

The Local and the Global of Andean Agriculture:  
Technical Changes and Rural Economy in Coporaque, Peru

by

Amanda Jo E. Wildey

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the Honors Requirements  
for the Latin American, Latino, and Caribbean Studies Department  
Dickinson College

Professor Maria Bruno, Supervisor  
Professor Marcelo Borges, Supervisor  
Professor J. Mark Ruhl, Reader

Carlisle, Pennsylvania  
May, 2013

## **Abstract**

As markets are growing and borders are shrinking, the different corners of the world are becoming increasingly in contact with one another. But what is the nature of the interactions that result? For this thesis, I examine these dynamics in the case study of one community in particular: Coporaque, Peru. I spent time in 2011 and 2013 conducting fieldwork in this rural agricultural Andean community to study how the agricultural sphere is shifting in response to new opportunities to participate in the larger regional and national markets. I preface my analysis of contemporary agriculture in Coporaque with an analysis of two contexts in particular: First, I evaluate the theoretical debate surrounding the results of these unprecedented interactions, signaling that the model of the hybridization of local and external practices is more applicable than one that alludes to an inevitable homogenization. Second, I explore the broader history of agricultural change in the Peruvian Andes, focusing particularly on the roots of the economic structures that can be observed today in Coporaque. Together, these different perspectives reveal that the economic expansion of a community is not an isolated phenomenon, rather a dynamic one rooted in interactions with external influences and one that can have an impact on the character of local social relations. This offers a critical lens through which I then examine my own fieldwork in Coporaque to determine under what historical and cultural conditions a hybridization emerges that can benefit the local economy. Ultimately, I demonstrate that community members in Coporaque are adept at establishing a balance between incorporation and maintenance—they are capable of first selecting which new techniques will be beneficial and then skillfully blending them into a unique set of agricultural practices. Thus, successful economic expansion comes from initiatives that respect their agency and include the local community members in the process.

## Table of Contents

Abstract .....	1
<i>Introduction. Globalization and the Power of the People</i> .....	3
<i>Welcome to Coporaque, Peru</i> .....	7
<i>Chapter 1. The Debate of Globalization: Culture and Economy</i> .....	11
<i>Agriculture and Economy: Compatibility and a Resulting Hybridity?</i> .....	16
<i>Agriculture and Economy: Incompatibility and a resulting Homogenization?</i> .....	19
<i>Chapter 2. A History of Economic Development in the Rural Andes:</i> .....	21
From “Exchanging Goods” to “Trade” .....	21
<i>Sociopolitical Development and the Inca Empire</i> .....	21
<i>The Spanish Conquest, the Hacienda System, and the Aftermath</i> .....	25
<i>The National Agrarian Reform (And Its Sequel)</i> .....	28
<i>Economic Uncertainty: The 1970s-1990</i> .....	32
<i>Neoliberalism—The Pandora’s Box of Capitalism?</i> .....	35
<i>Chapter 3. A Case Study: Globalization and Agriculture in Coporaque</i> .....	39
<i>More Roads, More Markets, More Agriculture?</i> .....	45
<i>An Unlikely Pair: Irrigation Development and Cultural Strengthening</i> .....	47
<i>Irrigation Shortcomings: Reservoirs</i> .....	52
<i>Irrigation Shortcomings: Canal System</i> .....	54
<i>Educated Change: Maintaining Local Irrigation Strengths</i> .....	56
<i>Chapter 4. A Place for the Government and the Government in Its Place</i> .....	59
<i>Historical Tensions</i> .....	61
<i>Present Possibilities</i> .....	63
<i>Chapter 5. Conclusions: Collaboration in Coporaque and Hope for the Future?</i> .....	69
Acknowledgements .....	72
Bibliography .....	73

...We should, once again, assimilate without being assimilated. We should borrow from modernism only that which does not misrepresent our civilization and deep nature.

—Léopold Sédar Senghor, Senegal, 1978

### ***Introduction. Globalization and the Power of the People***

“Globalization” has commonly been cast as a negative influence, as a force of cultural oppression that should be avoided and valiantly fought at all costs.<sup>1</sup> The primary complaints are rooted in a critique of the spread of economic involvement and subsequent widespread commodification of objects whose importance was once based on their local cultural relevance. “Developing countries” in Latin America have often received the bulk of such concern, and many models have been developed that project such a path towards ultimate homogeneity, predicting that if this process of globalization (or “westernization”) continues, the cultures and practices of small communities will eventually be overtaken by outside influences. This “contamination” is a particularly relevant issue in the case of rural Andean communities: agriculture has long been a major source of subsistence, but this practical purpose is complemented by an equally integral, deeply entrenched cultural value—agriculture represents at once a literal and spiritual connection with the earth. When discussing changes in agricultural practices, then, concern is frequently raised regarding the impact of these technological shifts on the cultural structures to which they are inextricably tied. Yet does not this depiction of the communities as vulnerable entities, helpless in the face of new influences, contribute to the very subjugation against which these detractors of globalization speak?

---

<sup>1</sup> “Globalization” has acquired a particularly negative reputation as a vague and empty term given the frequency with which it is employed haphazardly as a catch-all. And while it is apparent that “globalization” has indeed in many situations become an imprecise buzzword, this does not mean that it should never be implemented: On the contrary, it can be a pithy and therefore useful term to succinctly refer to a larger process *as long as* it is accompanied by a specific delineation of the contexts to which it refers. For the purpose of this investigation, “globalization” will refer to the interaction between a local culture and influences of a “western” culture or its elements, particularly in the economic, technological, and agricultural spheres.

Just as there has been a swift and vocal critique of the homogenization which globalization surely encourages, so, too, has there emerged an equally strong insistence that these influences do not blindly wipe out local customs. Instead of casting these communities as pristine, fragile constructions, we should acknowledge that the community members have long experienced and responded to socioeconomic interactions and the arrival of new influences that they bring: the expansion of the Inca Empire, the invasion of the Spanish *conquistadores*, the implementation of national Agrarian Reforms, and the arrival of neoliberal economic policies each introduced new contexts for local identities. It would be misleading to depict communities as faltering beneath the weight of such a barrage of influences in order to preserve the integrity of their culture. On the contrary, in the words of Léopold Sédar Senghor given in his presidential address, people are embracing the strategy by which they “assimilate without assimilating;” they have approached each bout of changes with a critical, strategic assessment of how new constructions can enhance their lives, incorporating new elements based not on a desire to modify their culture and identity in order to mirror a “western” model, but rather according to an initiative to live as freely as possible—away from the pressures of poverty, colonial rule, and economic dependence.

It is true that the last several decades have been characterized by changes of unprecedented magnitude and velocity: the establishment of stronger economic relationships among countries world-wide and an increased movement of people have contributed to what contemporary academics have titled “globalization.” And indeed, few spheres have enacted as much influence on community relations and identity as the interactions prompted through the development of the economic sector. As Alejandro Ortiz describes, even the rural regions of Peru have not been isolated from such changes:

“The common Peruvian, from farming roots, indigenous, constantly leaves his community, does commercial business, travels, emigrates, returns.”<sup>2</sup> Yet he continues, qualifying that even while physically far from the customary lifestyle, the rural Peruvians carry those values and customs with them, recreating them in and, when necessary, adapting them to, the new settings. In the meantime, similar experimentation occurs within rural communities: new practices are introduced, tested, and evaluated in order to assess their utility. With such admitted omnipresence of new interactions, an attempt to debate whether or not the exposure to unprecedented influences—whether from experiencing them outside of the local community or experiencing them as they branch out to the different corners of the world—has any impact on a community’s practices may well seem pointless. Clearly, such exposure must generate profound changes. But a closer consideration of these interactions between local and external contexts reveals that a fuller understanding of these experiences cannot be achieved by focusing on whether rural communities are maintaining a “pure” local culture or if they are being “overrun” by external values and practices. The current reality in rural communities across Peru (and Latin America as a whole) cannot be encompassed by such a limited binary.

To illustrate the insufficiency of models that attempt to characterize communities’ experiences with new elements according to one or two specific options, I present in this thesis the case study of Coporaque, a small agricultural village in the Peruvian Andes. I explore the presence of new economic initiatives in this community, particularly as they relate to the expansion of the agricultural sector which occupies a central source of income in rural Andean villages like Coporaque, and their effects on local social

---

<sup>2</sup> Alejandro Ortiz R., “El individuo andino, autóctono y cosmopolita,” *Cultura y Globalización*, ed. Carlos Iván Degregori and Gonzalo Portocarrero (Lima: Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú, 2004), 129. All translations are mine.

dynamics. To contextualize the experiences of the community members, I first examine the theoretical debate surrounding whether the incorporation of external elements triggers local homogenization or encourages hybridization. I couple this consideration of the cultural context of the contemporary agricultural practices of Coporaque with a broad review of the history of economic development in the agricultural sphere of the rural Andes of Peru. As I begin narrowing the focus of this thesis to an analysis of the historical conditions of agricultural change that are specific to Coporaque, I concentrate on several particular epochs and explain how they have had the most apparent impacts on the contemporary conceptualization of the local economy: first, and what is ultimately the stage whose influences can be seen most vividly today, the sociopolitical development spurred by the incorporation into the Inca Empire; next, the formulation of the *hacienda* system during the 16<sup>th</sup> century Spanish Conquest and its expansion throughout the Colonial period which, for reasons which will be elaborated upon, was largely absent from Coporaque in particular; then, the new policies of land ownership in Peru generated by the national Agrarian Reforms in the 1960s; and finally, the emphasis on expanding economic relationships prompted by neoliberal policies beginning in the 1980s and continuing today.<sup>3</sup> After all, an analysis of present characteristics and changes that does not take into account an area's particular experiences is incomplete. Instead, we must examine the unique historical and cultural conditions that shape how each community

---

<sup>3</sup> The selection of these epochs of change was made according to the periods that have had the most direct influence on the contemporary agricultural context of Coporaque. The first of these periods is recognized as having the most notable impact and will thus be discussed in more detail than the other epochs. While general context will be provided about the latter three, given their limited presence in Coporaque, they do not offer significant contributions to local historical condition of the village and thus will not be discussed at great length. Similarly, though the terrorism of the *Sendero Luminoso* that accelerated in the 1980s through the early 1990s wreaked irrevocable hardships on rural communities throughout Peru, its movement radiated from Ayacucho, the department to the north of Arequipa, where Coporaque is situated, its effects did not reach Coporaque and, therefore, will not be discussed.

responds to the new influences, acknowledging that the successful interactions are those in which local community members are permitted to express their agency in selecting not only which new processes to incorporate, but also how the incorporation will take place. It is according to the context created by these characteristics that the community members themselves can become the principal enactors of change in their lifestyles, and it is in light of these changes that we can begin to recognize their hybrid nature—their fusion of both pre-existing and new elements into one unique set of practices.

### *Welcome to Coporaque, Peru*



**Image 1: Plaza de Armas, Coporaque, 2011.**

The consideration of both perspectives of globalization—as a homogenizing force versus as a catalyst of cultural hybridity—that I carry out in this study is based on data collected in Coporaque as part of fieldwork that I conducted during the months of November 2011 and January 2013. Coporaque is a small village of approximately 1400 people, located in the southwestern Peruvian department of Arequipa and nestled in the center of the district of Caylloma. It is one of several other similar villages in the Colca Valley that are clustered around the larger town of Chivay (approximately 6500 inhabitants). Though the central plazas of villages like Coporaque, depicted in **image 1**, are peppered with several general stores, Chivay is the preferred location for purchasing goods. Chivay also serves as the regional market hub: fresh produce from Arequipa, the nearest large city, roughly 100 miles away, arrives twice a week on Mondays and



Thursdays. Chivay is readily accessible from Coporaque—an undulating, winding road (in some sections paved, in others dirt) connects the two. Though few members of the community have personal cars to make the 15-minute drive, for 1.20 Peruvian Soles<sup>4</sup> they can take advantage of one of the various *combis*<sup>5</sup> that seats around 8-12 passengers and frequently departs from the central plaza for Chivay. Upon refilling with passengers in Chivay, the *combi* completes the circuit and, for another 1.20 Peruvian Soles per person, brings villagers back to the central plaza of Coporaque.<sup>6</sup> With such a well-established route, it would be convenient if members of Coporaque looking to sell their harvests could depend on Chivay; unfortunately, however, the population size of the area—and, therefore, demand for goods—is not substantial enough offer a market where the crops to be sold profitably. Instead, agriculturalists depend on the larger markets of Arequipa for successful crop sales—a situation which we will examine at greater length in Chapter Three, when we discuss how the community participates and represents itself in the expanding economy.

Like many Andean villages, Coporaque enjoys a wide topographical range—mountains meeting plains and falling away to the wide banks of the Colca River that runs below the village are all part of the standard scenery. The terrain is appropriate for the economic basis of Coporaque: agriculture. Here, the vast majority of the members of Coporaque depend on agriculture for their primary source of income, and they are proud of the high level of skill that they have developed. Indeed, as John Treacy observed in his fieldwork in Coporaque in 1985-1987, and as my own interviews confirmed, the members

---

<sup>4</sup> One-way. Roughly \$0.50.

<sup>5</sup> *combi*: van designated for public transportation.

<sup>6</sup> For the limited number of agriculturalists who own a car, driving a *combi* presents a source of secondary income that can be tapped during the rainy season when there is not much agricultural work to be done. According to one such agriculturalist, an average day consists of three round-trips.

of the community vehemently oppose being referred to as *comuneros*, “commoners,” or *campesinos*, “farmers” (in the sense of a peasant), and insist instead as being recognized as *agricultores*—“farmers,” or “agriculturalists.”<sup>7</sup> The agriculturalists have spread their working spaces over the area of Coporaque: Each of these segments of terrain features an array of *chacras* (“fields”) of varying sizes, some organized into wide, open, and relatively flat expanses of land (*pampas*) and others into a series of more narrow, vertically arranged plots (*anden**es*) as we can see in



**Image 2: *Chacra* topography. *Andenes* (foreground) and *pampas* (background). Coporaque, 2011.**

**image 2.** Regardless of the size of a *chacra* maintaining it is grueling labor; it is expected that all able members of an agriculturalist’s extended family will freely contribute to the effort—a form of *ayni* (“reciprocity”) that will be discussed more in Chapter Three.

