Cultivating what is ours

Local agro-food heritage as a development strategy in the Peruvian Andes

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Abstract

The Peruvian Andes has long been portrayed as a space of poverty and marginalisation, but more recently Andean places have been reinterpreted as reservoirs of valuable *patrimonio agroalimentario* (agro-food heritage). Amidst global interest in food provenance and Peru's gastronomic 'boom', Andean people and places have connected with different networks that value the geographical, ecological and social origins of food.

This thesis explores the meaning of these changes by combining a discourse genealogy with local case studies. I first trace the emergence of interconnecting discourses of *territorial development with identity* and *local agro-food heritage* in Latin America. I explore how these discourses bring together diverse actors and agendas through arguments that collective action to revalue local agro-food heritage can offer equitable economic gains while conserving biocultural diversity, a theoretical dynamic that I term the 'virtuous circle of products with identity.'

These promises frame in-depth case studies of Cabanaconde and Tuti, two rural localities in the southern Peruvian Andes where a range of development initiatives based on local agro-food heritage were undertaken from around the mid-2000s. The case studies combine evaluation of the economic, social, cultural and environmental impacts of the initiatives, with ethnographic perspectives that look at them through the lens of local livelihoods.

The partial successes and multiple setbacks of the initiatives highlight the tensions between economic impact, social equity and biocultural diversity while underlining the limitations of existing markets to value the rich connections between place and food in the Andes. Nevertheless, by highlighting local agency in engaging selectively with these initiatives, I conclude that their overall legacy has been largely positive. I suggest that connections being made between place, food and development can provide material and discursive support for *diverse territorial economies*, defined as the locally specific ways people in the Andes pursue their aspirations while retaining what they value about place, farming and food.

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Institutions and acronyms

This table provides translations or explanations of the institutions, organisations, programmes and agreements referred to by a non-English name and/or by acronyms in the main text and/or in citations.

Original language name	Acronym used in thesis	Translation or explanation
Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional y Desarrollo	AECID	Spanish Agency for International Aid and Development
Agro Emprende	-	Competitive fund within Peru's Ministry of Agriculture that operated 2009-2011. Superseded by Agro Ideas.
Agro Ideas	-	Programme within Peru's Ministry of Agriculture that supports initiatives proposed by small farmer associations.
Agro Rural	-	Rural development arm of Peru's Ministry of Agriculture, created in 2008.
Asociación ANDES	-	Peruvian NGO based in Cuzco
Asociación Especializada para el Desarrollo Sostenible	AEDES	Association Specialising in Sustainable Development (Peruvian NGO based in Arequipa).
Asociación Gastronómica de Arequipa	AGAR	Arequipa Gastronomy Association
Asociación Nacional de Productores Ecológicos	ANPE	National Organic Producers Association
Asociación Peruana de Gastronomía	APEGA	Peruvian Gastronomy Association
Acción Social y Desarrollo	ASDE	Social Action and Development (Peruvian NGO based in Arequipa).
Autocolca (Autoridad Autónoma del Colca y el Valle de los Volcanes)	-	Autonomous public agency charged with overseeing tourism development in the Colca Valley.
Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo	BID/IADB	Inter-American Development Bank
Biolatina	-	Pan-Latin American organic certifier
Plataforma de Biodiversidad y Territorios	BDTP	Biodiversity and Territories Platform
Centro Internacional de la Papa	CIP	International Potato Centre
Comisión Nacional contra la Biopiratería	-	National Anti-Biopiracy Commission.
Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación	CVR	Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Comunidad Andina	CAN	Andean Community
Confederación Nacional Agraria	CNA	National Agrarian Confederation
Congreso Nacional del Agro Peruano	CONVEAGRO	Peruvian National Agricultural Congress
Consejo Nacional de Productos Orgánicos	CONAPO	National Organic Products Council
Consejo Regional de Productos Orgánicos	COREPO	Regional Organic Products Council
Cooperación Peruana Alemana de Seguridad Alimentaria	COPASA	Peruvian-German Food Security Cooperation (special project based in the Arequipa regional government with German aid funding from 1987-2011).
Descosur / Descosur	-	Peruvian NGO (Descosur is the arm that operates in southern Peru).
	EU	European Union
Euro Eco Trade	-	Agreement between the European Union and the Peruvian government to promote the export of specific organic products.
-	FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
Fondo Internacional de Agricultura y Desarrollo	FIDA/IFAD	International Fund for Agriculture and Development
Fondo de Cooperación para el Desarrollo Social	FONCODES	Peruvian programme for targeted anti-poverty interventions, established in the 1990s and now overseen by the Ministry for Development and Social Inclusion.
Fondo de las Américas	FONDAM	Environmentally focused fund deriving from a debt exchange agreement between the United States and Peru.
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit	GTZ	German Agency for Technical Cooperation
Instituto de Estudios Peruanos	IEP	Institute of Peruvian Studies
-	IICA	Inter-American Institute for Cooperation in Agriculture
-	IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
Instituto de la Defensa de la Competencia y la Protección de la Propiedad Intelectual	INDECOPI	Institute for the Defence of Competition and Intellectual Property Protection
Liaison entre actions de développement de l'économie rurale	LEADER/Leader	Links between actions for rural economic development (European Union programme that ran from 1991-2006).

Ministerio de Agricultura y Riego	MINAGRI	Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation
Ministerio del Medio Ambiente	MINAM	Ministry for the Environment
Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo	MINCETUR	Ministry of Trade and Tourism
-	OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
Programa de Recuperación de Tecnologías Andinas	PRATEC	Andean Technology Recovery Programme (Peruvian NGO)
Procompite	-	Competitive fund managed by Peru's Ministry of Production to support value chain development.
PromPeru (Comisión de Promoción del Perú para la Exportación y el Turismo)	-	Peruvian export promotion agency.
Programa de las Naciones Unidas de Desarrollo	PNUD/UNDP (GEF)	United Nations Development Programme (Global Environment Fund)
Programa Nacional de Manejo de Cuencas Hidrográficas y Conservación de Suelos	PRONAMACHS	National Hydrographic Basin and Soil Conservation Programme
Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú	PUCP	Pontifical Catholic University of Peru
Centro Latinoamericano de Desarrollo Rural	RIMISP	Latin American Rural Development Centre (Pan-Latin American NGO).
Sierra Exportadora	-	Decentralised State agency charged with enabling market access for small and medium producers in the sierra and jungle regions.
Sierra Sur	-	Rural development programme in southern Peru during 2005-2014 part-funded by IFAD through loans to the Peruvian government.
Universidad Nacional Agraria La Molina	UNALM	La Molina National Agrarian University
-	UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Other acronyms

AFN	Agro-food network
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
DO	Denomination (or designation) of origin
DTR-IC	<i>Desarrollo territorial rural con identidad cultural</i>
GI	Geographical indication
GMO	Genetically modified organism
LAFH	Local agro-food heritage
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
TDI	Territorial development with identity
TRD	Territorial rural development

Glossary

This glossary provides an explanation of Spanish and Quechua terms and local vocabularies which are used repeatedly in the thesis, or whose meaning is poorly captured by literal in-text translation.

Q. = Quechua. S. = Spanish or from another language via Spanish. L. = Local vocabulary, hybrid or unknown origin.

Word or phrase	Language origin	Definition
<i>Alsa</i>	L.	A traditional meal served at the end of the day of maize planting in Cabanaconde.
<i>Andén / Andenes</i>	S.	System of layered agricultural terraces used for farming in Andean valleys since the pre-Hispanic era.
<i>Arraccacha</i>	Q.	Root vegetable native to the Andes (<i>arracacia xanthorrhiza</i>).
<i>Arriero</i>	S.	Mule driver.
<i>Ayllu</i>	Q.	An important and much debated unit of social organisation in the Andes. Generally interpreted as an extended family, community or ethnic group; and/or as a network of reciprocal relationships between human and non-human beings.
<i>Ayni</i>	Q.	Reciprocal labour exchange between networks of family and friends historically very important to social and economic organisation in the Andes.
<i>Ayrampo</i>	Q.	Native Andean cactus (<i>tunilla soehrensii</i>) with multiple culinary, medicinal and other uses.
<i>Barbecho</i>	S.	Process of turning over and resting soil between harvest and planting.
<i>Cabildo abierto</i>	S.	Community meeting in which local authorities respond to questions and issues raised by community members.
<i>Campesino</i>	S.	Literally, peasant farmer. In Peru the reformist military dictatorship of General Velasco Alvarado (1968-1975) sought to make the identity of <i>campesino</i> replace that of 'Indian' or indigenous.
<i>Campiña</i>	S.	The cultivated countryside surrounding a town or village.
<i>Cancha / canchita</i>	Q.	Toasted dried maize. Important dietary component throughout the Andes since pre-Conquest times.
<i>Chacra</i>	Q.	Literally, a small plot or cultivated field. <i>La chacra</i> also refers more generally to the space of crop farming, which is spatially and culturally distinct from the town or village setting.
<i>Chala</i>	Q.	The dried stalks and leaves of maize plants, used for animal fodder.
<i>Chicha</i>	Q.	Fermented drink usually made from maize. Important for

		social and ceremonial use since pre-Conquest times.
<i>Chochoca</i>	Q.	Maize grains peeled by being boiled with lime (calcium hydroxide) and then ground.
<i>Choclo</i>	Q.	The edible cob of the maize plant.
<i>Chuño</i>	Q.	Dehydrated bitter potato. Usually made by leaving potatoes in freezing water. Important dietary component in the Andes since pre-Conquest times and part of many Andean dishes.
<i>Comedor</i>	S.	Small family-run restaurant that mainly offers set meals.
<i>Comunero</i>	S.	Formally registered member of a Peasant Community; may also be used generically to refer to local residents in Andean rural areas.
<i>Corregimiento</i>	S.	System of direct governance implemented by the Spanish Crown in the 16 th century to replace the <i>encomiendas</i> .
<i>Cuy</i>	Q.	Guinea pig native to the Andes. A key protein source for pre-Conquest populations which continues to be important in Andean and regional cuisines.
<i>Encomienda</i>	S.	System of social control established following the Spanish Conquest, which ‘commended’ groups of Indians to private individuals.
<i>Estancia</i>	S.	Ranch or family-controlled space dedicated to animal herding in the high pasture areas of the Andes.
<i>Faena</i>	S.	Collective work party traditionally used in the Andes for community-level tasks.
<i>Gañán</i>	S.	The ‘driver’ of a team of bulls used for ploughing (see also <i>yunta</i>).
<i>Huiñapo / wiñapo</i>		Maize kernels sprouted by being kept damp. Used for a variety of purposes but especially making <i>chicha</i> .
<i>Humita</i>	Q.	Maize dough stuffed, wrapped in a leaf and boiled, steamed or baked. <i>Humitas</i> usually have a sweet flavour / filling, with the savoury versions described as <i>tamales</i> (from Nahuatl, via Spanish).
<i>Izaño / mashwa</i>	Q.	Tuber native to the Andes (<i>tropaeolum tuberosum</i>) with various medicinal properties and a number of culinary uses. Considered an emblematic product of Tuti.
<i>Lampeo / aporque</i>	S.	Process of heaping up soil around the base of young maize or other cultivated plants, undertaken a month to six weeks post planting.
<i>Lote</i>	S.	Section of land that has been subdivided and allocated to individuals or families, usually by a State or community institution.
<i>Maíz cabanita</i>	L.	Local sub-species or landrace of maize originating in Cabanaconde.
<i>Muña</i>	Q.	Native Andean herb (<i>minthostachys mollis</i>) with a variety of medicinal and other uses.
<i>Oca</i>	Q.	New Zealand yam (<i>oxalis tuberosa</i>), native to the Andes.
<i>Olluco / papalisa</i>	Q.	Tuber of the genus <i>ullucus</i> , native to the Andes.

<i>Papa nativa</i>	S.	A descriptive category developed in Peru to refer to diverse varieties of potatoes distinct from the main commercial varieties.
<i>Peja</i>	L.	Term used in Cabanaconde to describe very small, ruined or bird-eaten cobs of maize.
<i>Picante</i>	S.	Literally ‘spicy’. Can refer to different dishes flavoured with varieties of <i>aji</i> (chili pepper).
<i>Pito</i>	Q.	Ceremonial drink made from mixing <i>chicha</i> with various ground cereals, the exact combination varying from place to place.
<i>Puna</i>	Q.	Flat or rolling grasslands between about 4,000 and 4,800 metres in the Peruvian Andes, where herding alpacas and llamas is usually the only viable activity.
<i>Solay</i>	L.	The event of maize planting in Cabanaconde, referring especially to the social/ceremonial aspects of planting.
<i>Topo</i>	Q.	Approximately 1/3 of a hectare – the primary unit of land measure used in relation to crop farming in the rural Andes.
<i>Tostado</i>	S.	See <i>cancha</i> .
<i>Trebol</i>	S.	Native Andean clover that grows within fields of maize and contributes to soil fertility while also being collected to as animal feed.
<i>Trueque</i>	S.	Barter exchange.
<i>Yunta</i>	S.	Team of bulls used for ploughing.

Chapter 1 Introduction: Place, food and development in the Peruvian Andes

Twenty minutes northeast of the provincial capital of Chivay in the southern Peruvian Andes, the asphalt highway that winds through the upper Colca Valley towards the silver mines of Caylloma and Orcopampa passes the village of Tuti. At the roadside, large billboards proclaim Tuti to be an ‘ecological village’ and local farmers to be the protectors of ancient agricultural traditions. Some 75 kilometres to the southwest, in the lower Colca Valley, another billboard sits strategically on a curve above the village of Cabanaconde. A painted mural depicts a young woman in traditional dress surrounded by different-coloured corn cobs, while the lettering reads ‘welcome to Cabanaconde, land of *maíz cabanita*’.

Figure 1.1 A billboard near Tuti announces a goal of ‘constructing an ecological village’

Source: author

Both Tuti and Cabanaconde present themselves to the world by highlighting links between their local populations, the places they inhabit, and the products they cultivate. Tuti appeals to a pan-Andean ethic of productive harmony with the earth, while

Cabanaconde advertises the unique qualities of its indigenous maize variety, derived from centuries of skilled cultivation of the local *terroir*. As well as expressions of local identity, these billboards are the outward symbols of a series of development initiatives undertaken since the mid-2000s based on reinventing and revaluing local agro-food traditions.

Although Cabanaconde and Tuti are small communities nestled deep in the Andes, these initiatives have made multiple connections to global networks. Between 2005 and 2015, producer associations in both Cabanaconde and Tuti obtained organic certification for their crops and registered territorial trademarks for their products. Cabanaconde applied to Peru's national intellectual property institute for denomination of origin status for *maíz cabanita*. Different sub-varieties of *maíz cabanita*, a maize bread from Cabanaconde, and *izaño*, a sweet tuber native to Tuti, were documented in Slow Food Italy's Ark of Taste as unique and endangered heritage foods. *Maíz cabanita* and quinoa from Tuti were presented at Mistura, the culinary fair held annually in Lima which showcases the dishes and ingredients that contribute to Peru's globally recognised cuisine.

The cases of Cabanaconde and Tuti are emblematic of a revaluation of Andean agro-food traditions within the contested arena that is commonly referred to as 'development'. The ecologically embedded farming systems and diverse, locally adapted products of high Andean valleys were long ignored or even disparaged, considered barriers to modernising progress, or at best, a source of subsistence for those on the margins of the modern economy. More recently, competing representations have appeared. The same Andean spaces have been portrayed as reservoirs of biocultural diversity, their products celebrated as nutritionally rich 'superfoods', local farmers depicted as skilled and dedicated stewards of food heritage.

Since the 1990s, diverse actors have drawn on these representations to propose alternative strategies for development in the Andes. They argue that collective action to protect and promote local agro-food heritage can generate broadly shared economic benefits for local populations, provide a catalyst for social cohesion, and help conserve biocultural diversity. Although they differ in the exact way of framing aspirations, structurally similar arguments to this effect have been made not only by mainstream development agencies (eg, Boucher & Reyes-González, 2016; IFAD & Slow Food, 2016; Ranaboldo & Arosio, 2017; Vandecandelaere et al., 2010) but also by advocates of postdevelopment,

food sovereignty and indigenous rights (eg, Altieri & Toledo, 2011; Argumedo, 2013; Argumedo & Stenner, 2008; Mier et al., 2018; Parraguez-Vergara et al., 2018).

These changing representations and aspirations connect to global debates about the relationships between place, food and development. While this thesis does engage with and contribute to these global debates, it does not start with them, but with a perspective anchored in specific places and livelihoods. The overall question it presents is:

What do the connections being made between place, food and development mean for people and places in the Peruvian Andes?

This question makes deliberately ambiguous use of the term ‘mean’, thus setting up the two interconnected threads of the thesis. I develop these threads through two sub questions which correspond to dual, complementary methodological approaches. The first sub question is as follows:

How have Andean rural communities been reinvented as spaces of valuable agro-food heritage?

This question refers to meaning in a discursive sense, seeking to understand why and how representations of Andean places have changed and to assess the significance of these changes. I address this question through a discourse genealogy, using a broadly Foucauldian approach to explore the evolution of discourse about place, farming and food in the Andes.

The second sub question is as follows:

What is the impact of initiatives to revalue local agro-food heritage for Andean people and places?

This question refers to meaning in the sense of concrete implications, seeking to assess the economic, social, cultural and environmental impacts of revaluing local agro-food heritage in the rural Andes. I address this question through two local case studies in Cabanaconde and Tuti, which I argue offer emblematic cases of what Turner (2016) calls ‘territorial projects’ to revalue agro-food heritage and which, despite their geographical proximity, offer contrasting experiences that are useful for comparative analysis.

While they differ in scale and timeframe of analysis, the discourse genealogy and case studies are interconnected and complementary. As Figure 1.2 shows, these approaches

work together to address the overall research question of the thesis. In the following sections, I discuss the theoretical context of the thesis, then return to explaining how the methodological approaches address the research questions.

Figure 1.2 Overview of research questions and methodological frameworks

Source: own elaboration.

1.1 Theoretical context: Territorial development with identity and local agro-food heritage

The questions the thesis poses are positioned at the intersection of two bodies of theoretical debate, one related to Latin American rural development and one related to agro-food geographies. The first theoretical area covers the diverse challenges to how development has been imagined and practised in Latin America since the 1980s. These challenges have come from critical academic perspectives, from social movements, and from reflexive learning within development practice. They include agendas to reinterpret development as a locally defined and led process; to acknowledge cultural diversity as important to both the process and meaning of development; and to make environmental sustainability central to the possibility of development.

I focus on a recent, specifically Latin American synthesis of these agendas called *desarrollo territorial rural con identidad cultural*. This literally translates as *territorial rural development with cultural identity*, but I hereafter refer to *territorial development with identity* (TDI) for short. The discourse and theory of TDI has been most explicitly articulated by researchers associated with the pan-Latin American NGO, RIMISP (also known as the Latin American Centre for Rural Development), but its concepts and values have been adopted by a range of actors, especially multilateral agencies linked to the United Nations, European development agencies, and progressive groups within Latin American governments.

TDI highlights the distinctive relationships with place maintained by indigenous, poor, and otherwise marginalised groups in rural Latin America. It argues that this difference from the “hegemonic cultures” of national societies (Urrutia, 2009, p.9) can be mobilised both as a source of social cohesion and as the basis for developing *products with identity* that can obtain added value in authenticity-valuing markets. Territorial identity thus becomes what its proponents refer to as an ‘engine’ of local development strategies, with potential to strengthen social ties, drive economic progress, and thereby reduce poverty, inequality and social exclusion (Fonte, 2009; Fonte & Ranaboldo, 2007; Ranaboldo, 2006, 2009; Schejtman, 2009).

As applied to the Andes, TDI can be interpreted as creatively mediating between two opposing perspectives on development and change. Reflecting on debates that developed during the 1990s, Bebbington (2000) simultaneously criticised neoliberal depictions of Andean livelihoods as inefficient and ‘non-viable’; and poststructuralist perspectives that presented ‘local cultures’ as a source of resistance to homogenising modernisation, but failed to engage deeply with the material realities and aspirations of local populations. Bebbington instead argued for grounded, ethnographically informed accounts of how people in the Andes seek to “make a living and make living meaningful” (2000, p.498), including through interactions with the State, market and development agencies.

TDI responds to this debate by seeking to reconcile economistic and culturalist views about development in the Andes. Rather than an impediment to development or a source of resistance to it, it presents culturally mediated connections to place as the *basis* of development. As articulated by RIMISP, TDI draws clear inspiration from ideas about territory, identity and development elaborated in Europe, and it explicitly takes as a

model the European Union's Links between Actions of Rural Development programme (LEADER, or Leader, for its initials in French).

The second theoretical thread relates to the widespread attention to the origins and trajectories of food that has developed globally since the 1980s. I use Morgan et al.'s (2006) concept of *provenance* to capture a broad array of interests in the geographical, social and ecological origins and trajectories of food. This includes the organic movement and its bifurcations, fair trade in its various forms, and the different food re-localisation movements that Fonte (2008) classifies as being about either producer-consumer *reconnection* or the *origins of food*. I suggest that this conceptual umbrella can usefully be extended to include, on the one-hand, provenance-based marketing narratives such as those that link 'superfoods' with indigenous agro-food traditions; and on the other, the broad challenge to conventional agro-food regimes from the food sovereignty movement. While often divided on the basis of 'mainstream' and 'alternative' agendas, all of these share the conviction that food provenance *matters*, whether to health, quality, ethics or politics.

I argue that in the Latin American context, emerging visibilities and values of food provenance have coalesced in the discourse of *patrimonio agroalimentario* (agro-food heritage), which connects distinctive culinary traditions with agrobiodiversity stewardship by *campesino* or indigenous farmers. An important catalyst for this discourse in Peru has been the 'gastronomic boom' which, since the early 2000s, has seen the global discovery of Peru's cuisine and its national reinvention as an economic asset and source of sociocultural cohesion. Peru's 'boom' began in the 1990s with the creative incorporation of native ingredients by Lima-based chefs. However, it really captured the national imagination through the discursive construction of gastronomy as a human-nonhuman collaboration in which the 'megadiverse' environment, *campesino* stewardship, and regional cooking traditions also play important roles (see Garcia, 2013; Matta, 2011, 2013). Similar associations have been made in several other Latin American countries, influenced by concepts of agro-food heritage developed in Mediterranean Europe (Blas-Yañez et al., 2018; Turner, 2016).

The thesis focuses on the *intersection* between territorial development with identity (TDI) and agro-food heritage, which, when applied at a local level, I call local agro-food heritage (LAFH). Within this shared ground, agro-food heritage becomes the primary

source of local identity mobilised in territorial development strategies. Collective action to develop agro-food ‘products with identity’ is argued to deliver broadly shared economic benefits, while helping maintain the biocultural diversity on which the product identities rest. Economic development, social equity and biocultural sustainability are not just seen as compatible but are presented as having potentially synergistic interconnections, which I refer to as a ‘virtuous circle’ (see Figure 1.3).

Throughout the thesis, I continue to talk about TDI and LAFH as separate, intersecting discourses. Other sources of local identity apart from agro-food heritage can be mobilised in territorial development strategies; and interest in conserving agro-food heritage does not necessarily imply commitment to addressing poverty and inequality. Nevertheless, in the Andes their intersection is particularly strong, since questions about development and inequality, and questions about farming and food have long been intertwined. The concepts and arguments shared by TDI and LAFH thus set the basis for both threads of the thesis – as systems of representation and normativity to be historically analysed through the discourse genealogy, and as theoretical claims to be investigated through the case studies.

Figure 1.3 Intersection of territorial development with identity and local agro-food heritage

See Figure 6.1 for a detailed elaboration of the ‘virtuous circle’. Source: Own elaboration.

1.2 Methodological frameworks and research objectives

In this section I give an overview of the complementary methodological approaches used in the thesis. I explain how they address each of the sub questions and how they work together to address the overall question. I also explain how the thesis builds on, and addresses gaps within, existing research.

1.2.1 Discourse genealogy

To address the first sub question about changing representations of Andean people and places, I undertake a discourse genealogy, which has the following specific objectives:

- Trace the historical emergence and interconnection of discourses of territorial development with identity and local agro-food heritage in Latin America.
- Explore how and why these discourses have exerted influence in Latin America, focusing on Peru.
- Analyse, and assess the implications of, the ways they represent Andean people and places.

In this thesis, I work with a broadly Foucauldian view of discourses as socially constructed ways of thinking and forming knowledge, which are intimately linked with power. I draw particularly on Escobar's (1995) critique of what he terms *the development discourse*, and Dryzek's (2005) approach to analysing environmental discourses.

Three interconnected aspects of a Foucauldian approach underpin the analysis undertaken in the thesis. First, discourse links *knowledge* and *power* by shaping what can be thought and said, including what is considered 'natural', 'normal' and 'good'. Second, discourse enables the *devolved* nature of power. It "diffuses through the social body producing what people are and what they can do, structuring the way things are thought about, how people see themselves and others, and how they relate to the world around them" (Crowley, 2009, p.5). Third, discourse is *historical* and *contested*. The concepts and logic used to construct knowledge are not based on timeless realities but gain meaning within a certain social and historical context. They are the outcome of "specific struggles, conflicts, alliances, and exercises of power" (Garland, 2014, p.373).

