. Third is the organisation: the group would need structure and rules in order to make the production work, as mentioned something they considered that they could not do by themselves, hence they needed help from outside.

There are other things in Quequeña that speak against the organisation of the people. People are still each day fighting for their survival and many of the women interviewed are pessimistic of the future if nothing radical occurs to improve the situation in the near future. People also feel little confidence with the district government as well as the central government. On the district level the women expressed a frustration over that they had been promised changes and improvements that instead have lagged behind. They also expressed aversion towards corruption that they still felt was a strong ingredient, not just among the politicians, but in the community in general. The confidence for the local governance had however improved during the last years, but one of the largest critiques was that the politicians were not involved enough in the matters of the district.

Concerning the agriculture many of the women spoke of its inefficiency and the importance of improving it. Suggestions on how this could be done were expressed through improving the technology in the production, the genetics of the animals (to increase their capacity) and also improving their forage. Improving the forage and maybe providing the cows with concentrated forage could clean land from alfalfa which instead could be used for other, more profitable cultivations. This would also be better in consideration to the water since the alfalfa demand large quantities of water. Improving the farm activities was according to the interviews considered even more important than the nonfarm activities since the former provides food on the table and a secure source of income compared to initial nonfarm activities.

6.4 Polobaya

Even though Polobaya is situated on just over 3000 meters above sea level there are still mountains in the background that seems to be stretching to the sky with their 6000 meters above sea level. This geographical position distinguishes the climate of Polobaya from the other districts in CNR which all are situated at around 2300 meters. This area is additionally rather isolated and hard to access through the inadequate access roads and the journey from Arequipa takes about 2 ½ hours, a journey that certainly could be made in much less with better conditions. Due to the geographical situation of Polobaya up in the highlands, the water situation here is superior to the one in the districts further down in the valley. A couple of years ago channels of cement were constructed which further improved the irrigation. The situation still accommodates, however, large space for improvements of the use of the water in order to help the situation for other districts.

Polobaya still have their share of problems and according to the HDI Polobaya is the district of the four in this study with the lowest level of welfare, which also is easy to note through meagre living conditions and lacking infrastructure. E.g. in the village of Polobaya, which is the main village, there only exist one phone and mobile phones are inapplicable and the village has no medical facility. On the other hand people have since five years access to electricity, improved the irrigation system and also have running water in some of the homes; there is a feeling in the air that they now are ready to develop even further.

In the district of Polobaya the focal point of the interviews was in the village of Polobaya. In the area around the village eight base interviews were conducted with women both involved

in different initiatives in the area, as well as with women outside the initiatives. In the district of Polobaya 1285 lived in the year 2005 and in the area the migration is substantial (CIED, 2006). It is especially the youth that have to migrate, either to find a work of in order to acquire a higher education.

6.4.1 Problems and challenges recognised in Polobaya

In Polobaya, as well as in the other agricultural districts of Yarabamba and Quequeña, the main source of income resides in the agriculture as well as in the production of milk. During the last years the cultivated area in the district has increased due to the improvement in the irrigation systems. As the district is located on a higher altitude the population also experience harsher winters with crops growing slower or not at all depending on the winter, which in turn generates an insecure income. Here the main crops are wheat, potatoes, garlic, onions and corn and they sell the harvest to the purchasers that arrive in lorries from the city that in their turn sell it on the market in Arequipa. There are hence many middlemen for the harvest on the way to the market, which is problematic for the farmers since it lowers the prices in Polobaya when they themselves are not able to reach the market with their own products and the competition is lacking.

The low profitability due to the middlemen leads to that the crops that generate the greatest amount of money are sold in order to be able to buy more of the cheaper merchandise. E.g. they sell the wheat or the milk in order to buy rice. The consequence of this is that many of the children suffer from malnutrition due to a low variety in the intake of food. This also surge due to that frequently the fields are too small to both be enough for vending as well as for consumption. Another problem within the agriculture is the monoproduction, or the tendency for the farmers not to spread their production within different crops. The focus is not always first on the self sustention; rather the production has a tendency of focus on the most profitable crops. This leads to vulnerability in the system as well as a worsened nutritional situation for foremost the children. Regarding the milk production the situation is similar to the one in the two other districts. The price for the milk is low and due to the situation of the district the competition is even lower here. A great area of the cultivated land is also occupied by the alfalfa which is the main forage for the cows which occupy land that could be used for other crops which could help with the nutrition for children. The situation with the water is however different here since there is an abundance rather than a deficit.

The sustention in the village is single tracked since they do not possess alternatives such as tourism or commerce to their agriculture. This puts the inhabitants in a delicate and vulnerable position since they are directly dependent on weather conditions and market prices for the crops. Further the situation delimits the adolescence since the only viable alternative they have if they wish to stay in the village is to take over their parent's farm. On the one hand this is positive since the village is more or less self sufficient and hence also somewhat autonomous.

6.4.2 Alternatives and solutions to the problems identified in Polobaya

Continuing there were many of the interviewed women that in the middle of their, often very harsh life, still saw the opportunities the future could bring. They possessed many ideas and much enthusiasm in a mixture with frustration for not having the possibility to realise many of these ideas. A selection of the ideas presented for future sustentation by the women were production of ecological honey, breeding of guinea-pigs and also the production of typical handcraft which they could sell either to tourists in the village (when they finally came) or on the market in Arequipa. There was even one woman who suggested the breeding of trout since the access to water is abundant. To be able to realise these projects some variables were mentioned as essential: first that people are able to enter into collectives. The interest and the will to organise for this purpose existed, but they claimed to need help from a third party to do so as well as a common goal to organise. Second, they needed education on how to precede both with production itself, but also with the entire organisation around it, such as the access to the market. Thirdly, the most obvious requisite was the capital which was a scarce commodity at all levels of society and organisation. The women often expressed the possibilities they would face with an initial capital to help then realise their dreams.

In Polobaya both people as well as the NGOs that are active in the district have large expectations regarding the future of the ecological agriculture as a new and alternative sustentation method. The ecological agriculture already exist to a large extent, but it still lacks a required certificate for ecological production in order to be able to extent the production with further products. The CIED which is the NGOs active in the region has assisted in the formation of the APEP (Asociación de Productores Ecológicas de Polobaya) that today includes around 30 members. The mission of APEP is to speak for the interest of its members and labour for their right in the municipality. According to the female members interviewed the organisation does a good work and they feel that they are stronger together. “My economic situation has improved markedly since my entrance in the APEP and I have great faith in the future of the organisation” (Interview: C.1). In order to guarantee the engagement new members needs to come recommended by current member in order to be able to enter into the organisation. According to the CIED representative in the area²⁰ the APEP will shortly be registered as an official organisation and they do also have a *Libro de Actas* (book of enactment) that allow then to act and participate in the *Presupuesto Participativo* in the municipality. This year the APEP will struggle to make the *Organisation of Municipalities* labour towards developing a common market for the ecological products of the whole CNR area. This could entail e.g. a commonly owned store in Arequipa where all the ecological products of quality could be sold. Examples of products could be baked bread (made out of organic grains such as kiwicha, quinoa, wheat etc.), honey, potatoes, corn, flour etc. Both the producers as well as CIED are certain that there exist a high demand for their products, foremost in the wealthier areas of Arequipa.

The cultural composition in Polobaya is similar to the one in Yarabamba and Quequeña if not even more close knit. The work done in the district also mirrors the fact that the NGOs want to bring the people even closer together. An interesting aspect regarding this work conducted in Polobaya was obtained in an interview with the other NGO active in the region: El Taller.

²⁰ Informant 1.4, see appendix 1.

They have been active in Polobaya since 2004 and in Quequeña and Yarabamba since 2005, but there on a much smaller scale than the work conducted in Polobaya. El Taller have the whole Polobaya as their operating range and they as well focus their work on the areas of tourism and ecologic agriculture. In Polobaya, however, their main focus is on the agricultural part. The focal point is not, however, on traditional crops as is the case of the CIED, rather they concentrate on the growing of spices. El Taller invite the public to workshops on how to grow these, help them with the seeds etc. and also with a stable and profitable market since they are collaborating with an enterprise that comes to the area and buys the spices. El Taller sees this initiative as directed foremost to women, but their representative also points out the difficulties of reaching the women and makes them organise without the involvement of the men. Foremost this is due to the low self esteem possessed by the women who often diminish their skills by not themselves trust their knowledge. The stronger women are easy to introduce to the activities and they are often used as models for other women to follow. They hence indirectly become leaders of the activity. In this process it is also vital to involve the men, according to El Taller, and to get them to support the women in their development and eventual initiation of an entrepreneurial activity. Without their help the women will have a hard time succeeding. Within the activities provided by El Taller the adolescences play an important role since this is considered one future activity by them and the NGO also tries to advocate for that they learn from the elder within this network.

Regarding realised workshops in the area two main ones have been implemented: first a gastronomic workshop where one woman told me that she directly could implement her new knowledge from the workshop in her small store she owned. Second was the workshop concerning the growing of spices (by El Taller) as an alternative method for sustenance. The participants got access to all material needed to be able to initiate cultivation: knowledge concerning the procedure, seeds, access to land etc. Initially the project worked well, but one woman interviewed who was a part of the initiative alleged that since the supervisory control was fallible people started using the fertiliser to more profitable or necessary crops and the project was fizzled out. Today it still exists, according to El Taller in a satisfactory way and according to the women interviewed in a somewhat deficient way.