*Chacras* can be either directly owned by the agriculturalist working it (or a member of the family), or they can be leased.<sup>8</sup> All land, however, follows the rule of the seven-year cycle: a *chacra* may be in use for five years, with a different crop planted each season, but then must be allowed to lie fallow for two years. In these fields,

---

<sup>7</sup> John M. Treacy, *Las chacras de Coporaque: Andenería y riego en el Valle del Colca* (Lima: IEP, 1994), 225. It can be inferred that a large contribution to this reasoning is due to the negative connotation that has been historically attached to the term *campesino*. Though this same stigma is not necessarily attached to the English translation of “farmer,” in this thesis I choose to implement the term “agriculturalist” to convey the highest level of professional respect as possible.

<sup>8</sup> The high demand—and, subsequently, price—of land in Coporaque has eliminated the possibility of purchasing more land from many of the agriculturalists’ options to increase their crop production. One agriculturalist explained to me that now several of the *chacras* that she works are leased, but that even this was expensive.

agriculturalists sow the principal crops of the region: corn, potatoes, fava beans, peas, wheat, barley, alfalfa, and, occasionally, quinoa. Sometimes multiple crops are sown in one field: it is local knowledge among agriculturalists that corn is extremely susceptible to frost (the most pernicious threat to crops) and that fava beans, on the other hand, are relatively hardier. Thus, agriculturalists often sow corn with fava beans, seen in **image 3**, to protect against frost-related crop damage.

While I conducted fieldwork in Coporaque in 2011 and 2013, I lived with a local family of agriculturalists<sup>9</sup> who owned seven *chacras*. I accompanied the family members to their fields to observe and to talk with them about their agricultural techniques and rituals. I also conducted interviews with various agriculturalists from the community to discuss their personal perspectives on agriculture and its links to local culture in Coporaque. In addition, I asked them about their points of views regarding the effects of modernization on daily life as well as implications for the future. I incorporated the opinions of an even greater variety of community members by distributing surveys with similar questions to a dozen other agriculturalists. Furthermore, I conducted an interview with the mayor of Coporaque Valeriano Rufino Rojas Rosas to invite his perspective regarding Coporaque



**Image 3: Corn (left, purple stalk) growing with fava beans. Coporaque, 2013.**

---

<sup>9</sup> As previously mentioned, almost the entirety of the adults in Coporaque earn their living primarily from agriculture. Various secondary sources of income exist—including driving a *combi*, owning a general store or restaurant, working at the local church or one of the village's two hotels as either a security guard (men) or house keeper (women), or raising livestock and selling the milk, eggs, or meat—and present an interesting opportunity to examine the economic dynamics of Coporaque more deeply, but this falls slightly beyond the scope of the my focus on the expanding agricultural sphere and is therefore not discussed at length in the present study.

and globalization not only from the perspective of an agriculturalist, but also as the local political leader who devises plans for future municipal initiatives.

As part of this project, I acknowledge the theoretical view that cites globalization as a homogenizing force. But through the incorporation and consideration of my fieldwork results, I conclude that the case of Coporaque demonstrates that “homogenization” paints too general a picture of life amidst changing influences: the agriculturalists are not merely either succumbing to newness or resisting it, but rather have enacted their own response to the new interactions by crafting a hybridity, which we see reflected particularly clearly in their agricultural practices. The conclusions of my investigation are not meant to speak for the experiences of every small community that finds itself facing the rush of new influences, nor is the purpose of this project to promote globalization. Instead, it is to bring the focus of a consideration of the effects of globalization back to the agriculturalists themselves and their agency to decide how to respond to changing social and economic dynamics. I am certain that there have been cases of communities for whom the entrance of the influences of globalization have resulted in the unfortunate abandonment of the local culture. However, by exploring the case study of Coporaque, I intend to restore balance to the scale: it is not the amorphous entity of globalization that determines a culture’s fate, but rather the unique cultural and historical conditions of each community. That these structures encourage and support local autonomy is key. Then the people themselves are able to exert agency in choosing how to respond to these new influences and ultimately craft their own local hybridity.

### ***Chapter 1. The Debate of Globalization: Culture and Economy***

Arjun Appadurai acknowledges that global history is ultimately formed through the compilation of interactions between different peoples, and as an historical

consideration will demonstrate, the globalization that arose in the twentieth century is not the first instance in which rural Andean agricultural communities have been exposed to external influences. However, Appadurai explains, “today’s world involves interactions of a new order and intensity” due to the virtually unrestricted ease with which “cultural transactions” occur.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, the increased encouragement of the development of more extensive trade networks that accompanied the arrival of neoliberal policies in Peru laid the foundation for the large-scale conversation regarding “globalization” and its impacts. Eduardo Morón characterizes globalization as the process by which what occurs in other countries affect what happens in one’s own country.<sup>11</sup> With this specification, he highlights the international relationships that this term invariably connotes, which in turn emphasizes not just the changes that emerge within communities, but also the ways in which these communities relate to the rest of the world. It is precisely through this approach to studying the extent of interaction with the broader national economy that Billie Jean Isbell presented the labels of “open” and “closed” to describe rural communities in Peru. The latter, she explained, have opted to maintain their distance and relative isolation from larger trade networks and “practic[e] intensive cultivation on marginal lands, utilizing primitive technology. It is a closed corporation because it discourages influences from the outside and because the members of the community do not identify themselves as members of the larger culture.” She adds: “Most production is for subsistence, and when cash crops are produced they are used to buy goods from the

---

<sup>10</sup> Arjun Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference in the Glotal Cultural Economy,” *Readings for a History of Anthropological Theory*, third edition. Eds. Paul A. Erickson and Liam D. Murphy (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 556.

<sup>11</sup> Eduardo Morón, “El Perú y los peruanos frente a la globalización,” *Apertura a la globalización*, ed. Bernardo Haour, S.J. (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Jesuitas, 2007), 179.

outside.”<sup>12</sup> Such an economic separation from the national market might have proved to be beneficial in light of the financial turbulence that plagued Peru in the 1970s through the 1990s; as we will discuss in Chapter 3, the more rural communities involved themselves in the larger market exchange, the more closely intertwined their productivity and economic stability became with those of the national economy.

While it is certain that the spectrum of ideas that globalization carries to all the corners of the world is a wide one, the most significant ones have been the economic influences. And indeed, when critics cite the negative influences of globalization, it is often to the negative connotation of its inherent economic influences that they refer. Javier María Iguíñez signals that “globalization” and “financial vulnerability” are, in many cases in Latin America, almost synonymous. Thus, communities find themselves pressured to conform to the already-established, successful models introduced to them and exemplified by countries like the United States.<sup>13</sup> Ultimately, cultural vibrancy is exchanged in favor of economic strength, inevitably contributing to a cultural homogenization. But can such a relationship ever be broken down as simply as “adhering to a foreign model and succeeding economically” or “maintaining cultural integrity and losing economic advances?”

Too often, a rigid binary is drawn upon in an attempt to explain how the results of the recently heightened cultural interactions affect a community’s identity. Just as Isbell’s characterization of communities as “open” and “closed” presented a potential risk for an overlooking of cultural distinctness, so, too, does the attempt to cast cultures as

---

<sup>12</sup> Billie Jean Isbell, *To Defend Ourselves: Ecology and Ritual in an Andean Village* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), 31.

<sup>13</sup> Javier María Iguíñez, “Rasgos del proceso económico peruano durante la globalización,” *Apertura a la globalización*, ed. Bernardo Haour, S.J. (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Jesuitas, 2007), 198.

homogenized or not limit the existence of multiple identities. With this mindset, cultures are consequently consigned to one of two categories based on whether they more aptly portray the “modern” or “traditional” stereotype. Those identified as “traditional” cultures are depicted as endangered and falling under the constant siege of the “modern” cultures. It is only a matter of time, this position holds, until this culture experiences total and inevitable homogenization. Kahhat contributes to this unproductive obsession with resisting homogenization by presenting the interactions between local practices and globalization influences as a battle between good and evil forces: in his characterization of the situation, rural communities assume the identity of “traditional societies” who are “suspended in time” with all of their “traditional” features fully intact. This purity, he asserts, is threatened by the new intrusive influences of globalization. Though he recognizes the benefits of versatility, he ultimately laments any incorporation of new techniques, which he refers to as “instruments of their rivals.”<sup>14</sup> From Kahhat’s perspective, then, there is no room for any sort of cultural blending.

With the development of a globalized economy that began to gather momentum in the 1960s and 70s, a strong basis was erected for the emergence of new types of “cultural transactions” of which Appadurai spoke that focus increasingly on trade integration. Yet whereas Farid Kahhat would lament the participation of communities in these new economic settings (invariably an additional form of “instruments of their rivals”), Jagdish Bhagwati critiques the assertion that trade integration is primarily responsible for homogenization.<sup>15</sup> Instead, he insists, increased economic involvement can be an

---

<sup>14</sup> Farid Kahhat, “¿Hacia el conflicto de las civilizaciones?” *Cultura y Globalización*, eds. Carlos Iván Degregori y Gonzalo Portocarrero (Lima: Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú, 2004), 71.

<sup>15</sup> Jagdish Bhagwati, *In Defense of Globalization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 114-5.

opportunity to showcase the agency with which these advances are met by communities who adapt and modify the influences of globalization to better emphasize their own unique needs.<sup>16</sup>

The efforts dedicated to the debate surrounding the imminence of the threat of the Western-based cultural homogenization seem misplaced when one considers the selectivity expressed by local communities when responding to these new influences. Appadurai challenges the paradigm of homogenization, presenting instead what he labels “cultural heterogenization” by which new influences that enter a culture are incorporated in quotidian lifestyles with an “indigenized” twist.<sup>17</sup> Whereas Kahhat projects a romanticized image of rural communities “helpless” in the face of homogenizing globalization, it is through acknowledging the phenomenon of cultural heterogenization that Appadurai encourages and enables the appreciation of the responding communities’ keen agencies. Thus, using Coporaque as a case study, I assert that Western culture is not immutable, nor are rural communities rendered helpless in its presence. New contexts are configured in response to the arrival of external influences, and though change is present, the resulting fusion of cultural elements signals not a process of homogenization, but rather of heterogenization—a unique and intriguing hybridity emerges. In line with these emphases on recognizing communities’ versatility, José Lloréns confronts and counters the idea that if a community does not modernize itself, it sacrifices future longevity.<sup>18</sup> Instead, he emphasizes, each community is affected differently by economic expansion and the arrival of new influences, and therefore proposes that a community may select

---

<sup>16</sup> Idem., 106, 109.

<sup>17</sup> Appadurai, 557.

<sup>18</sup> José A. Lloréns, “El sitio de los indígenas en el siglo XXI: tensiones transculturales de la globalización,” *Cultura y Globalización*, eds. Carlos Iván Degregori and Gonzalo Portocarrero (Lima: Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú, 2004), 150.



how it assimilates itself in the more “modern” sphere, inherently generating an infinite spectrum of distinct responses.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps the focus that speaks most directly to this versatility of adaptation is a consideration of the agricultural sphere. Given that agriculture is such a crucial component to the livelihoods of the majority of the rural Andean communities, it is likely that each community will have had some experience determining how to proceed with its agricultural practices in the face of new, “modern” practices and techniques. Was the homogenization against which the many critics of globalization warn prevalent?

### ***Agriculture and Economy: Compatibility and a Resulting Hybridity?***

Before turning to a consideration of current practices to determine whether homogenization is present in a community or not, it is necessary to first reexamine the basic theoretical framework which we employ for such assessments. In the context of this thesis, we turn to the idea of the local economy itself in Peru, and Enrique Mayer emphasizes the particular focus of agriculture as the platform for the integration of the economic sphere and the local culture developed by Lloréns: Incorporating oneself in a larger economy is not indicative of homogenization, he asserts, because in the context of Andean communities, the household is recognized as the fundamental economic unit.<sup>20</sup> There is no ideological sacrifice in which these agriculturalists discard their family-centric values in favor of pursuing a more individualistic entrepreneurial endeavor. This can be seen most vividly, Mayer continues, in the way in which these agriculturalists evaluate “profitability.” Mayer emphasizes that even attempting to ascribe one interpretation to “profit” perpetuates an erroneous assumption: “profit” itself is culturally

---

<sup>19</sup> Lloréns, 140, 144.

<sup>20</sup> Enrique Mayer, *The Articulated Peasant: Household Economies in the Andes* (Cambridge: Westview Press, 2002), 58.

constructed.<sup>21</sup> For these agriculturalists, Mayer explains, profit is not determined according to the rigid capitalist calculations. What we must instead employ in order to understand their investment in new market spheres, then, is the “ethnography of accounting.”<sup>22</sup> In taking into account the cultural and context specificity of a community’s economic expansion, it becomes clear that there is a strong tie between members’ values and their market mindset: “Peasants evaluate profits or losses of cash crops in terms of a simple cash-out and cash-in flow, *ignoring household inputs and family labor*.”<sup>23</sup> As we referenced earlier, the labor of family members is a resource that, in the Andean culture, is assumed to be free under the principle of *ayni*, or reciprocity. As we will discuss more in Chapter Three, there have been shifts in the way in which *ayni* is carried out among community members in Coporaque, but for now it is important to highlight that there is more to economic participation than the rigid conception of profit-driven individualism that is so routinely referenced.

Gérald Berthoud furthers the appreciation of the versatility in communities’ responses to the economic pressure triggered by globalization that Mayer and Lloréns emphasize. In the context of agriculture specifically, Berthoud signals that, as we have seen with past responses to tribute mandates and *hacienda* impositions, the contemporary expanded economy has engendered a new setting which agriculturalists must navigate. Berthoud recognizes the strong impact of market values in encouraging communities’ participative relationships with the economic sphere, yet unlike other scholars such as Gustavo Esteva

---

<sup>21</sup> Idem., 205.

<sup>22</sup> Idem., 225.

<sup>23</sup> Idem., 206. Emphasis added.

and Sachs who signal this shift as evidence of the cultural domination of globalization,<sup>24</sup> Berthoud emphasizes the agriculturalists' ability to express their independence of the new influences and maintain their cultural values while simultaneously incorporating new elements in order to participate in economic change.<sup>25</sup> Thus, the new, expanded, globalized market is recognized as an inevitable force, but, as he and Lloréns described and clarified, the communities possess the agency to respond as they choose.