A genealogical approach to discourse thus aims to problematise ways of thinking and talking about the world by uncovering how they have come about and describing the 'conditions of their possibility' (Garland, 2014). It traces the emergence of representations and normativity over time, paying attention to the relations between

institutional practices and systems of thought and analysing how these ways of thinking are disseminated and normalised (Crowley, 2009). Taking such an approach to TDI and LAFH helps destabilise the seeming naturalness of relationships they portray between historical marginalisation and marketable authenticity. It also enables exploration of their apparently striking difference from previous development discourses in terms of representation (what they make *visible*) and normativity (the system of *values* that they articulate).

This approach builds on and connects studies of changes in thinking about place, development and food in Latin America. A body of research has explored the accommodation of local or cultural diversity within Latin American development practice (Andolina et al., 2009; Bebbington, 2001; Healy, 2001; Postero & Zamosc, 2004; Radcliffe & Laurie, 2006; Rhoades, 2006). Within global debates about the rise of environmental sustainability and biodiversity discourses, work focusing specifically on the Andes has scrutinised the mainstreaming of *in situ* agrobiodiversity conservation (Graddy, 2013; Saad, 2009; Shepherd, 2010, 2019). A common critical concern is about the extent to which values related to place, culture and environment have been incorporated within, and made to serve the interests of, neoliberalism (Buscher et al., 2013; Castree, 2008; Hales, 2005; McAfee, 1999).

Under the food provenance umbrella, researchers have analysed discursive construction and contest at a global level in fair trade, organics, re-localisation movements and food sovereignty (see particularly Morgan et al., 2006; Goodman et al., 2012; Jarosz, 2014). There is an emerging debate about the socio-political construction of agro-food heritage within Latin America (Blas-Yañez et al., 2018), as well as some specific critical analyses of the discourses associated with Peru's 'gastronomic boom' (Bohardt, 2014; Garcia, 2013; Matta, 2011, 2013, 2016). Again, a common theme for debate is the extent to which new values of food provenance are associated with processes of neoliberalisation, while work focusing on Peru has also examined the neo-colonial aspects of the gastronomic boom.

I argue that a discourse genealogy helps chart a course between different, unsatisfactory responses to the changing visibilities and values associated with place, farming and food in the Andes. On the one hand, it goes beyond unreflectively celebrating 'new opportunities' for marginalised groups as their products and practices have become

marketable. On the other, it avoids a critical but simplifying view of these new visibilities and values as deriving from a neoliberal agenda to progressively commodify and control nature and culture. By situating these discourses in the historical context of Andean Latin America, a genealogical approach allows a more nuanced analysis which sees them as indeed entangled with neoliberalism, but not just an offshoot of it. It helps explore both the continuities *and* differences in how these discourses represent people and places, the interests they serve, and the possibilities they offer.

1.2.2 Local case studies

To address the second sub question related to the impacts of revaluing local agro-food heritage, I undertake case studies of the localities of Cabanaconde and Tuti in the Colca Valley of southern Peru. These have the following specific objectives:

- Describe how and why initiatives to revalorise local agro-food heritage in Cabanaconde and Tuti have been undertaken.
- Critically evaluate the economic, social, cultural and environmental impacts of the initiatives.
- Explore the relevance of the initiatives to the livelihoods and values of local populations.

As I explore in more detail at the beginning of Chapter 2, the focus on these localities grew out of a meeting between theory and personal history. My personal connections to the Colca Valley, developed over more than a decade, set a platform for ethnographically informed research, while also leading me towards the themes investigated in the thesis. Based on its distinctive landscapes and cultural expressions, the Colca Valley has been treated as an exemplar of potential for TDI (Asensio, 2009; Merlay & Enjalbert, 2013; Uribe et al., 2012) and it has been used as a field work destination (described as a ‘territorial laboratory’) for students in a postgraduate diploma programme in TDI (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2014). Given that many identity-based development initiatives have involved farming and food, I argue that the Colca is also an appropriate locus for studying provenance-based agro-food networks in the Andes, complementing research which to date has primarily focused on potato diversity in the Cuzco region and quinoa in the altiplano of southern Bolivia.

The approach taken to the case studies aims to combine the strengths of the growing research on agro-food networks (AFNs) and the tradition of ethnographic community

studies in Latin America. To date, most AFN research has either been located in the Global North or involved products consumed there. In the North, a body of research reflects on alternative or local AFNs as “templates for the reconfiguration of capitalist society along more ecologically sustainable and socially progressive lines” (Goodman et al., 2012, p.3) As well as documenting the evolution of different networks, this research has also debated how and by whom the ‘local’ and the ‘alternative’ have been socially constructed (Goodman et al., 2012; Hinrichs, 2003; Tregear, 2011; Winter, 2003).

In the South, most AFN research has focused on fair trade and organic export networks, with particular attention to coffee. It incorporates a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches, including critical reflections on power relations in value chains and governance networks (see Bidwell et al., 2015; 2018a; Howson, 2018, p.47-79 for overviews). One limitation is the focus on globally traded commodities, which are a livelihood source for only a small minority of farmers in the South. Further, debates centring on specific product certifications or networks give most attention to collectively organised farmers that participate in these networks, largely overlooking the experiences of others living in the same places (Neilson & Pritchard, 2010). Even for participants, the priority given to evaluating certification schemes can reduce other aspects of their livelihoods to ‘contextual’ factors.

A smaller body of research on locality foods in the South has focused on the development of geographical indications (GIs), again linked to Northern-centric debates about GIs as intellectual property and mainly covering globally-traded products such as coffee and tequila (Bowen, 2010, Giovannucci et al., 2009; Belletti et al., 2015; Larson, 2007; Vandecandelaere et al., 2010). Studies of more locally focused networks have largely occurred within institutional or project contexts and lack the critical analysis of the equivalent Northern literature (Boucher & Reyes-Gonzalez, 2013; Ordinola et al., 2018; Requier-Jardins et al., 2003).

Meanwhile, research that does make place and livelihoods in Latin America its starting point often falls within the so-called community studies tradition (see Ferreira & Isbell, 2016 for an overview). Within this tradition, which has fallen somewhat out of fashion in recent years, an overriding concern is with evaluating continuity and change in the face of market capitalism. This can risk focusing too exclusively on processes within local communities and neglecting the wider networks and processes which they connect to.

Thus, while more recent work notes that *campesinos* engage with ‘non-traditional’ agro-food networks, there is limited analysis of the opportunities and risks of these networks (see, eg, Isakson, 2009).

By examining different markets and networks from a perspective anchored in place and livelihoods, the case studies aim to combine the critical perspectives of Northern AFN studies, the outcomes-focused analysis of fair trade/organic research, and the detailed ethnographic approach of community studies (see Kerksen, 2015; Ofstehage, 2012; Turner, 2016 for some recent comparable examples, all set in Bolivia). In sum, it aims to balance a critical ‘top-down’ evaluation of processes and outcomes with a ‘bottom-up’, ethnographically informed approach that explores alternative views on what good outcomes look like for people and places.

1.2.3 Addressing the overall question: A methodological dialectic

The discourse genealogy and case studies are placed in sequential order, but the principles that inform them interact throughout the thesis, thus balancing and combining the strengths of each approach. A weakness of discourse analysis can be its abstraction from the concrete circumstances of livelihoods. For example, critiques of the neoliberal governmentality of development interventions or the continued coloniality of the Peruvian gastronomy discourse make incisive points, but they do not necessarily capture how new visibilities and values of food affect local families, nor why people might actively seek to participate in development initiatives.

On the other hand, outcomes-focused research – especially when commissioned as part of development projects – can be insufficiently critical about the terms of its evaluation. It can treat collective organisation, quality improvement and competitive entry to markets as unalloyed goods, without considering alternative perspectives on these achievements, nor how they can shape and restrict options for building places and livelihoods.

In this thesis, the discourse genealogy focuses on exploring the changing representations of people and places in the Andes, but it also keeps in view the political and material implications of these changing representations. The case studies focus on the concrete impacts of initiatives to revalue local agro-food heritage, but they also consider how discourse has shaped the rationale for these initiatives and the responses to them. This prepares the ground for addressing the overall question. The final discussion reflects on what new connections between place, food and development mean in the rural Peruvian

Andes, not only in terms of the material impacts of development projects, but in terms of what they mean for imagining and building places to live.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is broadly divided into four parts. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 provides a detailed discussion of the research methodology. Chapters 3 to 6 address the first sub question through a discourse genealogy of TDI and LAFH in Latin America. Chapters 7 to 9 address the second sub question through local case studies in Cabanaconde and Tuti. Finally, Chapters 10 and 11 draw together the findings in an overall discussion and final reflections.

Chapter 2 starts with some background on my personal journey leading to the research. This is followed by discussion of the epistemology which informs the research, more detailed discussion of the methodological frameworks, and a summary of the methods used to collect and analyse data. The final section returns to questions of positionality and ethical issues raised by the research.

The next four chapters undertake a discourse genealogy. Chapter 3 introduces the ‘problem’ of rural development in Andean Latin America. Covering the period up to the 1980s, it gives a historical overview of the material and discursive processes through which the rural Andes has been constructed as a space of difference and marginalisation.

Chapter 4 begins to explore how these representations have changed. Following an overview of cultural and economic transformations in the Global North, it looks at how visibilities and values of place, culture and environment were incorporated in Latin American development discourse from the 1980s on, and it reflects on how these how emerging discourses relate to the broad project of neoliberalism.

Chapter 5 provides an overview of four global discourses of food provenance: ethical consumption, local agro-food systems, agroecology, and food sovereignty. It looks at how these have interacted with representations of Andean spaces as reservoirs of biocultural diversity, and Peru’s gastronomic ‘boom’, to construct the broad discourse of *patrimonio agroalimentario* (agro-food heritage).

Chapter 6 connects the themes discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. It first documents the synergistic interactions between rural development and agro-food discourses in Latin America from the early 2000s. Reflecting on the tensions within these discourses, it

argues that a truly critical exploration needs to examine the claims they make, on their own terms. To enable this, the chapter distils these claims into a model which I term the *virtuous circle of products with identity*.

The following three chapters are dedicated to the case studies of Cabanaconde and Tuti. Chapter 7 introduces the localities within the wider context of the Colca Valley and the Arequipa region. It provides a historical overview of social and economic changes, including the intensifying development interventions in the area since the later 20th century. It explores the ways residents of the case study localities construct their livelihoods across places and over time, and the way farming practices fit into these livelihood trajectories.

Chapter 8 provides an overview of initiatives to revalue local agro-food heritage in Cabanaconde and Tuti. Taking a narrative approach that builds on the unique histories and characteristics of each locality, this chapter explores how and why the initiatives began, their achievements, and the challenges they faced.

Chapter 9 takes a detailed look at the impacts of the initiatives in case study localities. The first half of the chapter evaluates the outcomes of these initiatives using the *virtuous circle of products with identity* framework elaborated in Chapter 6, while the second half reflects on the extent to which the initiatives have been relevant to the livelihood priorities and values of local populations.

Chapter 10 discusses and brings together the thesis findings. First, it draws on the case study findings to reflect on the general issues faced by initiatives to revalorise local agro-food heritage in the rural Andes. The chapter then returns to the overall question. It suggests that in the Andes initiatives to revalue local agro-food heritage might be understood in terms of supporting *diverse territorial economies*. This refers to locally negotiated combinations of market and non-market value systems through which local populations pursue their aspirations while retaining what they value about place, farming and food.

Chapter 11 is the concluding chapter. Following some final reflections on the contributions the thesis makes to theoretical debates, it notes some limitations of the research and identifies possible areas for further research which could build on the insights of this thesis.

Chapter 2 A methodological journey in the Andes

One early morning in May 2004, I arrived by bus in the village of Cabanaconde with a local guide and couple of other backpackers to start a two-day trekking circuit through the Colca Canyon. We walked out of the village towards the canyon trail, passing tidy terraced fields partitioned by irrigation ditches, as cows and donkeys grazed on the stubble of recently harvested corn. The sloping terraces gradually unfolded into a dramatic, 1,000-metre drop into the canyon, beyond which a range of mountains rose jaggedly into the fresh blue sky.

For the first part of the walk we were accompanied by two women dressed traditionally in colourful embroidered hats, blouses and skirts, riding donkeys with empty pannier baskets. They told us they were returning to Tapay, on the other side of the canyon, having come to Cabanaconde to sell and barter the fruits they grew in the warmer canyon climate.

I was thrilled by the landscape's beauty and the way place and people mapped to my pre-existing imaginary of the authentically *Andean*. After travelling north from Chile and spending a few days in the bustling city of Arequipa, I felt I had arrived in the 'real Peru'. In interactions during the next few days I found that people were friendly, outgoing, and moved easily between traditional agriculture and modern commerce and tourism.

At the same time, I thought, there was poverty here. Housing was basic, hot water rare, and the internet conspicuous by its absence. Despite its beauty and charms, life in the Colca would be hard, and development welcome. My reflections in a travel journal elaborated this train of thought:

People here have been able to preserve their customs and traditional knowledge without going through the alienating experience of industrial modernity. Now, this cultural authenticity is valued, especially by foreign tourists like me. People should be able to take advantage of this by developing alternative tourism and selling food and craft products in niche markets. They could get the 'best of both worlds' by retaining their own way of doing things and also profiting from it.

In some ways, I had spontaneously reproduced the discourse of territorial development with identity, even while it was (unknown to me) being formally worked out by academic researchers and development policy makers. It also seems I had so thoroughly absorbed

the neoliberalism of my New Zealand 1980s and 1990s youth that one of my first responses to a place was to consider how it could be marketed.

Over the years I developed an ongoing connection to the Arequipa region of Peru, and this led me to study the topic of tourism in the Colca Valley for my master's thesis in development studies, which I completed in 2010. Looking back, I primarily wanted to explore questions about the connections between place, identity and development stimulated by those initial impressions.

During my field work in Cabanaconde, my attention was drawn to traditional agricultural practices and the strong association between *maíz cabanita* and local identity. While discussing their views on tourism, people would sometimes volunteer to describe their 'local customs'. This generally involved a recital of the different stages of the maize cultivation cycle: from fallowing, to irrigating, to sowing, to harvest, and *de vuelta*, to start over again. Within this was nested a recital of place names marking the cyclical flow of activities and irrigation water around the different sectors of the countryside at each stage of the cultivation process. Curious, I made a few visits to the *chacra* with local acquaintances to see what I could learn.

In 2012, I returned to Peru with the idea of exploring possible topics for doctoral research. During this year I spent sustained time in Cabanaconde and participated in the major stages of the maize cultivation cycle. Given the perennial shortage of labour, people were happy to have some extra help with repairing terraces, leading the oxen or carrying provisions. Following up some findings of my tourism research, I started a tentative process to look at how agro-tourism could help generate additional income while preserving traditional agricultural knowledge and methods.

At a book fair in Arequipa, I came across an edited book presenting the concept of *desarrollo territorial rural con identidad cultural*, including a case study of the Colca Valley (Asensio, 2009). Here I found the theoretical and conceptual frameworks I had been looking for. The unique natural and cultural resources of historically marginalised rural areas, it was argued, could become an 'engine of development' that would address poverty and inequality while retaining what was special about these places. These ideas, I found, had become embedded in the discourse of a range of institutions within and beyond Peru.

Meanwhile, there had been an explosion of interest in the provenance and meanings of food. In New Zealand, supermarket shelves boasted an increasing number of products evoking small scale, ecological production, marking a collective yearning for food that was ‘healthy’, and authentic. In Peru, the ‘gastronomic boom’ was linked rhetorically to the diversity of ingredients and cultural richness of the Pacific, Andes and Amazon. Food was being lauded as a resource for economic development and a way to “forge solidarity from the shards of cultural difference” (Fan, 2013, p.39).

By this time, my perspective had become more critical. Why should such serendipitous connections between ‘untapped authenticity’ and development potential seed themselves so naturally not only in the writings of researchers and policy makers but also in the minds of naive tourists? How did this discourse relate to the discrimination, still virulent in Peru, against culture, language and appearance that betrayed origins in the rural Andes? I also wondered what consumer demand for ‘products with identity’ really offered for people in the rural sierra. If ever claims about the authenticity of food were founded, surely it was in places like Cabanaconde, where the connections between landscape, people and products had evolved over hundreds of years and were threaded through productive practices, cultural traditions and even the local vocabulary. Yet, it wasn’t clear how these connections were, or could be, valued in the world of specialist organic shops and product marketing narratives.

This brief autobiographical reflection frames what Huovinen (2013) calls the ‘methodological journey’, described in this chapter. It provides insight into my personal and cultural positionality, offering some transparency about my history of forming representations of the places and people I am studying, while also justifying the degree of empathy and insight I claim as their interpreter and storyteller. By revealing how my questions and research objectives unfolded, it helps make the connections between the details of place and the broader theoretical considerations of this thesis. Although working from context to theory is not necessarily standard academic practice, it is in tune with calls for call to ‘start from where you are’ (Gibson-Graham, 2006). This chapter thus aims to reflect the intimate relationship between the themes being studied and *how* they are studied.

The first section sets out the epistemological framework for the research, which combines critical realist and poststructuralist tendencies. The second section sets out the

major methodological and conceptual frameworks used to address the research objectives. The first subsection describes the genealogical methodology used to analyse discourses of TDI and LAFH, while the second outlines the case study methodology used to explore concrete claims about the links between place, food and development. This includes an explanation of the choice of case study localities and the conceptual frameworks embedded in the case studies.

This leads on to the third section, which describes the multiple methods used to collect and analyse data during two periods of field work in Peru, focusing particularly on the methods used to obtain the perspectives of local populations. The fourth section reflects on issues of ethics and positionality. Here I incorporate feminist and postcolonial perspectives to reflect further on my relationship as a researcher to the people and places being studied.

Figure 2.1 The author helping with the maize harvest in Cabanaconde, 2012

Source: author.

2.1 Epistemology

This thesis is informed by an epistemological stance, which, following Schwandt (2003), I term ‘moderate’ social constructionism. A moderate position acknowledges that knowledge is socially constructed but allows for constructive communication and debate across disciplinary and cultural boundaries. My interpretation of this stance incorporates complementary aspects of both critical realist and poststructuralist approaches to geographical research.

Critical realism sees knowledge as *produced* by an epistemic community’s conceptual structures, which are in turn shaped by a range of societal preoccupations and biases; while this knowledge production process is impinged upon and *limited* in important ways by ‘reality’. Knowledge is thus generated through an ongoing, dialectical process. Within geography, this approach is perhaps best exemplified by Sayer (2000, 2006). Sayer acknowledges the socially constructed, power-laden nature of theories, concepts and categories, but argues that “the obdurate nature of the world, its failure to do everything we imagine or want it to do, suggests we can at least sometimes sort out better or more adequate/true ideas about it from less adequate/true ones” (2006, p.105). While generally sympathetic to this approach, I argue that it risks complacency towards the assumptions and values embedded in the ‘more adequate’ theories, especially in power-laden context such as development geography. I therefore incorporate a poststructuralist perspective to maintain a sceptical vigilance towards these assumptions and values.

Poststructuralism is sometimes perceived as relativist, anti-empiricist or even nihilist. However, as Harrison (2006) argues, it can be read as a sincere engagement with the Enlightenment dictum to question received wisdom. For Harrison, poststructuralism involves a “continual questioning of...the geohistorical constitution of ideas, concepts and values which underpin even the most apparently unquestionable and normal of attitudes and assumptions” (2006, p.125). In this research, not only such overtly political categories such as Andean, indigenous, peasant/*campesino*, poverty and development, but also apparently more neutral concepts such as livelihood, rural, local, community and household, are laden with assumptions, generalisations and normative agendas. A poststructuralist stance does not necessarily imply rejecting or stepping outside these theories and concepts but rather maintaining awareness of their historical construction, their political content and the possibility of other ways of interpreting and ordering the world.

Despite their different emphases, critical realism and poststructuralism are not inconsistent at a philosophical level, with a strong shared opposition to both positivism and idealism (see Laclau and Bhaskar, 1998). Where some tension emerges is with regard to how much can be confidently stated about the real. Within social science, the ‘critical’ in critical realism can be read in two ways. First, as an agenda to uncover deeper structures and causal patterns beneath empirical data – particularly structures of power – which may be positively identified as *real*. Second, as a commitment to be reflexively critical towards conceptual frameworks, a stance which is more aligned with poststructuralism. It is this second interpretation that I favour in the thesis. In some places I do give prominence to theoretical accounts that focus on power structures. However, I do not assign privileged epistemological status to these accounts, but rather present them as discourses, albeit ones that I find convincing.

Within this thesis, a moderate social constructionist epistemology means maintaining the respective emphases of critical realism and poststructuralism in creative tension. The poststructuralist influence drives attention to how socially constructed knowledge and values have not only shaped places and livelihoods but also the ways they are interpreted and represented. The realist influence is evident in the commitment to measuring up the claims of discourses about place, food and development against the concrete details of places and livelihoods. This aligns with what Schwandt calls a “modest empiricism”, in which experiential and observational data are the “least easily dismissed bases of hypothesis and theory validation” (2003, p.199) – although they are of course always filtered through conceptual interpretation. This epistemological stance does not necessarily imply settling on ‘more adequate’ interpretations, but it does suggest that meaningful debate about adequacy is possible, even across epistemic communities with quite different sets of values and assumptions.

2.2 Methodological frameworks

In this section, I elaborate further on the dual methodological frameworks of discourse genealogy and local case studies which play complementary roles in the thesis. These discussions also frame the different theoretical lenses used in the thesis. Rather than dedicating a specific chapter to theories about territory, identity, development and food in Andean Latin America, I leave these theories to be encountered (and explained) within their historical context, as part of the discourse genealogy. The theories are then re-

encountered within the case studies, which explore their fit with ethnographic and local-historical detail.

2.2.1 Discourse genealogy: Tracing the evolution of representation

As a method, discourse genealogy begins with “a certain puzzlement or discomfiture about practices or institutions that others take for granted” (Garland, 2014, p.379). In this thesis, I take such a stance of puzzlement towards the representation of Andean rural communities as possessing marketable authenticity that is linked to their historical marginalisation. I also argue that explanation is required for the striking shifts in how this difference has been represented within development discourse.

This ‘deconstruction’ of contemporary discourse is only the first step. A genealogy has to tell a story about *how* particular ways of thinking about the world emerged. In addition to analysing changes in discourse, it needs to explore the *conditions of possibility* for these changes, by showing the two-way relationship between discourse and the social, political-economic and institutional context (McHoul & Grace, 1993; Hook, 2005).

There is considerably more discussion about the philosophical and conceptual foundations for genealogy than about exactly how to undertake it (Hook, 2005). Foucault himself has relatively little to say in this sense, apart from recommending a “vast accumulation of source material” as part of a “grey, meticulous and patiently documentary process” (Foucault, 1977, p.139-140). However, in the absence of standard procedures, it is possible to learn from other researchers who have adopted and adapted a genealogical approach. In this thesis, I draw particularly on Escobar’s (1995) account of the rise of *the development discourse* and Dryzek’s (2005) analysis of the evolution of different environmental discourses. Both these authors treat Foucault as a point of reference while differing in other aspects of their approach.

Escobar presents development discourse as a *regime of representation* which establishes ‘client categories’ – places and groups of people that are deemed to require development. For the most part, he portrays development discourse as systematic and hegemonic, directing his critique at the “specific constructions of the colonial / Third World subject in/through discourse in ways that allow the exercise of power over it” (1995, p.11). I draw on Escobar particularly to reflect on links between knowledge and power in discourses about the Andes.

By contrast, Dryzek (2005) takes a more pluralistic approach to exploring the ways environmental problems have been conceptualised since the later 20th century. He presents discourse as “as a set of categories and concepts embodying specific assumptions, judgements, contentions, dispositions and capabilities” (Dryzek & Niemeyer, 2008, p.481-482). Dryzek offers a framework for delineating discourses which I use to analyse different ways of thinking about place, food and development, and how they interact and cross-fertilise. The framework has the following four categories:

- *Basic ontology* – the entities recognised as existing and relevant within a discourse.
- *Agents and their motivations* – the entities which are ascribed or denied agency, and the motives ascribed or denied to these agents.
- *Assumptions about natural relationships* – discourses usually contain an account of natural relationships between agents and others (eg, competition is seen as natural in economistic discourses, while feminism recognises the possibility of cooperation within pervasive patriarchal structures).
- *Metaphors and rhetorical devices* – these carry representational and affective weight; for example, ‘spaceship earth’ is used as a metaphor within environmental discourses.

To trace discursive change, a genealogy may rely to a significant degree on secondary literature – indeed, it is sometimes described as an (unconventional) form of historiography (Garland, 2014). To explore the construction of the Andes as a space of difference and marginalisation, a process that dates back to the 16th-Century Spanish Conquest, I rely primarily on literature drawn from Andean history, anthropology and politics. For the post-1980s period, I combine review of recent academic debates in rural development and agro-food geographies with analysis of ‘primary’ materials such as laws and policies, project proposals and reports, web pages and advertising, as well as from research interviews and personal observations in Peru.