The outlying situation of Polobaya has entailed that the tourism has not yet reached the district and no workshops within this area has been realised. CIED, however, consider Polobaya to have great potential within this area since the district also is a part of *Ruta del Loncco* (the route of the traditional farmer), but large improvements of the services for tourists are essential. "I believe that tourism would be good for the economic development of Polobaya, especially since it can provide work for the young. The problem is that today you cannot even find somewhere to stay in the village!" (Interview: C.7). Hence the improvements are foremost needed within the basic services such are accommodation, tourist information, guides etc.

As mentioned the emigration from Polobaya is relatively strong and this has its foundation in, according to interviews, the lack of education and work opportunities in the district. Due to the scarce activities for the younger people many adolescence have started drinking in absence of other things to do. The work done with the adolescence in the area is limited, but efforts are made in order to include them in the work done by the NGOs. At the time of the investigation they were invited to join in a workshop regarding the refinement of milk into

cheese and yoghurt. Through interviews it also surged that activities especially for young people was wanted, foremost to give them support for the future and call attention to the fact that they are indispensable for the future development of the community. “We have to show the young people that we need them and that we in the community will support them in the future. We need to encourage them to stay or at least to come back to the district” (Informant 1.3)

7 Majes

7.1 Introduction

The main town in the district of Majes is called El Pedregal, which means more or less ‘The pebbled’ or ‘The stony’ and in the district today there live more or less 40 000 people depending on the source²¹. When walking down these extremely dry, pebbled and chaotic streets one quickly understands not just the origin of the name, but also why this town sometimes is referred to as the ‘Peruvian Wild West’. Doing the study 15 interviews was conducted with women in the area of El Pedregal and also in the village of La Colina which is situated fifteen minutes outside El Pedregal. Since the economic, social and cultural situation of the district of Majes is extremely complex (to great extent due to the intricate cultural variety) it was a challenge trying to reveal patterns in the community through these few interviews. General information surrounding the history and the future of Majes was mainly collected from the different organisational representatives²² interviewed who were connected to the area. This provided a platform from which the interviews could be conducted more efficiently as well as in order to truly grasp the situation of the interviewed.

In the middle of the 1980s an irrigation system provided the former desert, which constituted the district of Majes, with water, and out of the sand a green, flaunting and fertile area started to grow. The original plans foresaw a population of 160 000 people on an area of 60 000 hectares where people foremost would dedicate to milk production and the growth of vegetables (Maos, 1985). The area is hence extremely reliable on the water and without its inflow the district would not survive. The district had from the beginning an extremely scarce natural population, but with the irrigation a large quantity of people started to immigrate in search of a better life. When the cultivations started to surge the scarce of workforce was apparent, which increased the wages to more than double that in the city and hence the immigration became strong.

The first irrigated area was much smaller than the 60 000 hectares (around 3000) at the same time as more people than anticipated immigrated and therefore the plan formed regarding construction, organisation and infrastructure fell apart or could not be followed. The rapid growth of the city has entailed large difficulties for the municipality to provide the organisation and institutions needed for a municipality of this size. Institutions that is essential for a community in handling issues such as: a construction plan (with construction laws that are also followed), potable water, sewerage, a fire department and electricity. In the middle of the 1980s as the population expanded, the municipality could not keep up with the pace and the institutional regulation, as well as the infrastructure, lagged behind. The vast increase of population during the last 25 years entail that the people now living in the area originates from a large variety of places. This brings an extreme cultural diversity and that no common cultural identity yet exists among the inhabitants. This fact was emphasised by women

²¹ Informants 1.1, 1.2, 2.1, see appendix 1.

²² Informants 1.1, 1.2, 1.5, 2.1, see appendix 1.

interviewed, the representative from the municipality as well as the organisational representatives as one of the core problems in the society of Majes.

The climate of the area is particularly favourable for a variety of crops. Majes is situated on 800 meters above sea level which makes the climate fairly mild and stable during the whole year with a great number of hours with sun. Examples of common crops are potatoes, onions, garlic and ají (which is a kind of paprika) and also alfalfa which is used as forage to the cows that produce milk. The milk production is another great source of work opportunities in the area. The production is, however, often in small scale and rather inefficient when it comes to machinery and genetics of both plants and animals. Hence agriculture and the raising of cattle are two out of three main ways of sustenance. The third, which is, at least in the main villages the most important one is the commerce. Here people have their own stores or simple stands selling about everything for which they can find a demand.

The organisation active in the region that participates in this investigation is ASDE, which within the PRD mainly is working with adolescence, but they will also in the near future also start working with women in general. ASDE works in an area where people are not used to this kind of help since there are not many NGOs active in the region and they have hence had to start from the beginning with building an organisation and to create a trust for their work. They permanently run a free clinic, but their most active work up until today has included adolescence through *Red Juvenil* (youth network) where they help young people to make, among other things, radio shows. The thought behind the initiative is to teach the youth how to cooperate, find mutual bases for working together and that they in the future should be able to run the organisations themselves. ASDE has recently implemented an initiative for microcredits for young women who are very representative for the target group of the organisation, i.e. young people and women.

7.2 Problems and challenges recognised in Majes

The centre of El Pedregal is a hectic place where mototaxis and colectivos (collective taxis) thronging with people on the streets who are selling more or less everything. Some years ago the town did not have a market, so the people occupied a green area in the centre and there they built their market, which today is the pulse of El Pedregal. Many vendors do not fit in the area, however, and they have to conduct their activities elsewhere. “The municipality has not solved the problem with the lack of vending space, so now we just sell our merchandise wherever we can” (Interview: D.1).

According to interviews realised, the economic situation in the area today is fronting a number of difficulties. In the agriculture, which is still the main source of income, 80 per cent of the cultivable land is dedicated to the growth of alfalfa and hence to the production of milk. These crops demand a large quantity of water and are indirectly not a rentable since the competition in the dairy business is very low and hence also the prices for the milk. Further the alfalfa does not provide the families a partial self sufficiency of food and also uses large quantities of water for its cultivation. The existing agricultural area is further divided into

minifundios²³ which implies that it is common that the cultivators do not own their own land. This entails insecurity in income for the family as well as low possibilities to advance in their economic situation. The agricultural situation nevertheless allows export from the region such as ají (kind of paprika), onions etc., but many times the kind of crops is decided by the demand of the buyer. These enterprises intend to influence the farmers into cultivate crops beneficiary for the export market and make the farmers enter into contracts. Therefore monocultivation is widespread, i.e. the agricultures adapt their type of crops to the demand of the buyer which often entail a small variance of different crops. The disadvantage is that when the supply raises the prices drop and people need to change crops again. This too creates insecurity and a fear of trying new alternatives, hence many agricultures cultivate potatoes, onions etc. that is considered safe.

Majes is a cultural melting pot. A city constructed in the middle of the desert which came alive with the arrival of the water. People immigrated with the hopes of a better life in new society with great preconditions, foremost economic ones when the cultivators were screaming for workforce. Some of the immigrants had capital which they wished to invest, but the majority came from poor parts of the country, such as the Sierra (or the mountains). People in Majes (as in many other places in Peru) do not consider themselves to be paramountly Peruvians, i.e. that they have many traditions, myths and culture together with their neighbour. Rather they consider themselves to be Cuscueños or Arequipeños (from Cusco or Arequipa) etc., and feel a great importance in keeping those traditions and that culture alive, not trying to mix with people from other parts of Peru with whom they feel that they have little in common with. “Here in Majes everyone keeps to themselves. I am from Cusco and I do not mix with the people from elsewhere” (interview: D.7). As a result there has not yet surged a ‘Majeño’, a common cultural identity in Majes. This has just recently been identified as an important problem in the district and its possible solutions seems just as hard to imagine as the solution in itself.

The organisational life in Majes is very limited. The organisations that do exist for women are first level organisations, i.e. which see to the basic needs such as accommodation and food. The men, however, are involved in more economic organisations, such as organisations for producers or in production chains. The lack of organisations for women originates in at least two things; first, the incitements for organising are few. People in Majes organise around economic issues and if women do not have economic prospects where they need a collective there is no reason. Second, people have little confidence for each other in general. In situation where organising would be excellent, e.g. organising child care so that single mothers can work a few days a week, there is not enough confidence. A few women although mention that if the incitements were to be stronger, preferably economical, and that they came from a third part, it would be possible for the organisation to work.

Due to this lack of a common identity and the widespread individualism in the area people also seem to have large difficulties to trust one another. One example of this was a rotative fund that one village tried to realise. The whole idea with a rotative fund builds on common

²³ Minifundio is defined as a cultivation with limited extension and poor profitability which allows an economic situation for no more than survival. In the Peruvian case, however, the minifundios has a larger extent than the normal *parcelas* (5 hectares) and parts of it is therefore sometimes rented to other famers.

trust: that everyone keeps on paying their part even though they already received the fund since it otherwise will fail. In this village, however, the people who had already received the fund stopped paying and left the others as poor as before. This is an example of the lack of sense for the common and for the fellow man. This kind of behaviour also worsens the situation of trust in the village and makes it even more fragile and activities based on confidence even harder to arrange. This has effects when it comes to the organisation around *Presupuesto Participativo* in the district with large difficulties to make people organise in order to be able to themselves affect their own future.

The difficult economic and social situation in the area with the widespread individualism also contained a great sense of entrepreneurship. People in the area were conscious of that in order to improve their own situation they themselves needed to carry it out. This entrepreneurship was however without a sense of mobilising common resources or look to the best of the whole community, but many of the people interviewed found themselves a way of changing their situation. Many times this was not positive or even possible, but the individuals possessed an entrepreneurial thinking. The women, however, expressed a feeling of being left out and that they many times would have preferred to have a third party to discuss their 'business plan' with and not just family members.