Nicole Bernex, too, considers the case of agricultural communities and emphasizes the feasibility and promise of implementing modern methods to increase success in exporting local products to the national markets. Just as choosing a course of action to respond to externally triggered change has been highlighted across historical periods, Bernex emphasizes that it remains an integral component of how contemporary agriculturalists face the new influences of globalization. As we will further discuss later, she cites that the addition of modern technology to the local agriculturalist's repertoire of practices can enable them to generate a larger crop yield, giving them a stronger commodity base from which they can expand their market involvement.<sup>26</sup> And it is precisely this increased economic integration, she concludes, that can enable rural agriculturalist communities to secure representation in the national economy.<sup>27</sup>

Peter Gose extends the theoretical conclusions offered by Bernex to the case study of Huaquirca, a rural agricultural community in the Andes of Peru, to highlight a specific

---

<sup>24</sup> Gustavo Esteva, "Desarrollo," *Diccionario del desarrollo*, ed. Wolfgang Sachs (Lima: Proyecto Andino de Tecnologías Campesinas, 1996), 60; Wolfgang Sachs, "Introducción," *Diccionario del desarrollo*, ed. Wolfgang Sachs (Lima: Proyecto Andino de Tecnologías Campesinas, 1996), 2.

<sup>25</sup> Gérald Berthoud, "Mercado," *Diccionario del desarrollo*, ed. Wolfgang Sachs (Lima: Proyecto Andino de Tecnologías Campesinas, 1996), 144.

<sup>26</sup> Nicole Bernex, "Recursos naturales y globalización: luces y sombras," *Apertura a la globalización*, ed. Bernardo Haour, S.J. (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Jesuitas, 2007), 46.

<sup>27</sup> Idem., 66.

example of the adaptability of rituals in new economic, social, and political settings. He enunciates the inseparable, symbiotic relationship that exists between rituals and labor practices by demonstrating that the annual agricultural ritual cycle assumes a local social significance because it provides a structure for economic and political practices.<sup>28</sup> For example, Gose details the community-wide task of canal cleaning as a practice that, though with ritualistic origins, has gradually assumed a role in local agriculturalists' efforts to mitigate the economy and government control.<sup>29</sup> More than anything, the responses of these agriculturalists in Huaquirca demonstrate a conscious precision: instead of blindly accepting new techniques or structures or steadfastly enshrining every aspect of their old traditions, they blend the two in the way that is the most convenient for their livelihoods. Let us keep in mind this noted potential for strengthening the independence of communities by incorporating new technology as we move to consider more specific experiences of communities and situate them in the broader theoretical context of cultural change.

### ***Agriculture and Economy: Incompatibility and a resulting Homogenization?***

Whereas Berthoud, Bernex, and Gose have interpreted these adaptive reactions of rural community members as a manifestation of cultural agency in their simultaneous maintenance of local customs and incorporation of new processes, Ethel del Pozo-Vergnes is critical of the modern influences of globalization on rural communities and their traditions. In particular, she draws on the case study of Kolkeparque, Peru and its gradual agricultural transitions. She cites both technical changes (such as the incorporation of machinery and tractors) and ideological changes (such as the gradual

---

<sup>28</sup> Peter Gose, *Deathly Waters and Hungry Mountains: Agrarian Ritual and Class Formation in an Andean Town* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 5-6.

<sup>29</sup> Idem., 100-1.

replacement of the community-centric mindset with an individualistic one) as contributing to the development of a weaker, less autonomous, more homogenous identity among rural communities.<sup>30</sup> Thus, similar to Kahhat's lament of the loss of the "purity" of traditional societies that inevitably ensues any sort of cultural blending, del Pozo-Vergnes, too, rejects the compatibility between "modern" and "traditional" spheres. There exist only two outcomes as a result of such interactions, and in the experience she observed in Kolkeparque, it is the tradition that suffers.

As this examination of the interaction between culture and economy shows, determining the outcome that is produced is far more complex than the theory of homogenization suggests—the binary of "modern" or "traditional" does not allow for a full appreciation of the way in which local communities respond to the presence of new influences. Instead, we must recognize that, as we have seen already in several case studies and will soon see more clearly in the context of Coporaque, the local agriculturalists are adept at creating a hybridity in which they incorporate new practices according to how useful they will be in their particular communities. The amalgamation of practices that result, then, is inherently based on the local contexts: the experiences of one community cannot be generalized based on those—whether positive or negative—of another. Having recognized this variance and in preparation for the analysis of the experiences specific to Coporaque, we must remember that there are certain local conditions that facilitate a successful blend of practices. With this in mind, let us now consider the historical progression of the agricultural economy to better understand how it has shaped the hybridization process in Coporaque.

---

<sup>30</sup> Ethel Del Pozo-Vergnes, *De la hacienda a la mundialización: Sociedad, pastores y cambios en el altiplano peruano* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2004), 116-7.

## ***Chapter 2. A History of Economic Development in the Rural Andes:***

### **From “Exchanging Goods” to “Trade”**

As any consideration of economic development will demonstrate, exchanging goods is a clear way through which rural communities interact with and exchange practices with the outside world. And the process of exchanging goods is certainly not new; for millennia, people worldwide have been interacting with each other to exchange their goods for materials not easily acquired in their own regions—a concept that has been well maintained and elaborated upon today. Yet despite the perpetuation of this same purpose, the manner in which “exchanging goods” is undertaken has changed substantially throughout different historical periods. The rural Andean agricultural communities are no exception to this dynamic development of economic relations: the cyclical rise and fall of the various political structures in the region has engendered a unique foundation of “commerce” upon which contemporary shifts build. Several periods in particular should be recognized for their distinct impacts on the formation of local economies: the expansion of the Inca Empire, the era of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Spanish Conquest, the Peruvian Agrarian Reforms of the 1960s, and the emergence of neoliberal economic policies in the 1980s.

### ***Sociopolitical Development and the Inca Empire***

As acknowledged earlier, exchanges of goods among communities is not a novelty for the Andean region—research has signaled that trade relations even extended between Andean and coastal communities.<sup>31</sup> The catalyst for the development of a more extensively integrated network of exchange among Andean communities, however, was

---

<sup>31</sup> John V. Murra, “Did Tribute and Markets Prevail?” *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes*. Eds. Brooke Larson and Olivia Harris (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 62-3.

the rise of the Inca Empire. Murra details that the Inca utilized pre-existing trade relations and transportation system to lay the foundation for the backbone of the Empire. This network's complexity gradually evolved as the population and the expanse of the Empire grew, yielding a more intricate exchange network as a result.<sup>32</sup> As Murra remarks: "There was continuous traffic to and fro."<sup>33</sup> However, the reality of these economic interactions was far from that which would come to characterize the region following the arrival of the *conquistadores* and certainly different from the contemporary economy. Brooke Larson notes that the pre-Hispanic organization was characterized by "the striking absence of market and tribute."<sup>34</sup> Instead, Murra describes that the responses of the members of the communities that were overtaken by the Inca rule were made almost always took the form of labor: "When asked about the obligations to the Inca, [the Huallaga valley witnesses] read off twenty-five cords on their *kipu*: they had owed energy...Only two cords listed commodities to be turned over in kind."<sup>35</sup> Steve Stern seconds this model, referring to the reactions of the *ayllus*, the self-sustaining socioeconomic units based primarily on extended family relations that organized early Andean populations into communities: "We know that within the terms of Andean cultures, the *ayllus* viewed tributes in kind as a violation of time-honored rights. A shrewd colonial observer commented that Indians would rather work fifteen days as a community on other fields than give up for tribute a few potatoes grown by the family for its own use." Stern goes on to comment that this refusal to supply material tribute was the continuation of a long-held system that protected against the ever-present threat of a food shortage that might result should

---

<sup>32</sup> Idem., 57.

<sup>33</sup> Idem., 64.

<sup>34</sup> Brooke Larson, "Communities, Cultures, and Markets," *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes*. Eds. Brooke Larson and Olivia Harris (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 10.

<sup>35</sup> Murra, 60.

families give away a portion of their own reserves only to be faced later with a poor harvest—“a stubbornness...rooted in practical experience.”<sup>36</sup> Moderating the form of tribute that they contribute enabled them to protect their own well-beings while simultaneously satisfying external requirements.

The maintenance of local practices by rural agriculturalists was not limited to the manner in which they paid tribute to the Inca—while that example certainly highlights their keenness for developing successful strategies that is still apparent today, perhaps the most intriguing characteristic perpetuated by the agriculturalists is what Murra describes as the “archipelago-like holdings” of land.<sup>37</sup> This “vertical archipelago” that Murra proposes refers to the communities’ early, shrewd assessments of the region’s unique array of microclimates which ranged from the temperate eastern coast to the high arid plains back down to the western jungle regions. Larson, too, explains: “Andean civilizations harnessed the resources of geographically dispersed ecological tiers to support highly dense settlements.” Guided by this strategy, land was thus distributed among *ayllus* across the various environments of a locale: families would count with plots of land both at high altitudes and more moderate climates.<sup>38</sup> This staggered structure allowed families to take advantage of crop diversification and, in rural agricultural communities like Coporaque, remains present today, as both my observations and those of Treacy confirm. Thus, with these examples of the tribute payment and land-holding arrangement, we see some of the first cases of locales becoming incorporated in a larger trade system while simultaneously moderating their participation. Though the

---

<sup>36</sup> Steve J. Stern, “Native Andean Intervention in Markets,” *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes*. Eds. Brooke Larson and Olivia Harris (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 81.

<sup>37</sup> Murra, 61.

<sup>38</sup> Larson, 9.



contemporary economic sphere is radically different than this early structure, our examination of the activities of Coporaque will demonstrate that the same principle is replayed today: each community can select how it interacts with newer influences such as crops and techniques, as we will soon see, and economic opportunities according to how it perceives them to best serve its local structure.

There are several other features of the contemporary agricultural practices in Coporaque that stem from the influences of the Inca Empire: First, the *andenes* (“terraces”). In his comprehensive study of the *andenes* of Coporaque and their socioeconomic function, Treacy signals that it is likely that the construction of the *andenes* found in several areas of Coporaque is linked to Aymara influences.<sup>39</sup> However, he concludes that the origin of the vast majority lies in the expansion of the Inca influences. He explains that the primary indicator is the large scale on which they have been built: such construction would have been an extensive, demanding effort requiring the participation of a significant number of laborers. He further deduces that the Inca presence is a likely source of the authority that would have been necessary to ensure that locals cooperated with and contributed to the construction task.<sup>40</sup> The *andenes* greatly enhanced the efficiency of agriculture in Coporaque, maximizing both space and water resources. Indeed, this is a particularly indispensable structure even today that, together with *pampas*, represents a distinct subcategory of agriculture. Yet along with the maximization of the water resources that the construction of the *andenes* permitted, Inca influences prompted still another agricultural advancement: the administration of water. Treacy indicates two possible sources of the overall drive behind organizing the water

---

<sup>39</sup> Treacy, 174.

<sup>40</sup> Idem., 140.

resources: First, the Inca possibly felt “the need to establish an administrative superiority over the local groups and to reorganize them in accordance with the Inca image of a village that belonged to the Inca Empire.” Second, the reorganization could have been driven simply by motives to “simplify” the irrigation process while producing a greater yield.<sup>41</sup> The period of the Inca Empire thus marked a significant era of innovation for agriculture in Coporaque, but in the responses of the agriculturalists to these changes, we see a familiar pattern: The local agriculturalists did not blindly accept each change, but rather incorporated those that significantly benefitted agricultural production (the burgeoning construction of *andenes* and new irrigation arrangements) and maintained the preexisting practices that remained suitable (the “payment” of tribute with labor or “energy,” not goods). As our examination of the contemporary agricultural practices in Coporaque will demonstrate, this selectivity remains.

### ***The Spanish Conquest, the Hacienda System, and the Aftermath***

The first large-scale context in which rural Andean communities were faced with a set of new influences and expectations—the expansion of the Inca Empire and proclamation of tribute demands—was met with the communities’ specific and calculated reactions. So, too, did communities respond to the new structures imposed by the *conquistadores* when they arrived in the mid-1500s. But before we transition fully to this next stage of our historical review of the transition of agriculture in the Peruvian Andes, it is necessary to signal the logic guiding the trajectory: in order to draw the parallels more strongly between the current context of Coporaque and the history of agricultural change, these chronological eras have been chosen based on their high level of impact on the contemporary arrangement of agriculture in Coporaque. Treacy provides a comprehensive

---

<sup>41</sup> Idem., 176-7.

study of the history of agricultural organization of Coporaque that serves as our guide. He observes that in many respects, the way in which the region of the Colca Valley was impacted by the Conquest differed radically from the experiences undergone by other areas of the Peruvian Andes. In the broader Andes during the Conquest, the land once strategically organized and tended by the *ayllus* was amassed by the Spaniards to form large estates on which the indigenous were to work, enslaved. As Catherine Allen details, rural communities were resistant to the new *hacienda* system constructed by the Spaniards, claiming that it fostered a “hostile and exploitative social environment” by which the *hacendados* granted themselves the power to gradually appropriate the agriculturalists’ land for their own usage. And their assessments were correct: the Spaniards blatantly encroached on and overtook the lands that had historically belonged to the local communities. Faced with such duplicity, the agriculturalists were disinclined to pursue relations with Spaniards and the national economy, turning to the *ayllu* (community-based kinship structure) as the most important source of their identity.<sup>42</sup> Just as the agriculturalists critically evaluated how to comply with the Inca tribute demands for their communities, so, too did they assess how to participate in the Spanish *hacienda* system. Yet whereas they were ultimately able to fashion a distinctive tribute response, the *hacienda* system and its lack of recognition of agriculturalists’ land claims was viewed as a direct threat, and therefore a force to be wholly resisted. What community members had perhaps not anticipated, however, was that the *hacienda* system would gradually entrench itself in regional relations. As the Spaniards traversed deeper and deeper into Peru, the *hacienda* system and its unfair siphoning of land from pre-existing communities expanded as well.

---

<sup>42</sup> Catherine J. Allen, *The Hold Life Has* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 111.