I use this selective combination of secondary and primary materials to build a narrative tracing how ways of framing connections between place, food and development have come about and the effects they induce or make possible. To cite one thread, I draw lines of connection between the 1983-1987 United Nations Brundtland Commission on Sustainable Development, the first use of the term ‘biodiversity’ in 1986, the repatriation

of potato germplasm from the International Potato Center to Andean communities in Cuzco's Potato Park in 2004, and RIMISP's use of *patrimonio biocultural* (biocultural heritage) as a central concept in its multinational diploma programme in territorial development with identity from 2011.

To bridge the discourse genealogy and the case studies, I turn from looking at how discourse has emerged and what it *does*, to taking seriously what it *claims*. This involves treating the content of TDI and LAFH at face value, as theory to be evaluated. Such a step is often implicit within critical work focusing on discourse: for example, Escobar's (1995) elaboration of the way development has been constituted as a regime of knowledge/power also criticises its 'disastrous' failure to live up to its promises (see also Sachs, 1992).

In the thesis, I take this step explicitly and transparently. Having explored how different development and agro-food agendas come together in TDI and LAFH, I distil the factual claims, aspirations and concerns from these agendas and synthesize them into a model, which I term the *virtuous circle of products with identity*. This sets out the specific outcomes, and the relationships between them, promised by a literal reading of TDI and LAFH. Applying this model to the case studies can be read as a form of hypothesis testing, but it also offers a way for concrete experiences to 'speak back' to the assumptions and logic of the discourses. This is one way in which the critical realist and poststructuralist tendencies within the thesis come into contact.

2.2.2 Local case studies: Anchoring research in place and livelihoods

Case studies take an intensive, historical approach to social processes, looking closely at how events develop over time. They usually use several sources of data to generate "detailed descriptions, interpretations and explanations that several categories of participants...attach to the social process [in question]" (Swanborn, 2010, p.22) Case studies are appropriate when a phenomenon cannot be easily separated from its context (Yin, 2003). This fits well with TDI and LAFH, whose shared emphasis on *place* links them closely to specific contexts.

Defining the number of cases, and their boundaries, is a key aspect of case study methodology (Harrison et al., 2017). The thesis presents case studies of two districts within the Colca Valley, Cabanaconde and Tuti, with populations of approximately 3,000 and 1,000, respectively. Focusing on the district/community level reflects arguments

developed throughout the thesis that this is a highly relevant scale for agro-food and cultural identities in the Peruvian Andes. Studying *two* cases strikes a balance between depth of engagement and comparative value. In theory, field work across a larger number of sites could produce a ‘thick description’ of the general process of revaluing Andean agro-food heritage. However, this risks producing an overly schematic treatment of each case, given that “while the analysis of the process itself might remain ‘thick’, discussions of the particular place-based manifestations of that process are necessarily thinner” (Bebbington, 2000, p.501).

On the other hand, doing just one case study risks “succumbing to the problem of exceptionalism, making difficult any effort to build theory” (Bebbington, 2000, p.501). Bebbington argues that this can be addressed through comparative analysis of case study material, either across a researcher’s own work or between researchers. My choice of two case studies lends itself to both types of comparison. Both cases have ‘outlier’ characteristics, allowing useful within-research comparison. Tuti has been held up by development agencies as an exemplar of ‘successful’ TDI, while Cabanaconde is seen as a disappointing case of squandering natural advantages. However, these apparent differences disguise a number of common challenges. Thus, my comparison of the two localities helps build a nuanced overall picture of the Colca Valley, which in turn may allow cross-researcher comparison with studies of other places.

While case studies aim to provide ‘thick description’ of social processes, they can also have *explanatory* and *evaluative* objectives (Harrison et al., 2017; Stake, 2006). In this thesis I draw on participant opinions, my own observations and other data sources to explain the trajectories of efforts to revalue local agro-food heritage in Cabanaconde and Tuti and to evaluate their outcomes. I do not *generalise* from these explanations, and indeed I place significant emphasis on the unique social and historical context of each locality. However, I do identify key factors related to production, social organisation and market interaction that have shaped the experiences and outcomes. I suggest that these factors are also likely to be influential where they are present in other places.

While place is the primary frame for the case studies, achieving the research objectives also requires considering the diversity of people who live in and make these places. Within the case studies, I therefore use an *ethnographically informed livelihoods*

framework as a complementary, people-centred approach which helps address the risk that a territorial lens will privilege majoritarian perspectives.

Livelihoods frameworks were developed in the 1980s and 1990s to provide people-centred perspectives on issues of poverty and sustainable development. They look beyond narrow questions of income or access to land to emphasise people's agency in using different assets (sometimes called 'capitals') to meet their needs and pursue their aspirations (Kay, 2006; Scoones, 1998, 2009; Steel & Zoomers, 2009). Bebbington (1999) extended the discussion of assets to include *capabilities*, which can be combined with assets for purposes that are *instrumental* (making a living), *hermeneutic* (making living meaningful) and *emancipatory* (challenging the conditions under which one makes a living).

Within the thesis, I use livelihoods in this broad, conceptual sense, rather than as a detailed schema for analysing the interactions of different 'capitals'. I also seek to assuage concerns that livelihoods approaches can apply an overly 'localist' lens, and that they can embed normative assumptions underpinned by 'neoliberal logic' (Scoones, 2009; see also Sakdapolrak, 2014). First, I use the concepts of *mobile* or *multi-local livelihood strategies* (Olwig & Sorensen, 2003; Steel & Zoomers, 2009; Steel, 2011; Zoomers & van Westen, 2011) and *livelihood pathways* or *trajectories* (de Haan and Zoomers, 2005) to acknowledge the importance of movement across place and time to livelihoods in the rural Andes. These concepts highlight the ways people combine activities across multiple localities and move between places in iterative or cyclical ways that are not well captured by traditional categories of 'migration'.

Second, I address concerns about normative assumptions by what Bebbington (2000) terms 'ethnographically informing' the livelihoods framework, thereby allowing consideration of people's actual "hopes and fears, norms and values" (Sakdapolrak, 2014, p.20). While ethnography as a methodology normally aims for a holistic understanding of a particular [sub]culture, ethnographic methods can be incorporated into other research approaches (Punch, 2014; Wolcott, 2008). Key elements include some degree of immersion in the context and social activities of the place or group being studied; the use of a wide variety of methods, evidence or data; and an open-ended, emergent, interpretive and reflexive approach to research in which learning is fed back into ongoing enquiry (Wolcott, 2008).

The research incorporates an ethnographic perspective in several ways. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, it is based on a platform of context immersion undertaken intermittently over several years which provided me some insight into the enjoyments and challenges of life in the rural Andes. These insights helped inform my approach to interviews, in which I encouraged local participants to offer narrative accounts that explored their experiences, values and priorities. Observation of social interactions helped understand motives and meanings within and outside the context of development projects. Finally, the detailed quantitative/qualitative data I gathered on land access and use, cultivation cycles and production costs offer insights into the ecological and economic processes within which people seek to make a living. I elaborate further on these points in the following sections on methods.

2.3 Research methods

This section provides an overview of the diverse methods used to collect data during field work in Peru. The methods described here contributed to both the discourse genealogy and the case studies. However, given that the discourse genealogy drew significantly on published and online material that could be obtained from anywhere within the ‘extended field’ (Crang & Cook, 2007), the local case studies were understandably the primary focus for data gathering in Peru. I collected most data during eight and a half months in Peru from November 2015 – August 2016 and a further six weeks during October-December 2017. My time was divided between the capital city of Lima (which I refer to as the national level), the regional capital of Arequipa, the provincial capital of Chivay (both classed as regional level), and the case study localities of Cabanaconde and Tuti (local level). Key data collection methods included:

- Semi-structured interviews at national, regional and local levels.
- Observation and informal interactions, mainly at a local level.
- Collection of secondary, statistical and archival sources.

2.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were a primary data gathering method for this research. For studies of social processes, interviews are an essential tool to obtain rich historical data from a broad range of participants (Simons, 2012). They serve as a way to “get to grips with the contexts and contents of...people’s social, cultural, political and economic lives” (Crang & Cook, 2007, p.60), offering a source of ‘factual’ information, and a way for people to report their interpretations, opinions and experiences.

With all classes of participants, I used a checklist of questions to guide interviews but allowed the interviewee's interests and preferences to shape the order and detail with which questions were addressed. This struck a balance between what Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) call 'mining' – the extraction of predetermined information – and 'travelling' – in which the interviewer is guided by the story the interviewee wants to tell.

All interviews and other interactions were undertaken in Spanish. This is my second language but one that I am fluent and comfortable in. It was the first language of all the national-level participants, all the representatives of regional institutions, and most local participants younger than 45 years old. The majority of local participants in Cabanaconde and Tuti were bilingual in Spanish and Quechua, and for some of the older participants, Quechua was their first language, though all were able to communicate effectively in Spanish. However, in both localities Quechua had a strong presence, especially in rural spaces such as the *chacra*, where people often took the opportunity to teach me words and phrases and/or test my (very limited) knowledge of Quechua. Given the significance people gave to the language, more knowledge of Quechua might have helped achieve a deeper engagement, especially with older participants in Tuti.

All translations in the thesis – whether from secondary literature or direct citation – are my own. I do not follow the custom of placing original citations in footnotes or alongside translations. This would significantly inflate the word count, while I argue that focusing on linguistic translation overlooks the many other ways the author 'translates' for the reader (Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Dawson et al., 1997), including through choices about who to talk to, what to ask, which themes to emphasise, and which [portions of] quotations to present. However, I do use original Spanish or Quechua words or phrases where these offer layers of meaning not fully captured by the translation (these are also included in the Glossary).

Most interviews were recorded on a digital voice recorder. In all cases, I obtained consent prior to beginning the recording. With many interviews, I took some notes during the interview and/or wrote additional notes afterwards reflecting on the content of the interview and things we had discussed before or after the recording. I also had ongoing interactions with several participants where I asked further questions or clarified information.

Notes on these interactions formed part of two notebooks of field notes, where I also took notes from meetings and other events where I was present, made general observations on daily life and social interactions, and reflected on some of the numerous brief conversations and interactions I had with people who were not formal research participants. These enriched and helped corroborate information from interviews: for example, the fact in Tuti people spontaneously talked about the dry law and the importance of organic production helped show their importance of these topics to community identity. As Crang and Cook (2007) note, these kind of ongoing interactions can blur the ground between interviews and participant observation; as Palomino-Schalscha (2011) points out, they can raise ethical issues about the extent to which information that people share personally can be treated as research data. However, ethical considerations are relevant to everything people share, including in recorded interviews they have explicitly consented to.

2.3.1.1 National-level interviews

At national level, I sought to engage with key individuals or representatives of institutions involved in interpreting, producing and disseminating discourse related to place, development and food. I interviewed a total of 16 contacts within the following broad categories:

- Individuals and institutions that had contributed to constructing, interpreting, and/or disseminating concepts associated with the TDI discourse in Peru.
- Representatives of agro-food networks and movements, including organics / agroecology, origin-based products, food sovereignty, and gastronomy / food heritage.
- Representatives of State agencies in agriculture, rural development, trade and tourism, and intellectual property.

Most ‘national’ participants were based in Lima, although in some cases individuals based in Arequipa provided a national-level perspective. In some cases, I organised the interview by email, while in others I was able to organise an interview by visiting the institution’s physical address. Most interviews lasted between 45 and 60 minutes. Each interview was tailored to the participant, based on what I knew about them and their institution’s objectives and activities.

These interviews provided useful insights that complemented published material. However, as the research developed, space for a detailed focus on institutional processes within Peru diminished relative to the broad historical sweep of the discourse genealogy and the local focus of the case studies. Ultimately, it has not been possible to use much of this material within the thesis.

2.3.1.2 Regional key contact interviews

At a regional level (meaning the region of Arequipa and the province of Caylloma) I interviewed a total of 19 representatives of institutions connected to initiatives in the case study localities and/or involved in agriculture, food and development. These included the following broad categories:

- Institutions that I knew from background research had had a central role in the case study localities, such as the NGO Desco and the Sierra Sur programme.
- Actors historically important in the case study areas but no longer active there, such as the NGO ASDE and the COPASA project. I learned about the role of these actors through participant interviews and undertook detective work to track down and interview representatives.
- A wider network of public, private and civil society institutions relevant to development and agriculture in the Colca Valley, and to agro-food networks in the Arequipa region.

One purpose of the interviews was to explore the role that the respective institution had played in the case study localities, including the priorities sought from their intervention, and their evaluation of the outcomes. Another was to explore participant and institutional perspectives on the connections between farming, food and development in the regional context. Most interviews were between 45 and 60 minutes. Questions were based on a set of core themes but were tailored to each individual participant based on what I knew about them and the role of the institution they represented.

2.3.1.3 Local key contact interviews

Local ‘key contacts’ were defined as current or former political authorities in the case study localities, including representatives of the municipal government, irrigators commission, and Peasant Community; and current or former leaders of the respective producer associations in each locality. I interviewed a total of 18 key contacts (8 in Cabanaconde and 10 in Tuti). The purpose of the interviews was twofold:

- To gain a rich understanding of the locality, including social and economic histories and collective aspirations and challenges.
- To build up an ‘official’ version of the respective development initiatives and their achievements and challenges.

Most interviews were between 40 and 60 minutes. As with the national and regional contacts, the interview content was built from a core set of themes and adapted to each participant based on the specific roles and responsibilities of the organisation they represented.

2.3.1.4 Local population interviews

From the early stages of research design, I identified the need to engage with a broad cross-section of the local population in the case study localities, to explore in more detail how people had interpreted and experienced processes to revalue agro-food heritage. The primary themes I aimed to discuss with local participants were:

- How they constructed their livelihoods, including the meanings and motivations that informed their work and other activities.
- How people interpreted and valued relationships between place, farming and food.
- Opinions about the achievements and challenges of the local development initiatives, whether they had participated in these initiatives, and any impacts they had experienced.

I decided to use semi-structured interviews as the primary method, undertaking 20 local population interviews in each locality (40 in total). Interviews combined exploratory, open-ended questions with more structured requests for information. This approach differs from some livelihoods studies that use separate qualitative interview and survey-based methods (eg, Murray, 2001). It was influenced by time and resource considerations but also had some advantages. First, it meant that ‘quantitative’ data such as land access and use could be explained and contextualised by participants and the resulting information is therefore considerably richer than if it had been forced into pre-established survey categories. Second, experiences, opinions and meanings were captured for a relatively large and diverse group of people. A disadvantage is that the quantitative data was not captured at a large enough scale to be considered representative of either locality, although this is partly addressed by other data sources.

I aimed to engage with a broad cross section of the local population. My specific criteria included:

- A gender balance, with approximately half female and half male participants.
- A broad age range.
- A mix of relatively ‘wealthier’ and ‘poorer’ people (in terms of assets, income, social status and education).
- Participants not born in the community (inward migrants) roughly in proportion to Census data.
- Approximately half the interviewees to have been participants in the local associations associated with agro-food development initiatives.
- Only one interviewee per (nuclear) family.

To recruit participants, I combined convenience, snowball and purposive methods. In both places I received important support from a local key contact who helped me identify participants and/or introduced me to them. In Cabanaconde, existing acquaintances accounted for the first five or six interviews. A key local contact helped me identify the next seven or eight. I purposively sought out the remaining participants to achieve the desired participant mix, primarily to ensure a sufficient number who had been active in the maize producers association (ASPOMAC). Approximately half the interviews occurred in or near the key contact’s stationery supplies store, near Cabanaconde’s main plaza, with interviews conducted in a way that maintained confidentiality. Most of the other interviews took place in the participant’s home or place of business.

In Tuti, my key local contacts helped me identify and approach other local participants. I also recruited a few contacts through spontaneous engagement at Agro Eco Tuti meetings, in the village plaza, or while out walking in the fields. About two thirds of the interviews took place at the participant’s home or place of work and the remainder over a cup of tea at my host family’s place.

As Tables 2.1 and 2.2 show, in Tuti I completed 20 interviews (11 men and 9 women) while in Cabanaconde I undertook 20 interviews with 21 participants (12 women and 9 men). Overall, I achieved the desired gender balance and age range and was able to include participants from diverse backgrounds, including migrant, landless and younger participants.

Table 2.1 Participant demographics

	Cabanaconde		Tuti	
	M	F	M	F
20-29	2	1		1
30-39	2	4	1	4
40-49	1	1	4	1
50-59	2	1	2	
>60	2	5	4	3
Total	9	12	11	9

Source: participant interviews, December 2015-July 2016.

Table 2.2 Origin of participants

	Born in district, both parents from district	Born outside district, parents from district	Born in district, at least one parent from outside district	Inward migrant as child	Inward migrant as adult
Cabanaconde	11	1	3	2	2
Tuti	17		1		2

Source: participant interviews, December 2015-July 2016.

Given variable levels of understanding, I did not always use the same terminology with local participants (such as ‘territorial development with identity’) that I used with institutional participants when describing my research. I usually explained to local participants that I was interested in their livelihoods and experiences of farming, as well as their views on the development initiatives that had occurred locally.

Early on, it became clear that participants were most concerned about issues related to the delayed rains and hot weather that were putting their crops under stress, and (particularly in Cabanaconde) the crop diseases that threatened their harvests. I had not anticipated the weight of these issues in my initial question schedule but had focused on collective action to engage with alternative markets as a means to obtaining better prices (i.e. questions related to ‘products with identity’). Although I had to rework my questions to acknowledge these concerns, this revised approach was still able to address the research themes. Issues of climate change, water availability, and responding to crop diseases became the entry point to discussions of the meaning of ‘organic’ production, the links between place and product typicity, and the ability to act collectively to address challenges.

The shortest interview was only 15 minutes and the longest one over 2 hours, but most took between 30 and 60 minutes. Previous context immersion helped me interpret, or

deploy myself, vocabulary related to specific aspects of local geography and productive or cultural practices. A key challenge was being respectful of participants' time and commitments to farm work, domestic tasks and child care. Most people were willing to share details of their lives, livelihoods and opinions. In both localities I found that men of all backgrounds, and women who had higher social status or had held positions of authority, were happier to talk at length and give their opinions freely; while some women with less confidence in their social standing were more reticent and gave shorter, more guarded answers to opinion-based questions. The relatively superficial engagement with intersections of class and gender is an acknowledged limitation of the thesis.

2.3.2 Non-participant observation

Within case studies, observation can play an important role by capturing the spontaneous expression of social processes, relationships, and values. This can corroborate, complement and/or challenge information gathered through other methods such as interviews (Maxwell, 2012). As Morgan et al. (2017) note, “observing people in their natural environment not only avoids problems inherent in self-reported accounts...but can also reveal insights not accessible from other data collection methods, such as structures, processes, and behaviours the interviewed participants may well be unaware of themselves” (2017, p.1060).

Observation at meetings and events at the regional and local scale proved very useful in this sense. I attended a number of meetings or events with the permission of organisers. These included:

- Five meetings of the Agro Eco Tuti association.
- Two meetings of the ASPROGATU livestock association in Tuti.
- A meeting related to rural community tourism in Chivay attended by representatives from Tuti and Cabanaconde.
- Tuti's 2016 anniversary celebrations.
- The *cabildo abierto* (annual public community meeting) in Tuti.
- A participatory budget meeting in Cabanaconde.
- A meeting of the regional organic production council (COREPO) and an initial meeting to plan the national ecological agriculture summit (ENAE) for 2016, both in Arequipa.

Being present at the community association meetings allowed me to observe the real-time unfolding of decision-making, responses to crises such as the pending loss of organic certification in Tuti (discussed in Chapter 8), and arguments about objectives and priorities. I was also able to observe subtler details such as the interactions and implicit power relationships between representatives of development institutions, the association leadership group and association members. The other events also generated useful research material. For example, the speeches given by local mayors at Tuti's anniversary celebrations provided insight into the public construction and manifestation of local identity.

I also observed and photographed billboards or signs that remained from historical projects in the case study localities. In some cases, these provided the name of projects and their duration, funders, explicit purposes and exact budget, information which local contacts often remembered vaguely, if at all. I also took photographs to capture visual data such as terrain, land use, infrastructure, productive systems and techniques, and crop diseases.

2.3.3 Context immersion and participant observation

Participant observation is the method most closely associated with an ethnographic approach. It involves sustained immersion in a social context or activity, usually combined with regular, detailed writing that reflects on the context or activity (Kawulich, 2005; Punch, 2014; Wolcott, 2008). For the purposes of this research I refer primarily to context immersion rather than participant observation, which implies a formal research activity with ethical approval.

Context immersion contributed to this research in two senses. The first, looser sense is the time spent living and travelling in the Colca Valley and the wider Arequipa region where I spent some part of every year during 2009-2017. This helped me gain insight into what may be termed the general or urban aspects of life in the region. The more specific contribution to the themes of this research comes from the time I spent living in Cabanaconde and sharing agricultural work during 2012 and 2013, as described in the introduction to this chapter. This engagement with the world of the *chacra* contributed background knowledge about local productive and cultural practices, micro-geographies and vocabularies as well as building up relationships with local people. I wrote substantive notes on these experiences, some of which I collected in an account of maize cultivation in Cabanaconde. These experiences not only provided some direct

ethnographic insights but also helped me undertake more intelligent and empathetic interviews with local participants during this research project.

For the field work component of this research I had ethical approval to undertake participant observation, but my engagement with daily life in the case study localities was more limited than on previous visits. On most visits I stayed in each locality between three to five days at a time and my time was governed by the need to make progress with interviews. However, I was able to share a few activities with community members. In Tuti, I occasionally helped my hosts herd cows or dig for potatoes, and other times we collected *muña* (an aromatic herb) and *ayrampo* (an edible cactus) from the hillsides around the village. I spent one afternoon helping harvest broad beans and another morning helping clear an irrigation ditch. One morning I accompanied a worker from the cheese factory on his daily run to collect fresh milk from local farmers, and another afternoon I watched the cheese making process. In Cabanaconde, on one day I took part in a *faena* (community work party), spent one day helping to *deshojar* (de-ear) maize, and I also went to inspect diseased maize plants with a local participant.

During field work I also participated in, while reflecting on, local agro-food networks. In Arequipa I stayed with my in-laws (natives of Arequipa), and on most visits to the Colca Valley I brought back local products including cheese, native potatoes, quinoa and *muña* from Tuti and maize from Cabanaconde. This offered insights into the value urban consumers place on product origin and direct sourcing and the way in which relational ‘short-supply’ networks persist in parallel to mainstream distribution channels.

2.3.4 Mixed methods in markets and agro-food networks

To complement information gathered in the case study localities, I engaged with actors involved in buying, processing, selling, or otherwise using, agro-food products from the case study areas. The primary purpose was to verify or elaborate on information provided by local participants about their achievements and difficulties in marketing their products, the extent to which these products were differentiated in markets, and the way price differed across spaces and places. I was also interested in the general extent to which ecological or origin-related characteristics, or other markers of quality or differentiation, were signalled in different local, regional and national agro-food markets.

Data-gathering combined observation with interviews and conversations of varying formality. In Chivay and Arequipa I talked to intermediaries, market vendors, restaurant

proprietors, entrepreneurs and a supermarket owner-manager. I explained that I was undertaking research and sought permission to use the information they provided on their products and supply networks, which I captured in field notes. I visited the two branches of the single organic products store in Arequipa, and in Lima I visited approximately ten stores. I also attended several one-off or regular fairs or festivals with ecological, place-based or alternative themes:

- The *Festiorgánico* in Arequipa on 5 December 2015.
- The *FestiColca* in Arequipa on 22 April 2016.
- The Vegetarian and Vegan Festival in Arequipa on 2 July 2016.
- I made several visits to the weekly Verde Thani organic market in the suburb of Umacollo, Arequipa.
- The Mercado Saludable de La Molina weekly organic market in La Molina, Lima.
- The Mistura fair in Lima in November 2017.

In addition to information recorded in field notes, I also took photographs and collected leaflets and advertising material in these settings.

2.3.5 Secondary, statistical and archival sources

Secondary sources obtained during field work provided useful primary material for the discourse genealogy by giving insights into how discourses of TDI and LAFH have been elaborated and deployed in Peru. These include published literature, working papers, conference proceedings, project proposals and reports, course outlines, official documents and advertising material that interview participants either gave me directly, emailed me or explained where I could find online.

I used a range of statistical and secondary sources to obtain background information on the case study areas. A key resource was Census and other data available from the web site of the Peruvian National Statistics Institute (INEI). The provincial office of the Ministry of Agriculture in Chivay provided me with data on irrigated land area and number of registered water users at a sub-district level for the whole Colca Valley. Some regional institutions provided me with summaries, reports or explanatory material on their projects and interventions in the case study areas.

I was able to gain access to Tuti's municipal archives, hoping to find original copies of the bylaw[s] that established the local 'dry law' during the mid-1980s (see Chapter 8). I did not find this (municipal representatives said they had also made unsuccessful recent

searches) but did come upon a population and livestock Census carried out by the municipal government in 2009, as well as historical record books that provided insight into the local activities and the operation of the municipal government as far back as 1979. I also collected or photographed brochures and official letters distributed by the municipality or handed out at community meetings.