7.3 Alternatives and solutions to the problems identified in Majes

The disorganisation penetrating all levels of society in Majes made alternatives and solution to the vast problems hard to identify. The alternatives that surged had almost all of them an individual starting point, a solution for the alone person, not for the village, the group or the collective. Some of the interviews in Majes were conducted with some of the girls/young women included in the microcredit initiative realised by ASDE between 2005 and 2006. The interviews were carried out in order to find determinant variables for both a successful examples as well as weaker examples and representatives of ASDE were also interviewed in order to widen the perspective. The loans were given to six young women during this period, an amount of 500 US\$ where half, 250 US\$, had to be paid back to ASDE. The women had to first come up with a business plan before they were allowed the money and then they also had to realise a workshop where they learned a little about having a business. The first woman interviewed had opened her own sewing store where she made and repaired clothes. She said that she had received enough help from ASDE in order to be successful, but the location of her shop was too distant from the centre in order to be profitable. Hence her shop went under in a period of six months, according to her due to the increasing competition in the area as well as the location of the shop. The second girl interviewed had initiated a chicken farm together with her mother. The girl was still in school, so she worked at the farm when she was free from school and hence split the work with her mother. Their business was a success and the girl said that she every month could save a small amount of money. According to the representatives interviewed from ASDE the most important variable in the success rate in these projects is the support from the family. Their involvement and support was essential and it was even better if the family already had experiences in the same field so that they could share their knowledge with their children. The microcredit projects with the best results were the ones where old initiatives and experiences within the family only had gotten stronger or enhanced. Another decisive component, which did not work in this microcredit initiative, was

the cooperation between the different businesses within the same field, e.g. that all the people who wanted to raise guinea-pigs could get together and share experiences.

According to the interviewed a safe and lower income is preferred to a higher but more insecure. E.g. one woman who had taken loans (at a regular credit institution) together with her husband (15000 US\$) to grow potatoes, but that year El Niño struck and they lost almost everything. They still thought about getting another loan when the old one was repaid, but she did not consider cultivating another crop since she still considered potatoes to be the safest alternative. As mentioned, the security of the income is explained to be very important, more important than earning a large amount of money. Cultivations that are considered secure are for example onion and potatoes, but as shown, even these crops can fail.

In some cases the local enterprises (often multinational) have workshops in order to introduce the people in new economic activities. One of the women interviewed said that a foreign company was looking for women to raise guinea-pigs and that they were offered education and some guinea-pigs if they were interested. She did not go through with it because she needed to stay home with the children, but she thought it was a good initiative. The microfinance business is in general rather widespread in Majes. It exists various different credit institutions that give loans, but to a high interest and only to people with security. The poorest people are hence trapped in a vicious circle where they have little chance of economic advancement.

The lack of a common identity among the citizens in Majes creates, as stated, problems on all levels of society. This is the problem identified as most severe by ASDE and the foundation to the poor democratic participation and poor influence of the citizens in their own development process. The situation is even harder for the women since they often are more vulnerable and exposed and hence have an even harder time to organise and join a force that will allow them to decide over their own lives. As a concrete solution or tool for improving this situation ASDE has suggested a 'House of Culture' where people can join for both abstract, such as strengthening of the common identity, as well as concrete actions, such as the making of handcraft or resembling work. Concerns were however raised, both by women interviewed as well as representatives for ASDE, of how this initiative could be realised and interest be put to life with the women for engaging in this project. This much due to the hardship that initiatives like this entails when it comes to gathering people around one common cause. The lack of commitment and engagement was mentioned through the interviews as one of the main problems in the everyday work conducted on the field in Majes.

8 Analysis

In the following section the empirics gathered through this investigation will be analysed. The analysis will be divided in three main areas: first a general analysis will be conducted in regard to the CNR (Yarabamba, Quequeña and Polobaya), second a general analysis will be made of the empiric results in Majes, and to conclude, a comparative analysis will be realised between the two in order to elucidate differences and similarities between the areas. The topics brought up will be thematic and related to the original question formulation. Hence due to the extensive collection of material the analysis will concentrate on certain focus issues. Questions that will be treated throughout the analysis are: **Which are the main obstacles for the social and economic development and as well as poverty reduction? What do the women consider themselves to need in order to advance in their own development process and increase the entrepreneurial reasoning? What alternatives exist for current sustentation? How may the entrepreneurial climate be improved and how may the PRD work in order to support the women in this process in the best possible way?** These issues can be either specific for one of the areas or it can exist in both, hence an analysis for the areas separated as well as a comparative analysis is motivated. The analysis will be concluded with a section concerning the role played by Svalorna in the investigated area and an analysis concerning the work conducted including shortages, advantages as well as suggestions for improvement. Some sources to the contemporary economic situation for foremost women in the Peruvian society will briefly also be elaborated upon. These sources, which are both endogenous as well as exogenous, are an important part of the analytical base.

8.1 Yarabamba, Quequeña and Polobaya

In this section of the analysis the traditional villages of Yarabamba, Quequeña and Polobaya will be further examined departing from the empirical results and they will be analysed in relation to the original question formulations as well as the mould of the FWG.

8.1.1 Analysis of the problems surged and the general economic situation

There are many problems today permeating the communities of Yarabamba, Quequeña and Polobaya. The history and traditions are still very present and despite the proximity to Arequipa people still live their lives in more or less the same way as 50 years ago with agriculture and milk production as the artery of the economy. Due to an increased economic competition, however, it is getting even harder for small scale farmers to survive solely on traditional crops. This type of livelihood will not disappear and this is not either the thought behind the desired surge of alternative sources of sustentation, rather the industry needs to develop in order to better meet the demands of the market. The thought behind is rather to increase the diversity of economic dependence in order to decrease the vulnerability of the community in times of recession. One of the main obstacles for economic advancement is here the traditional thinking of the famers, both due to lack of knowledge, but also because of traditions and the hardship it entails to develop ones business. Many of the women expressed a will to explore and develop their business, but the economic compensation involved did not compensate the risks. To develop the business is also often a decision made by the men in the family and hence the women could not do much to influence these makings. Another great

obstacle for Yarabamba and Quequeña is the situation of the water. The solution is vital for the development of the region and to do so help from outside is required. Both to take the role as mediator between the different parties in the conflict as well as for developing efficient solutions to the problem. The solutions to these extremely concrete issues must be elaborated with the help of delegates from all sides and it has to be done instantaneous in order to save the agriculture in the area.

8.1.2 Social network and organisation and its connection to economic development.

The social network in the area appeared fairly extensive due to a long tradition of families living in the region with a strong connection to their local roots. Further the preconditions to strengthen these social networks are benignant in smaller societies, such as the ones in CNR (Erikssen, 1995). As mentioned in Erikssen (1995) there are different levels of organisation, starting in the family moving upwards towards the village, the local surroundings, the region, the nation etc. The closer these networks are, the better the organising works, departing from the bottom with the families. Many potential answers exist regarding why some individuals do not gather in collectives and hence oppose logic of mutual benefits (Oström, 1990). These sources can be both external (Ibid); such as history of economic changes which has left people insecure regarding future development, as well as emigration which makes it hard for the local 'clan' to organise people in corporative groups (Erikssen, 1995); also internal such as scarce economic resources, lack of initiatives and self esteem. In the case of CNR the strong antagonism of the scarce water supply also needs to be added to the problem which also has hindered the advancement of the social networks. According to informant 1.3 the situation would ameliorate with the solution of this issue as well as the cooperation between people of the same village as well as between the districts. Regarding the question of the water, the problem is not solely the lack of water, rather a question of organisation and efficient use of the water. The irrigation committees (that decide regarding the allocation of the water) are many times lead by the strong economic powers in the village and they in turn benefit their friends and family. A large mistrust surged during the interviews towards the governing of these committees confirming the problematic situation. The problem could not, however, merely be solved through a more efficient organisation. Here a better handling of the water is also required through improved irrigations and cisterns. The solution of this issue was throughout the interviews in Yarabamba and Quequeña experienced as one of the largest immediate issue to be solved in order to advance in their development, whereas in Polobaya other issues such as the lack of capital, was experienced as the most important ones.

The size of the districts as well as the common traditions and history in Yarabamba, Quequeña and Polobaya makes the preconditions for a well functioning organisational life favourable (Oström, 1990). This feeling was general in the districts that with strong joining forces and common goals, the organisation of the people in different levels of society could be a fact. It was not, however, inescapable to note a strong presence of the importance of the economic variable in all thoughts about, and decisions to, organise. The foundational social systems (Erikssen, 1995), constituted by families, within the village etc., was fairly strong and seemed to give protection and security for the individual. It did not seem, however, to be a glue strong enough for initiating e.g. organisations in order to politically influence their lives.

Even though the *Presupuesto Participativo* (the forum where regular (organised) citizens could make their voices heard) was experienced as something positive in a majority of the interviews, its shortages were explained as many. Despite the unmistakable improvement experienced in recent years regarding the decentralisation of the political power and the fact that an initiative as the *Presupuesto Participativo* would have been extremely hard to realise only 10 years ago, the ability to truly affect the political decisions made seems very low for the common citizen. As mentioned, the people have to be organised in order to make their voices heard in this forum, something that the women very scarcely are. This has a tendency to create ‘mute groups’ (Erikssen, 1995) which are almost powerless in society due to lack of organisation. This phenomenon hinders the groups to efficiently promote their interests and they are hence subdued the ruling powers of the reign in society. This entails, in this case, that the will of the men is enlightened (since they more often are organised and hence have a voice in the forum) and the needs of the women in society, which often is the “mute group”, is often disregarded. The mentioned societies seem to have, however, a stable foundation to build on in order to improve the possibilities for all groups to make their voices heard. This seems important, not only for the women, but also for the youth in order to improve their position as well as their feeling of being needed by the society.