Treacy clarifies that, whereas many rural communities suffered under this devastating wave of “depopulation and the imposition of European cultural norms” that, as a result, catalyzed the disintegration of pre-existing agricultural systems, the local structures in Coporaque were only mildly affected. For the most part, they proceeded on as they are today;<sup>43</sup> thus, the members of Coporaque were largely spared the flood of debilitating pressures of conformity that were unleashed by the arrival of the Spaniards and perpetuated by the continued subjugation of the indigenous populations throughout the Colonial period. Historian Peter Bakewell recounts the gradual development of the tensions that these heavy-fisted demands provoked, describing that by the eighteenth century, the central Andes had become “a seedbed for local revolt and broad sedition.” Bakewell furthers that the mountains offered an especially ideal setting: because of their rugged terrain, they presented particular challenges to the Spaniards seeking to quell discontent.<sup>44</sup> But in Coporaque, the fact that the Spaniards had never interfered significantly in the local communities meant that the opportunities for such prolonged interaction and strained relation were limited. Treacy notes that it was through the colonial administration that the village of Coporaque itself was officially established in the 1570s and that this influence is still salient in the layout of the streets and houses around a central plaza with a church.<sup>45</sup> However, the organization of the land itself was left relatively as it had been. It is likely that this unique historical condition has enabled agriculturalist to incorporate new elements relatively unhindered today: their agency and local practices did not undergo such an intensive assault.

---

<sup>43</sup> Treacy, 176-7.

<sup>44</sup> Peter Bakewell, *A History of Latin America to 1825*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 380-1.

<sup>45</sup> Treacy, 52.

Treacy does chronicle the process of the “reconstruction” of the land in Coporaque following the Conquest. This, he observes, was done principally according to the level of irrigation already present in the terrains and the ease with which stable access to water could be secured.<sup>46</sup> As this period of integration progressed, one important, transformative change did emerge: the introduction of “Old World” plants (wheat and barley) and techniques (oxen and the *junta*). At first, Treacy notes, there was general resistance among the local population who seemed to prefer sowing and harvesting the local corn with which they were already familiar,<sup>47</sup> yet the fact that wheat and barley are still counted among Coporaque’s standard harvests signals that the crops were gradually incorporated. Overall, however, Treacy restates: “The Valley of Colca was not a Spanish agricultural area.”<sup>48</sup> A simple observation of the Valley’s mountainous terrain suggests that the Spanish entrance into this region was discouraged because of the relatively inaccessible geography. Thus, while the ruthless policies of the Conquest drastically altered the infrastructures of a multitude of communities across the Andes (and Latin America in general), Coporaque remained untouched, and the structures fostered by the Inca Empire were largely left in place.

### ***The National Agrarian Reform (And Its Sequel)***

In light of this research, the most significant impacts on the contemporary context of agricultural practices and organization in Coporaque are those that stem from the community structure established as a result of the pre-Inca *ayllu* organization. We have signaled that, according to Treacy, the interference of the Spaniards in Coporaque in the Conquest was negligible. Thus, the dramatic demographic and land-division changes that

---

<sup>46</sup> Idem., 180.

<sup>47</sup> Idem., 180.

<sup>48</sup> Idem., 182.

were triggered in the majority of the other Andean regions and continued to evolve throughout the Colonial period were largely absent in Coporaque. Likewise, the resulting *hacienda* and *latifundio* structures and the shifts to the community infrastructure to which they gave rise were also largely absent from Coporaque.<sup>49</sup> By extension, then, the most recent source of agricultural change across Peru, the 1969 Agrarian Reform Decree, Law 17.716, had a relatively minimal impact in Coporaque. This Decree, the more successful follow-up to a 1964 Reform, intended to reconfigure the inequitable land distribution and water access policies that had been spawned by the *hacienda* or *latifundio* system. But Coporaque did not share this need: there *was no* major *hacienda* system or subsequent egregious land or water management inequality for the Reform to dismantle there. It is certainly true that these reforms would be important for other communities that had once been under the thumb of the prejudiced *hacienda* system. Rubens Medina highlights the general need for this change, citing the grossly disproportionate statistics that, up until the reforms of the 1960s, characterized landholdings throughout Peru: “83.2 percent of farm properties were smaller than 12.35 acres and covered barely 5.5 percent of the total area; 0.2 percent of the farms were 2,570 or more acres in size and accounted for 69.7 percent of the land.”<sup>50</sup> As R. N. Gwynne explains, in dismantling the *hacienda* system, the reforms simultaneously relieved local agriculturalists from the unfair demands and contracts imposed by the *hacendados* and increased their individual access to land by

---

<sup>49</sup> I regret that this is concluded perhaps somewhat prematurely, without a thorough investigation into the nature of current property holdings. Further exploration is thus needed regarding how the land divisions that exist in Coporaque today were first drawn up, but given that I do not currently have access to the archives that would provide this information, for the sake of this thesis I base my conclusion of the limited effects of the Conquest and ensuing *hacienda* arrangements on an extension of Treacy’s analysis of the village’s unique historical removal from the effects of the Conquest.

<sup>50</sup> Rubens Medina, *Agrarian Reform Legislation in Peru* (Madison: Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1970), 1.

breaking up the *latifundios* into *minifundios*.<sup>51</sup> But in addition to the unequal access to land that the Decree rectified, problems of access to water stemmed from the previous monopoly on the resource. To this end, David Guillet explains that the Decree of 1969 implemented “a new water code prohibiting private ownership of water resources.”<sup>52</sup> For middle- and lower-class agriculturalists in Peruvian regions that had long suffered in the wake of the imposition of the exclusive *hacienda* system, the large-scale dismantling of this structure appeared to represent significant progress.

We have emphasized that because Coporaque was never “a Spanish agricultural area,” it was spared the most destructive effects of the systems that the *conquistadores* put into place and therefore had little need for the restructuring enacted by the Decree of 1969. And according to the argument presented by Enrique Mayer, Coporaque might not be the only case of a community remaining free of these influences. Mayer challenges the idea of widespread *hacienda* dominance and, citing studies conducted by José María Caballero, emphasizes that it does not apply to the history of the Peruvian highlands.<sup>53</sup> This inaccuracy complicates what has emerged as another of the Decree’s positive contributions: its adjustment of reforms to specific local contexts.<sup>54</sup> Mayer’s observation of the incorrect conceptualization of the characteristics of the highlands clearly problematizes this claim of careful consideration. But the realization that each community will require a slightly nuanced version of the reform—even if imperfectly acted upon—marks an important change in the national government’s approach to crafting legislation

---

<sup>51</sup> R. N. Gwynne, “Contemporary Issues in Latin America,” *The Geography of the Third World: Progress and Prospect*, ed. Michael Pacione, (New York: Routledge, 2011), 331.

<sup>52</sup> David Guillet, *Agrarian Reform and Peasant Economy in Southern Peru* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1979), 88-9.

<sup>53</sup> Enrique Mayer, *Ugly Stories of the Peruvian Agrarian Reform*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 15.

<sup>54</sup> Guillet, 95.

that is particularly relevant to the context of contemporary agriculture in Coporaque today. The way in which the supposedly “community-centric” reforms were carried out still stand to be improved: Guillet comments that implementation of the changes was led, by default, by urban *mestizos*. Local community members thus became suspicious of the efficacy and even the motivations of these new functionaries.<sup>55</sup> It became apparent that effectively fomenting an increase in agricultural production would entail more than just the government implementing a series of new policies, however well-crafted to distinct local properties they might be.

From a practical standpoint, the Reform of 1964 and the Decree of 1969 were relatively inconsequential in Coporaque. Whereas they significantly reconfigured the ability of small-scale farmers to pursue agriculture in other areas of Peru, the absence of the preliminary antagonistic influence in Coporaque—the pervasive dominance imposed by the Spaniards in the Conquest which only continued to radiate and, consequently, elicit strong resistance in the Colonial period—decreased the local effect the new laws could have. The uniqueness of the historical condition of Coporaque, then, is shaped most drastically by the village’s comparative isolation from the turmoil of the sixteenth century; community members could thus be afforded a certain level of indifference to the changes that were catalyzed in that era. But even if future adjustments to the structure of agriculture in Peru, such as the Agrarian Reforms, were not widely relevant to Coporaque, they represent an important shift in State priorities towards considering the issues of rural communities—a realization that remains just as important today in 2013, or as the Peruvian government has deemed it, “The Year of Rural Development and Food

---

<sup>55</sup> *Idem.*, 134.



Security.” True, long-lasting success comes from the involvement of the members of the local communities themselves and their active participation in the effort.

### ***Economic Uncertainty: The 1970s-1990***

The Agrarian Reforms initiated in 1969 seemed as if they would serve as a positive omen for the future of Peru, and indeed, though some doubts arose regarding the efficacy of agricultural cooperatives that the legislation put into place,<sup>56</sup> rural communities were beginning to figure as a consideration in the national government’s legislation. The succeeding years seemed promising—Adolfo Figueroa describes the mid-1970s as being characterized by “sustained economic growth together with price stability.”<sup>57</sup> But John Crabtree observes that Peru’s economic favor seemed to run out around 1974-5: new policies focusing less on bolstering collective agriculture structures and more on cementing an infrastructure for market relations found themselves accompanied by an engorged government deficit and a decrease in opportunities in the international market.<sup>58</sup> Severe inflation and unemployment resulted.<sup>59</sup> New economic strategies emerged in 1973 to target the elevated demand on the economy that was perceived to be the root of these issues and seemed to yield positive results, but on a national scale, there was a significant lag in the amount of time it took for the benefits to become apparent.<sup>60</sup> The new policies thus did much to reverse the negative trend that plagued the 1970s, but the economic situation in the majority of Peru was still far from

---

<sup>56</sup> Idem., 45.

<sup>57</sup> Adolfo Figueroa, *Capitalist Development and the Peasant Economy in Peru* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 102.

<sup>58</sup> John Crabtree, “The Impact of Neo-liberal Economics on Peruvian Peasant Agriculture in the 1990s,” *Latin American Peasants*, ed. Tom Brass, vol. 29. (2002): 131.

<sup>59</sup> Figueroa, 102-3.

<sup>60</sup> Idem., 103.

ideal. The rural sector experienced the economic turbulence differently, however.<sup>61</sup>

Whereas this sphere has historically been cast as one removed from the national market and, therefore, unaffected by such instability, Figueroa provides a different statistic for the level of interaction in the 1980s: “The peasant communities exchange 50% of their income and therefore dedicate the other 50% to self-consumption.”<sup>62</sup> It is clear, then, that the agriculturalists have much at stake in the functions of the national economy, but are likewise directly impacted by the legislation issued by the State. For example, Susan Vincent describes the experiences of the agriculturalists in the southern Peruvian community of Mata Chico in light of the economic reforms leading up to the 1980s cited by Figueroa under which the *mateño* agriculturalists found themselves facing government policies that constrained their crop sales: “Agricultural products, along with basic food staples, were subject to government price controls, limiting farmers’ incomes from sales.”<sup>63</sup> Though we will discuss the dynamics of the State’s impact on the local level in the context of Coporaque in the final chapter of this thesis, what is clear from Vincent’s observation with regard to development programs in rural communities in general is that specific foresight must be directed towards the needs of the agriculturalists themselves how they will potentially be impacted by these changes.

But in addition to this illustration of the need for a consideration of on-the-ground experiences following the implementation of new policies, Vincent’s case study of Mata Chico also illustrates another point that we have stressed earlier: that market interactions

---

<sup>61</sup> I have not found data specific to the economic experiences of Coporaque in this period, but given the initiatives to enhance roads and transportation systems that characterized Coporaque in the 1940s, as we will discuss in more depth in a later section, we can assume that the general experiences and challenges discussed here were present to a certain extent in Coporaque as well.

<sup>62</sup> *Idem.*, 106, 119.

<sup>63</sup> Susan Vincent, “Flexible Families: Capitalist Development and Crisis in Rural Peru,” *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, vol. 31, 2. (2000): 161.

pursued by each village ultimately coalesce to yield a unique local economy. In some communities like Coporaque, agricultural production represents the primary source of revenue, and the local agriculturalists are thus particularly affected by new policies proposed by the government that concern agriculture. But as we see in the case of Mata Chico, not all communities have exclusively oriented their economy towards agricultural production: in this village, Vincent notes, “men’s preference for waged work as a way of engaging in the capitalist economy differentiates Mata Chico from other communities in the region that have been discussed in the ethnographic literature.”<sup>64</sup> The other “ethnographic literature” to which she refers is presumably that which is concerned with rural agricultural communities like Coporaque, but Vincent explains that the growth of the migrant wage-labor sector in Mata Chico has actually resulted in a decrease in agricultural initiatives and, in the case of many households, has replaced it altogether.<sup>65</sup> Thus, while the *mateño* agriculturalists trying to earn a living by selling their harvests on diverse markets encountered particularly severe difficulties when faced with the aforementioned crop price controls enacted by the government, because of the unique non-agricultural focus of the Mata Chico economy, these challenges did not extend to the majority of the population, the migrant wage-laborers.

It is clear, then, that by the 1980s, the futures of rural communities in Peru (including, but certainly not limited to, those oriented towards agricultural production) were already thoroughly connected to the rest of the country through their integration with the national economy system as well as through their legal responsibility to comply with government policies—for better or worse, especially given the continued instability

---

<sup>64</sup> Idem., 158.

<sup>65</sup> Vincent, 161-2.

of the national economy. We have seen the momentum of this involvement accelerate with the implementation of the Agrarian Reform Decree of 1969 and the economic stabilization policies in the 1970s and 1980s, but the trajectory does not stop there. Instead, it is further propelled by neoliberalism and the capitalist development it encourages, presenting rural communities with unprecedented opportunities to increase their market participation. As Figueroa explains: “A higher level of exchange was not the consequence of higher levels of productive capacity in the peasant economy. It was the result of increased opportunities to exchange through markets, mainly due to improvements in transportation and communication systems.”<sup>66</sup> It is precisely this new neoliberal network that has carried the market expansion to its contemporary extents.