2.3.6 Data processing and analysis

I fully transcribed all recorded interviews and transcribed my field notes into electronic form, which produced a large volume of data. For data collation and analysis, I used the NVivo qualitative analysis software package, which allows text and other materials to be coded and categorised at multiple, nested levels of detail (Bazely & Jackson, 2015). Systematic coding acts as a bridge between ‘data’ and ‘findings’ and helps give confidence in the robustness of conclusions drawn from qualitative methods (Crang & Cook, 2007; Saldaña, 2015). I developed parallel coding structures within the same NVivo project, which helped organise the data in three primary forms:

- Thematically organised participant opinions and experiences. This allowed me to compare and contrast perspectives on the objectives, process, outcomes and meanings of development initiatives related to local agro-food heritage.
- Historical information on initiatives in the case study localities (who did what, when, with what results). This allowed me to triangulate between different sources to develop a chronology of events (Maxwell, 2012).
- Cross-sectional information on livelihoods in the case study localities. This involved collating local participant demographics, education and employment histories, and responses on set topics, such as the amount of land they had access to and the crops they cultivated. I organised this into tabular form, allowing it to be iteratively simplified and aggregated.

The large volume of data and the multiple objectives of the research meant that I had to take a more structured and ‘top-down’ approach than some discussions of qualitative data analysis recommend (eg, Saldaña, 2015), with codes largely applied based on my research objectives and pre-existing assumptions about what was important. As discussed in Section 2.3.1, these assumptions were partially modified during field work, and the coding process further modified the weight given to certain themes, while highlighting others whose importance I had largely overlooked during research design and field work,

such as issues related to gender. Although the volume of data was challenging, having a relatively large and diverse number of participants strengthened the validity of some key findings. For example, it allowed me to demonstrate clear differences between the two localities in attitudes to agroecological farming practices (discussed in Chapter 9).

Any analysis system is ultimately based on the researcher's judgement, which is influenced by their interests and positionality (Saldaña, 2015). This is further developed through the writing process, which involves interpreting, selecting, ordering and presenting information to construct an argument. Research findings are essentially a narrative which orders material to create a beginning, middle and end, highlighting some aspects while excluding others (Sandelowski, 1991). I consider that the narratives I develop in the thesis are well founded in the data and the findings are appropriately corroborated, with specific uncertainties signalled where relevant. Nevertheless, I acknowledge that other narratives could be generated from the same data – let alone from interactions with the same people at the same time – by different starting points and different choices about what to leave out or explore more deeply. I reflect on some of these possible 'other paths' in my final reflections on limitations and further research.

2.4 Ethical considerations

Field work for this research was undertaken with ethical approval from the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee (application no 0000022288, see Appendix I). However, undertaking responsible research is not just about formal procedures but involves ongoing consideration of how to relate ethically to research participants and their social context (Palomino Schalscha, 2011; Sullivan & Brockington, 2004). In this section I consider the way positionality shapes research; ethical conduct within research relationships; and broader questions about representation in development geography, including participant citation.

2.4.1 Positionality

The concept of positionality emerged from feminist analyses which, against the universalising pretensions of 'objective' science, argued that all knowledge is situated, shaped by its makers' personal identities, interests and social position (Harding, 1991; Haraway, 1991). Some feminist perspectives encourage researchers to reflect on how their positionality, including the relative power they hold, influences their research (England, 2006; Rose, 1997).

I undertook this research in a country where I was a visitor, and in the case study localities it involved engaging with people whose socioeconomic and educational backgrounds and life experiences were very different from my own. This position of difference and relative privilege was relevant to the practicalities of field work and it also colours the research findings. As a researcher of New Zealand origin and Anglo-Celtic ethnic background, I was identified in Peru as *gringo*. Overall, this facilitated my ability to engage with a diverse range of participants. Alongside the privileged status that people identified as European tend to be accorded in Peru's implicit sociocultural hierarchies, those from Northern / minority world countries are often assumed to have more disinterested motives than Peruvians. Being a fluent Spanish speaker and having reasonable (though far from flawless) understanding of cultural practices and protocols in Peru complemented this 'trusted outsider' status. Being male and of mature age (in my early 40s at the time of the research) may have helped me be taken seriously when negotiating settings such as universities, government agencies and other institutions.

In the case study localities, my identity as a *gringo* was, on balance, also an asset. Some literature reports suspicion or hostility towards 'white' outsiders in the rural Andes (see Weismantel, 2000), but in my experience the opposite has been true. People in the Colca Valley have become familiar with foreign visitors primarily in the context of tourism and development projects, interactions they have largely experienced as positive. Visiting the localities repeatedly and independently (over several years in the case of Cabanaconde) proved that I was not directly associated with an NGO or other development agency, which may have encouraged people to speak more openly about the initiatives I was researching. The general indulgence towards *gringos* was also a factor: several Peruvian friends suggested that a Peruvian researcher asking similar questions might have received more guarded responses. I cannot be sure this is true, but the openness people showed underlines the need to treat their contributions with respect.

My positionality as a *gringo* outsider was nevertheless also a limiting factor for the research. As the opening section of this chapter shows, prior to this research project I developed a degree of local knowledge and personal connections in the Arequipa region and one of the case study areas (Cabanaconde). Participating in activities such as work in the *chacras* provided helped develop a level of empathy and respect in the context of acknowledged social differences (see Sultana, 2007). However, some things which for me were 'research findings' were common knowledge for people of local origin. People may

have told me what they thought I wanted to hear or assumed a lack of understanding or empathy about some of their concerns and life experiences. As noted elsewhere, I did not engage in more than superficial ways with gender dimensions of the topic, which another researcher might have found very interesting to explore.

Further, no amount of engagement could change fundamental social differences, particularly my easy ability to enter or leave the 'scene'. In the Andean rural localities that I write about, I was at most an empathetic visitor, whereas for most local participants these were the places they had grown up and were making (at least part of) their lives, sometimes with little other choice. Regardless of how much further learning I undertook, or how sympathetically I listened, this is not something I could represent from 'within'.

Many other aspects of my personal, cultural, academic and geographic positionality will have influenced not only the interactions during field work but also research design, interpretation and writing. The opening of this chapter tries to lay bare some aspects of my (initial) ideological positionality in relation to the research topic, although this morphed and shifted many times prior to, during and after field research. As Rose (1997) points out, it is one thing to acknowledge the importance of positionality in shaping research and quite another to be able to account for this and 'write it in' to the research. This requires the "researcher-self" to be a "transparently knowable agent whose motivations can be fully known" (Rose, 1997, p.309) as well as having a thorough understanding of her position within complex fields of power, requirements which risk reproducing the 'god-trick' of claiming an objective viewpoint. Instead of trying to document these, it may be more appropriate to take a general stance of modesty and uncertainty towards the research findings. As far as possible, I acknowledge specific assumptions, uncertainties and fallibilities throughout the thesis, while noting that other readers are likely to be able to identify further and different biases, errors and absences.

2.4.2 Ethical conduct and the politics of representation

Ethical conduct is highly important in social research given the researcher's unique ability to write about (and therefore control representations of) other people. This implies a minimum requirement of avoiding harm to participants (Borofsky, 2015). I consider that neither the process of this research nor its publication has risked harming participants. It did not involve working with groups who are inherently vulnerable (such as children) or at risk of harm from others. It does represent some low-level conflicts or differences of opinion, but I have limited discussions to issues that participants assured me had already

been aired publicly and have avoided identifying specific persons when discussing these conflicts.

A more general ethical concern is the potentially neo-colonial and extractive nature of geographical research conducted by Westerners in marginalised areas of the global South (Robbins, 2006; Vanner, 2015). In settings characterised by long histories of domination and unequal exchange, researchers learn from the expertise and experiences of local participants, then process this ‘raw data’ into theses and articles which may give them significant economic and social benefits, while participants often do not gain anything from the encounter. Research subjects are not ignorant of this dynamic, as was made clear by a participant in one of my case study localities, who, when I knocked on her door and explained my interests, commented: *Ah, veo que has venido a llevar mi sabiduría* (Ah, I see you’ve come to extract my knowledge).

Robbins (2006) notes that one response to these concerns is to simply ‘stay home’, by confining research activity to one’s own milieu. However, others will not stay home, including business interests, governments, development agencies and less reflective researchers. People are being represented anyway, often as generalities such as rural communities, small producers, or ‘the poor’, and these representations continue to shape the environment they live in and the interventions they are subject to. The privileged personal position held by a researcher does not imply they will perpetuate dominant representations, and indeed, they may have a role in destabilising these representations. Starn (1994) noted that, despite the sincere intentions of most anthropologists, Andean anthropology was deeply embedded in neo-imperial power structures. Nevertheless, as later chapters discuss, the work of these researchers has since been put to use by local movements that have challenged dominant discourses and presented alternative visions of development.

Therefore, one way to mitigate the extractive dynamics of research is to share the results with participants in a way that may be relevant and useful to them. In my case study area of Cabanaconde, people seemed to value the previous research undertaken there. I believe that one reason is that this research contributed to knowledge and recognition of *local* history, geography, culture and ethnicity. People in the Andes commonly identify strongly with their place of origin, yet this is often erased by generalising representations (including ‘positive’ ones). When conducted respectfully, academic work that makes

visible the specificities of people and place may be valued, especially when it connects with and reinforces other forms of knowledge.

For Cabanaconde, I have developed a summary of the unique productive and cultural practices involved in the cultivation of *maíz cabanita*. For Tuti, during initial conversations with local authorities, I committed to producing a written history of the implementation of the ‘dry law’ and the transition to agroecological production (discussed in Chapter 8).¹ Such written accounts will not necessarily be useful to the direct participants but may be to migrants and subsequent generations who have greater engagement with written academic material. For example, in 2013 I worked with Arequipa’s San Agustín public university to undertake a large-scale survey of tourism demand to the Colca Valley, which I shared with local contacts and regional institutions. Some institutions have drawn on this work in their planning, while it has also been frequently accessed by students at the university, many of whom have family connections to rural areas.

Research by outsiders can also help articulate diverse viewpoints that may otherwise be marginalised. For example, Gelles’ (1991, 2000) work on water in Cabanaconde captured local perspectives on culturally-embedded water distribution practices that have since been displaced by a discourse of ‘efficiency’. In this thesis I try to give a sense of the different views of people in the research settings, showing the diversity not only between but also within group and individual perspectives. Asher & Wainwright note the need for “a persistently sceptical approach to representing subaltern voices” (2019, p.36). While I liberally use participant quotations, these are still filtered through my decisions about who to talk to and what questions to ask, how to order information and what to emphasise. Nevertheless, while this does not amount to ‘giving a voice’ to local participants, it can highlight perspectives that majoritarian viewpoints tend to silence.

2.4.3 Acknowledging expertise: participant citation

An issue relevant to the wider question of representation is the citation of local participants. During field work I followed protocols for obtaining informed consent for recording interviews while asking participants how they preferred to be represented in reports or publications. Most people deferred to what I thought was appropriate. I had initially intended to take a default position of participant confidentiality but, following

¹ At the time of writing, this commitment remains pending.

field work and on further reflection, I felt that an important principle was to acknowledge participant contributions, without which my ‘findings’ would have been very sparse. Moore (2012) points out that:

For much of history anonymity did not protect the vulnerable, but excluded women and others from authorship and ownership of their own words, erasing them from the archive, even from history, and in the process creating vulnerability through rendering people nameless.
(2012, p.332)

Following these reflections, I considered revising my approach by acknowledging the source of participant contributions where possible. For many national and regional participants, I had an email address and was able to send them an interview transcript, which some reviewed and responded to. However, I was not able to do this for most local participants (at the time of the research there was very limited internet access in Cabanaconde and none at all in Tuti).

In October-November 2017 when I returned to Peru I sought out as many as possible of the local participants who I had interviewed, particularly those who were frequently cited in draft versions of case study chapters, and I asked them whether they were happy to be identified by name in citations. All gave responses that were positive, and in some cases enthusiastic. In the short time available it was not possible to make renewed contact with all participants.

Therefore, in this thesis I do use the real name of institutional representatives and some local key contacts who explicitly indicated this preference. However, I maintain the confidentiality of other local participants in direct quotations, instead identifying quotations using the gender, age and/or role of the participant, and the place and date of the interview. In addition, I provide a full list of research participants before the references.

2.5 Conclusions

This chapter has mapped out the methodological journey of the thesis, covering epistemology, methodological frameworks and methods, as well as reflections on positionality and ethics. An overall theme is *duality*, which, coincidentally, is sometimes considered one of the defining features of an Andean world view. At an epistemological level, it incorporates critical realist and poststructuralist currents. At a methodological level it combines a discourse genealogy with case studies, while the case studies

themselves combine top-down evaluation with a bottom-up, ethnographically informed livelihoods approach.

These dualities do not imply *separate* frameworks or methods, but rather shifting perspectives on the same subjects, with one perspective always acknowledging the other. They thus represent an essentially hybrid approach, which reflects the dynamic interaction between material and social realities and the values through which these realities are interpreted and represented. Both major sections of the thesis – discourse genealogy and case studies – take a historical approach and share a narrative quality.

The chapter engages with but does not resolve questions about whether and under what conditions Western researchers can engage ethically with historically marginalised communities in the Global South. I have argued that people in the Peruvian Andes are continually subject to representations not of their own making (which may be produced by, among others, those of ‘local’ origin working in academic and policy settings). Notwithstanding power inequalities, research by ‘outsiders’ that is conducted respectfully, with a degree of empathy, and which acknowledges local specificities, diversity and expertise may be valued by local people.

The thesis now moves on to undertake the first of its major tasks, which is to explore how Andean places have been reinvented as spaces of valuable agro-food heritage. The genealogy of this discourse starts in Chapter 3 by generating a sense of puzzlement about contemporary representation.

Chapter 3 Difference and development in Andean Latin America

One fundamental obstacle to higher productivity has been the innate conservatism of the small peasant. He is inclined to follow the techniques of his ancestors, and to grow the crops which they grew, until he is thoroughly convinced of the value of changing his ways. This is particularly true in the countries with heavy Indian populations.

(Alexander, 1962, p.206)

It is precisely this persistence [of cultural distinctiveness in the most marginalised rural areas] that allows the construction of pathways to development based on the interaction of material and intangible elements of rural culture.

(Fonte, 2009, p.42)

These two quotes set the stage for the sense of “puzzlement and discomfiture” (Garland, 2014, p.379) about contemporary discourse that the thesis aims to stimulate. The first quote is from a 1960s report on land reform in Latin America; the second is from a researcher involved in RIMISP’s research programme on territorial development with identity. Between these two fragments of development discourse, “innate conservatism” becomes “cultural distinctiveness”; goals of “higher productivity” are reworked as “the interaction of material and intangible elements”; and what was an “obstacle” is reinvented as a “pathway”. While the citations are selective, the contrast between them is sufficient to raise curiosity about how and why such a change in representation has occurred.

This curiosity takes the form of some key questions. First, how did Andean people and places become marginalised, and what is the relationship between historical marginalisation and cultural distinctiveness? Second, if the unique connections between people and place are valuable, why has this only been recognised *now*? What has changed, and what does this mean for how development is imagined and pursued?

The following four chapters address these questions through a discourse genealogy. This chapter begins by exploring the construction of the Andes as a differentiated and marginalised space. Following a brief reflection on the ways inequalities can be represented, it intertwines a historical overview of political economic change in Andean Latin America with analysis of how discourse has shaped and been shaped by these changes. The third section then summarises alternative representations of Andean difference in academic research and explores the ways popular perceptions link

discrimination, geography and food. Each of these sections generates threads that contribute both to explaining changes in representation, and to considering their significance.

3.1 Representations of inequality in the Andes

A common factor in the two quotes at the start of this chapter is that they both assume a *need* for development in rural areas of Latin America. Although this thesis focuses on *changes* in representation, it is important to acknowledge the underlying continuities. In the context of development, the rural Andes is usually seen in terms of material shortfalls, as a space that needs improvement. This basic assumption is shared by perspectives that emphasise inherent deficiencies such as low productivity, those that point to historical oppression and exploitation, and those that highlight disconnections from dynamic markets.

Since the 1980s, the material shortfalls to be addressed through development have been codified in detail through the use of quantitative indicators. Indicators most commonly highlight income poverty but can also include include education, housing, health outcomes and access to services. In Peru, socio-economic differences are geographically segmented by rural and urban, by the ‘natural’ regions of coast, sierra and *selva* (jungle), or by administrative region. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show that rural areas and the sierra (Andean) region generally have much poorer indicators than urban areas or the coastal region.

Table 3.1 Development indicators for Peru by rural-urban and natural region, 2017 (%)

	Urban	Rural	Coast	Sierra	Selva
Poverty rate	15.1	44.4	14.1	31.6	28.6
Average years of study (>25 years)	10.6	6.9	10.7	8.9	8.5
Chronic malnutrition (<5 years)	8.2	25.3	9	21.3	18

Source: own elaboration from INEI, undated-b, June 2019.

Table 3.2 Development indicators for Peru by rural-urban, 2017 (%)

	Urban	Rural ²
Dwelling connected to public water network	93.3	70
Dwelling connected to public sewerage network	87.4	15.1
Electricity connection	98.9	81.4
Houses with earth floor	23.3	83.1

Source: own elaboration from INEI, undated-b, June 2019.

² There have been large recent improvements in rural electrification (from 32% in 2004 to 81% in 2017).

These are not the only possible representations of Andean people and places. For example, the Peruvian NGO, Andean Technology Recovery Project (PRATEC, for its initials in Spanish) has challenged the universality of development indicators, highlighting alternative conceptions Andean *campesinos* have of wellbeing:

Sometimes I think that poverty is a lie...the problem is lack of habit...we no longer want to live like our parents. They knew everything, they planted everything...so there was something of everything...they enjoyed life.
(Flor Mesia, cited in Rengifo Vásquez, 2002, p.2)

Participants in the case study areas for this research also questioned definitions of poverty, highlighting not only the quality of food, water and environment in their home village but also the less stressful terms on which they could work and obtain basic resources compared to the city:

For *me*, I'd prefer not to go [to Arequipa]. I prefer to live here because life is healthy, relaxed, I've nothing to worry me, I go to the *chacra*, I pick beans, potatoes, cook them, eat them, and so on. But in Arequipa, everything's about money. Even a glass of water is money; no one gives it to me for free.
(Female Tuti resident, age 38, 4 April 2016)

Alternative perspectives do not necessarily eschew the statistics and categories established by mainstream discourse but may select and deploy them differently. For example, Rengifo Vásquez (2002) notes that in Peru, *campesinos* account for 85% of farms, control just 20% of arable land, but provide more than 60% of the fresh food consumed in urban areas. He also deploys the scientific concept of biodiversity to describe the great variety of plants and animals in the Andes and Amazon, while noting that local populations may have other ways of classifying this diversity. Such perspectives emphasise the social contribution made despite unequal resources, and frame geography as a space of *richness*, rather than lack – although they would be unlikely to deny that there are at least some concerns and challenges underlying the differences signalled by Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

To reconcile these perspectives, I return to the interaction between critical realism and poststructuralism discussed in Chapter 2. A critical realist perspective stresses that inequalities are real, having an “obdurate nature” (Sayer, 2006, p.105) that theories must engage with. A poststructuralist perspective emphasises the socially constructed ways of interpreting and experiencing these inequalities. It also highlights the ways these interpretations shape action, influencing relationships between people and the uses of

space. In other words, the way people think about inequalities will influence the kind of inequalities they produce. With this in mind, the remainder of the chapter gives a historical overview of the interactions between representation and reality that have constructed the Andes as a space of marginalisation.

3.2 Colonisation and the political economy of difference

This section summarises the fundamental transformations wrought by the Spanish Conquest of Latin America, the consolidation of inequalities within colonial and republican societies, and the ways these inequalities were interpreted, perpetuated and contested in the 20th century. Throughout, the discussion focuses on Peru, though where relevant it discusses broader Latin American trends, particularly in the neighbouring Andean countries of Bolivia and Ecuador.

3.2.1 Conquest and the invention of race

Archaeologists divide pre-Conquest Andean history into ‘periods’ and ‘horizons’, with the latter referring to a series of State-like cultures that exercised influence over significant territories. The last and largest of these was the Incan empire, which during the 14th to 15th century expanded from its centre in Cuzco to dominate an enormous stretch of South America, incorporating diverse populations into a complex system of tribute and redistribution (Mayer, 2002, p.47-73). Incan achievements in administration, agriculture, architecture and transport built on several millennia of cultural and technological development, including domestication of key plants and animals which began in approximately 6,000 B.C (Krogel, 2011). Most scholars agree that Andean civilisations produced a food surplus sufficient to eliminate hunger, which undermines contemporary assumptions about poverty as a near-inevitable consequence of the harsh environment. Diversity within and across plant types and across ecological zones was key to the success and resilience of farming systems (Brush, 1976, Brush et al., 1996).

In 1531, a small group of Spanish explorers took advantage of confusion and discord following an Incan war of succession to seize control of Incan centres of power. Epidemic disease helped complete the downfall of the Incan empire, and together with the subsequent periods of civil war, this resulted in severe depopulation, estimated at up to 90 percent in some parts of the Andes (Cook, 1981). By 1542 the Spanish Crown had established the Viceroyalty of Peru based in modern-day Lima, with the primary purpose of extracting precious metals. The silver mines of Potosi in modern-day Bolivia became

the centre of the colonial economy, with most development linked to mining centres and the trade routes connecting them to the port of Lima.

The Spanish Empire exerted power both through direct domination and a regime of representation. To structure the post-Conquest social order, the Spanish established a hierarchical system of racial classification, with the primary categories of white, mestizo and Indian each conferring different rights and obligations. Quijano (2000) argues that the conquest of the Americas saw the creation of the idea of 'race' as a codification of difference that "placed some in a natural situation of inferiority to others" (2000, p.533); while at the same time it marked the beginnings of the global capitalist order as "a new structure of control of labour and its resources and products" (2000, p.534). From the outset, race was a fluid category that conferred, and was mediated by, wealth and power.

As a form of control, the Spanish established the *encomienda* system, 'commending' groups of Indians to the control of nominated individuals, who were to be responsible for their protection and religious conversion and had the right to exact tribute. In practice, this resulted in many abuses (Cook, 2009; Gelles, 2000; Manrique, 1986). In 1572, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo undertook the *reducciones de indios*, a process whereby previously scattered populations were 'reduced' into urban centres to facilitate tribute collection, religious conversion and social control. Many modern-day towns and villages date from the *reducciones*, thus giving a fundamentally colonial origin to 'communities' as territorially bounded entities (Benavides, 1996; Urrutia, 1992).

3.2.2 Republican Peru: Haciendas and peasant communities

Between 1804 and 1821, the Spanish Empire in the Americas collapsed, and independence movements established national states broadly corresponding to modern maps. Despite this transition from imperial outpost to independent republic, social hierarchies were maintained through the discursive reconstruction of difference. Mendez (1995) argues that while "the Indian was always viewed by the Spanish as the colonised, he was not always regarded as an intrinsically inferior, debased or uncouth being". However, after independence, "the need to establish differences became more critical, and the consequent justification of the natural inferiority and incapacity of the Indians more necessary" (1995, p.220-221). Thus, in Peru local elites appropriated the Inca as an abstract symbol of nationalism, identifying themselves with modernity, while depicting the indigenous population as uncivilised and backward.

In rural areas, the institutions of hacienda (large landed estate) and *comunidad indigena* (indigenous community) were central to economic and social life through the 19th and first half of the 20th century. Haciendas could be traced to the colonial institutions of *repartimiento* and *encomienda*. They were consolidated as market opportunities grew through new product networks and trade routes. On the coast, commercial agriculture was underpinned by slavery, while in the sierra Indian peasants were tied to property through semi-feudal obligations and concessions (Golte, 1975; Matos Mar, 1976).

Outside the haciendas, most rural populations lived in communities that descended from colonial tribute-paying populations. The formal protections these had under the Spanish Empire were lost following independence, but in 1920 under the reformist dictatorship of President Augusto Leguía, new legislation allowed rural communities to formalise their status as a *comunidad indigena*, enabling them to define territorial boundaries and control access to resources (Benavides, 1996; del Castillo, 1992).³ Nevertheless, highly unequal social relations persisted in the diverse settings throughout the rural Andes, with literacy, mestizo status, and political or bureaucratic power underpinning unequal access to land and water, unpaid labour and other (often extra-legal) forms of exploitation (Gelles, 1991, 2000; Manrique, 1986; Paerregaard, 1997).

3.2.3 Debating the ‘Indian problem’: The rise of *indigenismo*

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century a political and literary movement developed in Peru and elsewhere in Latin America which has come to be referred to as *indigenismo*. While comprising diverse perspectives within and across countries, a unifying concern was the challenge of constructing a modern nation by reconnecting with the legacy of the pre-Hispanic past and/or focusing on the contemporary situation of the rural indigenous population (Belausteguigoitia, 2016; Coronado, 2009; Sanjinés, 2008).