8.1.3 Entrepreneurship and small scale businesses for women

Regarding the entrepreneurship among women in the area the prognosis is not all bad even though there are many variables that need to improve. The strong correlation between the possibilities to organise and participate democratically with economic advancement is obvious, something which the PRD also has highlighted. As mentioned the foundation is solid, but in order to advance assistance from a third party is often necessary. The municipality has started to understand their role and take responsibility, but the mistrust and administrative inefficiency often seem to hinder the development. The fact that the ‘mute groups’ still exist is also a great problem since the rift between the local government and its citizens is a crucial variable in the struggle towards economic development. The local government needs to understand the necessity of listening to its citizens, foremost the women, in order to grasp their needs and opinions regarding their development process. Eventual development projects (both from NGOs and from the municipality) needs to originate from the people in order to be successful and have real results, but what can be done when the people do not have any ideas or initiatives for improving their own situation? In the districts of Yarabamba, Quequeña and Polobaya there were many women who knew what they wanted, but also those who did not have a clue of what concretely could be improved. In those cases, should the initiatives be implemented from above? This question is delicate among the NGOs as well since they advocate improved democratic participation at the same time as the implement actions without the consent of the people. When the consent does exist, the initiative itself rarely originates from the people themselves which bring a lower legitimacy for the project in itself.

The relation between the farm and nonfarm activities is also an important matter indirectly brought up through the interviews. The closest business to develop in the area is the one of agriculture and milk production since this already occupies the main part of the work opportunities in the area. These developments of these areas of business are, however,

traditionally dominated by male initiatives. Hence the areas are in great need of alternative, nonfarm activities, or at least that the women are allowed right of determination in some area of the business in order to increase her self sufficiency and independence. The business that will be created in the future should primarily allow the women to support for their children and many times also a greater part of her family. This either through a sufficient income to buy groceries needed or through an efficient agriculture that provides both food on the table as well as money to buy necessary further merchandise. The disappearance of agricultural activity was described through the interviews as a problem for especially isolated regions such as Polobaya. This is due to the history of natural catastrophes (such as volcano eruptions) as well as terrorism and civil war, and for that reason the districts should stay somewhat self sufficient when it comes to producing food. This business is not, however, always sufficiently profitable and hence many young people and women are searching for other alternatives than taking over the family farm that are both more profitable, but also more self fulfilling.

The largest possibilities for initiation successful small scale enterprises in the area seemed to, foremost in Yarabamba and Quequeña, to reside within tourism. Tourism has many favourable preconditions as an alternative source of income: First, it can contribute to a general development of the whole community since it not only directly, but also indirectly can improve surrounding business. Second, the tourism industry provides great opportunities for women to by themselves or through collective initiate new small scale businesses in a field not yet explored. Third, the tourism gives the municipality initiative to improve the lacking infrastructure and the basic services in the region which is indispensable in developing tourism.

8.1.3 Regarding the measures of the PRD and obtaining its set goals

The work today conducted by CIED in the area is, as mentioned, foremost targeted towards tourism and in Polobaya also towards ecological agriculture. Large faith is put to the fact that tourism will flourish in the area within time and this activity is also seen as an alternative for occupying women and young people in the area. The thought behind the current work of CIED in the village of Sogay was to create a model for other villages to follow, a work that seemed prosperous. In the other villages in the area, such as Yarabamba and Quequeña, the people did not seem to understand that this was the idea and some women expressed that they felt somewhat abandoned. This was in a couple of cases, however, the same women who expressed the essentiality of pilot project for others to follow. The investment in tourism is not just only filled with advantages. The participation of the citizens in its evolvement is crucial in order to make it sustainable. People are especially eager to see concrete results in order to invest both money and time in a project and hence need to be involved in the making. The people need to feel involved in order for the initiative to have large penetrating powers and to make is durable over time. In order to do so it is crucial for the NGOs to cooperate with the municipality and through the forum of *Presupuesto Participative* or regular meetings inform and listen to the citizens.

Another aspect highlighted by CIED is the auto sustentation of groceries. Both representatives at CIED as well as representatives for Svalorna emphasised the importance that the villages at all times keep their autonomy and independence when it comes to groceries, i.e. the

development of tourism in the region must also entail a auto sustentation of food in the region. Regarding the project in Sogay people were generally positive since they saw many possibilities in the future of tourism and considered it to be easier to follow a positive concrete example themselves can see work. The work conducted by CIED in the region is a long term project and the concentration to Sogay a part of this. However, during the five years that the project was realised in Sogay, the other parts on the area got left behind and the work before started up got abandoned. This created some frustration among the citizens involved and lowered the confidence for the organisation since they did not see the concrete results, especially not for themselves personally. This problem could partially be solved through information, not just to the municipality, but also to the population in general and make them all to feel a part of the project and hence create a common end. The people need to be informed about the long term as well as short term goals with the different projects in order to increase their legitimacy with the people and in order to make the people feel involved.

During the realisation of the project in Sogay, the work however continued in Polobaya with support in the organising of APEP. Here the understanding that the agricultures first had to join forces in order to achieve prosperity, as well as the insight that they had to do so towards a new market, gave the organisation great potentials of success. Polobaya possessed at least four things which improved the organisational climate: Foremost they had a long tradition of agriculture that as the main source of income is the natural variable they want to improve in order to improve their economic situation. Second, they have a long common history and traditions, hence a solid base on which to build cooperation and collectives. Thirdly, even though they insisted on the importance of immediate economic return their discount rates for long term investments are not, i.e. they put just as much value on benefits in the immediate future as well as benefits in the distant future. This was due to the fact that in traditional societies and communities the future discount rate is lower, or in a more anthropological view, the people in the village think of the future of their children in such a way as their parents did in the hope that they one day will inherit the land and the work invested. Fourth, the organisation seemed to have a strong leader who had visions for the future and a strong feeling for the good of the organisation.

The existence of APEP in Polobaya also seemed to be beneficial for women of the area in the near future. First of all they too could be members in the organisation, even the single women. The disadvantage here was that they needed to themselves own land in order to become members, something many of the women did not do. The women who did, however, mentioned in the interviews that their lives had improved substantially since their entrance in the organisation. Second, the women experienced other benefits with the APEP. Since it promotes organic agriculture they also struggled for a general certificate for the village in order to allow everyone to produce organic crops. This entails an opportunity to grow other crops and dedicate to other activities within this field. Third, the APEP can help the women outside the organisation who dedicate to the alternative activities within the organic field to find a market for their products, which is the most determinant variable in the fight towards profitability. This since the organisation together with CIED today struggle towards creating a store in Arequipa where the merchandise could be sold.

The work conducted by CIED in the region was in general experienced as something positive, both by the researcher and a majority of the interviewed. The main critique that

surged through the interviews was, as mentioned, the inconsistency of the initiatives realised. People need to feel that the work done by the organisations is long term and that they invest well in the time spent in the different initiatives. Information about where the different workshops are heading as well as a time plan of its realisation would also be to prefer. The work conducted by CIED was however, as mentioned, criticised by the other NGO active in the area: El Taller. They claimed the work done by CIED not to be continuous, i.e. that representatives very sporadically showed in the districts (foremost Polobaya in this case) and that their operations are very selective. Selective in regard to that CIED only worked with isolated groups, but it soon became clear that they were not informed about the presence of APEP. APEP is, however, selective in the meaning that CIED does not work with the poorest people in the area; rather with people that already have some asset which can be apprehended as 'an easy way'. Even though both the organisations were active, foremost in Polobaya, with in the growing of organic crops (El Taller with spices) none of the organisations today saw a future of cooperation in order to reach more people and reach higher goals. El Taller claimed CIED not to have a high legitimacy for their work since they only sporadically had representatives on place, and CIED claimed that the work of El Taller was too spread out and not auto sufficient since people cannot live out of spices. Despite the differences the two organisations have a lot to learn from each other, important contacts and experiences to share. The inability for the two organisations, working within the same fields, to cooperate is of course trickled down to the common citizen. If the large, well educated organisations cannot cooperate, why **should** we and how **could** we?

8.2 Analysis Majes

8.2.1 Analysis of the problems surged and the general economic situation

The problems facing the district of Majes are many. The concrete improvements needed are almost immeasurable, but as a foundation to these problems resides other, more abstract issues. The district of Majes is an artificially created society and, as mentioned, the people of Majes do not consider themselves 'Majeños'. This lack of common cultural identity is mentioned as one of the most important holdbacks for both social and economic development, by both the representatives of the organisations within the investigation as well as by the women in the base interviews. The recent surge of an entire new society has, in this case, created an individualised community where people to great extent work for their own benefits and not for common causes.

Further another broad problem brought up as one of the major setbacks for economic and social development in the district is the disorganisation. This disorganisation that started early on in the development of Majes and today the situation has spread to all corner of society. The people of Majes has early on learned the hard way that if they wish to accomplish something in life, they have to do so themselves, without the involvement of either state or other help from the outside. This has greatly affected one of the largest sources of income: the business of vending. People are requiring the organisation of a market in order to improve the conditions for everyone involved in a more organised manner.

The individualism, difficulties to organise, the disorganisation in society and the lack of a common identity are extremely important impediments for a favourable development for a positive economic development for the women and youth in the district. Each one of these women fights their personal battles with almost all the odds against them instead of organising in groups. This in order to both be able to effect the political decision making and also because together they have improved possibilities of developing or improving an idea for a business. The municipality today did not have any initiative for taking the women in regard in their decision making since their political power was almost nonexistent. Individually the women have no possibility of influencing their living conditions and of making their voices heard.