### ***Neoliberalism—The Pandora’s Box of Capitalism?***

The new decade of 1990 proved to serve as a perfect temporal setting for turning over a new leaf in economic strategies through a national reorientation. The primary guidelines for this strategy, drawn heavily from the stipulations put forth by the Washington Consensus,<sup>67</sup> did much to open up the national market exchange. Agriculturalists, too, saw their options for trade broaden rapidly: Crops had long featured in local economies for their role in exchanges of goods among community members, and the expansion of agricultural trade networks had been building since the burgeoning land distribution movements spurred by the Agrarian Reform Decree of 1969. But with the new neoliberal emphasis on expanding economic relationships even further beyond the local community setting, agricultural products have been cast as increasingly important potential sources of revenue. This neoliberal acceleration in trade served as the foundation

---

<sup>66</sup> Figueroa, 121.

<sup>67</sup> For a thorough evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of the policies inspired by the Washington Consensus in Peru, see Noejovich (2010).

for the contemporary “globalized” economic context as elaborated by Bernex in her assessment of the agricultural potential of these rural communities. According to Bernex, it serves to underline the importance of such traditional agricultural exports: these products have come to represent an integral part of the national economy. Bernex emphasizes the feasibility and promise of exporting local products to the national economy especially, she comments, if they employ available modern techniques to maximize the efficiency of the agricultural process.<sup>68</sup> Bernex further signals that if agricultural communities dedicate themselves to increased agricultural production for the purpose of trade, then there will be extensive opportunities awaiting them as well as the potential to craft a strong presence in the national economy, should they choose to participate<sup>69</sup>—an invitation physically extended to communities by the growing presence and integration of the national railway system, as detailed by Vincent.<sup>70</sup> Thus, not only are there now physical networks linking the rural agricultural villages to the national economic infrastructure, there are also diverse market opportunities for the sale of their harvests or artisanal products.

Not all those who have analyzed the extension of neoliberal globalization into rural agricultural communities are as convinced of its benefits as Bernex, however. Crabtree, for instance, notes: “Overall, the conclusion reached here is that, 12 years after it was originally launched, liberalization has probably brought more loser than winners, and that many peasant producers have been relegated further to the margins of the economic system.”<sup>71</sup> Figueroa, too, critiques this change of pace: The *capitalist road to*

---

<sup>68</sup> Bernex, 46.

<sup>69</sup> Idem., 66.

<sup>70</sup> Vincent, 155.

<sup>71</sup> Crabtree, 131-2.

development has not induced overall growth, as many people expected; in particular it has not induced growth for the rural poor.”<sup>72</sup> Perhaps the economic initiatives propelled by neoliberal, capitalism-based policies have not stimulated financial benefits for those in the rural regions in the same way that it did for those in the urban areas. But it would be shortsighted to limit our assessments of the effects of the neoliberal economic policies purely to the extent of monetary gain that it has provided to agriculturalists; we must also consider the changes that have been made to the social sphere of market relations.

Archaeological and historic ethnographical investigations have turned up evidence that suggest that trade networks were established among communities well before the arrival of the *conquistadores*<sup>73</sup> and have been in an almost constant stage of development—indeed, neither the economic relations nor the communities themselves can be considered to have been static entities. But as a more concrete national economy began to form, the contrast between the urban and rural areas began to grow. Soon the members of rural communities found themselves becoming further- and further-removed from the bustling larger market that resulted. Despite State-led highway construction projects launched in the early twentieth century that aimed to facilitate travel between the rural communities and nearby cities,<sup>74</sup> the opportunities for rural agriculturalists to fully participate were lacking. With little other choice, community members became dependent on middle-men—many of whom, as we will see in our examination of Coporaque, have no qualms about price-gouging. But with the further expansion of the market system within Peru through the latter half of the twentieth century and the eventual stabilization of the

---

<sup>72</sup> Figueroa, 123.

<sup>73</sup> See Larson and Harris, eds. 1995, Mallon 1983, Murra 1972, Murra 1980, Murra 1981, Murra 1985.

<sup>74</sup> Florencia E. Mallon, *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 140. Treacy, 185.

economy after the 1990s, the possibility for agriculturalists to represent themselves in the national sphere became more plausible. Neoliberalism and capitalism, then, are not waves that should be expected to shower the members of the Peruvian population with benefits, but rather provide opportunities for increased market interaction. It is true that those of the upper class that are already well-equipped with economic connections are likely to see the greatest benefits, but it is likewise true that the rural communities now have an unprecedented opportunity to integrate and represent themselves and thereby improve their revenues and access to resources.

As these new neoliberal influences in the development of more elaborate export models began to take shape, so, too, did there emerge a distinction among communities based on each community's intentions to incorporate itself in the globalized economy. This is illustrated well by Isbell's aforementioned explanation of the differentiation of communities as "open" or "closed" based on how and to what extent they are involved in the national market exchange<sup>75</sup>—it is up to each community to choose its level of participation, and thus results myriad yet distinct local economic spheres. Vincent further emphasizes this point of local diversity in her analysis of the economic progression of Mata Chico. As she explains, one of the first levels of distinction emerges depending on the particular economy of each community. As we will discuss in the next chapter, Coporaque, too, as an "open" community is currently in the midst of broadening its market relations, though with a different product angle: agricultural production. But ultimately, whether in Coporaque, Mata Chico, or any other rural community, the contemporary situation of successfully expanding market relations is that in which communities choose how they want to interact with the national economy.

---

<sup>75</sup> Isbell, 31.

### **Chapter 3. A Case Study: Globalization and Agriculture in Coporaque**



**Image 4: A view of Coporaque as the terrain drops to the River Colca. Coporaque, 2013.**

Thus far, we have addressed two important perspectives that are crucial to understanding the contemporary socioeconomic context of rural communities: In the first chapter, we critically examined attempts to categorize contemporary communities according to the binary of “modern” or “traditional” and their assumptions that the only result of interacting with external influences is a homogenization of the communities’ practices and lifestyles. Instead, we emphasized the ability of local community members to select new elements that would enhance the local customs, resulting in a hybridity that is unique to each community—a phenomenon which we will see detailed in this chapter. Yet at the same time, we have recognized that the success or failure of this hybridization is dependent on the particular historical and cultural contexts of each community. Thus, we examined the history of economic development of agriculture in the Peruvian Andes, honing our focus specifically on Coporaque and the epochs whose impacts are observable there today. We have seen that attempts at economic progress and new legislation are made increasingly complex by the high diversity of the villages of regions throughout Peru. Thus it becomes evident that the only way such advancement can successfully occur is if new initiatives take into account the nuances of each community—an important task that can be accomplished most completely by fully incorporating local members in the



efforts. Now we will explore in depth how the unique result of the combination of the local historical conditions and potential for hybridity combine in the contemporary socioeconomic characteristics of agriculture in Coporaque and shape the possibilities for future agricultural development and economic expansion.

To see the distinctiveness of the experiences of each community illustrated, one need look no further than a comparison between different communities: Whereas del Pozo-Vergnes depicts the unique cultures of local communities as giving way under the onslaught of new influences based on her observations in Kolkeparque (as we discussed in the first chapter), it is evident that in Coporaque, the agriculturalists themselves decide how new techniques or processes should figure into their lifestyles. To this extent, Treacy cites an instance in which *coporaqueño* agriculturalists who had been working in Cusco returned to Coporaque. As they reconnected with fellow agriculturalists of the community, those who had traveled began to tell the others about the new agricultural practices they had observed. “They felt innovative,” Treacy comments, and offered critiques and suggestions regarding the local practices—even those that were understood to represent the essence of Coporaque. However, instead of rushing to adopt these new, “modern” principles as those who are wary of such cultural interactions, like del Pozo-Vergnes, might warn, the listening *coporaqueños* replied that they were confident in the processes that were currently in place. Because they trust in “the tradition of the system,” Treacy explains, “few *coporaqueños* take such ideas seriously.”<sup>76</sup> This anecdote is insightful in its depiction of the local agriculturalists as agents of their own practices. What it perhaps does not convey as strongly, however, is that the agriculturalists choose whether or not to incorporate new processes based on a thorough analysis of what would

---

<sup>76</sup> Treacy, 189-90.

best enhance their production and, ultimately, access to resources. Thus their responses cannot quite be stratified as “accepting” or “rejecting” these influences, for the criteria on which they base their reactions, as we have mentioned, is constructed according to how useful the new processes are to them. The primary examples of this selection surface with a consideration of current processes used to till the *chacras*. In one season, it is likely that agriculturalists will draw on three different genres of tools from three different centuries: the *chakitajlla*, the *junta*, and the tractor. Agriculturalists are keenly aware of the benefits and shortcomings of each of these and employ them accordingly in a way that maximizes time, effort, and money.

In earlier custom, agriculturalists utilized the *chakitajlla* foot plow. As one of the agriculturalists explained to me, although the *chakitajlla* was a relatively simple design, there were various types, each keenly designed to be used on a particular type of terrain. While this tool was effective, however, it was largely inefficient—because its usage was based on the efforts of one agriculturalist-per-*chakitajlla*, it required an extensive amount of manual labor that was disproportionate to the results. The *junta*, on the other hand, has largely improved the agriculturalists’ abilities to till the soil. Whereas the *chakitajlla* was purely man-powered, the *junta* consists of two oxen tethered at the horns with a plow trailing behind, driven by one person, as seen in **images 5 and 6**.



**Image 6: The *junta*. Coporaque, 2011.**



**Image 5: Tilling with the *junta*. Coporaque, 2011.**

The implementation of the *junta* ultimately enables a more efficient use of labor. Agriculturalists do not tend to cite a specific date for its incorporation; in fact, though its initial implementation is ultimately the result of the introduction of oxen in the Andes by the Spanish in the sixteenth century, the agriculturalists today consider the *junta* to be a “traditional” technique because it has been utilized by several generations of ancestors. A simple mathematical calculation makes evident why it has been so readily embraced by agriculturalists not only in Coporaque, but in agricultural communities throughout the Andes: as Treacy comments, the same ends achieved by a group of fourteen men after one day of intensive labor could be accomplished by just four men and two *juntas*.<sup>77</sup> Not only does the *junta*, then, reduce the intensity of the labor for the agriculturalists, but it also enables more productive results. Today, the *junta* is cited by agriculturalists as the most commonly implemented method;<sup>78</sup> a claim that resonates with my own observations. But as the agriculturalists’ processes demonstrate, the incorporation of this “new” practice by no means signified the end of the previous techniques: *chakitajllas* are still utilized to till the hard-to-reach corners of the *chacras*. Indeed, when asked, 8 out of 11 agriculturalists attested that they had used a *chakitajlla* at some point in the last ten years. But the *junta* remains the most frequently utilized tilling method.

The significant increase in the efficiency of agricultural labor that was triggered by the arrival of the Spaniards and—by extension, the *junta*—in the sixteenth century is undeniable. However, it was not the last time that the influence of external elements

---

<sup>77</sup> Idem., 208.

<sup>78</sup> The efficiency of the *junta* has fueled its substitution of the *chakitajlla*, but whereas it was more likely that agriculturalists owned their own *chakitajllas*, purchasing and maintaining oxen is expensive. Therefore, most rent the oxen (and plow) each season when needed. Though this means that agriculturalists are constantly paying to use the *junta* and must plan their sowing according to the availability of the *junta*, these minor inconveniences are minimized by the sheer efficiency of this method, as a result of which less money is needed to pay/make food for workers whose help would otherwise be required.

resulted in a dramatic technical shift: agricultural practices were revolutionized once again with the introduction of tractors in the twentieth century. A theoretical consideration of the development of agricultural practices would likely signal tractors as the logical principal “tool” for tilling. The logic behind this conclusion is seemingly sound—the nature of a mechanical tractor is to reduce labor input while simultaneously reducing the amount of time required to till, ultimately increasing the crop yield. Yet like the *chakitajlla*, the tractor is not used incessantly; the local agriculturalists determined that its alluring “promise” extended only to certain situations. The first critical assessment comes with the consideration of the type of terrain being tilled. We have already discussed that farming is carried out in two basic types of fields (*pampas* and *andenés*) but only the wide, flat *pampas* present a terrain suitable for tractor tilling; the *andenés* are far too narrow to admit the bulky, cumbersome tractors, and because agriculturalists tend to utilize both types of fields, if they did decide to purchase a tractor, they would only be able to use it in a fraction of their fields. The context of purchasing a tractor introduces an additional consideration of the impracticality its large-scale usage. Finding a store where tractors are sold is not entirely unfeasible: there are stores in Arequipa where they can be purchased, and though the 100-mile trip is long, the improvements to the highway system connecting Coporaque to various other regions has made the journey more manageable. Yet what remains unmanageable is the exorbitant price of the tractor, a cost which is hardly justifiable given the machine’s limited usefulness. In Coporaque, a compromise has been struck in response to this: the municipality has a tractor, as seen in **images 7 and 8**, which agriculturalists can rent on an hourly basis.



**Image 8: The municipal tractor parked outside Town Hall. Coporaque, 2013.**



**Image 7: The tractor outside Town Hall. Coporaque, 2013.**

This tractor was purchased with funds received through a grant from the national government, and agriculturalists are able to request to use it for 60 Peruvian Soles (approximately \$20.00) per hour—an opportunity of which the vast majority of the agriculturalists avail themselves, according to the mayor and my hosts in Coporaque.

The usage of the tractor in the *pampas* greatly eases the intensity of labor that would otherwise face the agriculturalists when preparing the soil for sowing. And as we have indicated, its implementation does not wholly erase the pre-existing techniques; both the *junta* and the *chakitajlla* are still drawn upon, in addition to the tractor. But so, too, does this coexistence of practices extend to the more spiritual side of the agricultural calendar, and the act of sowing in particular. We have discussed the centrality of mechanical practices to efficient sowing, but as an agriculturalist explained, this process is rich in ritualistic symbolism: On one hand, the necessary cutting into the soil that occurs with the tilling is considered an act of violence and aggression against the *Pachamama* (“Mother Earth”). On the other hand, the agriculturalists are keenly aware that the newly planted seeds will need the support of the *Pachamama* in order to grow and produce. Failing to redress the first wrong would prevent a profitable yield. As an act of atonement, then, they gather an offering to be burned in the middle of the field, as seen in **images 9 and 10**.



**Image 9: Offering to *Pachamama* to ask for a bountiful harvest. Coporaque, 2011.**



**Image 10: Burning the offering in the freshly sown field. Coporaque, 2011.**

With this ritual, the agriculturalists simultaneously ask for the *Pachamama*'s forgiveness and blessing for this season's harvest. It continues to be an integral component of the agricultural calendar regardless of whether the field is tilled with a *junta*, tractor, or fleet of *chakitajllas*. Technological innovations might expedite the process of preparing the soil, but that mechanical advancement is all for naught unless this chapter of the farming process is properly concluded by honoring the *Pachamama* with the customary ritual.