Despite its subject matter, *indigenismo* largely reflected the political agendas of urban elites. For example, in Cuzco, *indigenistas* emphasised the glories of the Incan Empire as a reassertion of regional identity in opposition to Lima (van de Berghe & Flores Ochoa, 2000). In more radical circles, *indigenismo* developed in interaction with the influence of Marxism. Castro de Pozo (1924) interpreted the indigenous community as a space of primitive communism, a perspective shared by arguably the most important Peruvian *indigenista*, Jose Carlos Mariátegui, whose *Seven essays on the Peruvian reality* (1928),

³ Similar processes of reform occurred in Bolivia in 1938 and Ecuador in 1945-46 (Ferreira & Isbell, 2016).

coined the phrase ‘the Indian problem’. Mariátegui emphasised the necessity of understanding the legacy of colonialism and racism as part of building an Andean pathway to socialism that would nevertheless be guided by European theoretical perspectives.

Although largely of urban and elite provenance, *indigenismo* was important for generating a dynamic debate about how the deep inequalities at the heart of post-Conquest society should be interpreted and addressed. Through the creation of institutions such as the Peruvian Indigenist Institute, *indigenismo* also established Andean rural communities as objects of study, giving rise to the post-WWII boom in Andean anthropology that Section 3.3 discusses further. From a genealogical perspective, *indigenismo* is important as the source of competing ontologies of race/ethnicity and normative ideas about natural relationships between geography, culture, and ‘progress’ (see de la Cadena, 1998). Some of these ideas – such as the representation of Andean rural communities as spaces of natural solidarity – can be clearly traced through to the contemporary discourses that later chapters will explore.

3.2.4 Eradicating backwardness: discourses of modernisation and assimilation

The end of the Second World War ushered in what has come to be known as the development era. Escobar (1995) argues that this involved a new neo-colonial framework for international relations, and a discourse through which whole societies were represented as “underdeveloped”. Although national agendas of modernisation were already well established, and indeed, formed the lens through which development was interpreted (Pieterse, 1995), the post-WWII era did see a new array of institutions, resource flows, disciplinary knowledge and expertise, which Escobar characterises as the development *apparatus*.

The post-WWII period was the heyday of modernisation as a development paradigm. Lewis’ (1954) ‘two-sector’ model for national economic development saw agricultural modernisation as necessary to allow the movement of labour to high-productivity manufacturing; while Rostow’s (1960) ‘stages of growth’ model set out the integrated change in economy, society and culture required to evolve towards mass production and mass consumption as exemplified by North America. These theories equated progress with capitalism but nevertheless assigned the State a key role in driving and co-ordinating the required changes.

During the 1960s, important critiques of modernisation theories emerged from within Latin America (see Kay, 1989 for a summary). Latin American structuralist and dependency theorists argued that internal structural imbalances and unequal international exchange restricted poorer countries from following the same patterns of development as those in the rich ‘core’, with dependency theorists placing particular emphasis on the systematic exploitation underpinning uneven development. However, while these theorists criticised modernisation theory’s predictions and policies, they largely shared its assumptions about the desirability of reproducing Western economic, social and cultural models. By referring to rural areas as ‘backward’, many structuralist and dependency writers shared the representation of a linear process leading from the traditional to the modern (Saldaña Portillo, 2003). Reflecting on her involvement in activism as a student in the 1960s, Peruvian anthropologist Marisol de la Cadena notes that:

Leftist politics were as modernising as their right-wing counterparts, and with the left wing I was supposed to think the peasants were backwards...Our task as revolutionaries was to change them into modern subjects, individuals with ‘class consciousness’

(In Taguchi, accessed October 2018)

To fulfil the expectation that ‘traditional’ livelihoods and culture would gradually disappear, development agendas required rural people and places to be specifically reshaped. They thus came to be what Escobar (1995) calls a ‘client category’ of the development discourse. Education and sociocultural assimilation were the primary means by which rural peasants, sometimes depicted as mired in a medieval past (Isbell, 2009) would be modernised. The technical means underpinning rural development involved disseminating the then-incipient Green Revolution in agriculture. This sought to replace traditional farming systems based on diversified inter-cropping of local landraces with the monocultivation of ‘improved’ hybrid varieties, using mechanised technologies combined with the intensive application of fertiliser, pesticides and herbicides.

As the quote at the outset of this chapter suggests, the 1960s were the heyday of confidence that standardised modern technologies could raise productivity in any and all settings. Thus, even those who saw a role for indigenous cultures in development shared assumptions about the backwardness of Andean agriculture. Discussing the liberal nationalism of Peruvian President Fernando Belaunde (1963-1968) Clissold (1965) notes that “his thesis is that the country must look for inspiration to its pre-Columbian past: *not of course to its archaic technology*, but to its sources of creative power” (Clissold, 1965,

p.54, emphasis added). The ‘of course’ suggests that the dispensability of Andean farming practices was not a source of substantive debate.

3.2.5 Revolutions from above and below: land reform and mass migration

During the 1950s and 1960s, a wave of land reforms swept through Latin America, with Peru’s reform during 1969-1974 under a nationalist military government being one of the largest and most systematic. Following a coup led by General Juan Velasco Alvarado in 1968, in 1969 the military government began a sweeping reform that saw approximately nine million hectares of land redistributed. On the coast, sugar and cotton plantations were reconstituted as worker-owned cooperatives, while in the sierra land was reassigned to peasant communities and agrarian cooperatives formed from residents of former haciendas (Mayer, 2009).

The main achievement of Peru’s agrarian reform was to permanently end what Kay (1982) calls ‘non-economic modes of domination’ in the rural sierra by removing the ability of large landowners and local elites to impose tributes of labour service or goods on *campesinos* or otherwise control their activities. Economically, however, the reform was a disappointment. Influenced by structuralist theories, the government tried to convert haciendas into collective enterprises that would retain economies of scale and help drive agricultural modernisation, a top-down process which ignored preferences for family-based agriculture. In some cases, cooperatives parcelled out land to individual families, and in other cases peasant communities ‘invaded’ cooperative land (Kay, 1982; Mayer, 2009). Following restoration of civilian rule under in 1980, most remaining cooperatives dissolved.

The agrarian reform had discursive as well as political-economic objectives. The revolutionary government saw the concept of ‘Indian’ as underpinning centuries of racist domination and determined that it would be erased in favour of the class-based identity of *campesino* (peasant). *Comunidades indigenas* were renamed *comunidades campesinas* (peasant communities).⁴ Alongside the Velasco government’s celebration of autochthonous culture and timid experiments with bilingual education, this has been interpreted as a genuine attempt to overcome discrimination, a pragmatic glossing-over of difference, and an assimilationist strategy to defuse the radical potential in indigenous identity (see de la Cadena, 2001; Grey, 2011; Garcia & Lucero, 2004; Mayer, 2009).

⁴ While timing and political circumstances were different, overviews of land reforms in Bolivia (1952) and Ecuador (1957) make similar evaluations.

The agricultural policies of the Peruvian land reform remained closely linked to the Green Revolution. Shepherd argues that following the land reform, “Peru’s highland Green Revolution began in earnest” (2019, p.233), with both State and NGO development agencies promoting ‘improved’ high-yielding crop varieties and branding native varieties as “as inferior, low-yielding, poverty-inducing, inefficient and not worth maintaining in situ” (Shepherd, 2019, p.234).

The other major factor driving change in the second half of the twentieth century was mass migration from rural to urban areas. The population of Lima grew from little over 500,000 in 1940 to more than 2.2 million in 1971, and 6.3 million in 1993 (Yopez del Castillo, 2003; Riofrío, 1996), while the urban population proportion increased from 35% in 1940 to 70% in 1993 (INEI, undated-a, accessed May 2019). Much of this immigrant population built their own housing on public land they ‘invaded’ and created their own livelihoods in small-scale commerce and other ‘informal’ activities (Riofrío, 1996). Together, agrarian reform and mass migration effectively ended fixed relationships between geography and social difference in Peru, though they did little to change broad geographical patterns of inequality. Further, as the following sections show, imagined geographies of difference persisted and evolved.

3.3.3 Conflict and the reinscription of Andean difference

During the 1980s Peru was badly affected by the Latin American debt crisis, experiencing hyperinflation, economic contraction and a significant rise in poverty. This had a particularly negative effect on rural communities that had become increasingly dependent on markets over previous decades, with little ability for income to keep pace with price inflation (Manrique, 1986).

However, the greatest crisis Peru faced during this time was the devastating internal conflict pitting the State against the *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path) movement, which grew out of a Maoist faction of the Peruvian communist party. Shining Path initiated armed operations in Ayacucho in 1980, rapidly spreading through surrounding areas of the central Andes and from there to Lima and many other areas of Peru. In response, the Peruvian government declared a state of emergency and turned over control in affected zones to the armed forces. Large-scale conflict was ended with the capture of Shining Path leader Abimael Guzman in Lima in 1992 and the subsequent rapid collapse of the hierarchically organised movement.

An estimated 69,000 people were killed or disappeared as a direct result of the conflict at the hand of both Shining Path and government forces, the great majority of them poor, Quechua-speaking people in the sierra (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003). The Shining Path was not an indigenous or *campesino* movement and was generally opposed by peasant communities, although it did gain some initial support by attacking corrupt politicians, administrators, commercial intermediaries, and cattle thieves. Its doctrine was thoroughly opposed to religious, ceremonial, and other traditional aspects of Andean culture (Mayer, 1994).

Nevertheless, the conflict was not disconnected from the deep socio-geographical breaches within Peru, and it reignited debates on difference and inequality, as an apparently local disturbance in the Andes came to threaten national society. In 1983, a commission led by novelist and politician Mario Vargas Llosa was dispatched to the village of Uchuraccay in the Ayacucho region to investigate the massacre of eight journalists from Lima, who local community members apparently mistook for Shining Path operatives. The commission attributed the massacre not only to a specific misunderstanding in a state of high threat, but to a mindset embedded in a 'separate culture' (Vargas Llosa, 1983). It depicted the Uchuraccay *comuneros* as members of *Perú profundo* (deep Peru) which it characterised as 'archaic', 'primitive', 'miserable', 'malnourished and exploited', separate in space and time from 'official Peru' which was assumed to be modern, Western and civilised.

Vargas Llosa (1990) later reiterated this argument, reinforcing the persistent image of Andean people and places as mired in isolation and backwardness:

Indian peasants live in such a primitive way that communication is practically impossible. It is only when they move to the cities that they have the opportunity to mingle with the other Peru. The price they must pay for integration is high – renunciation of their culture, their language; their beliefs, their traditions and customs, and the adoption of the culture of their ancient masters...Perhaps there is no realistic way to integrate our societies other than by asking the Indians to pay that price (Vargas Llosa, 1990, p.52-53).

Both Mayer (1994) and de la Cadena (1998) point out that, from very different political perspectives, Vargas Llosa and the Shining Path agreed that Andean culture needed to be erased to allow progress.

3.3 Andean difference in academic and popular discourse

The first half of this chapter provides a relatively well-rehearsed historical account of the interaction of political economic and discursive processes to construct inequality through difference. The chapter's second half complements and adds nuance to this narrative in two ways which are relevant to the discourse genealogy. First, it gives an overview of academic representations of the Andes during the second half of the 20th century, which have had significant influence on the changing ways of thinking about place, culture and development in Andean Latin America. Second, it explores how discrimination based on difference is reproduced at every level of society, and how it marks geography and food. I argue that reflecting on popular perceptions of difference is important when assessing the *significance* of changes in discourse, not only for broad political economic inequalities but also for more distributed forms of discrimination.

3.3.1 Inventing *lo andino*: Academic representations of the Andes

Alongside the emergence of the development agenda in the post-WWII period, Andean people and places became subject to sustained academic study, especially through the discipline of anthropology. The precedents for this were the interests and institutions stimulated by the *indigenista* movement, as well as a rich history of community-level documentation going back to colonial tribute records. The 1960s-1980s became what Ferreira & Isbell (2016) call a 'golden age' for Andean ethnography, much of which explored the persistence of a distinctively Andean cultural reality, referred to as *lo andino* ('the Andean').

A key figure in constructing *lo andino* was US ethnohistorian John Murra. Murra argued that Andean livelihoods were based on relations of reciprocity and redistribution among kin group members who directly controlled ecological and productive zones at different altitudes, a system that he termed a 'vertical archipelago' (Murra, 1975, 1984; Mayer, 2002, p.47-73; van Buren, 1996). He maintained that this form of organisation long predated the Incan empire and had survived in modified forms to the present day. Following Murra, identifying cultural continuities through ethnographic and ethnohistorical study became a distinctive feature of Andean anthropology. By highlighting motivations and natural relationships of reciprocity, solidarity and self-sufficiency, this work contributed to alternative (and generally positive) representations of Andean people and places. It has influenced postdevelopment, indigenous and environmental movements, sometimes being redeployed in less nuanced and more

explicitly political ways (see Weismantel, 2006), while it has also contributed to scientific discussions of agrobiological or biocultural diversity (eg, Brush, 1976; Brush et al., 1992; Tapia, 1990; Zimmerer, 2015).

This depiction of long-term cultural resilience later faced criticisms of essentialism and romanticisation (Benavides, 1996; Starn, 1991, 1994; Urrutia, 1992; van Buren, 1996). However, Mayer (2002) argues that the academic emphasis on long-term continuity acted as a strategic counter to the assimilationist agendas of the time, which threatened to erase cultural diversity. In addition, a number of researchers showed how culturally-embedded practices such as reciprocity, barter and cooperative work parties were combined with connections to markets and broader socio-economic structures (Alberti & Mayer, 1974; de la Cadena, 1986; Golte & de la Cadena, 1986; Mayer, 2002, p.105-171). Along with researchers from disciplines such as economics and geography (Figueroa, 1984; Watters, 1994), they explored cultural distinctiveness alongside issues such as limited and fragmented land, uneven access to water, diversified economic activities, rural-urban mobility, unequal exchange relations with town-based markets, and processes of local accumulation. As I argue later in the thesis, aspects of these studies resonate with the theoretical framework of *diverse economies*, developed from the mid-1990s by J.K. Gibson-Graham and collaborators.

Debates about *campesino* interaction with markets are particularly relevant to this thesis. Mayer (2002) notes that from colonial times market participation in the Andes was tightly controlled and restricted on the basis of ethnicity, so that becoming a merchant meant acquiring the status of mestizo (see also Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012). He argues that a historical perspective on markets as “restricted, mercantilist, State-controlled, nonexpansive, and ethnically differentiated” (2002, p.70) destabilises representations of Andean *campesinos* as reluctant to participate in markets, shared by modernisers who see this reluctance as a barrier, and postdevelopment theorists who see marketisation as a threat to social solidarity. Importantly, it also shows that unequal exchange faced by Andean *campesinos* combines historically specific socio-cultural inequalities with the information asymmetries and urban policy bias that broader rural development debates tend to focus on.

This historical perspective complicates the assessment that contemporary rural development projects seeking to link *campesinos* to ‘formal’ and ‘dynamic’ markets are

primarily enacting neoliberal agendas to cultivate ‘indigenous entrepreneurialism’ (Hirsch, 2017). In contrast to the North, where local agro-food networks have been developed in resistance to domination by major retailers, in the Andes new market connections, including to mainstream supermarkets, have been presented as a means of *bypassing* local networks long perceived as exploitative.

This vision of empowerment through markets was encapsulated in theatrical presentations made by groups seeking funding from the Sierra Sur development project, at an event I observed in Cabanaconde’s main plaza in 2012. Several groups enacted a similar ‘present-day’ scenario, humorously dramatising interactions between poor and naïve Quechua-speaking farmers and cocky, Spanish-speaking urban buyers who offered them rock-bottom prices for their crops or animals. They then presented a ‘future’ scenario where the farmer was able to dismiss the intermediary’s offer, telling him that, thanks to the Sierra Sur project, he was now selling at premium prices to national and international markets. In exploring the significance of new agro-food networks in the Andes, I argue that it is important to both understand the attractiveness of this vision and to assess its in-practice limitations.

3.3.2 Popular discourses of difference: Discrimination, geography and food in Peru

Section 3.2 notes that the establishment of hierarchical racial categories by the Spanish Empire left a deep legacy on Andean Latin America. Focusing on political-economic consequences of these social structures – while important – can overlook the way discrimination is reproduced at every level of society. Appreciating the deep-rooted nature of prejudice helps understand how the revaluing of marginalised cultural elements may be experienced as positive, even when this occurs in apparently superficial or commodifying ways.

Although the question of racism in Latin America has sometimes been neglected because of an apparent lack of biological basis for discrimination, authors such as de la Cadena (2000, 2001) and Weismantel (2000) have explored how racial imaginaries underpin “a vicious binary that discriminates superiors from inferiors” (Weismantel 2000, p.xxxi), which is deployed based on cultural markers such as language, dress, occupation and education as well as myriad aspects of *habitus* such as behaviour, taste, morals and ‘decency’. Here I reflect on three points particularly relevant to the Peruvian context and the objectives of this thesis: the relationality of discrimination, its geographic aspects, and its connections to food.

By relationality I mean that discrimination is not limited to prejudice against a clearly-defined group but is reproduced between and within all groups based on complex, context-specific criteria. Insight into this is offered by the colloquial Peruvian expression *cholear* (to treat as a *cholo*). The term *cholo*, which has existed since colonial times, has been much discussed (see Weismantel, 2000, p.91 for one summary), usually defined as referring to people of indigenous origin in urban settings. However, rather than specifying a particular group who suffers discrimination, the verb *cholear* refers to the *practice* of discrimination, especially in micro-scale quotidian interactions. Those who experience discrimination also discriminate against (*cholean*) others they perceive as inferior. Thus, discrimination reproduces a “binary structure from colonial times in which one is master and the other servant” (Sáenz-Suárez, 2014) but operates on the basis of complex interactions between race and class in what has been called the ‘labyrinth of *choledad*’ (Nugent, 1992).

While similar styles of discrimination extend through much of Latin America, in Peru this also has an important *geographic* dimension. Unlike Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico and Guatemala, where political power resides in high-altitude centres, in Peru the centralisation of power in coastal Lima has created dual imaginaries of the coastal/mestizo/modern and the Andean/Indian/backwards. This is encapsulated in the use of *serrano* (from the sierra) as an insult that implies poverty and ignorance.

Again, however, this is not simply a matter of one regional population discriminating against another but is dynamically reproduced at multiple levels. In my case study locality of Cabanaconde, Gelles (2000) noted the local sense of superiority that valley-dwelling maize farmers had towards the alpaca and llama herders they traded with from the higher-altitude areas of Callalli (in the upper Colca Valley) and Yauri (now called Espinar, in the highlands of Cuzco). Among the most serious insults in Cabanaconde were *callallino*, *yaurino*, and *llamero* (llama herder), all loaded with the racial ‘viciousness’ that Weismantel (2000) refers to. Gelles notes that at the same time as locals looked down on their highland neighbours, they were well aware that in the cities of Arequipa and Lima they could expect to suffer similar forms of discrimination.

This racialisation of geography extends to agro-food products. As well as transforming social relationships, the Spanish Conquest of the Americas also had a dramatic and permanent impact on agriculture and food, in what has been termed the ‘Columbian

exchange' (Nunn & Qian, 2010). Two new food staples – maize and potatoes – permanently changed global diets, while chili peppers, cacao, tomatoes, avocados, sweet potatoes, squash, beans and a range of fruits and nuts were also globalised and became central to agro-food cultures in distant continents. Meanwhile, the arrival of rice, wheat, barley, grapes, citrus fruits, olives, garlic, onions, sheep and cattle in the Americas set the base for what would become deeply embedded local culinary traditions, while bulls, donkeys and mules transformed farming practices and transport.

At the same time as this exchange and hybridisation occurred, some local resources were ignored or actively suppressed, especially those highland products not immediately embraced by the Spanish. Some products and ingredients faded into varying degrees of obscurity, while others became markers of cultural difference and stigma. Thus, until recently, in lowland Peru quinoa was used as chicken feed, and alpaca meat was rejected for being 'Indian food' and a bearer of disease (see Healy, 2001 for a detailed discussion of these prejudices in Bolivia). As with other forms of discrimination, the values associated with food are nuanced and contextual. For example, Andean products such as *cuy* (guinea pig) and *chuño* (freeze-dried bitter potato) were historically shunned in Lima but have long been consumed in middle class settings in urban Arequipa, although the latter is contextualised as part of typical regional soups and broths and not eaten in the same variety of ways as in the sierra.

Thus, people from the rural Andes can face (and impose) prejudice in relation to the places they come from and the food they (are assumed to) eat. I argue that when assessing the significance of newer discourses of agro-food heritage it is important to remain attentive to these complex relationships between geography, food, difference and discrimination. Later chapters go on to explore how researchers, Western consumers and urban elites have discovered 'lost' products (see National Research Council, 1989) which have been reinvented as 'superfoods' and incorporated into Peru's 'gastronomic boom'. I will argue that, while it is important to recognise how these changing representations of Andean farming and food can perpetuate existing knowledge/power dynamics, it is also worth considering how they might modify webs of (relational and internalised) discrimination.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explored how Andean people and places were marginalised through interconnected material and discursive processes beginning in the 16th century with the Spanish Conquest. It shows how in the 20th century these inequalities came to be interpreted as ‘underdevelopment’, and modernising discourses from across the political spectrum shared representations of Andean difference as an obstacle to progress. However, representations of the Andes as Other were not always framed in negative terms. In the later 20th century, an emerging academic tradition portrayed a distinctly Andean cultural reality defined by harmonious environmental relationships and collective solidarity.

It is worth highlighting two aspects of dominant representations. First is the relative invisibility of *place* in both positive and negative images of the Andes. This is clear in the stereotypes of ‘backwardness’ associated with ‘deep Peru’, but academic work that emphasised cultural richness and resilience also tended to perpetuate an image of what Asensio (2012) calls “a singular Andean territoriality” centred on a universalised peasant community. Ironically, this contrasts with the tendency for people in the Andes to identify themselves by the specific places they come from (de Vries & Nuijten, 2003; Paerregaard, 1997; Starn, 1994).

Second, while dominant discourses always celebrated selected aspects of pre-Hispanic civilisation, rarely were farming and food among them. Despite the agricultural achievements of pre-Hispanic civilisations and their nutritional gifts to the world, the Andean identity of foods was either completely erased or became a marker of inferiority. During the 20th century, Andean foods and farming practices were primarily linked with poverty and backwardness, both in official development policies and in popular perception.

The chapter thus leaves something of a puzzle to explain how the agro-food products and practices of Andean places could become the basis of local development strategies. By showing that difference has always been constructed to serve particular interests, it also suggests a need to critically consider the significance of these reinventions for cultural and material inequalities. Chapter 4 begins this process of critical exploration.

Chapter 4 New development discourses in Latin America

The following three chapters respond to the sense of puzzlement established in Chapter 3 by weaving together diverse threads to explain how Andean agro-food traditions came to be reinvented as valuable and placed at the centre of local development strategies. I argue that this reinvention required changes in ways of thinking both about development, and about farming and food. This chapter focuses on the first of these broad themes. Its primary task is to show how concepts related to place (territory), culture (identity) and environment (sustainability and diversity) were incorporated into Latin American development discourse from the 1980s.

The chapter first discusses the revaluing of place, culture and environment in the global North, exemplified through the emergence of new agro-food networks. It argues that these changes exerted influence on Latin America through diverse channels. The next section discusses Latin America's changing development landscape, which saw place, culture and environment become relevant to both the process and meaning of development. I identify separate currents I term *territorial rural development* and *development with identity* as well as a third current relating to environmental sustainability and diversity which connected with both of these.

A question which runs throughout the thesis is the relationship these discursive changes had to the growing dominance of neoliberalism. To frame this question, I reference Peck & Tickell's (2002) concept of *neoliberalisation* as a complex, locally mediated process, noting in particular their distinction between 'roll-back' and 'roll-out' neoliberalism. Building on this point, the chapter's final section notes how, despite their entanglements with neoliberalism, new visibilities and values of place, culture and environment have been mobilised to contest 'extractive' modes of neoliberal capitalism.

4.1 Transformations in the North: Reflexive modernity and neoliberal globalisation

This chapter's story starts with economic and cultural transformations that are sometimes presented as 'global' or even as changes 'in society', descriptions which suggest a placeless universality but usually refer to the specific geographical contexts of Europe and North America. Although what happens in these locations does not necessarily have universal relevance, they do exert significant economic and cultural influence. Changes in

the North thus provide important context for a discourse genealogy focused on Latin America.

The changes most relevant to this thesis involved a resurgence of attention to place, culture and environment as objects of social importance and market consumption. This has been summed up as “space...being redifferentiated and imbued with symbolic value” (Ray, 1999, p.258). There are (at least) two possible narratives that explain these changes. What can be called the ‘reflexive modernity’ narrative focuses on socio-cultural reactions to technological change and assigns particular agency to consumer-citizens (see Giddens, 1990, 1991; Giddens, Beck & Lash, 1994; Lash & Urry, 1994; Ray, 1998). A second narrative is rooted in political economy, emphasising changes in capital accumulation regimes (eg, Escobar, 1996, 1998; McMichael, 2009; O’Connor, 1994). Taking into account both these stories shows how the revaluation of place, culture and environment were ‘over-determined’.