8.2.2 Social network and organisation and its connection to economic development

Through interviews it was made clear that the rational action of the citizens is more often than not based on economic variables which make it complicated to organise surrounding other issues than economic ones. It is extremely difficult for both NGOs as well as authorities to work with these issues. First of all it is hard to gather people to informative meetings when it is not a question of economic benefits. The economic organisation seems to be superior the social organisation and economic benefits are prioritised over more abstract ones, meaning that the economic variables are put in focus (Oström, 1990, Weber, 1985). The creation of development of a 'we' is hence not a prioritised issue; the question that really matters is the one regarding the economic future. This benchmark might seem cold and aloof, but through interviews and observations this seems to be the reality. The citizens hence rather stay at home than involving in abstract projects that immediately do not give anything in return. They also have a hard time gathering around a common good since a communitarian feeling hardly exists.

Secondly, Peru is a country where politics has a tradition of short term solutions to the acute problem and no real long term solutions for the core of the problem. "Individuals attribute less value to benefits that they expect to receive in the distant future, and more value to those expected in the immediate future" (Oström, 1990, p. 34). This quote supports both the first issue discussed above, regarding the prioritising of the economic part, as well as the apparent difficulties for organising around more abstract issues without an immediate benefit. The level of discount for future benefits is hence high in this case. Decisions made by politicians are hence populist and are made more in regard to the next election than to how the situation may be in a 10 year period. This since concrete measures, such as building a school or a road, are preferred to the abstract ones, such as making people more conscious of the social and economic situation, it is possible solutions and how to be more loyal towards others. The equilibrium between the 'visible' or concrete measures and the 'invisible' is essential in order for the future to bring some kind of commonness in Majes.

Thirdly, and maybe most important, is the lack of social systems or networks at all levels in society (Erikssen, 1995). Often the network does not reach longer than the family and they are also tenuous, i.e. that the extent of the networks are often found in other parts of the country

and that they have not yet succeed to construct new ones. The society in Majes have not yet been able to create a kind of local 'clan' which can function as a social glue in organising them in cooperative groups. In Majes a minority that need to assimilate to a majority does not exist; rather all groups need to assimilate to each other. The integration between the different groups does not seem to function however, maybe because there is nothing to adjust to. To transform this individuality to a more collective environment is an extremely complicated task. As Oström (1990) expresses: "The cost involved in transforming a situation from one in which individuals act independently to one in which they coordinate activities can be quite high" (p. 40). This cost, however, seems much larger in regard to the adult population which already have their minds and convictions clear, than with the younger population. If the adolescence learns from the start how to cooperate and how to overbridge differences, there is still a change for an individualistic society such as Majes. The promotion of enforcing the social networks was however indirectly expressed through one of the interviews conducted with a representative of ASDE where the learning of the parents was advocated regarding the microcredits. In order for such projects to be successful the support of people in the personal sphere seemed essential. Why not trying to increase this personal sphere and also the projects realised within it in order to increase the rate of success?

8.1.3 Entrepreneurship and small scale businesses for women

The possibilities for initiating small scale enterprises in the area are vast. The anterior experiments realised did not show a hundred per cent success rate, but they taught many important lesson on how to proceed in the future. The people of Majes describe themselves, as mentioned, as a people used of taking care of themselves and with the knowledge of that they themselves are the ones to improve their own economic situation. Many people with ideas for a business or an investment to make in already existing economic activity hence turn to private credit institution where the interests often are extremely high and hence exist for people with some initial assets who can take the risk. For young people and women the preconditions are however much poorer, both in capital, knowledge and confidence and this group hence need more than just capital. ASDE has through their work put focus on this, however, a greater focus should be put on the group dynamics of initiating a business. This has many advantages: First, in a deliberative milieu the ideas of the youth and women can be processed and developed and hence improve. Second, within a group the self confidence of the participants may be strengthened when fears and ambitions may be shared which is a very important part in the initial phase. Thirdly, a group may share experiences during the running of the business which help in the potentiating of the business as such.

Through the interviews the impression was received that young people had a large faith in the future and that they also possessed many ideas of how to proceed in life in order to improve their situation regarding quality of life. This group of young people on the verge of entering the adult life is an important potential group regarding the development of microcredits of microfinancing within a group with a support more extensive than solely financial. Another group was however also encountered with in the form of either single mothers who recently had moved to Majes in order to seek a better life, or women who during their years in Majes had not succeeded to improve their economic situation. The frustration and sometimes apathy among this group regarding how to be able to improve their situation was ample. This group

is the hardest both to reach and to work with. They need results quick and due to their often lack of ideas of how to improve their situation, the best alternative could be to implement a business suggestion from above. Initiatives which has been implemented from above has, however, according to interviews a history in the region of being less successful, but under the circumstances it may be the alternative to prefer since the alternative is no activities at all.

8.1.3 The measures of the PRD in the area

The NGO in the district included in this study, ASDE, has tried to face the issue regarding the difficulties of creating a common identity during the last years by focusing on the youth with the hope that they will change their attitudes towards people from other places and hence make cooperation possible. Another solution discussed is the creation of a 'House of Culture' where people could meet and interact, organise and participate in workshops. This seems as a fine idea, but it raises many questions at the same time. Who should finance this initiative? Who should participate? How will people be attracted to participate? Should ASDE themselves organise the activities?

Regarding the work with the microcredits and the work of advocating entrepreneurship conducted by ASDE is still on a low level, both since it recently got under way and due to the fact that the funds possessed by the organisation for carrying out these projects are limited. The projects with microcredits in the district are to start in the right end of fighting poverty, especially for the economic empowerment of the women, but they also need support during the initiation phase and also in the follow up. The intention of the PRD is to, through ASDE, work for both increased democratic participation as well as economic development and in present day work is done in both fields. One focus area is today is intending to increase the cooperation between the authorities within the municipality to cooperate better with the NGOs and to try to initiate a dialogue between the two, a indispensable variable in the development of the society. This since both parties possesses valuable insights regarding the ways forward in improving the lives of the citizens of the district. Due to the limited resources of ASDE it seems vital to invest the money where the largest benefits may be collected, not just financially, but for the society as a whole, hence to create a clear cut focus group.

8.3 Comparative and conclusive analysis

The two areas investigated in this study the CNR (Yarabamba, Quequeña and Polobaya) and Majes are different to each other in many ways, but its inhabitants have to a large extent surged from the same mould. The history and the political tradition of Peru have affected both societies. In Yarabamba, Quequeña and Polobaya the history and the traditions of a antecedent society always makes itself reminded and despite Majes is a more recent phenomenon the heritage has also formed this more modern, or at least new, structure. As will be treated in this comparative and conclusive analysis, the present problems in the regions are decedents from both exogenous and endogenous sources, both somewhat dependent on each other. In the comparative analysis common sources, as well as differences, for a prosperous future will be elaborated upon. The focal point will also be set on entrepreneurship and the creation of small scale businesses in these areas and whether the empirical results brought up

similarities and/or differences in the line of approach. Further the views and opinions of the women in these questions will be analysed and what they consider themselves to need in order to advance in their own development process. To conclude the comparative analysis the PRD will be highlighted and the work conducted through the cooperation organisation within the programme and how they treat the questions of formulation in this study. A comparison between the two areas will be made also in this regard.

Cooperation between the different institutions

In this part the relation between state, municipality, the NGOs and the civil organisations and organisational pattern will be analysed in a more comparative manner. The relations between these institutions are to a great extent decisive when treating the second main problem within the PRD, i.e. the weak economic situation since the democratic participation and relation to the governing power to also affect the possibilities of influencing one's life. Hence one must be aware of that it is strongly intertwined and dependent upon the first main problem, i.e. the democratic and participation shortage as well as the weak institutional situation²⁴. It is therefore possible to state that the solution to the first problem at least will create a large improvement in the second problem, i.e. with a stronger democratic participative base the economic situation would become more stable where people to a larger extent can influence their own economic future. As mentioned, this is also the mission of the PRD, both in Yarabamba, Quequeña and Polobaya as well as in Majes; to support economic and social development (for foremost women and youth) both through democratic consolidation and an enhanced participation and through the improvement of the economic conditions. The results in this investigation all point toward the fact that these two means to reach the same end are mutually dependant.

Exogenous and endogenous sources to the economic and social problems

Regarding the current problems in the region some exogenous as well as endogenous sources has been identified through the cause of the investigation. The exogenous sources identified are foremost the political situation, both historical as well as contemporary. The fragile democracy together with a strong tradition of vertical decision making has made Peruvians in general to doubt their possibilities to influence the political life. This feeling is still deeply rooted in the minds of people as well as corruption scandals and other misuse of power which has undermined the role and trust for the state. Further, the neoliberalism increased the individualism in society which in turn has increased the difficulties for the citizens to cooperate in different questions and organise themselves. This is due to the lack of commonness provided by the rigorous reforms during the 1990s where people once again was sentences to themselves take full responsibility for providing for their own families.

The endogenous sources to the problems of the region can partially also claim to derive from the political heritage as the shortage of the social capital, rooted in the scarce political participation and organisational life creates difficulties for society to create a counterweight to the tradition of vertical decision making. In a society the strength of the networks of cooperation and information, as well as the preservation of cultural values such as confidence and mutual agreements, is transformed in a kind of 'aggregate value' of society which not

²⁴ Further specified in chapter 3.

only reflect the economic life, but also the state of democracy and citizenship. The connection between the strength and the autonomy of the associational life and the vitality of the democratic life has before been elucidated. There needs to exist an equilibrium between state and civil society in order to ensure the efficiency of the former. As democracy requires an effective state, it also needs a pluralistic civil society that is organised in autonomous manner in order to control, or rather act as a counterweight, to the State and for the civil society to be able to democratically express the interests of the citizens. The importance of an organised civil society is also expressed through its educative role concerning democratic values and ways of conduct. Through the organisations citizens may be introduced in democratic life and hence be able to post their thoughts and desires in other forums. An organised civil society may also be able to introduce new leaders.