### ***More Roads, More Markets, More Agriculture?***

There are clearly benefits and drawbacks of tractor usage in Coporaque, then, and the agriculturalists are fully aware of this; in response, "tools" such as the tractor are incorporated on a case-by-case basis, mitigated by convenience, as part of the unique conglomeration of agricultural techniques that they have devised that takes into account the distinct efficient qualities of each of the technologies available to them. Just as the techniques and tools used to till the soil in the Coporaque *chacras* signal the agriculturalists' astute assessments of how best to maximize time, money, and effort, so, too, do the municipality's initiatives and construction projects demonstrate a consideration of how to best benefit the community. Treacy notes that the improvement

of roadways in Coporaque has been an effort to which the local government has directed significant resources as early as the 1940s. It is this increased transportation, he explains, that first enabled the village to extend itself to the markets of Arequipa,<sup>79</sup> now a four-hour, 100-mile drive away on the other side of the mountain ridge. This, Treacy describes, stimulated a “widening of the agricultural frontier,” whose influences manifested in various forms: on one hand, agriculturalists began to concentrate on growing the crops that were in highest demand—mainly alfalfa for cow feed and barley for beer brewing, as well as potatoes that fetched a high price in the larger market. Thus, Treacy observes, parts of the harvests were specifically designated for the commercial sector. On the other hand, the heightened demand that came with the increase in selling opportunities naturally stimulated local production, encouraging agriculturalists to employ strategies to increase their output—a charge to which more modern and efficient processes presented a promising solution.<sup>80</sup> We have already discussed the relative inefficiency of the *chakitajlla* from a practical standpoint given the unbalanced ratio between its labor input and harvest output; it is therefore logical that the more involved market context that the road system created further encouraged agriculturalists to employ more developed tools such as the *junta* and the tractor. This “modernizing” trend remains dominant today—agriculturalists are still open to incorporating new techniques that will make the agricultural process more efficient, particularly in their assessments of the irrigation system, as we will explore in more detail in the next section, and in my interviews with the mayor, he recounted several forthcoming road improvement projects that would better connect Coporaque with the surrounding villages. But despite these

---

<sup>79</sup> Treacy, 185.

<sup>80</sup> Idem., 185.

initiatives to expand the economy of Coporaque more fully, my observations and survey data indicate that the initiatives are not undertaken with the intention of replacing pre-existing structures and methods, nor do they signal a devaluation of the local practices. Instead, agriculturalists employ a unique blend of techniques based on how appropriate the processes are to specific contexts and therefore ensuring the most productive harvest and successful market interactions possible.

### ***An Unlikely Pair: Irrigation Development and Cultural Strengthening***

Thus far, we have explored various facets of the contemporary quotidian agricultural setting of Coporaque in the context of increased economic involvement: unique technological fluctuations, smoother, more formally constructed roadway systems; market expansion both stimulates and is stimulated by these components. From these perspectives, it is clear that in Coporaque, the entrance of “modernity” can be experienced without explicitly forcing agriculturalists to sacrifice their local customs. What we have not yet highlighted, however, is what we will now consider: whether new elements can go beyond simply coexisting with local elements and actually *enhance* local culture. The most striking evidence that speaks to this beneficial impact emerges with an examination of the initiatives to enhance the irrigation system of Coporaque in the last decade—a development initiative which has been particularly based upon blending modern techniques and preexisting structures. Let us consider the case of the Canal of Coporaque.

The region of the Colca Valley in which Coporaque is situated has long suffered from severe water shortages. This lack was further exacerbated by the growing population until gradually, in the 1980s, it began to impede crop production. Numerous informants cited this period as a dark time for community relations: because there was so little water, a fierce competition for resources emerged among the agriculturalists. As a result, few were



willing to engage in *ayni*; concerns of “How can I help?” were replaced with “Why should I help someone else when I myself do not have enough resources to ensure that my own family will be able to eat?” Rifts and tensions proceeded to grow among neighbors until the completion of the Canal of Coporaque in 2000. This new major waterway conducts water from the Colca River that flows along the canyon floor at the base of Coporaque into the village. Because its channels are constructed from cement, it more efficiently directs water into the tributaries that lead to the individual *chacras*. With this new, enhanced irrigation system, the agriculturalists of Coporaque experienced increased access to water and a subsequent betterment of community relations. Rosa, an agriculturalist, explains in an interview: “In the past, there was a scarcity [of water]...Thanks to the canal, we are much better than we were previously. It was very sad then.”<sup>81</sup> The construction of the Canal of Coporaque, then, offers a primary example of the efficacy of using modern techniques and materials to enhance pre-existing structures and, ultimately, benefit local practices.

While the completion of the Canal of Coporaque in 2000 clearly did much to ameliorate community relations, there remain tensions among community members that prevent them from fully engaging in the larger markets as effectively as possible. The most critical economic challenge that they face is representing themselves in the regional economy: though there are adequate road systems leading to the principal regional markets in Arequipa, it is not feasible for all of the agriculturalist to make the journey to personally sell their crops. Thus, they depend on third-party intermediaries who visit Coporaque shortly before the harvest. One agriculturalist explained the process as a series of interactions with these independent middle-men, the majority of whom are based in the

---

<sup>81</sup> Personal interview. 17-11-2011.

nearby town, Chivay. The first time they visit Coporaque, each agriculturalist consults with them to determine their purchase rates. The middle-men leave once the deals have been struck, then return when after the harvest to pay the agriculturalists and pick up the products to transport to Arequipa or, less frequently, to the larger national markets in Lima. While this arrangement solves the problem of the agriculturalists having to transport their goods to the distant markets, it is inherently flawed: the middle-men have complete control over the prices they offer the agriculturalists. One agriculturalist laments: “Who makes the money [from farming]? It’s not the agriculturalists. We lose. It is the middle-men. We do all of the hard work, but we earn nothing.”<sup>82</sup> This sense of unjustness is a common sentiment among the agriculturalists of Coporaque, and is illustrated most dramatically in the story offered by one agriculturalist detailing her experience last season with an intermediary: When the intermediaries came for the initial phase of the deal, she consulted two of them. The first offered her 1.20 Peruvian Soles per kilogram of potatoes. The second, 1.50. Of course, she decided to sell to the second middle-man, but when he returned to collect the yield and it came time to pay her, he denied ever offering her 1.50, insisting that the most he would pay was 1.20. He pressured her to make an instant decision, insisting that no other middle-man would make as high an offer at this late stage. The agriculturalist resisted his attempt at coercion and contacted the first middle-man—he would now only offer her 1.10. As a last resort, she consulted the selling rates at the local town market, but the price there was no better: 1.20 Peruvian Soles per kilogram, and she would have to haul the crops there and take time out of her day to sell them herself. While it was tempting to take advantage of an opportunity to bypass doing business with the price-gouging middle-man, the expenses of time and

---

<sup>82</sup> Personal interview, 17-01-2013.

money for fuel that this alternative would necessitate cut too harshly into the already-narrow profit margin. She was forced to accept the offer of the dishonest middle-man, who is thus emboldened to repeat the same trick in future seasons.

In the current situation, the agriculturalist continued, there are few means by which to escape such persistent exploitation: establishing a written contract with the intermediaries, as I suggested, to hold them accountable to the original price that they promise the agriculturalists is simply “not how one does things here.” When, in my interview with the mayor, I commented on the seeming defenselessness of the agriculturalists against the manipulative middle-men, he dismissed this concern, commenting that there were a variety of intermediaries that come to Coporaque. Therefore, he explained, the agriculturalists could therefore choose with whom they did business and thus avoid being cheated. Yet this “variety,” too, is limited—an agriculturalist explained to me that if middle-men from other regions (or even other countries) attempt to come to Coporaque to propose purchase rates to the agriculturalists, the intermediaries from Chivay resort to tactics of intimidation in order to preserve their monopoly, insulting, harassing, and threatening the “foreigners” until they leave. Opportunities for agriculturalists to earn a fair living are thus severely limited.

The current subjugation that the agriculturalists of Coporaque endure at the hands of manipulative middle-men is understandably frustrating, but the agriculturalists are not disheartened. In fact, they have a solution in mind: forming a local collective that would be expressly responsible for representing the agriculturalists of Coporaque in the regional and national markets. One agriculturalist went as far as to suggest upon whom this responsibility should fall: the large-scale agriculturalists. Coporaque is by no means a major national source of harvests, and the majority of the agriculturalists, including the

one with whom I was speaking, have a modest amount of land. There are several, however, who own a significantly greater amount of land and, therefore, conduct their harvests on a much larger scale. The agriculturalist with whom I was speaking explained that, given the significant extent to which these individuals are invested in and depend on selling their crops, they should be responsible for establishing a collective to represent the rest of the local agriculturalists. With this organization, the agriculturalists of Coporaque would no longer be dependent on the exploitative intermediaries; instead, they would be fairly represented by fellow community members.<sup>83</sup> However, the same agriculturalist clarified that it was unlikely that such cooperation would be achieved because there was too much competition for access to water which created tense community relations. The envy that this spawned would never permit agriculturalists to unite, even if it were around a central cause whose results would affect the majority of the community members.

The more I spoke with the agriculturalists of Coporaque regarding the current state of irrigation processes, the more I realized that the improvements prompted by the construction of the Canal of Coporaque in 2000 were only the initial stages of heightening water efficiency and, as a result, ameliorating community relations. The irrigation system in place today is still flawed, but given the positive changes catalyzed by the Canal enhancement, perhaps similar future efforts can support the continued remediation of social relations. To better understand the areas towards which efforts would be best directed, we turn, then, to a consideration of the current situations that present the largest challenges to an efficient irrigation system.

---

<sup>83</sup> Many questions can be posed to assess the ultimate fairness of this model. Indeed, though it is beyond the scope of this investigation, a crucial consideration must be made regarding the potential for any inequalities in the local political economy to manifest in the way the business of this local collective is organized and executed in order to arrive at a complete assessment of whether this could, in actuality, be an effective solution to the dependency on price-gouging middle-men. For the purpose of my argument, however, it is sufficient to acknowledge that the agriculturalists do have a solution to this problem in mind.

### *Irrigation Shortcomings: Reservoirs*



**Image 11: Santa Rosa Reservoir. Coporaque, 2013.**

The main sources of water in contemporary Coporaque are reservoirs. They have long been an integral water storage method—the pre-Colombian Andean populations recognized the value of erecting a structure where water could accumulate during the rainy season when seeds are sown and begin to grow (November-March) in order to be utilized as the crops mature and yield their harvests during the dry season. This practice remains standard today—if anything, the importance of its role in fostering a successful harvest has increased with the last decades of the nineteenth century: in the past, like the majority of the rural Andean communities, Coporaque could count on the runoff that came from the snowcaps of the nearby mountains as a reliable source of water. Between these two sources, the agriculturalists' demand for water for their fields was generally successfully met, but since the late half of the twentieth century, a gradual climate shift triggered the total melting of these snowcaps.<sup>84</sup> Since they have not regenerated, the reservoirs have become the principal method of water storage.

Today, Coporaque has four reservoirs that serve different sectors of the village, and while all of them employ modern materials such as cement to some extent, maximizing the water resources is limited by the ramshackle state of all but three. The Santa Rosa

---

<sup>84</sup> Though this climatological change has clearly shaped current irrigation practices, none of the agriculturalists with whom I spoke specifically acknowledged its relevance to the contemporary context. As a result, it is not an aspect that I explore in depth in this project; for a glimpse of a village in the midst of this gradual transition, see Valderrama and Escalante, 1988.

reservoir, as seen in **image 11**, is situated within the village itself, located to the north-east of the central plaza. It is the largest, newest, and in the best condition of the four: its basin is formed of cement, limiting seepage, and since its completion in 2008 has not required any substantial repairs. The second largest reservoir, Cochapata, as seen in



**Image 12: Reservoir Cochapata, awaiting repairs. Coporaque, 2013.**

**image 12**, located to the south of the village, has also been lined with cement to enhance the water retention rate. However, the cement is significantly fissured in several places—a problem that has earned reparations to this reservoir a prominent place on the municipal projects agenda. The

remaining two reservoirs, seen in **images 13** and **14**, are located to the north of the village. They are the smallest, and, with their dilapidated walls, are the least improved.



**Image 13: Small northern reservoir. Coporaque, 2013.**



**Image 14: Small northern reservoir. Coporaque, 2013.**

From this overview of the state of the village reservoirs, it is apparent that the lack of widespread efficiency has detrimental effects on the agricultural potential, thereby straining community relations. Another challenge, however, presents itself in the reality that these four reservoirs cannot meet the demand of the growing agricultural sector in

Coporaque. This is a long-recognized reality, and the mayor has devised a blueprint for the construction of a new, cement reservoir that would be the largest to date. The only factor delaying the commencement of its construction is the lack of funds: the mayor has presented the project to the regional government and to various NGOs, but now must wait for a grant to be given. Could such a modern development, in making water more readily available to the larger population, reduce the competition for this highly coveted resource? Would social connections grow deeper a result? It would be naïve to predict a full return to what the agriculturalists of Coporaque characterize as the original *ayni* etiquette, but this does not mean that the tensions that agriculturalists cite as plaguing current community relations could be allayed.

### ***Irrigation Shortcomings: Canal System***

We must wait to see the actual results of the construction of a new, modern reservoir, but we have good reason to hope that its enablement of a wider distribution of water can make a large contribution to the amelioration of community relations—an advancement which, in turn, can encourage the formation of a local collective to justly represent Coporaque agriculturalists in larger markets. It is a “modern” initiative that holds much promise for bettering the pre-existing structure. The same opportunity can be found in the current condition of the canals. It is an extensive system of the utmost importance, enabling water to actually arrive at the fields from the reservoirs, and myriad canals course through the streets, quite literally the veins of the village. Like the reservoirs, several portions of the canal system have been reinforced with cement, reducing seepage and consequently greatly enhancing the effectiveness with which they conduct water from the reservoir to the fields, depicted in **images 15 and 16**.