The reflexive modernity narrative highlights growing mistrust of what Giddens (1990) refers to as the ‘dis-embedding mechanisms’ of modernity, such as expert systems, technology and bureaucratic forms of governance. It presents this mistrust as arising from specific technological failures, including revelations about the harms of commonly-used chemicals or industrially-produced food, but also from a sense of the modern world as a “juggernaut” (Giddens, 1990, p.147), whose consequences are not fully controllable. This narrative thus interprets desire for re-connection with place, people and nature as an individualised, albeit inter-subjective, response to the anxieties of late modernity.

The political economy narrative focuses on the transformation of global capitalism, involving the unprecedented movement of capital across national frontiers, rewarding economies of scale and a cost-cutting ‘race to the bottom’. From the 1970s, technical advances in areas such as container shipping combined with trade and investment liberalisation to allow corporate consolidation in retail chains and agribusiness and new globalised value chains (Gereffi et al., 2005; McMichael, 2009). This freedom for capital to transcend frontiers was consolidated with the establishment of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 1994 and subsequent bilateral trade agreements. The political economy narrative presents these changes as part of a search by capital for new circuits of reproduction following exhaustion of the Fordist model, while also highlighting the

pressures they generated for countries, regions and producers to remain competitive by finding new sources of differentiation and added value.

Together, reflexive consumer anxieties about health, sustainability and ethics, and competitive pressures to seek differentiation and added value, can help explain the tendency for late modern consumption to attach value to intangible, symbolic or aesthetic qualities, which one author refers to as the “commodification of immaterial forms” (Gottdiener, 2000; see also Miele & Murdoch, 2002). One aspect of this tendency is the search within consumption for qualities distinct from a technological, homogenising and depersonalising vision of modernity, often evoking small scale, non-industrial methods, self-sufficiency or direct connections with people and nature (Ray, 1999; Tregear, 1998). It is the ability for goods and services to embody qualities such as authenticity, fairness or sustainability – thereby fulfilling this consumer yearning – which I believe provides the specific meaning of ‘products with identity’ as used in the TDI discourse.

4.1.1 Agro-food movements and networks: fair, organic and local

The uniquely intimate and culturally significant characteristics of food (Leitchford, 2008; Hollander, 2003) made it a particular focus of this tendency to demand and supply identity. The rapid globalisation in the agro-food sector simultaneously heightened consumer anxieties and created possibilities for symbolic and aesthetic product differentiation. This helps explain why agro-food networks and movements that emerged in the North have often been characterised as ‘alternative’, in the sense of sharing opposition to a ‘placeless’ corporate-controlled regime of food production and distribution (McMichael, 2009), yet they also grew in rhythm with this regime (Bidwell et al., 2015). While Chapter 5 explores the discourses associated with these movements, this section gives a brief overview of their emergence, which helps understand how their influence extended to Latin America through different market and institutional channels.

The most well-known of these movements, the organic movement, evolved from disparate soil conservation and alternative farming practices in Europe and North America during the first half of the twentieth century. These were drawn into countercultural movements in the 1960s that aimed to enact ecologically and socially kinder alternatives to industrialised food production and distribution (Gonzalez & Nigh, 2005; Goodman et al., 2012). Following growing consumer demand for organic food, the first organic certification programmes were established in Germany in 1973 and California in 1982. Governmental legislation and standards followed in the European

Union in 1991 and eventually in the United States in 2002. Global sales of certified organic products rose from effectively zero in 1980 to €64 billion by 2012 (Willer & Lernoud, 2014).

Fair trade's story is similar. Its origins lie in the relationships developed during the mid-20th century between solidarity and faith-based alternative trading organisations (ATOs) in the global North and artisan producers in the South. During the 1980s and 1990s, movements to expand support for vulnerable coffee and banana producers following global trade deregulation led to the establishment of fair trade labelling initiatives in several countries, which in 1997 formed the umbrella group Fairtrade Labelling Organisations (FLO) (Raynolds et al., 2004). Fair trade subsequently saw accelerating growth, bureaucratisation and diversification, as Fairtrade-certified products were adopted by major retailers and food processing companies (Goodman et al., 2012; Smith & Barrientos, 2005).

Another group of networks which respond to the so-called 'placeless' global agro-food regime fall under the banner of *re-localisation*. Fonte (2008) argues that these can be divided into two categories. The first, which she terms *reconnection*, encompasses farmer's markets, community-supported agriculture, buy local campaigns, and a general emphasis on reducing the physical and/or social distance between producer and consumer. These have been strongest in Northern Europe and North America (DuPuis & Goodman, 2005; Hinrichs, 2003; Winter, 2003). The *origins of food* stream emphasises connections between food and place, mediated by the shared values and knowledge embedded in local culture. It is most closely associated with Mediterranean Europe (Bowen, 2011; Bowen & Mutersbaugh, 2014).

The best-known origins of food movement is Slow Food, which began in Italy in 1986. Originally focused on conserving local gastronomic traditions, Slow Food's objectives later expanded to incorporate sustainability, quality and diversity in agro-food production, summed up by its motto of 'good, clean, fair' (Miele & Murdoch, 2002; van Bommel and Spicer, 2011). Slow Food has developed into a global network, with chapters in 160 countries. It disseminates its philosophy through mechanisms such as *presidia* (local groups set up to preserve traditional products and processing methods); the Ark of Taste, which catalogues 'endangered' heritage foods; and Terra Madre, a biannual international fair held in Turin.

4.1.2 The role of the State: CAP Pillar II, geographical indications and the Leader Programme

It was not just social movements but also governments who helped construct networks of value linked to place, culture and environment. In the European Union (EU), lobbying by environmental, consumer and alternative farming movements intersected with EU agendas to promote rural development in poorer peripheries, and to ‘WTO-proof’ farm subsidies (Goodman et al., 2012). From the 1980s, the EU’s Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) saw a gradual reorientation away from production-based subsidies (Pillar I) towards farm-level payments to support environmental services, employment and other public goods (Pillar II).

Social movements to revalue the origins of food were matched at State level with the establishment of an EU-wide framework for geographical indications (GIs). Protection of geographical product names had a long history, with the French system of *appellations d’origine* for wine and cheese and similar regimes in Italy and Spain. However, the scope and reach of GIs was significantly enlarged with the EU’s 2081/92 directive that harmonised and promoted the formalisation of place-product links (Goodman et al., 2012). By 2003, there were 618 non-wine GIs registered in the EU, of which approximately 70% were for cheese, meat products or olive oil (important to remember when considering the applicability of GIs to Andean products), and 80% from the Mediterranean countries of France, Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal (Rangnekar, 2004).

Another important initiative was the Links between Actions of Rural Development Programme (LEADER, or Leader, for its initials in French), a programme of rural development funding administered by the EU during 1991-2006, and since 2007 mainstreamed into national and regional rural development programmes (European Commission, 2006; Goodman et al., 2012; Ray, 2000). The Leader programme aimed to facilitate ‘bottom-up’ development strategies in territories characterised by small size (population between 10,000 and 100,000), relative sociocultural homogeneity and shared identity/traditions, not necessarily defined by administrative borders. It brought together private and public actors in local action groups (LAGs) to receive funding for integrated, multi-sectoral development initiatives, often related to food and agriculture. Ray argues that Leader initiatives were distinguished by being:

- *Territorial* – rather than sectoral, at a smaller than national or regional scale.
- *Endogenous* – based on local natural and cultural resources.

- *Participatory* – incorporating local priorities and values.

Although the level of funding committed to Leader was small as a proportion of EU rural development funding, its impact as a ‘laboratory’ for innovative rural development was larger. Leader had a clear influence on Latin American rural development researchers and practitioners, especially those associated with RIMISP, as a model for bringing together objectives related to economic development, social equity and diversity conservation. This use of Leader as a paradigm, and the assumptions this implies (particularly about the appropriate *scale* of territorial development), is revisited later in the thesis.

4.1.3 Connections to the South

The economic and cultural ‘turns’ in the North exerted influence on Latin America in various interrelated ways. The rise of reflexive consumption generated new demands for products identified as ethical, sustainable, or authentic, and this intersected with the ever-wider networks of international commerce generated by globalisation (Bidwell et al., 2015; Murray et al., 2014). Thus, from the 1980s on, there was not only rapid growth in fair trade, which adapted older models of solidarity-based exchange, but also new networks to meet burgeoning demands for organic products and exotic, nutritionally charged ‘superfoods’. This created new opportunities and challenges for Southern producers already engaged in international trade, while also drawing in “new territories and groups of producers who did not participate in the technically-based production systems typical of the Fordist period” (Cáceres et al., 2007, p.180).

Northern ‘demands’ came not only from consumers but also from development agencies, with funding and project priorities influenced by growing emphasis on promoting environmental sustainability and cultural diversity alongside economic objectives. The case study chapters to follow give examples of how changing Northern imaginaries of rural development influenced the kinds of initiatives that were supported. Latin American NGOs adapted to these agendas by shaping their proposals in terms that would find favour with funding agencies (see Asensio & Cavero Castillo, 2013; Desco, 2014; Shepherd, 2004).

Northern innovations also offered examples to be emulated, with influences travelling through networks of ‘policy mobility’ at multiple levels. Particularly important were the institutional and personal pathways connecting Mediterranean Europe to Latin America, which as Chapters 5 and 6 explore, saw Mediterranean-centric models such as

geographical indications, Slow Food, and the Leader programme exert notable influence on Latin American rural development from the 2000s. However, changes in the North were not simply reproduced in the very different social and political context of Latin America. Rather, they were one influence on complex change processes whose details need to be explored separately. This is the task of the rest of the chapter.

4.2 New development landscapes in Latin America

The remainder of this chapter explores reorientations in development discourse and practice in Latin America, focusing on how new visibilities and values associated with place, culture and environment emerged from the 1980s onwards. These reorientations involved both the rise of alternative values, and attempts to depoliticise and incorporate these within mainstream development.

Discussion of post-1980s changes in Latin America must necessarily acknowledge the influence of neoliberalism. In the narrow sense, this refers to a specific package of economic reforms required by international finance institutions in the wake of the 1980s debt crisis, while more broadly it involves a generalised extension of market mechanisms and competitive logic. Overall, I believe this is most usefully conceptualised in Peck and Tickell's (2002) terms as a process of *neoliberalisation*, in which "different local neoliberalisms are embedded within wider networks and structures of neoliberalism" (2002, p. 380), and which has both destructive and creative phases. While 'roll-back' neoliberalism involves the destruction of regulatory and welfarist regimes standing in the way of markets, 'roll-out' neoliberalism involves "new forms of institution-building and government intervention...within the neoliberal project" (Peck & Tickell, 2002, p. 390).

The concept of 'roll-out' neoliberalism fits well with Leiva's (2007) discussion of Latin American neostructuralism (focusing on Brazil and Chile) and Andolina et al.'s (2009) analysis of 'social neoliberalism' (oriented to the Andean countries). One common theme is how apparently 'progressive' causes such as sustainability, participation and gender equity can be compatible with the broader neoliberal project. However, another point to take from these discussions is that neoliberal agendas can have quite different content, methods, and even objectives. In reflecting on the 'neoliberal' qualities of discourse, I consistently return to these differences (and potential fractures) within neoliberalism.

4.2.1 The end of the developmentalist State

If, as Escobar (1995) suggests, *development* was a qualitatively new discourse and network of neo-colonial relations in the post-WWII period, by the end of the 20th century development itself had undergone qualitative change, nowhere more clearly than in Latin America. The key change was the end of the developmentalist State, with its promise to lead a modernizing process of productive transformation and social assimilation (Gwynne & Kay, 2004).

Between 1973 (the military coup in Chile) and 1990 (the election of Alberto Fujimori to the presidency of Peru), most Latin American countries underwent structural adjustment, typified by a significant reduction in the role and capacity of the State. Across Latin America, an initial phase of ‘roll-back’ neoliberalism involved actions to reduce inflation and balance budgets, alongside more ‘structural’ reforms such as trade liberalisation, deregulation and asset sales. In many places, this was followed by a second phase of ‘roll-out’ or ‘social’ neoliberalism which aimed to soften the consequences of economic reforms and promote social cohesion and inclusiveness (Andolina et al., 2009; Leiva, 2007).

Several Latin America-wide themes were associated with the new political economy of development. Reorientation towards export-led growth saw a drive to encourage investment, not only in traditional areas of comparative advantage but also in new niches such as non-traditional agriculture and tourism. More Latin American rural areas were drawn into international networks and flows, often involving intensified use of natural resources and the flexibilisation and feminisation of labour (Kay, 2006, 2009, 2015). These material changes were accompanied by discourses that lauded exporting achievements and effectively made being *competitive* into a patriotic and moral obligation.

Meanwhile, the reduced presence of the State as a development actor saw more resources and agency given to non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other ‘third sector’ organisations (Lindert & Verkoren, 2010). Neoliberal criticisms of State inefficiency found common cause with critiques of ‘top-down’ development to promote participatory, ‘demand-driven’ approaches to projects, involving local populations and (in theory) taking seriously their needs and priorities.

Accompanying these was the rise to dominance of *monetary poverty* as the primary way to analyse unevenness in development. While economic growth was the dominant measure of national progress, the poverty rate provided a corresponding ‘social’ indicator. The consolidation of reliable household survey data enabled questions of material shortfall and inequality to be interpreted as a depoliticised, technical challenge, mediated by arrays of categories, variables, and correlations.

In response to the challenging lacuna between markets, economic growth and poverty reduction, there was a surge of interest in the role of *social capital* within development, drawing on Putnam’s (1995) depiction of the positive externalities generated by networks of interpersonal trust and mutual obligation. Social capital offered a latent co-ordination mechanism which promised to resolve the acknowledged limitations of markets without recourse to government intervention (Fine, 2001, 2002).

To a significant extent, these themes set the general parameters for thought and action in Latin America from the later 1980s through to the 2000s, providing the ‘conditions of possibility’ for discursive evolution. The following sections look at how discourses of territory, identity and sustainability/diversity emerged in Latin America within this context, focusing particularly on how they manifested in Peru.

4.2.2 From the ‘new rurality’ to territorial rural development

From the mid-1990s, place began to occupy a key position in the basic ontology of Latin American development discourse, through what Asensio (2012) terms a ‘territorial turn’. Within academia, interest in territory emerged from discussions of *la nueva ruralidad* (‘the new rurality’). These analyses sought to move beyond a sectoral vision that equated the rural with agriculture, to understand rural areas as diverse spaces with connections and flows to and from urban areas. They highlighted the growing importance of non-agricultural activities to rural livelihoods; increasing mobility and diminishing sociocultural differences between urban and rural areas; the growth of rural towns or ‘intermediate cities’; and new global connections through non-traditional export industries, transnational migration and remittances.

Kay (2009) suggests that *la nueva ruralidad* informed new descriptive and normative frameworks for debating rural poverty and inequality in Latin America. What he terms ‘reformist’ approaches argued for building local institutional capacities, adding value to products and connecting rural populations to markets on more favourable terms. In Peru,

such reformist approaches were already being advocated by local NGOs by the mid-1990s, and indeed, were described as *territorial* in nature (eg, Desco, 1996). More transformative, ‘postdevelopment’ visions saw ‘new ruralities’ being constructed by peasant communities through resistance to neoliberalism as the basis for postcapitalist alternatives, underpinned by principles of sustainability, solidarity and self-sufficiency (see also Apfell-Marglin, 2002; Barkin, 2012; Escobar 1995, 2007, 2010).

Broader theoretical influences on the territorial turn included the new economic geography, which highlighted how spatial co-location and social interaction could generate positive externalities of social cohesion and influence economic competitiveness. Of particular interest to Latin America was the Italian literature on industrial districts and small business clusters (Bagnasco, 1977; Bianchini, 1991). Within Latin American development studies, the concept of ‘territorial dynamics’ (the economic, political, social and cultural processes *within* a territory) emerged as an explanatory factor for uneven changes in development indicators, spurred by interaction between econometric and case study-based research (see Bebbington et al., 2016 for a summary).

A territorial turn was also occurring in development practice, particularly in projects supported by the United Nations International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). Berdegú (2003) identifies a shift in IFAD’s interventions from the 1979-1989 period, which primarily focused on technology transfer at the farm level, to the 1990-2004 period, which he characterises as a period of “pragmatic creativity” focused on the community. Projects in this latter period used participatory techniques to define and implement diverse initiatives including support for non-agricultural activities, small-scale enterprises with rural-urban linkages, management of natural resources, recovery of traditional knowledge, and gender equity (see also Cleaver, 2013; Haudry de Soucy, 2009).

The years 2002-2004 saw what Asensio defines as the “theoretical crystallisation” of territorial rural development (TRD). Schejtman & Berdegú (2004) offered arguably the definitive articulation of TRD, bringing together reflections on the new rurality, the new economic geography, geographically uneven trends in development indicators, and the respective failures of national, sector-oriented projects and fragmented anti-poverty programmes (see also de Janvry & Sadoulet, 2004; Schejtman & Berdegú, 2008). They set the definition and goals of territorial rural development as follows:

We define territorial rural development as a process of *productive transformation and institutional change* whose objective is to reduce rural poverty and inequality in rural territories.

(Schejtman & Berdegúé, 2004, p.31, emphasis added)

TRD thus held out the promise of simultaneously achieving growth and addressing inequalities through a territorially focused, technical and collaborative approach:

Productive transformation is required in order to articulate the area's economy with dynamic markets in a competitive and sustainable way. This implies changes in patterns of employment and production within a particular rural territory....Institutional development has the objective of promoting the concerted action of local agents, both amongst themselves and with relevant external agents. Further it aims to change the formal and informal rules that perpetuate the exclusion of the poor from the processes and benefits of productive transformation.

(Schejtman & Berdegúé, 2004, p.32)

The TRD discourse was quickly adopted by development institutions, particularly those focusing on rural development such as IFAD, FAO and the Inter-American Institute for Cooperation in Agriculture (IICA). By the later 2000s the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) and OECD were also endorsing territorial approaches, and multiple Latin American countries developed decentralised, participatory rural development approaches, whether or not they explicitly referred to them as 'territorial' (Schejtman & Berdegúé, 2008).

The diverse threads informing the TRD discourse influenced how it 'touched down' in different places. Asensio (2012) argues that, in Peru, TRD's view of territories as socially constructed, meso-scale spaces involving rural-urban interactions unsettled well-established concepts of a singular Andean territoriality centred on the peasant community. However, Peru's long tradition of the community as a space of both identity and development interventions, including in IFAD's participatory innovations, continued to influence the way 'territory' was interpreted. Thus, a hybrid version of TRD emerged in Peru focused on the *municipal district*, which in the rural Andes usually means a population of fewer than 5,000 and often less than a thousand. It involved efforts to achieve 'productive transformation and institutional change', but at a much smaller scale than envisaged by TRD's theoretical progenitors. The consequences of this are explored further in the case studies and in final reflections in Chapter 10.

4.2.3 Development with identity

A trend that paralleled the territorial turn in Latin America was the growing recognition of cultural identity and diversity as important to both the process and meaning of development. While this reflected a wider ‘cultural turn’ in development (Pieterse, 1995; Radcliffe & Laurie, 2006) it took on special significance in Latin America where it crystallised in the discourse of *development with identity*, also referred to as *ethnodevelopment*.

This involved the articulation of ‘bottom-up’ and ‘top-down’ agendas. On one hand was the political mobilisation of indigenous groups seeking rights and recognition. Postero & Zamosc (2004) argue that from near invisibility in the 1970s, Latin American indigenous movements surged to prominence over the following thirty years, with demands including “territory, autonomy, cultural recognition and reforms to existing state structures” (2004, p.2). In Ecuador, the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) united Andean and Amazonian groups and managed to exert considerable influence on national politics; while in Bolivia joint action between the highland Katarista (Aymara) movement and a confederation of lowland groups in 1990 permanently changed the political landscape there (Postero, 2000).

On the other hand was the readiness of development agencies and some governments to engage with indigenous groups, giving new legal and constitutional recognition to indigenous rights and reorienting development interventions to address ethnic dimensions of inequality. By the mid-1990s, Bolivia had declared itself a multicultural state and development with identity was being actively promoted by the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, among others (Postero, 2000; Hales, 2005; Radcliffe, 2012). Without underplaying the agency of indigenous movements nor the role of “activist anthropologists” within the World Bank (Hales, 2005, p.17), the specific conjuncture of the 1990s helps explain these changes. A highly critical view of the statist era of development was a comfortable fit with arguments that indigenous peoples had been particularly disadvantaged by this mode of development.

Radcliffe and Laurie (2006) sum up the instrumental value that cultural diversity offered within the new development landscape as *culture as a product* and *culture as institution*. The potential of culture as product lay in the added value that “romantic association with Indian lifeways” (2006, p.241) could offer emerging markets demanding exoticism and authenticity, whether in agro-food products, crafts or tourism. Meanwhile, the value of

culture as institution lay in the assumed power of shared identity and traditional authority to underpin social capital. Andean indigenous culture was viewed as providing a non-State, uncorrupted and depoliticised order that was compatible with ideas of ‘good governance’. A number of projects explicitly sought to work with indigenous social structures, while, as following chapters discuss, representations of Andean culture as a guarantor of cooperation, cohesion and solidarity became generally embedded into development thinking.

The rapid incorporation of cultural diversity into mainstream development discourse challenged early postdevelopment writings which had depicted ‘local cultures’ as bastions of resistance against homogenising development agendas (Escobar, 1995; Sachs, 1992). Later reflections argued that the recognition of “cultural rights, when carefully delimited” (Hales, 2005, p.13) could cohere with broadly neoliberal projects of decentralised governance, constructing indigenous groups as ‘responsible’, self-regulating members of civil society, while defusing the more radical potential of indigenous movements. This is summed up by the idea of ‘neoliberal multiculturalism’ (Hales, 2005, see also Boccara, 2012; Postero, 2000).

Critics of such co-optation argued that cultural challenges should not just be about obtaining rights and recognition for excluded groups but should seek to redefine development or transcend it (Escobar, 2007, 2010; Gudynas, 2011). During the 1990s and 2000s Andean indigenous cultures gained prominence as the theoretical source for the alternative paradigm[s] of *sumak kawsay* (Quechua), *sumaq qamana* (Aymara) and *buen vivir / vivir bien* (Spanish, all usually translated as ‘living well’ in English). These emerged from the intersection of indigenous, ecologist and left-wing political movements and were incorporated into the new constitutions of Bolivia and Ecuador in 2008 and 2009, respectively. Broadly speaking, these concepts promote the idea of quality of life as necessarily embedded in social equity and ecological harmony. Most interpretations de-centre economic growth, while some reject human-nature duality and the idea of linear ‘progress’ (see Gudynas, 2016).

Alongside these theoretical debates about culture and development, a body of case study-based research explored the renegotiation of knowledge, power and values in ‘encounters’ of Andean populations with the State, markets and development agencies (to cite just a selection: Andolina et al., 2009; Andolina, 2012; Bebbington, 2000, 2001, Bebbington et

al., 2008; Gustafson, 2009; Healy, 2001; Perreault, 2001, 2005; Rhoades, 2006). While some also engaged with wider debates on culture and development, such studies placed these questions in the context of concrete efforts to improve livelihoods, defend access to resources and contest discrimination. It is this pragmatic, place-based tradition that I argue informs RIMISP's interpretation of development with identity and its fusion with territorial development, discussed further in Chapter 6.

4.2.4 Environmental sustainability and diversity

As territory and identity were being worked into development discourse, environmental debates were challenging the very notion of development. The 1987 report of the United Nations Brundtland Commission was a watershed moment for environmental issues, popularising the term *sustainable development* and the concept of inter-generational equity. In 1992, the first Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro established the United Nations Framework on Climate Change and the Convention on Biodiversity. After 1987-1992, most development initiatives had to at least pay lip service to sustainability. Within the multiple competing discourses on environmental questions, the sustainability discourse established a consensual middle ground in which the environment became a mainstream concern (Dryzek, 2005).

A specific theme within environmental debates was a critical re-evaluation of the Green Revolution. While packages of improved hybrid seeds, fertilisers and pesticides had produced a 'miracle' of increased agricultural production in some areas, the darker side was longer-term decline of soil fertility, environmental contamination and loss of biodiversity, along with increasing local inequalities. In places less amenable to technology-intensive cultivation, including the steep, arid Andes, costs weighed heavily against any benefits (Brush, 1992; Shepherd, 2004, 2010, 2019). Emerging perspectives highlighted the risks of monocultivation, with loss of genetic diversity making crops vulnerable to pests, diseases and climate change; and the nutritional limitations of industrial agriculture, as food security was revised from a simple question of delivering sufficient calories, to emphasise the need for nutritional quality and variety (Brush, 1992; Zimmerer, 2017).

The Brundtland report helped the concept of *biodiversity* achieve a meteoric rise to discursive stardom: first coined by a group of US biologists in 1986 to capture concerns about accelerating species loss (Jetzkowitz et al., 2018), its prominence was sealed just six years later by the 1992 Convention on Biodiversity. The notion of *agrobiodiversity*

followed a similar trajectory to its parent concept, from first published mention in 1988 to global prominence by the late 1990s. In short, it signalled the rediscovery and re-evaluation of species, varieties, foods and farming systems that had been overlooked or disparaged by emphasis on productivity, standardisation and mass marketability (Zimmerer, 2015).