The role of the family in organising and economic development

However, it is important to recognise that the cultural structures are more complex and time consuming to change or alter than institutional structures. Hence it is easy that the changes comes from above, changes that cannot persist and be successful over time. Returning to the organisation it is important to notice that there exist different levels of organisation and social systems (Erikssen, 1995). In the Peruvian culture the family is an important variable in the social network and is in many cases the foundation to the organisational life. In the smaller communities, such as CNR, this is often extended to the level of the village, i.e. the family is deeply rooted in the community and its cohesion is transferred to a higher level in the community.

Majes, on the other hand, does not have the tradition of strong families that have the possibility to construct an organisation since they have immigrated and probably have the great part of their families elsewhere. To draw the conclusion that CNR hence has a stronger foundation on which they can build an organisational culture is close at hand. This entails that the discount rate for future benefits is higher in societies such as the district of Majes compared to a more traditional community, such as CNR (Oström, 1990). Majes hence has a diminished initiative to create long term organisational solutions that will benefit future generations than they do in CNR. In CNR they are more confident that the actions they realise today, in the future will benefit their children and offspring. Another aspect is that these groups, even though they are internally organised for their own needs, have little possibilities to express their wishes and demands upwards in the hierarchy. Erikssen (1995) refers to these groups as 'mute' since they often lack channels of communication or the possibilities to organise around more complex issues. This is the case for both men and woman, but one has to recognise that women often are held back by other issues, such as her role in the household, that she needs to take care of the children, lack of education and support etc. The young democracy in Peru does not allow each individual the same opportunities, this is a common misinterpretation and the people the most exposed are the poor and then foremost the poor woman.

Entrepreneurship and collective action

In both areas the collective action could do much for the woman in many different fields. In order to create a complementary or supplementary source of income, the dynamic of the group is not surmounted. Throughout the realised study, the results have shown strong indications that the exact circumstances regarding the organising around a collective action

may not be the essential factor, rather the action in itself. Merely to get people to organise and to implement collective action is a goal in itself that provides a fundament for future activities. The process of learning how to organise is more important than the specific goal. This knowledge on how to organise will in turn be directly beneficent for the development of entrepreneurship where skills and experienced can be shared and developed within the group.

Another crucial component in the entrepreneurial process is the access to capital. This was through the interviews often described as the most important variable, of course together with the idea to an activity. Microcredits are a good option for a large number of people, but can only be given to a limited amount of people, since the control is crucial. Departing from the researcher's limited experience in the area, preference would reside in the joining of people in either productive chain or a collective of producers. However, here the largest problem is the difficulties of joining, which has much to do with the weak democratic heritage. Important lessons were also taught in Majes regarding the microcredits. The social aspect was here indicated to have great importance, where the support of the family showed to have great importance in the success rate of the different projects.

The work of the NGOs in the areas to increase and improve the entrepreneurial climate for the women is, as demonstrated, a complex and multifaceted issue. To demonstrate a general straight forward response to the hardship for foremost women to increase their entrepreneurial possibilities seems like an almost impossible task, rather all the different districts have their advantages and disadvantages. However, the exogenous sources to the problem are sources which affect all the districts even though the endogenous are more specific for the certain areas. The vast reforms implemented as well as the uncertain political and economic climate left the people with low trust for the power apparatus. The role of the state in ordinary people's lives has for a long time been limited and the support needed for economic advancement for small societies has defaulted. With the centralism the local governments have also had their hands tied to their back, since all local reforms and investments has needed to be run through the central government. This is still the case, but the decentralisation is well under way and the situation is improving with a higher freedom of action for the local government. When the local governments possess larger freedom of action they also have larger liberties to take care of problems that are specified for their region, something that before was impossible.

Regarding the entrepreneurship and the relation between this and the NGOs is the observed lack of interest and initiatives in some cases provided by the women interviewed. This had nothing to do with laziness: the case was rather that the women either were satisfied with their current situation or considered it unnecessary to spend their time searching for something better; or that they did not possess the experience and skills needed to by themselves create initiatives for their own future. Here the NGOs and the municipality need to collaborate in order to overcome these two obstacles in order to subsidise entrepreneurial activities. The eventual workshops first needs to be realised on hours that suit the participants and they have to be realised with a concrete goal that the participant can identify themselves with. Within the workshops the participants must see that they actually can convert their theoretical knowledge to practical and the responsible leader should encourage the participants in realising their projects. Intertwined with the possibilities to realise these projects is of course the access to physical capital. For the poorest people in both the investigated zones, the

possibility to by themselves access a loan was more or less zero without some kind of security. Hence the access to capital, such as microcredits, is vital in order to make the transfer the theoretical knowledge to practice.

8.4 The way forward for the PRD and the work of the NGOs

In this section the results from the investigation regarding the current role, as well as the way forward for the NGOs in the districts examined, will be analysed. In order to make the work realised by the NGOs in the area more efficient and relevant there are some issues believed to be essential that here will be brought up. This is in regard to both the general development plan in the area, but foremost in regard to the PRD and the role of Svalorna. Many of the issues brought up in the next section are closely related and intertwined.

The first is the issue that surged during the interviews regarding the work of the NGOs was the one of consistency. This term implies the necessity of the active organisations in the areas to conduct a consistent work that its participants can confide in. The people who are involved in an initiative has often sacrificed something in order to participate, such as time on the fields, domestic work or spending time with the family. Therefore it is important that when they decide to participate can rely on the fact that the activity will provide consistency. The second issue is related to the first and treats the relevancy and quality of the activities. Activities planned by the NGOs or the municipality needs to have support from the people participating. This is vital both in order to achieve activities both of quality and relevancy and for the participants to feel that they get value for their time invested. The economic situation in general must also be investigated as well as whether the participants already have existing organisations. This is necessary in order to consolidate the existing ones instead of initiating new activities without support. New activities can, however, certainly be of benefit as long as the support is registered by prior investigations and through popular forums, which is the next issue brought up.

As the foundation to all activities and initiatives realised by the NGOs for women and youth, in the work towards social and economic development, the participation of the FWG needs to be the focal point. As to the PRD and the general work conducted by the NGOs an increased participation would provide with many important insights and improvement in the organisation of activities. According to the interviews realised the strong impression was received that the current main forum for deliberation, the *Presupuesto Participativo*, is not enough. This is foremost due to that merely a small part of the inhabitants (the organised part) can participate with the contribution of propositions, solutions and general points regarding the development of the community. Further the meetings are scarce and other, more pressing issues are discussed rather than the essential long term solutions. Hence maybe another forum is needed mainly developed as a source of communication between the inhabitants, the NGOs and the authorities. This forum could be dedicated foremost to a long term development with vital variables such as emphasising the importance of entrepreneurship and small scale businesses for women and youth. This forum should be democratic, i.e. open for everyone with possibilities for all participators to express their thoughts and opinions and be respected for those. All participants should have the possibility to share experiences and learn from others. The issues treated within the forum should also be decided by the participants themselves as a part of the democratic procedure. Today village meetings exist, but they are

often solely for a specific question, and not a long term, consistent activity. When the women and youth feel the support in the back, the result could be that they dare to take the leap and give up their poor, but fairly secure life, for a better future.

In order to make an alternative forum for participation in the women and youth's own development process, a profound cooperation is needed between all parties active in the different district that work with the same FWG. In this manner all parties can participate with their specific experiences and skills in order to bring the economic and social development forward. A great initiative has been taken between the different cooperation organisations within the PRD to make this exchange which will be very beneficiary, but it is still not done at a local level or e.g. between different NGOs working in the same areas with the same FWG.

Through the interviews conducted it has however surged that solely the increased participation in one's own development process will solve all problems with e.g. scarce entrepreneurial climate. At times when the women and youth were asked what they needed to improve their economic situation they could not answer. Therefore the NGOs sometimes need to be initiators to projects and influence and inspire members of the FWG. This implies that it will be necessary at times for initiatives to be implemented top-down, even though it is not the ultimate arrangement. The bottom-up perspective should be strived for, but when this is unobtainable the top down can still take a community one part of the way towards economic and social development. It is vital, however, that the top down initiative is consolidated with the community in order to gain the essential legitimacy needed for implementation. In this case a deliberative forum could also serve as an important channel of communication between the different parties and also in order to make the people feel included.

As to the specific cooperation organisations, CIED and ASDE, the work they are realising is very distinct from one another and hence they also have many experiences and knowledge to share between the organisations. CIED is in a different situation since they have many different financiers and they hence need to fit the needs and requests from the PRD with those of the other financiers in the same districts. This implies advantages, such as larger resources and hence a possibility to achieve great improvements as well as a greater independency if one of the financiers pulls out the projects can still survive. They also possess a larger net of contacts where they are a part of a larger entity. This provides CIED with new approach to the existing problems and issues. At the same time it also poses disadvantages such as more demands to meet, smaller manoeuvring space and the difficulty of making a project or a programme to suit all parties. As a part of a greater entity the complexity of organising also increases. ASDE on the other hand, have Svalorna as the sole financier. The greatest difference is the size of the activities where ASDE has limited resources and are hence more dependent on their sole financier. CIED can hence follow the directions of the PRD with the help of further financiers that have similar goals with the activities, whereas ASDE works with the PRD as the only plan for the area.