**Image 15: Cement canal leading from Santa Rosa. Coporaque, 2013.**



**Image 96: Aerial of a cement canal and metal gates that direct the water from Santa Rosa. Coporaque, 2013.**

However, the same sources of inefficiency that plague the reservoirs plague the canals: in many areas, much of the cement has fissured, as seen in **images 17** and **18**.



**Image 17: Fissures in a cement canal. Coporaque, 2013.**



**Image 18: Fissures and flooding. Coporaque, 2013.**

Such ruptures are not uncommon; breaks in the canals are often brought about by the wear of weather and time. The Canal of Coporaque, for instance, recently underwent significant construction to repair severe ruptures exacerbated by the inundation of rain in the 2011-12 rainy season. But even though the material of these channels is one that reduces seepage, because of such fissures, a large percentage of the water that leaves the reservoir never arrives to the fields. This does not present a problem during the rainy season when water flows in abundance, but it is a crucial concern during the dry season when it is in limited supply—a factor that ultimately results in increased competition for



the resource. Thus, initiatives to improve the pre-existing canal infrastructure have already been taken, but work remains to be done in order to maximize the efficiency with which it conducts water and to reduce the social tensions that the inefficiency provokes.

On the other hand, though some of the canal system has been enhanced with modern materials, the majority is unaltered; many channels are still made from the basic earthen mixture of sod and rock, leaving them prone to seepage, as seen in **images 19** and **20**.



**Image 19:** Transition between cement and earthen sections of a partially enhanced canal. No follow-up projects are currently scheduled. Coporaque, 2013.



**Image 20:** Cement canal alongside earthen source. The initial inefficiency causes water loss and flooding. Coporaque, 2013.

### ***Educated Change: Maintaining Local Irrigation Strengths***

The benefits of availing oneself of modern elements to enhance pre-existing structures have been made clear in our consideration of the new reservoirs and canals, but this is not to assert that changes be implemented indiscriminately to irrigation methods. In the case of canal modifications, some canals would not benefit drastically from cement enhancements. The canal depicted in **image 21**,



**Image 21:** Shady, vegetation-lined canal. Coporaque, 2013.

for instance, serves as the water source for a section of *andenes*. It runs parallel to the levels on a section that is well-shaded by various types of foliage, an organization that consequently limits evaporation. The amount of seepage experienced in this setting, then, is significantly less than in those canals that receive full sun—a difference that is particularly magnified in the dry season when there is already a reduced amount of water in the canals.

Additional concern about efficiency might also be raised in reference to how water is released from canals into the fields. According to the standard local method, small tributary channels stem from the principal canal through which the water flows. When the water is not needed, these small entries are blocked, usually by strategically arranging a combination of differently sized rocks at the mouth of the particular passage, filling any large gaps with mud. Some agriculturalists have further tweaked this by using a scrap shard of tarp or plastic instead of mud, as demonstrated in **images 22** and **23**—a design that is all at once simple, innovative and efficient without drawing on major technology.<sup>85</sup>



**Image 22: Cement canal alongside earthen source. The initial inefficiency causes water loss and flooding. Coporaque, 2013.**



**Image 23: Cement canal alongside earthen source. The initial inefficiency causes water loss and flooding. Coporaque, 2013.**

---

<sup>85</sup> An argument might be made that this cannot be an example of the agriculturalists' employment of modern technology because plastic in-and-of-itself is not an organically local material. However, for the sake of this argument, we are more concerned with the way in which agriculturalists implement modern developments for the purpose with which they were first created and introduced. Thus, the agriculturalists' strategic usage of plastic scraps here becomes resourceful.

In his assessment of the impact of globalization in the lives of agriculturalists, Esteva characterizes the new processes as a manifestation (and representation) of “the Western hegemony” that moves to take control of local social and personal lives. In particular, he cites the entrance of communities into the global market as frequently resulting in a food shortage.<sup>86</sup> However, the new processes and positive results of the new initiatives such as reservoir enhancements, the construction of the Canal of Coporaque, and the utilization of tractors to prepare the *pampas* seem to counter this assertion: the implementation of modern agricultural technology has enabled the sustenance of more crops, thereby increasing food production. Not only does this benefit personal consumption,<sup>87</sup> but it also results in a larger selection of crops to sell on the larger market and a decrease in social tensions among the agriculturalists. The convergence of these effects offers the opportunity for the agriculturalists of Coporaque to emerge from the exploitation of the manipulative intermediaries and pursue stronger economic participation throughout the community by harnessing them and uniting to form their own representative cooperative.

This consideration of changing agricultural techniques in Coporaque thus demonstrates that the interactions between new and local spheres cannot be adequately classified according to the categories established by homogenization: “modern” or “traditional.” Such a binary is not sufficient to depict the processes that are characterizing the daily routines of agriculturalists in Coporaque. Nor are new influences inherently negative. Instead, it is the communities’ responses to the arrival of these new influences

---

<sup>86</sup> Esteva, 70.

<sup>87</sup> While the inclination to divert a disproportionately large percentage of crop production to markets and, as a result, limit the quality of personal sustenance is a phenomenon whose frequency of occurrence is increasing, this does not appear to be the case in Coporaque. In fact, the well-being of one’s family is a priority emphasized by the majority of the agriculturalists with whom I spoke. As one noted, though competitive market opportunities are an important goal towards which much effort is directed, the adequate nutrition of her children is the principal motivation that guides her agricultural practices.

that determine how they are incorporated; it is the communities' responses that determine whether they replace the existing practices, reject the new ones, or fashion an incisive hybridity from both.

#### ***Chapter 4. A Place for the Government and the Government in Its Place***

The case study of the nature and effects of the agricultural changes underway in Coporaque as detailed in the previous chapter challenges the popular conception of globalization and its diffusion of modern influences as an inherently homogenizing pressure. This individual study makes no move to dismiss the case studies that are critical of globalization, such as that presented by del Pozo-Vergnes, which draws attention to the unsettling phenomenon of community members abandoning their local practices in favor of new ones encountered via interactions with an increasingly diverse array of international actors. Rather, it seeks to promote a reassessment of the character of such global interactions. It is unfair to the rural community members to depict a generalization of "globalization" as a wave of homogenizing influences in the face of which the villagers can only hope to either fiercely defend their local customs or wholly succumb to the pressure to conform to "modern" standards. In reality, it is important to acknowledge that each community is comprised of a unique set of cultural and historical conditions that influence which and how new elements will manifest in the daily lifestyles. As we see in this investigation of Coporaque, these conditions are characterized by a consistent dedication to local agricultural rituals and practices such as *ayni* and making offerings to the *Pachamama* and a history that is relatively free of large-scale, externally led impositions in comparison with other rural Andean communities. This amalgamation is not representative of the conditions of other villages. But the unique foundation of Coporaque provides a platform that is particularly conducive to maximizing the

possibilities for future expansion: as new elements and opportunities arise, the agriculturalists of Coporaque consistently assert an admirable agency by selecting which of them they believe will be beneficial. As we have seen particularly clearly in the context of tilling and irrigation techniques, the new elements are then incorporated into daily routines to complement and enhance preexisting practices.

It can be understood, then, that to the extent to which new influences are being enacted, the people themselves play a significant role in determining which and in what form new elements will be integrated into the local setting. And just as it is abundantly clear that rural communities are thus constantly crafting a dynamic hybridity of efficient agricultural practices by incorporating new elements and maintaining preexisting strategies, so, too, is it inevitable that communities will interact with external agents. These can originate from NGOS, from various levels of the State government—local, regional, and national—and, as we have seen in Treacy’s example of the “innovative” agriculturalists, from individuals themselves. The attitudes of these actors, in addition to the preferences of the local community members, contribute to the overall shape that hybridity takes. It would be impossible to assess the nature of the governments’ influences without considering the ways in which the community-government relationship has shifted over time. Thus, this chapter examines the government presence in rural communities beginning first with a historical consideration of the relationship between the two in light of the Agrarian Reforms, the point at which the government formally recognized the rural communities. This focus is further paired with an analysis of the contemporary relationship, drawing particularly on the experiences observed in Coporaque, showing ultimately that though it is important to remember past experiences when forging future connections, no relation is static; in the case of collaboration with the

State, different approaches and attitudes are constantly coloring the dispositions of each side. Past experiences are not necessarily wholly indicative of those that lie in the future.

### ***Historical Tensions***

In his 1989 assessment of the position of members of rural Peruvian communities to lead a movement for increased self-representation, Carlos Degregori presents a sharply critical assessment of the possibility of collaboration with any sector of the government. A link between the government's past failures to promote the interests of rural communities and the communities' own development of more organized self-representative efforts is made clear through the analysis that Degregori presents. Yet there is one part of Degregori's approach in particular that inhibits an accurate assessment of the dynamics of community-government relations: The way in which he depicts the two groups of actors, the State and the community members. First, he insists on a sweeping categorization of the government. Given the actions of the State in the past, he explains, the government can be described with two words: "abusive and distant."<sup>88</sup> He acknowledges that under the Agrarian Reforms of the 1960s, the physical structures of the *hacienda* era have been dismantled, but cautions that the spirit of domination that characterized the previous eras persists, and that the State remains not only against the agriculturalists, but inclined to oppress them.<sup>89</sup> This "abuse" often manifests itself in government programs that are geared towards advancing the interests of those with government connections or of the government officials themselves at the expense of the local agriculturalists, despite the superficial appearance of munificence. In addition to being actively detrimental, however, government policies also contributed to the image of

---

<sup>88</sup> Carlos Iván Degregori, *Sólo organizados podemos vencer*. (Lima: Servicios Educativos Rurales, 1989), 16.

<sup>89</sup> Idem., 16-7.

a “distant” because they were phantoms altogether. Degregori cites this composite of ineffective and ultimately empty initiatives as one of the driving impetuses for communities to begin to turn to NGOs for assistance and to organize amongst themselves.<sup>90</sup> According to Degregori’s analysis, the State is incapable of serving the well-being of the rural communities, and the increasingly apropos mantra of “only organized can we overcome”<sup>91</sup> became a community-wide philosophy.

In addition to this inherently negative depiction of the State, the second problematic component of Degregori’s analysis is the way in which he situates the agriculturalists themselves into this context: they are victimized them and depicted as irreconcilably at odds with the government. While it is obvious that the central theme of Degregori’s work is to signal the very strength of these rural community members by highlighting their efforts to fight the exploitative national government, the diametric opposition that he presents in which community members must constantly protect themselves, “organized,” in order to “overcome” the autocratic government. Yet this dynamic does necessarily characterize the relationships that exist between the two groups today. This questioning of that immutable tension is not meant to suggest that all individual-state relations today are harmonious. Instead, what must be emphasized is that the quality of the interactions depends on how the local agriculturalists approach them. It must be recognized that the rural community members’ true strength lies in their ability to *select for themselves* how they will engage with the world, be it as a self-represented

---

<sup>90</sup> Idem., 17. NGOs have become an increasingly present source of collaboration in Coporaque. Some of their suggestions for enhancing agricultural techniques are useful, such as direction as to how to prevent soil erosion by planting vegetation. Others are well-meaning, but less useful, such as instruction for limiting frost damage—a strategy that agriculturalists already count among vast repertoire of techniques. For a clearer outline of the presence and efficacy of NGOs in Coporaque, please see Wildey, Amanda Jo E., “Change in the Chacras,” BA thesis, Dickinson College, 2013.

<sup>91</sup> Degregori., 18.



group or through collaboration with the government, which can be just as equally powerful and efficacious.

### ***Present Possibilities***

We have signaled that the unique cultural and historical conditions of Coporaque facilitate the expression of this agency, and my fieldwork observations further illustrate this point: In Coporaque, the State's presence manifests itself across a variety of spheres, ranging from the introduction of programs sponsored by the national government such as AgroRural, whose poster is seen in **image 24**, an initiative of the Ministry of Agriculture that sponsors programs that educate about strategic farming practices, to community projects initiated by the local government, an example of which is signaled by the poster in **image 25** and as we will discuss shortly.



**Image 24: Advertisement for the national AgroRural program painted on a stable.  
“Peru moves forward.”  
Coporaque, 2011.**





**Image 25: Poster for canal reparation project “Ayni Raymi” posted at the main entrance of the village. Coporaque, 2013.**

From the variety of interactions of agriculturalists in Coporaque with vestiges of the State, a common image emerges that suggests that collaboration is not necessarily negative. Instead, the agriculturalists can utilize them as resources—a means to enact positive initiatives that may ultimately foster greater unity among community members and, subsequently, enhance their ability to represent themselves in the expanding economic sphere. After all, who better than the members of the very community can discern what pressing needs should be addressed and thus develop an appropriate strategy? And though critics like Degregori caution that incorporating government entities into the decision-making process is antithetical to such community action, the successful collaborative experiences in Coporaque suggest otherwise.

Several contemporary agricultural practices and construction projects in Coporaque have greatly enhanced production and individuals' access to resources. The completion of the Canal of Coporaque in 2000, for instance, made more water available to a greater portion of the population, mitigating much of the high demand for this increasingly scarce resource. Additionally, the municipal tractor enables agriculturalists to take advantage of maximizing their time- and labor-efficiency when tilling the *pampas*. As we first signaled, these examples illustrate that the agriculturalists are capable of critically incorporating modern elements into their routines to enhance production, and that they do so without explicitly replacing the preexisting local practices. Yet we must also note that the very possibility of incorporating these techniques exists because of local relations with the State: the tractor that agriculturalists can rent belongs to and was purchased by the municipality, and the Canal project was likewise funded by the government. Indeed, when intense rains of the 2011-12 season eroded the Canal, it was a project sponsored by the government, "Ayni Raymi," ("Reciprocity Party") (**image 25**), that was responsible for providing the funds that made the reparations possible, as well as the reinforcement of other canals throughout the village that were in critical condition. These cases thus demonstrate that relations with the government do not have to conform to an authoritarian power dynamic; the government can have a role in a project while still allowing the overall initiative to be directed by the local community members.