Recognising the value of agrobiodiversity did not necessarily overturn existing knowledge/power hierarchies. However, as with cultural diversity, it did at least generate new ontologies and make visible different agents and motivations within development discourse. Following the Brundtland Report, there was increasing recognition of indigenous knowledge of agronomy and environment (sometimes referred to as ‘traditional ecological knowledge’ or TEK). Not only was traditional agriculture acknowledged as a historic source of diversity, recognition of the need for *in situ* conservation of crops such as the potato also meant that the knowledge and skills of peasant farmers would need to be enrolled in their ongoing conservation (Shepherd, 2010; cf Altieri et al., 1987).

Environmental visibilities and values were included in both territorial rural development and development with identity. While TRD theory primarily conceptualised territory as a socially constructed scale, the physical contours of space and the available ‘environmental resources’ were seen as important components of territorial development strategies. In Peru, a series of IFAD-led rural development projects used physical geography (basin and micro-basin watersheds) to frame interventions, while making the rational and efficient use of natural productive resources by families and communities the focus for poverty reduction strategies (Cleaver, 2013; FIDA, 2002).

The environment was also relevant to development with identity, given that natural resources were recognised as crucial to indigenous livelihoods and the spaces indigenous groups occupied were often of strategic interest to broader-scale environmental issues. Ethnic social capital and traditional knowledge could be entrusted with devolved governance of natural resources (Andolina, 2012) or even mark out “not-quite neoliberal spaces” that could legitimately be protected from market forces (Anthias & Radcliffe, 2015). A seven-year development intervention in Ecuador’s Cotacachi province specifically framed development with identity as the intersection of participatory development and sustainability science (Rhoades, 2006).

Environment-culture intersections were particularly important to identity-based challenges to development in Peru, where groups self-identifying as indigenous had much less national political presence than in Ecuador or Bolivia. At the forefront of these challenges was the Andean Technology Recovery Project (PRATEC, for its initials in Spanish). PRATEC was created by a group of individuals of Andean origin with long experience as development practitioners, who, according to Apfell-Marglin (2002), ‘de-professionalised themselves’ in order to articulate and revive Andean ontologies, epistemology and ethics (often expressed as *cosmovision*) from outside the mainstream. A fundamental goal was to revalorise Andean farming practices by drawing the connections between cosmovision, traditional knowledge and techniques, and the rich diversity of Andean agricultural products.

PRATEC and other NGOs taking similar approaches in the Peruvian Andes were characterised by what one of the founders of PRATEC described as ‘agro-centrism’ (see also Shepherd, 2010). This places the *chacra* (cultivated field) at the geographic centre of culture and makes cultivation the primary practice of Andean life. Scientific recognition of cultural knowledge as essential to agrobiodiversity conversation helped this vision to gain mainstream validity. Arguably, therefore, the Peruvian version of development with identity was predominantly expressed not through national politics but at the level of field and food. I explore the significance of this further in Chapter 5.

4.3 Analysing discourses of place, culture and environment: Enabling ‘roll-out’ neoliberalism or contesting extractivism?

At face value, the incorporation of values related to place, culture and environment represented a softening or even correction of previous development discourses based on homogenising modernisation. In the Andes, they appeared to offer possibilities for re-evaluating aspects of life and livelihoods which had been ignored or disparaged by assimilationist agendas. Further, these values might be assumed to temper the acceleration of a growth-based paradigm under neoliberalism. Indeed, local, indigenous and environmental movements have often been portrayed as leading resistance to neoliberal agendas (Buscher et al., 2012).

However, as previous sections touch on, critics have argued that new visibilities and values of place, culture and environment were compatible with the wider neoliberal project and even helped strengthen it. These critics suggest that new discourses contributed to reformulating and stabilising a slimmed-down State, enrolling new actors

into depoliticised projects governed by market disciplines, and opening up new possibilities for the commodification and control of people and nature. In short, their argument is that these values became part of 'roll-out' neoliberalism, which consolidated and deepened market rule in the wake of its 'roll-back' phase.

While these critical perspectives make valid points, they risk depicting neoliberalism as monolithic and 'totalising' (Ferguson, 2009; Gibson-Graham, 2006), treating any apparently neoliberal features of thought and action as complicit in its broader agenda, and leaving the only possibility of resistance to social movements which somehow remain untainted by neoliberal values. I suggest that focusing on the neoliberal characteristics of discourses limits analysis of their *differences* in the historical context of Andean Latin America. Further, it risks drawing an artificial boundary between 'mainstream' and 'alternative' agendas, obscuring the discursive ground they share and contest. For a subtler analysis, I argue that making the following distinctions is necessary.

Distinguishing between destructive, 'modern', and conserving, 'postmodern' logics of development

Critics of the sustainable development discourse argue that it enables the 'capitalisation of nature.' While the 'modern' form of capital accumulation directly exploits the natural world, an emerging 'postmodern' or ecological' form of capital seeks to conserve, manage, and extract profit from nature through such diverse mechanisms as biotechnologies, tourism and environmentally-linked marketing (Escobar, 1996; McAfee, 1999; O'Connor, 1994).

These arguments unsettle assumptions that environmental concerns and capitalist agendas are naturally opposed. However, they do not negate the genuine differences between extractive and conserving modes of development. To cite one possible contrast, mining and ecotourism may differ not only in their landscape impacts but also in political, economic, and socio-cultural implications. Therefore, it is worth acknowledging the differences between the discursive logics supporting each mode, and the ways they can be used to support quite different uses of space and social relations.

Distinguishing between exclusionary, dispossessing neoliberalisation and devolved, empowerment-based governmentality

Critical geographers have discussed the ‘neoliberalisation of nature’ through the governance, privatisation, enclosure and valuation of natural resources (Castree, 2008; Heynen & Robins, 2005). Although this discussion tends to emphasise destructive modes, it also acknowledges a conserving variant, which has been described as ‘neoliberal conversation’ (Buscher et al., 2012). In some cases, this involves forms of ‘primitive accumulation’ which disempower and exclude local populations through the creation of parks and reserves, extraction of genetic material, and various other systems of appropriation and “biocolonialism” (Barkin, 2012, S16).

However, in other cases, indigenous and *campesino* communities are not excluded but rather empowered and made responsible for conserving and/or marketing their natural resources. Critics have analysed the latter as a form of neoliberal governmentality, a ‘symbolic conquest’, in which local communities are inscribed with external agendas, “shotgunned or seduced into conceiving of themselves as proprietors or stewards” (O’Connor, 1994, p.7; see also Escobar 1996; Saad, 2009).

Again, the material differences between these situations are relevant. While acknowledging how techniques of governmentality can exert indirect control, symbolic conquest is still different from *physical* conquest, and the implications for livelihoods may also be quite different. Indeed, the details of cases described as ‘symbolic conquest’ can sometimes be hard to distinguish from what other authors with postdevelopment credentials characterise as “proposals...designed from the local point of view, where the inhabitants become the protagonists of the recovery and preservation of their resources” (Barkin, 2012, S16).

Distinguishing between specific neoliberal agendas such as decentralised governance and marketisation, and longstanding inequalities of knowledge and power

This point relates to analyses which identify neo-colonial knowledge/power hierarchies in the ‘participatory’ interactions between local communities and development actors. These show how workshops and capacity-building exercises run by development practitioners, “attempt to forge communities for the market and to make willing subjects ready to learn entrepreneurial behaviors” (Walker et al., 2008, p.529). Such critiques help show that knowledge/power hierarchies can remain intact despite changes in the content and

methods of development interventions. However, there is nothing inherently *neoliberal* about these hierarchies. Rather, efforts to cultivate what Hirsch (2017) calls “indigenous entrepreneurialism” can be seen as a stylistic substitution for previous (also hierarchical) modes of modernising development. Even if, as Shepherd (2010) argues, interventions always work to limit the possible choices, these ‘participatory’ methods *might* offer new opportunities for local populations to reinterpret and rework development agendas

All these distinctions caution against diagnosing neoliberalism as a short cut to careful analysis of the political and material implications of discourse. Within the case studies, I consider the extent that initiatives related to agro-food heritage can be seen as exercises in neoliberal governmentality. In this section, I focus on the meaningful distinction between extractive and conserving logics, and the difference between dispossession and empowerment-based agendas. A crucial point is that ‘roll-out’ neoliberalism, in the form of conservation and participatory approaches, was far from dominant in Andean Latin America during the early 21st century. Rather, as commodity prices boomed, an extractive logic dominated. Across the political spectrum, Latin American countries saw intensification of resource extraction, underpinned by centralised decision-making, economistic visions of development and side-lining of environmental concerns (Li, 2015).

This trend was particularly strong in Peru where a permissive regulatory regime and the upswing in mineral prices underpinned a boom in extractive industries, and national political rhetoric drew tight lines between mining, economic growth and development. The ‘roll-back’ logic governing Peruvian extractivism was articulated by then-president Alan Garcia in *El Perro del Hortelano* (‘the dog in the manger’), a 2007 newspaper op-ed where he argued that much territory and resources owned by peasant and indigenous communities were ‘idle’ and should be opened up for investment, primarily by extractive industries.

However, extractive policies also advanced under nominally ‘post-neoliberal’ governments such as in Bolivia and Ecuador, where governing parties sought a much stronger role for the State in resource governance and economic redistribution but who were drawn to the potential revenue bonanza from extractive industries as a way of meeting their redistributive commitments. In both countries, this ‘neo-extractivist’ approach led to the breakdown of alliances between governing parties and the

environmental or indigenous groups that had contributed to their rise to power (Acosta, 2011; Bebbington, 2009; Burchadt & Dietz, 2014; Gudynas, 2010).

In this context, values of territorial uniqueness, sustainability and diversity were sometimes articulated as part of counter-discourses to extractivism, with the *market* value of these qualities mobilised alongside assertions of human and environmental rights. In socio-environmental conflicts in Peru, groups opposed to extractive projects sometimes argued for alternative development strategies based on agriculture and ecological or cultural tourism (Observatorio de Conflictos Mineros en América Latina, 2008; Vargas Koch et al., 2018). They thus challenged assertions that they were anti-development ‘dogs in the manger’ by highlighting the market potential of activities they presented as more environmentally sustainable, socially and economically inclusive and amenable to local control. In other words, ‘roll-out neoliberal’ values were mobilised against (other forms of) neoliberalism.

An interesting case in Peru is the Ministry for the Environment’s Economic and Ecological Zoning framework (ZEE, for its initials in Spanish) process. Linked to territorial development concepts, this involves a regional-level process to establish plans for the “sustainable use of a territory and its natural resources” (MINAM, accessed May 2019). Despite its technocratic nature and overall subservience to a neoliberal logic of “helping territories identify their comparative advantage” (MINAM, accessed May 2019), this process nevertheless became a source of controversy when local government actors in the Cajamarca region sought to use it to define mining-free areas (Barrantes et al., 2012). Lugón (2015) highlights the ambivalence of central government towards this framework and notes the outright hostility of those outside the environmental sector.

The point is not to suggest that discourses of territory, identity and sustainability necessarily empower historically marginalised groups. It is possible for ‘sustainable’ and ‘identity-based’ initiatives to extend and intensify market logic and worsen local inequalities; while conversely, there may be opportunities for local/indigenous groups to gain political and material benefits within an extractive context (Burchadt & Dietz, 2014; Hirsch, 2017; Vindal Odegaard & Rivera Andia, 2019). Rather, the point is that these discourses cannot be easily classified as offshoots of a single, coherent neoliberal ideology. Even where they fall in line with identifiably neoliberal agendas such as devolved governance and marketization, they can be mobilised for ‘alternative’ purposes

and in favour of less powerful actors. The extent to which this happens, and with what results, is a question for empirical exploration. I return to this point throughout the thesis as part of my argument for linking critique of discourse to local case studies.

4.4 Conclusions

This chapter has traced the ways place, culture and environment were incorporated into Latin American development discourse from the 1980s, through interactions between global economic and cultural transformations, new systems of knowledge, reforms in development practice, and the demands of social movements. Collectively, these changes enabled different ways of imagining and pursuing rural development in Latin America, by basing development strategies on local priorities and resources, and by considering cultural and environmental values as part of the process and meaning of development. They also offered ways to see the livelihoods and practices maintained in the Andes, not as obstacles to development, but as sources of social capital, sustainability and diversity.

Although ideas about culturally appropriate and sustainable development became part of mainstream orthodoxy, in practice, values related to place, culture and environment were far from dominant. The chapter discusses the emergence of neo-extractivism during the 2000s, supported by actors from across the political spectrum. It argues that despite being entangled with processes of 'roll-out' neoliberalism, discursive emphasis on place, culture and environment could be mobilised to contest this extractive logic.

Separate discourses connecting place, culture or environment to development were linked, though only loosely. Territorial rural development theories presented local identity as a source of social cohesion, though this remained vague within discussions led by economists. Meanwhile, development with identity was primarily associated with groups explicitly self-identifying as indigenous and limited in scope by its evocation of essentialised culture-territory relationships (Perreault, 2001). Bringing territory, identity and development together would therefore require an explicit discursive synthesis. I argue that in Andean Latin America farming and food offered a sphere where such systematic connections could be made, in ways that would incorporate environmental as well as economic, social and cultural agendas. This was possible because of emerging discourses that offered new ways of seeing local agro-food traditions, distinct from their longstanding association with poverty and backwardness. Chapter 5 now goes on to explore these discourses.

Chapter 5 Discourses of food provenance and the invention of agro-food heritage

In the Global North, new values associated with food, farming and rural spaces were intimately linked with the economic and cultural transformations occurring there. While it acknowledges influences from the North, the discourse genealogy needs to analyse changing visibilities and values in the very different context of Andean Latin America. Therefore, this chapter builds on Chapter 4's analysis of post-1980s changes in discourses about development, to explore how new ways of thinking about farming and food evolved over a similar time period.

The first part of the chapter discusses four global discourses of food provenance. The first two, *ethical consumption* and *local agro-food systems*, offer reformist visions for incorporating concern with provenance within market-based systems. The second two, *agroecology* and *food sovereignty* propose more transformational alternatives to conventional systems of food production and distribution.

In the second half of the chapter I explore how these emerging visibilities and values of food provenance contributed to creating the broad discourse of *patrimonio agroalimentario* (agro-food heritage) in Peru. I argue that this was mediated by two important local processes. First, the depiction of the Andes as a space of *biocultural diversity* allowed its farming practices and food products to be reinterpreted as valuable. Second, Peru's 'gastronomic boom' popularised connections between place and food and linked them to wider social and economic agendas.

As in Chapter 4, I reflect on the relationship of the new visibilities and values of agro-food heritage to neoliberalism. Again, I suggest that this relationship is complex, arguing that the efforts to achieve Peru's 2011 moratorium on genetically modified organisms offer another striking example of how these values have been mobilised to contest certain agendas of neoliberal capitalism.

5.1 Global discourses of food provenance

Chapter 1 has introduced Morgan et al.'s (2006) concept of *provenance*, which I interpret as spanning a range of interests in the conditions of food production and distribution. In this broad sense, provenance can be geographical (where a product comes from, qualities associated with place of origin); socio-cultural (who made it, how, the social relations and

meanings involved in its production and distribution); and environmental (the human-nature interactions involved in production, distribution and consumption).

This covers similar ground to what other researchers have conceptualised as *alternative agro-food networks* or *movements* (Goodman et al., 2012; Maye, 2013; Tregear, 2011), but with some conceptual differences. The notion of ‘alternative’ is linked with opposition to what is variously termed the industrial, corporate, or neoliberal agro-food regime (McMichael, 2009). While framed as a universal cause, this tends to assume geographically specific concerns, such as the dominance of oligopolistic agribusiness in North America or major retail chains in Europe (Goodman et al., 2012), neither of which necessarily has the same salience in Latin America. Provenance therefore offers a broader umbrella for a genealogical approach which seeks to understand how new interests have emerged in both ‘alternative’ and ‘mainstream’ contexts.

The focus on discourses, rather than on networks or movements, fits with this objective of tracing how ways of thinking about food have changed (while acknowledging that discourses are often closely aligned with specific networks or movements). In this chapter, I follow Dryzek’s pluralistic approach to analysing discourses as competing and/or complementary ways of thinking about the world, which embed different assumptions about what exists and what is important. I argue that the four discourses discussed in this section represent the main ways that questions of food provenance have been framed globally since the 1980s. Further, I suggest that all make important and unique contributions to the invention of local agro-food heritage as a development strategy in the Andes.

For each discourse, I give a brief overview of its historical context, its representative and normative characteristics and its influence in Latin America, focusing on Peru. To explore discursive characteristics, I draw on Dryzek’s (2005) categories of *basic ontology*, *agents and their motivations*, *natural relationships* and *rhetorical strategies*. I also discuss *tensions* within each discourse, referring to potential contradictions, contested interpretations, or what Leiva (2007) calls *silences and omissions*. I highlight the particular aspects of each discourse which contribute to the content and logic of TDI and LAFH, as well as noting the tensions that will require further critical scrutiny in later chapters.

5.1.1 Removing the veil: The discourse of ethical consumption

Among the discourses considered in this chapter, ethical consumption is arguably the most prominent in the English-speaking world. Ethical consumption foregrounds market exchange relationships as a key sphere of activity and argues that addressing disconnections and power imbalances in markets is the primary way to achieve social justice and environmental sustainability.

Ethical consumption provides the main discursive frame for two groups of networks and movements which apply similar principles at different scales. First, the ‘re-localisation’ movements that Fonte (2008) classifies as involving *reconnection* between producers and consumers. Second, *certification and labelling systems*, which give consumers information about product provenance and which Barham (2002) refers to as “values-based labelling”. Fair trade is arguably the iconic ethical consumption movement, spanning both reconnection- and certification-based networks.

The primary agents of the ethical consumption discourse are *ethical consumers*, who are motivated by concern for the impacts of their consumption decisions (Barnett et al., 2005; Lyon, 2006). Ethical consumers sit in relationships of charitable “caring at a distance” with *small producers and workers* in the South, who are often referred to as ‘poor’ or ‘vulnerable’ (Barnett et al., 2005, p.23). In the North, they engage in more horizontal relationships with *local producers*, with this more direct contact assumed to encourage greater transparency and mutual benefit (Tregear, 2011).

Ethical consumption can involve concern for ecological and geographical, as well as social, provenance, and it is often combined with the agroecology/organics and local agro-food systems discourses, discussed below. However, while valuing relationships to the environment or to place, ethical consumption primarily highlights the ways these relationships can be made transparent to consumers. Its emphasis on morally guided transactions is summed up by the fair trade principles of ‘partnership, transparency, mutual respect, and dialogue’ (Raynolds et al., 2004; Tallontaire, 2006).

A fundamental tension within the discourse relates to the goal of reforming markets by re-embedding them in social relationships. Advocates emphasise the ability of social movements to define and enforce standards for market exchange (Raynolds, 2012), while more critical perspectives focus on the ability of ‘market-oriented’ actors such as large food corporations and retailers to rework standards to suit themselves and to engage in

‘greenwashing’ or ‘fairwashing’, gaining kudos by participating in networks while making minimum commitments to them (Jaffee & Howard, 2010; Fridell et al., 2008).

A deeper criticism is that ethical consumption places too much emphasis on individual decision-making, reinforcing social atomisation and closing off collective or political avenues to make change (Allen & Guthman, 2006; Fridell, 2007). These criticisms are particularly directed at certification-based trade but also extend to reconnection-based local networks, which critics argue tend to be socially homogenous, elitist, and exclusionary (Goodman et al., 2012; Allen & Guthman, 2006; Hinrichs, 2003).

In Latin America, ethical consumption has had significant material impacts through the fair trade and organic export networks that developed from the 1980s for tropical commodities such as coffee, cacao and bananas. These networks initially grew through North-South solidarity with indigenous movements in Mexico (Fridell, 2007; Mier et al., 2018) and the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua (Bacon, 2013). Elsewhere, new export networks supported transition from the Fordist trade regime and in some cases offered opportunities for places without a strong historical presence in conventional markets. This included Peru, which has become the largest global exporter of organic coffee (Pay, 2009), a significant supplier of fair trade coffee and the second largest exporter of organic cacao (Agro Negocios Peru, 2017).

The discourse of ethical consumption has been deployed somewhat differently in Latin America than in the North. In general, ethical export networks are framed more as opportunities for added value than as enabling producer-consumer reconnection. This is evidenced by the Peruvian export promotion agency’s identification of fair trade as a growing market niche characterised by consumer demands for transparency (Carranza Arroyo, 2015; MINCETUR, 2012); and by producers’ transactional view of ethical networks that require them to comply with detailed requirements in return for (often limited) economic benefits (Leitchford, 2008; Lyon, 2006; Moberg, 2014). From this perspective, the distinction between ‘movement-oriented’ and ‘market-oriented’ motives matters less than the concrete benefits for Southern producers and workers. In Peru, new relational agro-food networks such as fairs, festivals and speciality stores have emerged, but these often emphasise the health, ecological and origin-based qualities of products more than explicit agendas of producer-consumer reconnection.

The concepts of ethical consumption nevertheless play an important role in the discourses of TDI and LAFH. For these discourses, a key agent is the ethical or reflexive consumer, who can be reached through direct contact or (especially) by use of certifications. The willingness of the ethical consumer to pay more for values related to provenance is vital to obtaining a market premium for *products with identity*, and therefore to the goals of achieving equitable economic gains and sustaining biocultural diversity in rural territories. The practical challenges to valuing the identities of Andean agro-food products through certification and/or relational networks thus become a key theme in later chapters.

5.1.2 *Terroir* and territory: The discourse of local agro-food systems

The discourse of local agro-food systems (LAFS) has been developed and articulated since the 1980s primarily by scholars from Mediterranean Europe (France, Italy and Spain). Like ethical consumption, the LAFS discourse portrays agriculture and food as embedded in social and environmental relationships and explores ways for markets to uphold the value of these relationships. However, a key difference is the role of *place* as a source of value and social connection. The LAFS discourse is most closely associated with the Slow Food movement and with the values underpinning geographical indications (Bowen & Mutersbaugh, 2014).

A fundamental feature of the LAFS basic ontology is *terroir*. Translated into English as the ‘taste of place’ (Trubek, 2008), this French concept refers to the way food bears the imprint of geography, not only from physical features such as soil, climate and water but also from local cultural and technical practices. On the one hand, the concept of *terroir* reflects intuitive folk understandings of place-product relationships, which, as later chapters show, are as deeply embedded in the Peruvian Andes as in rural France. On the other, it has long had a political-economic dimension, mobilised by French wine producers to defend their products against economic threats ranging from the place-independent reputation developed by large estates in Champagne, to cheaper Algerian imports (Nowak, 2018; Trubek, 2008).

The LAFS discourse extends its basic ontology from *terroir* to *territory*, by highlighting the densely clustered relationships of production, processing, distribution and consumption which consolidate the identities of ‘typical’ local foods. For example, Bowen (2010) explores how the knowledge and traditions of dairy farmers, cheese

makers, agers and tasters have collectively shaped and defended the unique characteristics of Comte cheese.

The key agents in the LAFS discourse are ‘local’ actors, including farmers, firms, and consumers who are linked not only by spatial proximity but also by shared know-how and values passed down over generations. Its central metaphor is the notion of products being ‘anchored’ in places. Territorial anchoring is consolidated through what LAFS advocates term *patrimonialisation* (Boucher & Reyes-Gonzales, 2016; Sanz Cañada & Muchnik, 2016). This involves, first, defining what makes a product ‘typical’; and second, promoting product identity, which can be through formal marks such as geographical indications but also through “agro-tourism routes, festivals and museums, proximity markets [and] terroir retailer brands” (Sanz Cañada & Muchnik, 2016, e002).

Achieving these objectives requires institutional networks that bring together different local actors to agree common definitions, standards and strategies. Such institutions are argued to generate positive externalities such as reproducing local knowledge and sharing innovation, while also generating a platform for wider territorial development strategies. This notion that valorising food identities can simultaneously support economic competitiveness and generate public goods is described by various authors as a ‘virtuous circle’ (Belletti et al., 2015; Boucher & Reyes-Gonzalez, 2016; van de Kop et al., 2007; Vandecastelaere et al., 2010), a key concept that Chapter 6 explores further.

An important tension is that the emphasis on collaboration based on spatial proximity, shared culture and values tends to obscure power inequalities between different ‘local’ actors. Further, by defining what is (and is not) a ‘typical’ local product, *patrimonialisation* inevitably has exclusionary implications. The goal of creating economic value can generate pressure to rework local foods to be acceptable to extra-local consumers; or alternatively, *patrimonialisation* may enforce elitist, romanticised visions of authenticity (McDonald, 2013; Galtier et al., 2013; Murray & Overton, 2016; Turner, 2016; West & Domingos, 2012).