The roles of Svalorna as a coordinator of the activities as well as follow up on the realised activities are certainly important ones. Svalorna has a responsibility that the funds are used in a satisfying manner. Another important role, however, is to promote inter organisational cooperation between the cooperation organisations, even to a larger extent than today. In the case of CNR it also seems logic that the CIED and El Taller should cooperate to some extent, maybe not in every activity, but both organisations have great experiences from the area from

different angles and should therefore have much to learn from each other. They could together also possess a larger weight when it comes to negotiating with authorities. Svalorna also needs to make sure that the work realised on the field is for the direct benefit of the FWG and the PRD and not to the goals and needs of the organisations themselves. Regarding the work realised by the CIED where funds arrives from different sources the case might be that the difficulties of organising the activities in benefit of all financial parties influence negatively on the PRD. It might also be in the opposite manner, but the liberty of action possessed by the cooperation organisations need to be critically evaluated.

9 Discussion and evaluation of the study

In March of 2007 the researcher was finally given the clear for the realisation of this investigation and in the beginning of May the first interviews were conducted on place in Peru. It may seem as a short time to prepare, and it was, but at the same time it is very hard to prepare for the Peruvian reality at a desk in Sweden. However, it was crucial for the researcher to have a general picture ready what to expect and why, and hence as much background material as possible was collected. All in order to, to the greatest extent possible, better grasp the content of the Peruvian society, both the larger picture as well as for the smaller man. The purpose of the study was brought forward in collaboration between Svalorna and the researcher, even though the researcher had full control over the way of conduct for the realisation of the investigation in such. The main obstacles for the economic development of women and youth in order to promote poverty reduction in the rural areas of Arequipa are not easy to identify in such a short time as has been the case. An attempt has been realised with positive results departing from the women themselves and what they consider themselves to need in order to improve their economic situation and improve possibilities to entrepreneurship. The study has been realised in line with the PRD and how the work the organisations carry out goes in line with what the people consider themselves to need.

In this section the researcher will provide thoughts, questions as well as ideas regarding the study conducted and its results. Comments will be made in regard to the entire study realised with a focus on the central questions stated above. The method used during the course of the investigation will also be highlighted from the point of view of the author. Reflections will be made on questions such as:

- Has the study fulfilled its purposes?
- Did the results reflect the expectations of the author and was the study a success?
- Did the study raise any new questions of relevance?
- Could improvements regarding the way of conduct be made if it were to be done again?

9.1 The methodological approach

The most crucial part of this investigation was the making of contact with the people and conducting the interviews. This stage of the research was facilitated by the great cooperation from both the organisations under Svalorna, Svalorna themselves as well as on place in the villages. The people of Peru that I encountered with were open and willing to share both their sorrows and happiness with a girl from the other side of the world who physically look like their opposite and who spoke a strange Spanish. The real hardship of the investigation was met in Majes. The complexity of the cultural composition made the implementation of the investigation not straight forward and some improvisation had to be made in order to get in contact with women within the FWG. Some help was received from ASDE in contacting women from the lists provided, but sometimes women were only handpicked from the street, this with various results. The difference was huge when it came to interpret a general pattern in society if comparing the CNR and Majes. In CNR the society was small and homogenous

and hence interpretations could be made by the few interviews made, but in Majes this was more complex. Due to this fact further interview than planned were conducted in order to increase the understanding of the region, with something that the author now hopes to have succeeded.

Regarding the FWG as a base for conducting the interviews, the approach could be used in all the interviews. However, at times the line of approach had to be alternated mainly due to lack of time since the person interviewed had other engagements. This alternation mostly entailed that the first part with the presentation of the investigation and the researchers purpose on the site was somewhat neglected. A brief presentation as well as an explanation of the purpose of the study was however always made. Even though it was fairly easy to conduct the interviews a widespread weariness towards these types of studies were noticed, foremost in the area of Yarabamba, Quequeña and Polobaya. This due to that the people in these areas were much more used to the receiving of help from NGOs and equivalent organisations. This might entail a somewhat rehearsed behaviour towards the researcher, but this was hopefully averted through the random sampling conducted.

The realisation of the interviews through the FWG approach is certainly the backbone of this investigation, but at the same time the nonoral observations plays a great part of the collection of empirical results. The researcher has throughout the entire study been observant to everything in the surrounding environment in order to even better grasp the access to information provided. The 'bottom-up' perspective could be pursued throughout the study with the exception of that the people higher up on the organisational ladder were not always mentioned by name, hence has the researcher at times selected appropriate representatives for the actual organisation or authority. Due to the weak organisational climate few 'natural' leaders could be found which could have provided a more general picture of the problems facing the districts.

9.2 General evaluation of the study conducted

The experience gained through conducting this study has been spectacular, both personal as well as academical. The hardships have been overcompensated by the knowledge and joy gained in the field. The purposes, to both provide an analysis of the actual economic situation for women and youth in the districts mentioned as well as present the main obstacles for a development in the right direction through entrepreneurship and economic empowerment, have been met. The grass root approach was intended to provide the views of the women themselves and see what they need in their development process and also what the PRD can do to help in this process. Regarding the fulfilment of the purposes of the study this has been done in a methodologically correct way and with satisfying results. The purposes have been obtained through the analysing and reproducing of the interviews conducted with women, representatives for cooperation organisations, authorities and Svalorna as well as through an active observation of the situation on behalf of the researcher. The general picture of the current situation as well as the main obstacles for economic development for the women and youth in these districts was fairly easy to identify whereas concrete solutions were somewhat more difficult to identify. However, due to the limited time and the extension of the questions within the purpose, the results are satisfactory and have fulfilled its intention.

The results have been analysed in a systematic manner were all the districts have been touched upon, both individually as in a group. This approach was satisfactory since many differences as well as similarities surged and provided interesting views on the subject in question. Within the analysis the relation between the PRD and the work actually realised was also made in order to investigate the role of the programme in relieving the poverty situation and advocate for entrepreneurship and economic development in the areas mentioned.

The realisation of the investigation went according to plans without major setbacks even though the cultural and social complexity in the district of Majes raised some problems. Those issues were handled and generally speaking the study was a success. The reception of the great majority of the women in the districts in question helped greatly in the realisation and implementation of the FWG. It was hard to on beforehand have a picture of expected results and hence the situation of investigation was met with an open mind in order to increase the objectivity of the results.

The expectation of the realised study is that it will contribute to the ongoing learning regarding the situation of the women and youth in mentioned areas. The hopes are also that the organisations as well as Svalorna through the investigation may discover new ways of encounter the problems that they are facing in the region and that these problems are seen through the eyes of the people. In the area there exist many problems that have not been enlightened in this study mainly due to the need for focusing on the main purpose, but they are often problems directly linked to the issues brought up here. The most interesting and relevant one these days are the role of the State in the contemporary Peruvian society, or in other words, its lack of presence. The economic growth has during the last years been extremely strong, but the poverty is not decreasing which directly affect poor areas such as the ones within the study since they do not benefit from this growth. The strong centralisation in the country is another problem directly affecting the poor rural areas since it diminishes their possibilities to affect their own situation although this has improved during the last years. The problem with the absence of the State is however an abstract one. It is not that the State is solely inefficient, it has traditionally not existed on a local level since all power and decisions have been run through Lima. The municipality has throughout history acted as 'executers' of decisions made at the central level, without a part of the decision making. The situation is now improving, but the centralisation is still a strong phenomenon penetrating all levels of governance. Due to this fact civil participation has deficient since all decisions has been made on a central level without any real possibilities to influence. To conclude, the role of the State is weak in these areas, foremost in Majes where great measures would be to prefer to improve many of the fundamental functions of society. These measures needs to be both 'visible' as well 'invisible' in order to promote economic and social development in a satisfying manner.

10 Conclusion

This investigation has treated, through a 'bottom up' perspective, the general sustention situation as well as the possibilities for entrepreneurship and initiation of small scale businesses for women in the rural areas of Arequipa in southern Peru. In addition to this general purpose impediments for an economic and social development has been identified and what alternatives to current livelihood that exist. The study has been conducted departing from the PRD and its advantages and disadvantages in bringing the areas of Yrabamba, Quequeña, Polobaya and Majes to economic and social prosperity.

In this section the major problems identified as well as the most important findings will briefly be provided. Regarding the identified problems they can be divided in two sub-groups: problems with exogenous and endogenous sources. The exogenous sources includes the short term and volatile politics in a centralised manner that permeate all levels in society and create an insecurity, lack of confidence with authorities and also a lack of legitimacy of political decisions. The endogenous sources are displayed through a lack in mutual confidence and network building where the insufficient political participation and ability to organise entails a weak counterweight to the state as well as ability for the women to influence in future political decisions regarding their own future. During the course of the investigation the correlation between democratic participation and economic development has grown even stronger since the organising in democratic forums provide the women with the knowledge, confidence and the possibilities to influence their own development process.

Another major problem identified in the districts, foremost the CNR, is the scarce entrepreneurial climate and difficulties of transforming theoretical knowledge acquired in workshops to practise. Vast difficulties regarding organising the women around a common cause was also observed and the organising that did exist was solely of an economic character. In CNR it was found, however, that the social network and hence the foundation to a more organised civil society was fairly strong due to common history and traditions. In Majes, on the other hand, its recent surge has impeded the evolving of a common cultural identity and the lack of social networks is striking. The reasoning in Majes evolves to a larger extent to short term decisions due difficulties of recognising the long term benefits, whereas in CNR the people were more positive of making improvements that could benefit their children and the community as a whole.