In addition to the evidence for successful government-community collaboration to which these projects attest, my own interactions with agriculturalists during my fieldwork confirm that not only are there opportunities for local perspectives to direct new projects, such an inclusion is expected. For instance, one morning while I was seated in a *combi* bound for Chivay, the nearby town, I happened to overhear

a conversation between two agriculturalists—a man and a woman—regarding a new community project. The woman began filling the man in about a meeting that had taken place the previous night, but the conversation quickly became heated as she recounted the latest audacious offenses of someone to whom she referred as *El Gordo* [the Fat One]. Few had attended the meeting, she commented, criticizing the apparent apathy of the village members when such an important issue was at hand: the new construction proposals put forth by the infamous *El Gordo*. But the most conspicuous affront was the way in which the projects were being devised. It was very important, they agreed, that the person who is guiding the progress of the community be someone who is actually from Coporaque. The other agriculturalist mentioned the three newest proposals, but concluded that the foundational problem is that initiatives that impact the progression of Coporaque should come from a member of the community itself and not from a foreigner. The woman agreed, emphatically declaring, “He knows nothing of our village.”<sup>92</sup> It is clear, then, that not only are the agriculturalists of Coporaque interested in taking a direct initiative in developing and carrying out new projects, but they also deem it unacceptable for the process to unfold in a manner that is separate from their local perspectives.

In highlighting these positive observations, I am by no means claiming that every relationship between rural communities and the State is inherently functional and beneficial, or that the well-beings of the agriculturalists are guaranteed to increase exponentially in light of such collaboration. Even within Coporaque, there might be several situations in which individual-State relations have proven to be less than harmonious. Indeed, I encountered one such situation during my 2013 fieldwork as I was

---

<sup>92</sup> From my fieldnotes, Coporaque, 17-11-2011.

discussing my upcoming interview with the mayor with an agriculturalist. He expressed his frustration with the progress (or lack-thereof) of a certain community development project that the mayor had promised, recalling that, during the current mayor's campaign in 2011, one of his major platforms was his dedication to constructing an additional reservoir for the village. The then-candidate had even designated a location: Finaya, a large plain in the western vicinity of the village. The construction of this reservoir would greatly reduce the seasonal water scarcity experienced in the village, the agriculturalist explained, yet ground has yet to be broken on this project. In fact, he continued, the mayor has scarcely mentioned it. It was now up to me, the agriculturalist insisted, to press the mayor for details about the reservoir and encourage him to take action.

I did bring up the issue of water scarcity during the interview later, and we began discussing strategies for allaying this. I explained that I had heard that constructing an additional reservoir was a solution that he had proposed as part of his mayoral campaign. He eagerly turned to his bookshelf and pulled out a thick workbook—the blueprints for the Finaya reservoir. As it turns out, the plans for the project have already been drawn up and proposed, but the commencement of the actual construction is dependent on the mayor's ability to secure funds from the State or other source, such as an NGO—a process which he has begun but for which results are, as of yet, undetermined.

It is possible that the delay of the construction of the canal was announced at a town meeting that the agriculturalist did not attend and, consequently, remained uninformed of the status of the project. Yet what should be taken away from this situation is the fact that the agriculturalist questioned the power of his voice when it came to expressing an opinion regarding a communal matter. It appeared that he placed more confidence, instead, in the influence that I might have, most likely because of my status as

a white “westerner.” Thus on some level, it appears that the State might still be conceived of as acting to serve a small, “elite” sector of the population as opposed to ensuring the good of the general population. I do not attempt to speak to or contest the veracity of this perception—I wholly acknowledge that my own case study of Coporaque is far from complete in its analysis of the finer details of government projects. Many opportunities remain to be explored before a complete assessment of the government’s efficacy can be presented. But there is much to be said about the possibility of an efficacious local government if, after even a limited investigation, the only instance of dissatisfaction among community members stems from a relatively minor tension. This perspective of Coporaque represents, then, a caveat to those who would discourage rural communities from developing relationships with the government.

We have seen that the technical advancements have enabled the agriculturalists to boost their production, but after considering that these initiatives were made possible through State funding, it becomes clearer that the community-government relations eschewed by Degregori can indeed be beneficial today *as long as* the local members are able to be active directors of any new processes. Of the developer with no ties to the local community, the woman from the *combi* in Coporaque decries: “He knows nothing of our village.” The skepticism with which she and the other passenger on the *combi* view the three proposals is not a signal that they reject any new progress—rather it illustrates the high level of importance they place on ensuring that new initiatives are particularly tailored to their local contexts, and while the extent to which this man and woman are willing to actively participate in the development of this project was unclear, it is apparent that they are more than willing to contribute by vocalizing their opinions of how the project should be conducted.

## **Chapter 5. Conclusions: Collaboration in Coporaque and Hope for the Future?**

Over the course of this thesis, we have brought together a variety of different spheres in order to consider the experiences, possibilities, and implications for economic development in Andean agricultural communities. In considering the process of incorporating external influences and the results catalyzed by this interaction from a theoretical perspective, we have challenged the model of homogenization, asserting that the responses of communities cannot be encompassed by the exclusive binary of blindly embracing the “modern” or devoutly preserving the “traditional.” Instead, the community members craft a hybridization of practices from among all of the available strategies—be they of external origin or already part of the local fabric—that will permit them to achieve the most efficient agricultural production. This can be seen clearly in an analysis of the agricultural practices that the agriculturalists of Coporaque presently employ. The process of tilling the fields encompasses three distinct eras of technological innovation, physically manifested in the coexistence of tools such as the *chakitajlla*, the *junta*, and the tractor. Each tool serves a particular purpose. Agriculturalists are cognizant of the benefits and shortcomings of each, and therefore only employ them in the most efficient contexts. Furthermore, a successful tilling and sowing of a field is still concluded by burning an offering to the *Pachamama*. The same adaptation characterizes the present irrigation strategies: basic components like central reservoirs that connect to canals which in turn course alongside fields that are rooted in pre-Columbian structures are integral to the process. But these structures have also been further enhanced as more efficient materials have become available—cement has been used to line reservoirs and canals. The collection of practices that the agriculturalists construct is thus not one in which the latest

technologies are automatically embraced at the expense of preexisting practices, but rather are integrated as the agriculturalists see fit, in the fashion of a true hybridity.

The tenet that has proceeded throughout this consideration of hybridity is that the success of these initiatives is dependent on the distinctive cultural and historical conditions of each community. We have seen that contemporary Coporaque stems from a unique historical foundation: like other Andean communities, it was shaped significantly by the expansion of the Inca Empire. Yet unlike other Andean communities, it was relatively isolated from the direct presence of the *conquistadores*, and thus remained largely unaffected by the rise and eventual fall of the *hacienda* system and series of agricultural reforms. The fact that Coporaque has been spared the brunt of the most damaging interferences that afflicted other communities in the Peruvian Andes has generated a setting that is particularly conducive to their successful engagement with external elements, an engagement that is directed towards at once supplementing, enhancing and maintaining the practices that feature in the contemporary agricultural calendar. And the agriculturalists have not backed away from such occasions to engage: they accept opportunities to actively participate in projects that will further develop their economic expansion. Such an involved attitude presents bright prospects for future projects as Peru proceeds through the “Year of Rural Development and Food Security,” as 2013 has been titled. And the government would be wise to reciprocate and demonstrate a willingness to collaborate. After all, the only projects that will benefit the local community are those that are designed according to its specific needs and challenges, and who is more intimately aware of these contexts than the members of the community themselves?

The force of “globalization” in-and-of-itself is not an inherent enemy. This is particularly important concept to remember today in the context of the economic growth of the agricultural sphere. This expansion has, in many places, triggered a prompt dedication to mechanizing the farming processes. Such “globalization” can certainly be a source of new elements which can stimulate deleterious effects at the local level, but it is inaccurate to depict this process as one-sided. New influences do not automatically obliterate the nuances of the preexisting culture immediately upon arrival; rather, there are local cultural and historical circumstances that facilitate a setting in which community members can interact with these new influences, carefully selecting which elements are the most relevant to their lifestyles and, therefore, are appropriate to incorporate. The agriculturalists of Coporaque exist in this precise dynamic and continue to assert their agency in new collaborative opportunities. What is clear, then, is that the unique cultural and historical conditions that characterize the community have yielded a setting that is supports the initiatives of agriculturalists themselves to exercise agency in crafting a hybridity of practices and relations—a dynamic which they consistently express as they seek the agricultural and economic development of their village.



**Image 10: Municipal construction work supply house.  
"For the development of your village."  
Plaza de Armas, Coporaque, 2011.**



## Acknowledgements

This project would never have come to fruition without the support of people across two continents. First, many thanks to Karina Pacheco Medrano and Maria Blanco for their suggestions as I began this project in 2011. I may never have made it to Coporaque in the first place without the skillful arrangements of Anibal Berdejo, and I likewise express gratitude to Susan Rose and the Dickinson College Community Studies Center for the grant that enabled me to *go back* to Coporaque and continue my research in January 2013. The further development of this investigation upon my return to the United States would not have been possible without the guidance of many professors at Dickinson College—Marcelo Borges, Maria Bruno, James Ellison, Kjell Enge, Ann Hill, J. Mark Ruhl, and Karen Weinstein. This invaluable academic guidance was coupled with the support of my family and friends and their seemingly bottomless supply of pep talks. I am so fortunate to have parents that encourage me to follow my passion, happy simply because I am happy, and to have friends who are willing to listen to me talk about *chacras* for hours on end. Any attempt to list you all would surely turn up incomplete.

I am also deeply grateful for the chance friendships I've made along my journey, like with Álvaro, the most knowledgeable and generous chauffer in Arequipa. They have revealed new perspectives that I never could have imagined. *Gracias*, too, to Valeriano Rufino Rojas Rosas, mayor of Coporaque (2011-2014) for meeting with a strange *gringa* with such genuine alacrity. And of course, I would likely be wandering the Andes, lost, if not for the care of my host family: Silverio, Susana, Gilbert, Rosa, Pilar, Dilbert, Nilmer, Elia, Elfia. I am so grateful for how completely you have welcomed me into your family. And to the rest of *mi querido pueblo*, Coporaque, thank you for opening yourselves to me. I treasure your trust and friendship more than any quantity of *tostado*. *Nos vemos pronto*.

## Bibliography

- Allen, Catherine J. *The Hold Life Has*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988.
- Appadurai, Arjun. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Glotal Cultural Economy," (orig. 1990), *Readings for a History of Anthropological Theory*, third edition. Eds. Paul A. Erickson and Liam D. Murphy. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010: 556-564.
- Bakewell, Peter. *A History of Latin America to 1825*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Boston: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Bernex, Nicole. "Recursos naturales y globalización: luces y sombras," *Apertura a la globalización*, ed. Bernardo Haour, S.J. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Jesuitas, 2007: 37-82.
- Bhagwati, Jagdish. *In Defense of Globalization*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Berthoud, Gérald. "Mercado," *Diccionario del desarrollo*, ed. Wolfgang Sachs. Lima: Proyecto Andino de Tecnologías Campesinas, 1996: 132-156.
- Crabtree, John. "The Impact of Neo-liberal Economics on Peruvian Peasant Agriculture in the 1990s," *Latin American Peasants*, ed. Tom Brass, vol. 29. 2002, 131-161.
- Del Pozo-Vergnes, Ethel. *De la hacienda a la mundialización: Sociedad, pastores y cambios en el altiplano peruano* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2004.
- Esteva, Gustavo. "Desarrollo," *Diccionario del desarrollo*, ed. Wolfgang Sachs. Lima: Proyecto Andino de Tecnologías Campesinas, 1996: 52-78.
- Figueroa, Adolfo. *Capitalist Development and the Peasant Economy in Peru*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

- Gose, Peter. *Deathly Waters and Hungry Mountains: Agrarian Ritual and Class Formation in an Andean Town*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- Guillet, David. *Agrarian Reform and Peasant Economy in Southern Peru* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1979.
- Gwynne, R. N. "Contemporary Issues in Latin America," *The Geography of the Third World: Progress and Prospect*, ed. Michael Pacione. New York: Routledge, 2011: 313-342.
- Iguíñez, Javier María. "Rasgos del proceso económico peruano durante la globalización," *Apertura a la globalización*, ed. Bernardo Haour, S.J. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Jesuitas, 2007: 197-216.
- Isbell, Billie Jean. *To Defend Ourselves: Ecology and Ritual in an Andean Village*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978.
- Kahhat, Farid. "¿Hacia el conflicto de las civilizaciones?" *Cultura y Globalización*, eds. Carlos Iván Degregori y Gonzalo Portocarrero. Lima: Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú, 2004: 59-80.
- Larson, Brooke. "Andean Communities, Political Cultures, and Markets: the Changing Contours of a Field," *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes*. Eds. Brooke Larson and Olivia Harris. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995: 5-53.
- Lloréns, José A. "El sitio de los indígenas en el siglo XXI: tensiones transculturales de la globalización," *Cultura y Globalización*, eds. Carlos Iván Degregori and Gonzalo Portocarrero. Lima: Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú, 2004: 139-162.
- Mallon, Florencia E. *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

- Mayer, Enrique. *The Articulated Peasant: Household Economies in the Andes*. Cambridge: Westview Press, 2002.
- Mayer, Enrique. *Ugly Stories of the Peruvian Agrarian Reform*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.
- Medina, Rubens. *Agrarian Reform Legislation in Peru*. Madison: Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1970.
- Morón, Eduardo. "El Perú y los peruanos frente a la globalización," *Apertura a la globalización*, ed. Bernardo Haour, S.J. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Jesuitas, 2007: 179-193.
- Murra, John V. "Did Tribute and Markets Prevail in the Andes before the European Invasion?" *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes*. Eds. Brooke Larson and Olivia Harris. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995: 58-72.
- Ortiz R., Alejandro. "El individuo andino, autóctono y cosmopolita," *Cultura y Globalización*, ed. Carlos Iván Degregori and Gonzalo Portocarrero. Lima: Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú, 2004: 129-138.
- Sachs, Wolfgang. "Introducción," *Diccionario del desarrollo*, ed. Wolfgang Sachs. Lima: Proyecto Andino de Tecnologías Campesinas, 1996: 1-7.
- Stern, Steve J. "The Variety and Ambiguity of Native Andean Intervention in European Colonial Markets," *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes*. Eds. Brooke Larson and Olivia Harris. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995: 73-100.
- Treacy, John M. *Las chacras de Coporaque: Andenería y riego en el Valle del Colca*. Lima: IEP, 1994.
- Vincent, Susan. "Flexible Families: Capitalist Development and Crisis in Rural Peru," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, vol. 31, 2. (2000): 155-170.