Solutions to these types of problems are extremely complex and each area needs their own holistic plan of development. One of the most important actions in order to improve the general economic situation in the areas is the democratic participation and possibilities of influencing ones proper future. This creates a foundation as well as an incitement for organising at all levels of society, also within the economic sector, something described as vital for many women in order to advance in their own development process. The process of organising in itself is often more important than what the organising is about. The women also need access to express their experiences, the creation of knowledge, support from the outside and also capital with favourable payment plans. These microcredits need to have an underlying plan of action that also needs to involve family and other producers within the same or equal fields in order to share skills and experiences.

In CNR the PRD is today foremost targeted towards the project of tourism as well as the ecological agriculture in Polobaya. In Majes the work is mainly sighted towards adolescences and the work of organising women around both social and economic causes. For these societies to develop in the right direction a three way cooperation is necessary: between local authorities, the NGOs as well as the private participation sector. Through this cooperation problems can be faced at many levels for a more consistent and holistic approach and they can help to create a larger legitimacy for the work conducted in the areas. The work conducted by the participants of the PRD is well organised. Their work was however at times described as inconsistent and larger emphasis needs to be put on the legitimacy of their work and on the process of participation.

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11 Appendices

11.1 Appendix I: The base interviews

As stated all interviews have been realised with an insurance to the interviewed of her complete anonymity throughout the entire study. However, for the legitimacy of the study sex, profession, age and also where they were interviewed will be appointed, but no names will be exposed.

Identification number	District	Sex	Age	Occupation	Found through lists of participation?
A.1	Y	F	42	Farmer	No
A.2	Y	F	46	Owner of restaurant	Yes
A.3	Y	F	61	Owner of grocery store	No
A.4	Y	F	43	All-rounder	Yes
A.5	Y	F	16	Working with family	No
A.6	Y	F	58	Farmer	No
A.7	Y	F	39	Farmer	Yes
A.8	Y	F	45	Farmer, butchers wife	Yes
B.1	Q	F	35	Farmer	Yes
B.2	Q	F	22	Farmer	Yes
B.3	Q	F	36	All-rounder	Yes
B.4	Q	F	28	Owner of grocery store	Yes
B.5	Q	F	35	Family farm	No
B.6	Q	F	23	Unemployed	Yes
B.7	Q	F	52	Farmer	No
B.8	Q	F	46	All-rounder	No
C.1	P	F	45	Ecologic farmer	Yes
C.2	P	F	38	Ecologic farmer	Yes
C.3	P	F	16	Student	No
C.4	P	F	61	All-rounder	Yes
C.5	P	F	24	Farmer	Yes
C.6	P	F	48	Owner of grocery store	No
C.7	P	F	43	Farmer	No

C.8	P	F	63	Stayed on her son's farm	No
D.1	M	F	24	Owner of juice stand (EP) ²⁵	No
D.2	M	F	22	Salesclerc, future student (EP)	No
D.3	M	F	16	Student (LC) ²⁶	Yes
D.4	M	F	17	Student and self-employed (EP)	Yes
D.5	M	F	19	Student and former self-employed (EP)	Yes
D.6.	M	F	58	Vendor (LC)	No
D.7	M	F	32	Farmer (LC)	No
D.8	M	F	46	All-rounder (LC)	No
D.9	M	F	16	Student (EP)	Yes
D.10	M	F	22	Salesclerc, future self-employed (EP)	No
D.11	M	F	42	Dairy farmer (EP)	No
D.12	M	F	18	Waitress (EP)	Yes
D.13	M	F	52	Un-employed (LC)	No
D.14	M	F	62	Owner of grocery store (LC)	No
D. 15	M	F	20	Student	No

²⁵ El Pedregal

²⁶ La Colina

11.2 Appendix II: The informants other than the base interviews

The following interviews were conducted on top of the 40 base interviews:

1 Representations of the organisations

1. Alva Azócar, the representative for Svalorna at ASDE. Workes in Majes.
2. Germán Ramos Anco, works for ASDE in Majes.
3. Alfonso Aire, director of CIED.
4. Justo Motta Cornejo, works for CIED, mainly in Sogay and Polobaya.
5. Mercedes Cruz D  a, responsable for the development of the baseline study for the PRD.
6. Norma Sotta, representative of El Taller.

2 Interviews at authorities

1. Reynaldo C  ceres Lupaca, manager of the office for planification and budget (planificaci  n y presupuesto) in Majes.
2. H  ctor   lvarez, kommunalr  d (regidor) p   kommunen i Queque  a.
3. Javier M  rquez Castillo, engineer at the municipality in Yarabamba.
4. Celia Torres, governor in Yarabamba.

3 Local leaders

1. The committee of tourism in Yarabamba.
2. Doris Paredes, Sogay.

11.3 Appendix III: The FWG interview scheme

The For Whom Group interview scheme:

Before the boxes that are core of the interview, 3 initiating fases are carried out:

Phase 1:

- Relate to the respondent and inform about the duration of the interview.
- Describe the study the researcher is doing and why it is conducted.
- Describe why the respondent has been courted for.
- Describe why the person is important for the study and inform about the confidentiality and anonymity of the interview.
- Emphasise that the interview is voluntary.
- Describe the desired result for the researcher as well as for the respondent.

Phase 2:

- Describe the pace of the interview (Box 1-4 structure and the “snow-ball” approach).
- Ask for a general approval, in the cases where an actor is mentioned, in order to proceed.
- Describe the “tricks” used by the researcher and possible interpreter to keep up in the interview.

Phase 3:

- Ask the person to generally describe her/his life situation as it was when she /he turned to the programme, the current situation and for how long it has been like that.

1.1 These phases are the ingression to the Boxes 1-4

Box 1:

In this step the fundamental need of the respondent will be defined, as well as how they reached the conclusion that support was necessary. The current situation of the individual will be elucidated. Here the emphasis will also rest on how they came in contact with the organisation supporting them, i.e. with whom, and the forums used for this contact.

Box 2:

Once the needs are defined the interview will steer toward the resort or solution of these needs required or wanted by the interviewed. Hence ways out of the situation and into possibilities, as well as a future desired scenario, of the respondent will be deliberated. The question With Whom is once again important in order to investigate how the desired solutions may be provided who to provide it. Also if the respondent could have chosen another solution to fill its needs.

Box 3:

In this step the conversation will focus on the solutions provided by the programme as well as the opinions of the respondent regarding these solutions. The person will be asked to reason regarding the sufficiency of the arrangements made, who provided them and the participation of the receiver in making these arrangements.

Box 4:

In the evaluation all the previous steps will be concluded. Questions regarding whether the respondent has discussed their needs and the solutions with anyone, in that case with whom. Important is also how the individual evaluates the programme up until this point and whether they consider the resources of the programme to have been used in an efficient way.

Phase 4:

- Here an appropriate closure of the interview is made and the research checks whether the expectations of both the researcher and the respondent are met. If any misunderstandings are made, is there a possibility to get in contact with the person. Declare one last time the actors mentioned during the interview and if the researcher is allowed to get in contact with respective actor. Positive closure of the interview.

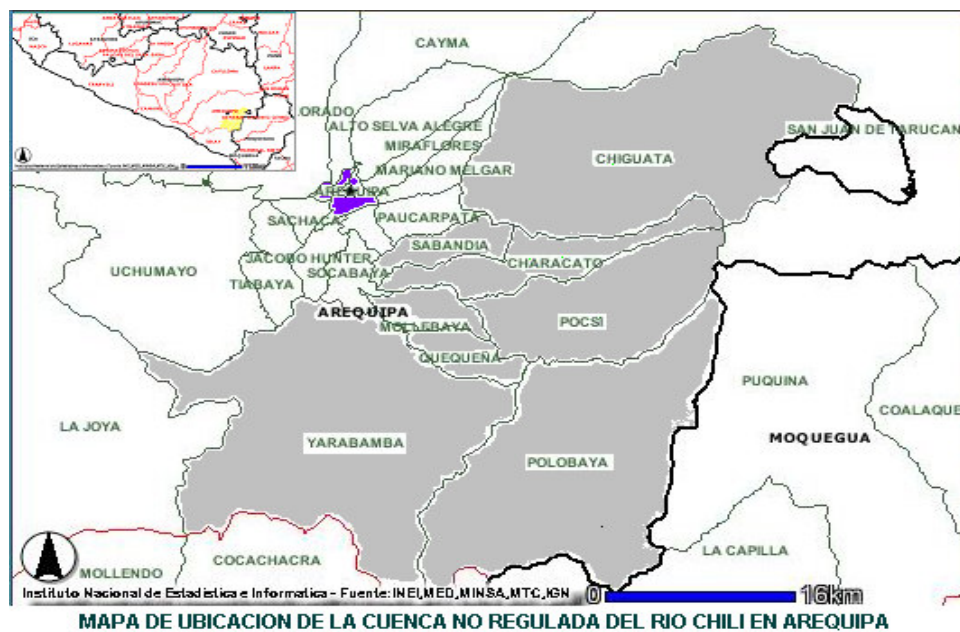
11.4 Appendix IV: The political division in Peru



Källa: Svalorna (2006)

The largest political entity in Peru are the 25 regions together with the one province, Lima. Below the regions are the department and below them we find the districts, which in the level of which the study has been conducted. On this picture the smallest unit shown are the departments. Yarabamba, Quequeña and Polobaya are situated in Arequipa and Majes in the southern part of Caylloma.

11.5 Appendix V: The Cuenca no regulada del río Chili (CNR)



CIED, 2006