It is unclear how much influence the LAFS discourse had on the increase in GIs registered during the 2000s in several Latin American countries, notably Peru, Brazil, Colombia and Chile (Bidwell et al., 2015; Wilkinson et al., 2017) given that, in Peru at least, GIs have primarily been treated as one mechanism among others for adding market value and their implementation has been rather superficial. Research for this thesis found

that denomination of origin (DO) applications had often been prepared without broad social participation or much debate about boundaries and definitions. Regulating councils for some products had been established but did not function in practice. In the case of four GIs for indigenous (non-coffee) products, there was no evidence of the DO actually being used in commercial transactions).⁵

Nevertheless, the LAFS discourse has exerted influence through other channels. A few development projects have explicitly sought to promote the concept of local agro-food systems in Latin America (Requier-Desjardins et al., 2003; Boucher & Reyes-Gonzalez, 2016), while the LAFS discourse has been disseminated through Slow Food's involvement in projects and alliances with Latin American institutions, and by individuals of Mediterranean origin working in Latin American and/or multilateral institutions. This influence has flourished thanks to affinities between the LAFS discourse and longstanding traditions in Andean Latin America linking geographical diversity, local productive specialisation and provisioning or exchange networks.

LAFS has a strong influence on the intersection of TDI and LAFH. It is the primary source of the concept of place as an anchor for *products with identity*, the emphasis on territorial collaboration and the idea of a 'virtuous circle' linking economic advantage with biocultural sustainability. However, the apparent applicability of Mediterranean-origin discourses to Andean Latin America obscures important historical and social differences between the two contexts. Following chapters consider these differences alongside the tensions inherent in the discourse.

5.1.3 Sustainable farming: Organic and agroecological discourses

Whereas ethical consumption and local agro-food systems are both preoccupied with the social construction of the value of food, organic and agroecological discourses focus primarily on the human-environment relationships involved in the *production* of food. The basic ontology in agroecological discourse is the ecosystem that connects the natural environment, wild and cultivated plants, microorganisms, animals, and people in relationships of mutual interdependence. As a practice, its core principles include:

... recycling nutrients and energy on the farm, rather than introducing external inputs; enhancing soil organic matter and soil biological activity; diversifying

⁵ These are maca from Junin-Pasco, Cuzco giant white maize, *pallares* (Lima beans) from Ica and the *loche* squash from Chiclayo. In making this assertion I draw on interviews with institutional representatives involved in the development, registration and promotion of GIs as well as a report on the Cuzco giant white maize DO (Alianza de Aprendizaje Peru et al., 2011).

plant species and genetic resources in agroecosystems over time and space; integrating crops and livestock and optimizing interactions and productivity of the total farming system, rather than the yields of individual species.

(Altieri & Toledo, 2011, p.588)

Local/indigenous knowledge is often acknowledged as important to agroecological approaches, and indigenous farming systems are sometimes treated as emblematic examples of agroecology where they include locally-adapted crops or breeds, polycultures, complementary plant and animal interactions and conservation of non-cultivated biodiversity (Altieri & Toledo 2011). However, traditional farming practices are not necessarily considered agroecological, and Western agronomic and biological science remain sources of knowledge and legitimacy (Gliessman, 1998).

The concepts of ‘organic’ and ‘agroecological’ share a common history (covered briefly at the start of Chapter 4). A key theme of debate is the ‘bifurcation’ or ‘conventionalisation’ of organics, particularly in the United States, where growing consumer demand for organic products attracted large-scale agribusiness and mainstream distribution interests (Goodman et al., 2012; Guthman, 2004). Critics argue that the reduction of organics to a set of standards cemented an ‘input-substitution’ model favourable to industrialised farming, allowing monocultivation, large-scale use of (organic) external inputs, and excluding social values. They thus distinguish between *organic* production, which meets certification standards, and *agroecological* farming, carried out in accordance with principles of equilibrium and sustainability (but which may not meet criteria for organic certification).

The broadest interpretation of agroecology extends these principles not only to the natural but also the social environment surrounding food production and consumption. This reading is closely linked with food sovereignty, and agroecology was named as one of the six pillars of the food sovereignty movement in the Nyeleni Declaration in 2007. At the other extreme, agroecology has been interpreted as set of technical practices which can be selectively used to improve the sustainability of conventional farming. Giraldo & Rosset see “a real threat of co-optation” (2018, p.546) from growing interest in agroecological techniques as optional tools within industrial farming systems. They thus see the discourse of agroecology as a “territory in dispute”, with battles playing out in the wording of multilateral declarations (see FAO, 2015) and in the content of public policies.

The agroecology/organic discourse has exerted significant influence in Peru.⁶ This began in the 1980s when researchers from La Molina National Agrarian University began to trial agroecological initiatives as an alternative to unsuccessful Green Revolution-style experiments in the Andes. This was closely connected with renewed interest in Andean products and farming practices, which were recognised to fulfil many of the principles of agroecology (see Section 5.2). The Ecological Agricultural Network (RAE for its initials in Spanish) had its first national meeting in 1989, while publications of conference proceedings, the establishment of university courses and formation of local networks followed during the 1990s (Wu Guin & Alvarado, 2015).

In parallel, opportunities for Peruvian coffee, banana and cacao producers to enter organic export niches were driving a need for robust certification systems. The RAE led the establishment of a local organic certifier, Inka-Cert, in 1994, which later joined in a network arrangement across several Latin American countries and was renamed Biolatina in 1998. An organic producers organisation (ANPE, for its initials in Spanish) was created in 1998, broadening protagonism beyond the NGO/academic sector, and the movement also strengthened connections with local consumers. In 1999, the first *bioferia* (weekly organic fair) was established in the Lima district of Miraflores, and by 2016 there were at least 30 *bioferias* operating in Lima and other regions, including Arequipa (discussed in Chapter 7). Peru's Organic or Ecological Production Promotion Law (Law 29196) was passed in 2008, coming into force in 2012 and providing for the constitution of the first regional organic production councils (COREPOs) in 2013.

To date in Peru, agroecology has involved largely shared terrain among different actors, with less evidence of the bifurcation between small-scale producers and 'organic' agribusiness seen in North America and also in Mexico (Gómez Tovar, 2005). Castro Aponte (2013) identifies three distinct agroecological networks and discourses in Peru. He distinguishes the networks by the relative power held by traditional, market-oriented or producer-based NGOs, and the discourses by their views on markets, ranging from an emphasis on reaching profitable local and international markets (*market access*) to promoting popular consumption of organic food (*market democratisation*). However, he acknowledges that all three networks/discourses share strong commonalities, including seeing organic market development as desirable for small producers, viewing consumers

⁶ This section draws significantly on information provided by Fernando Alvarado, president of the Peruvian Ecological Agriculture Network (RAE, for its initials in Spanish).

as key allies, and being critical of government bias towards large-scale agribusiness and the processed food industry.

A broad conception of agroecology is influential within the TDI and LAFH discourses as applied to the rural Andes, encompassing goals of agrobiodiversity conservation, respect for traditional knowledge, higher prices for small farmers, and nutritious food for consumers. Agroecology is the discourse of food provenance with most immediate relevance to people in the rural Andes, as it connects directly with their farming practices. It was often my point of entry during interviews and conversations with participants in the case study localities. At the same, the different perspectives identified by Castro Aponte (2013) appear as practical challenges, disagreements and misunderstandings, particularly related to the rationale for farming ecologically and the process and purpose of organic certification. Later chapters explore these challenges and differences.

5.1.4 Contesting the global agro-food regime: The discourse of food sovereignty

Food sovereignty has perhaps the broadest scope of the discourses considered here, in that it aims to offer a thorough descriptive and normative account of global food and agriculture. Food sovereignty is associated with the movement La Vía Campesina, a transnational network of peasant organisations which formed during the 1990s to respond to the common threat of neoliberal globalisation (Martinez-Torres & Rosset, 2010). The goal of food sovereignty was declared in 1996 following the World Food Summit, in response to what movement initiators saw as the overly technocratic discourse of food security, which emphasised access to food while effacing questions about its provenance and control (Wittman et al., 2010).

A key component of food sovereignty's basic ontology is what is variously termed the neoliberal, industrial or corporate agro-food regime. Food sovereignty proponents argue that increasing corporate control of food production and distribution has destroyed farming livelihoods in the South and North, created crises of food insecurity such as those seen globally in 2007-2009, and exacerbated the environmental impacts of industrial agriculture such as biodiversity loss, soil depletion, deforestation and climate change. They reserve special criticisms for biofuels and genetically modified organisms (GMOs), which they argue lock food, and even life itself, ever more tightly into circuits of capital accumulation (Bernstein, 2013; McMichael, 2009; Robbins, 2015; Wittman et al., 2010).

Food sovereignty is presented as a comprehensive alternative to the existing global regime. It is defined as:

The right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through sound and ecologically sustainable methods, and the right to define their own food and agriculture systems...

...Food sovereignty prioritises local and national economies and markets and empowers peasant and family farmer-driven agriculture, artisanal-fishing, pastoralist-led grazing.

(La Via Campesina, 2007)

While focusing on defending peasant livelihoods, food sovereignty has embraced the concerns of environmental, consumer and indigenous movements and has explicitly associated itself with agroecology. La Via Campesina has also adopted policies of gender equality and stated that “food sovereignty means stopping violence against women” (cited in Wittman et al., 2010, p. 4).

Food sovereignty defines agents and their motivations in somewhat Manichean terms. On one side is what Janssen (2015) calls ‘agentless’ capitalism, the global circulation of commodities and finance whose sole purpose is further accumulation. On the other are ordinary people, with small, family or peasant farmers in the vanguard, but also including workers, food consumers and communities. These agents are motivated, at least in principle, by solidarity built on recognition of mutual interdependence with each other and with the environment, an ethic which Wittman (2010) suggests can be termed “agrarian citizenship”. This distinction between ‘corporate’ and human actors is a constant in food sovereignty’s rhetorical strategies.

The discourse of food sovereignty has gained significant political traction in Latin America, with Ecuador, Bolivia and Venezuela incorporating its vocabulary into their constitutions, legislation and national plans. However, discussions of experiences in these countries have questioned the extent to which principles have flowed into action, highlighting the priority given to *State* sovereignty rather than democratising food systems (Cockburn, 2013; Giunta, 2013; Gysel, 2016; McKay et al., 2014). In Peru, Toledo (2014) analyses efforts to incorporate food sovereignty principles in the National Food Security and Nutrition Law, passed in 2015. Although the language of food sovereignty was excised from the final bill, some of its principles were retained, including

emphasis on human rights to food, the State's role in guaranteeing access to food, and the importance of small family farmers.

Due to its scope and ambition, food sovereignty faces various tensions. The declared commitment to agroecology contrasts with some peasant groups seeking better access to fertilisers and other inputs (Janssen, 2015). Patel (2010) notes that harmonising the interests of farmers and farm workers is “far less tractable than the authors of the [Nyeleni] declaration might hope” (2010, p.190) and suggests that the adoption of gender equality sits uneasily alongside a privileged place for family farms when “family is one of the oldest factories for patriarchy” (2010, p.190). Internal debates raise multiple questions, such as what scale ‘sovereignty’ should apply, how the preference for ‘local’ systems of food provision should be interpreted, and, importantly, how an ideal of self-sufficient agroecological farming can be reconciled with urban populations’ need for affordable food.⁷

As a social movement, food sovereignty's association with La Via Campesina's structured network of national and regional peasant organisations limits its ability to connect with local levels where such explicitly peasant-based organisations may be absent. In the case study areas, for example, there was no evidence of connection with any of Peru's main peasant unions, while the only interactions with the national ecological producers association (ANPE, also a member of La Via Campesina) were mediated by development agencies.

As a discourse, however, food sovereignty's depiction of natural relationships between small farmers, local knowledge, sustainable production and nutritious food has contributed to the global re-evaluation of small/peasant farming, reflected by the United Nations declaration of the Year of the Small Family Farmer in 2014. Without necessarily being explicitly invoked, food sovereignty offers a basis for contesting the precise objectives of rural development initiatives, such as whether providing good, accessible food to local consumers might be more desirable than trying to reach elite markets. As noted above, Castro Aponte (2013) identifies the discourse of *market democratisation* as such an emphasis within the broadly shared values of Peruvian agroecological network

⁷ There is not space to cover these debates here, but see Bernstein, 2013; de Masters, 2013; Janssen, 2015 for critical perspectives; Wald & Hill, 2015; Robbins, 2015 for reflections on localisation/scale; and Eguren, 2015; Zegarra, 2015 for Peruvian perspectives.

participants. The case studies give some further examples of how these debates play out at local levels.

5.2 The construction of agro-food heritage in Peru

By the 2000s, each of the four global discourses of food provenance considered in the first half of the chapter was making inroads in Peru through different market, institutional and social movement channels. They helped generate ways of thinking about farming and food that were distinct from the dominant vision of modernisation, standardisation and productivity, and they offered other ways to see Andean agro-food traditions than as symbols of backwardness.

In this section I look at two important local processes that helped translate and combine these ways of thinking into the broad discourse of *patrimonio agroalimentario* (agro-food heritage) in Peru. The first was the reinvention of the Andes as a space of valuable biocultural diversity through the interaction of scientific and social movement agendas. The second was Peru's 'gastronomic boom', which began in the 1990s but took on new characteristics during the 2000s, helping combine and popularise ideas about valuable connections between place, farming and food.

5.2.1 Andean biocultural diversity

What I term a discourse of *Andean biocultural diversity* involves representations of the Andes as a unique geographical space in which valuable biological diversity is closely linked with longstanding cultural practices. Its construction brought together the 'long-termist' vision of *lo andino* discussed in Chapter 3 with scientific concepts of agrobiodiversity discussed in Chapter 4. This synthesis generated new ontologies (most notably the concepts of *bioculture* and *biocultural diversity*), while also highlighting agents, motivations and relationships that were previously invisible or unvalued.

Chapter 3 notes that from the 1960s, scientific study of the Andes increasingly emphasised the resilience and creativity of human-nature relationships, influenced particularly by Murra's work on verticality. The 1970s and 1980s saw burgeoning scholarship on Andean technologies such as terracing and water management, as well as the social, cultural and religious practices which underpinned them (Gelles, 1990; Mayer, 2002, p.239-313; Treacy, 1987; Denevan, 1988). In parallel, researchers 'rediscovered' indigenous plants and foods and their qualities of nutrition and resilience (Brush, 1976;

National Research Council, 1989; Tapia, 1990). Peruvian agronomy researcher Mario Tapia explained how these new visibilities emerged:

In the US in a geography course, the lecturer was analysing the potential of different global regions and emphasised something I didn't know, but he put a lot of stress on it – in the Andean region there were native plants that had potential but hadn't received much attention from researchers until then. So, that's how it got started, when I came back from the US, I initiated actions, such as [working to] revalorise Andean crops, grains, tubers, roots, fruits, which are connected with local culture and local knowledge. Because you relate the crops and their cultivation with traditional knowledge, given that the Andes – Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador – was a highly important centre of animal and plant domestication...

(Mario Tapia, Peruvian agronomy researcher, 17 March 2016)

While these researchers wrote *about* the Andes, a more radical project was to enter public discourse from *within* an Andean world view. This was the commitment made by founding members of the Andean Technology Recovery Project (PRATEC, see p.76), ex-development practitioners who sought to educate others on Andean practices, epistemology and ethics. According to Apfell-Marglin, “they [spoke] of the Andean world not as judging outsiders but as ones bonded to that world” (2002, p.361).

As Chapter 4 notes, a unique feature of PRATEC's advocacy was its recognition of *culture* and *cultivation* as inseparable: not only did indigenous epistemologies and values inform farming practices, but the reverse was also true. As PRATEC founder Grimaldo Rengifo explained:

...When you look at the history of PRATEC, you'll find the term *agrocentrism*. That's the key concept that PRATEC developed to understand the Andean world...There was the tendency to approach it through language. Others approached it through weaving, through music, or in other ways. We said, what characterises [the Andes]? When you go to Cabanaconde or Tuti, what do you see? You see *chacras*. In the form of terraces, or whatever. That's it – those little plots, those parcels of land.

(Grimaldo Rengifo, PRATEC founder, 5 July 2016)

For Rengifo, the key concepts to understand the Andean world are *chacra* (the plot of agricultural land as the centre of life and culture), *crianza* (nurturing as the primary ethic governing relations among humans and between humans and non-humans) and *ayllu* (family or community, understood not through concepts of blood ties but as relations with other beings, including fields, rivers and mountains). Thus, while scientists were

rediscovering and documenting relationships between biological and cultural diversity, PRATEC presented these concepts as inherently connected and relational.

These ideas were taken up and developed by other NGOs, social movements and researchers. Among the most notable was the NGO ANDES, which worked with six small rural communities in Cuzco to create the *Parque de la Papa* (Potato Park) as a means to combine agrobiological diversity conservation with the articulation and defence of indigenous rights (Argumedo & Stenner, 2008; Asensio & Caverro Castillo, 2013; Grey, 2011). In conjunction with the British-based International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), ANDES helped develop the concept of *collective biocultural heritage*. This presented “[traditional] knowledge, cultural values, local norms, biological resources and landscapes [as] inextricably linked” (IIED, 2005, p.2). It argued that separate mechanisms to protect traditional knowledge, biodiversity and intellectual property were inadequate to defend this heritage, which could not be separated from the “use, access and control” of territories and traditional resources.

ANDES was also instrumental in constructing the identity of the *papa nativa* (native potato), which Asensio & Caverro Castillo describe as a “sophisticated conceptual tool” (2013, p.17), for the way it reinterpreted classifications made by the Lima-based International Potato Centre. By presenting the rich diversity of potato genetics as inseparable from the stewardship of Andean farmers, and therefore rightfully belonging to them, ANDES was able to link issues of cultural heritage, environmental sustainability and social justice. A notable achievement was the ‘repatriation’ of potato germplasm from the International Potato Centre to the exclusive *in situ* stewardship of the Potato Park communities from 2004.

Through its connection of environmental, social and cultural concerns, the Andean biocultural diversity discourse helped transform *in situ* diversity conservation from a ‘postdevelopment’ alternative to a thoroughly mainstream approach (Saad, 2009; Shepherd, 2010; cf. Altieri et al., 1987; Brush, 1996). Moreover, representations of Andean farming as part of a millenarian culture-environment collaboration became part of a shared imaginary within and beyond Peru. On the one hand, these representations helped translate global discourses about typical local foods, agroecological practices and self-sufficient peasant farmers. In return, Andean examples have been used to reinforce

these discourses at a global level (see for example Altieri & Toledo, 2011; Mier et al., 2018; Sanz Cañada & Muchnik, 2016).

Images of Andean bioculture have also been incorporated into global marketing narratives, particularly for products identified as ‘superfoods’. Loyer & Knight (2018) explore the growth of ‘nutritional primitivism’, which they define as the “promotion of ancient or indigenous foodways as a path to health” (2018, p.450). Using Andean maca as a case study, the authors show that since the 1980s the association of superfoods with indigenous food cultures has gone from providing supplementary support to scientific evidence of nutritional value, to becoming a “[primary] framework for validating a food’s healthfulness” (2018, p.460).

Interestingly, while the advertising analysed by Loyer & Knight portrays a “purported timelessness courtesy of an uninterrupted lineage of indigenous producers” (2018, p.449), locating [them] firmly in a romanticized past” (2018, p.459), the same could be said about representations of the Potato Park communities by activists and researchers (see Argumedo & Stenner, 2008; Grey, 2011), including shared references to the Incas. In other words, both radical defences of indigenous rights, and superficial marketing schemes, share idealised depictions of connections between people, farming and food in the Andes. Of course, the context and purpose of activists’ representations are quite different from those of superfoods marketers. Nevertheless, these resemblances highlight how the reinvention of the Andes as a space of valuable agro-food heritage serves diverse interests and agendas, a point I develop in Chapter 6.

5.2.2 Peru’s ‘gastronomic boom’

By the 2000s, new values of food provenance were becoming established in Peru both from without (demand for fair trade/organic products and ‘superfoods’) and from within (growing academic, NGO and social movement interest in agroecology and Andean biocultural diversity). However, the spaces occupied by these actors remained relatively marginal. What really projected these values onto a larger stage was Peru’s ‘gastronomic boom’.

In Peru, the *boom gastronómico* refers to the growing international recognition of Peruvian cuisine and the increased profile food has gained in national culture, especially since the 2000s. According to Matta (2013), the boom can be divided into two broad phases. The first phase, beginning in the 1980s, saw the development of *novoandino*

cuisine, led by Lima chefs who applied international culinary techniques to indigenous products such as alpaca, quinoa and *aguaymanto* (Cape gooseberry) as a point of difference and innovation. Although a primarily elite project, this was significant for its reinterpretation of products long treated as “for the chickens... *serrano* food” (Roca Rey, cited in Palomino-Gonzales, 2016, p.577).

The second phase incorporated social and environmental values through what Palomino-Gonzales (2016) calls an *acercamiento* (coming-together) with farmers. The most prominent actor in this was Lima chef Gastón Acurio, who returned to Peru in 1992 from study in Spain and France, and with German-born wife Astrid Gutsche opened a series of Lima-based and international restaurants focusing on Peruvian cuisine (eventually expanding to Arequipa and Cuzco in 2009). Acurio published a series of books and produced the weekly TV series *Aventura Culinaria*, which visits different places exploring the diversity of Peruvian food. He led the reinvention of gastronomy as a democratic project, highlighting the culinary riches to be found in provincial cuisines, family restaurants and street food, and above all, emphasising the role of *campesino* farmers in providing the diverse ingredients integral to Peru’s food heritage (Garcia, 2013; Matta, 2013).

The gastronomic boom gathered momentum during the mid-2000s. In 2006, Lima was declared Culinary Capital of the Americas at the Madrid Fusion Gastronomic Summit, among the first of a series of global garlands awarded to Peruvian cuisine, restaurants and chefs. In 2007, Peru’s government applied to UNESCO for Peruvian cuisine to obtain intangible cultural heritage status (Matta, 2016). In the same year, Acurio led the creation of the Peruvian Gastronomic Society (APEGA, for its initials in Spanish). In 2008, APEGA organised Lima’s first International Gastronomic Fair, which came to be known as Mistura. Mistura has linked the celebration of Peruvian cuisine as a space of innovation and fusion, with recognition of the roles played by *campesinos* as stewards of agro-food diversity. In 2009, APEGA created the Chef-Farmer Alliance with Peru’s national agrarian peak body (CONVEAGRO) and national organic producers association (ANPE). The *Gran Mercado* was established at Mistura as a space to showcase agricultural products and their origins (see Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1 Products, producers and places are highlighted in stalls at the 2018 Mistura fair in Lima.

Source: Author.

The gastronomic boom was not just about connections between farming and food but also encompassed agendas related to national identity, international competitiveness, class mobility and celebrating individual genius (see Fan, 2013; Garcia, 2013; Matta, 2016). Discussions of Peruvian gastronomy frequently foreground the ‘megadiverse’ Andean-Pacific-Amazonian geography, but they also make constant reference to the fusion of different cultural elements, including not only Andean but also Spanish, African, Italian, Chinese and Japanese ingredients and cooking traditions.

I therefore do not talk about *the* gastronomy discourse but prefer to discuss Peru’s gastronomic boom as a discursively complex, social and political phenomenon. However, I argue that one effect of the boom was to help construct the broad discourse of *patrimonio agroalimentario* (agro-food heritage), by mixing and popularising the discursive currents discussed in this chapter. In talking about the discourse of agro-food heritage, I refer not only to the explicit use of the term *patrimonio* in relation to food but also to the wider representations of valuable relationships between place, culture, farming and food which gained increasing currency through the 2000s. These encompassed efforts to promote Peruvian agro-food products to tourism and export markets as well as the internal promotion of food heritage through fairs and festivals, restaurant menus, new product and marketing lines, TV shows, books, and other media. National days were inaugurated in 2005 for the potato and in 2014 for Andean grains. Government,

development agencies, chefs, NGOs and national media all encouraged consumption of Andean products, culminating in a government initiative launched in 2012 to promote an ‘Andean diet’ (Devaux et al., 2018; MINAGRI, 2012).

I argue that agro-food heritage as deployed by these actors is flexible, inclusive, and (at face value) relatively apolitical. Within its broad scope, some legacy of all the global discourses discussed in the first half of this chapter can be detected. Agro-food diversity is portrayed as valuable, not only for nutritional and environmental reasons but also in economic terms, thanks to the interest in provenance of (both national and international) ethical consumers. The concept of *patrimonio* as deep historical connection between place, culture and food draws on the LAFS discourse, which is also implicit in the growing interest in regional culinary diversity. The role of indigenous stewardship in conserving a rich larder of (healthy) products and ingredients is linked with both LAFS and (especially) agroecology.

At face value, the discourse contains little of food sovereignty’s critique of the global agro-food regime. However, in highlighting the protagonism of small farmers, the value of agrobiodiversity and the mutually beneficial relationships between farmer livelihoods and consumer health, it shares much with the positive values articulated by food sovereignty. The vocabulary of *patrimonio* or heritage connects with a key food sovereignty principle that “[seeds are] common *heritage* of humanity, held in trust by rural communities and cultures; [there should be] ‘no patents on life’” (Martinez-Torres & Rosset, 2010, emphasis added).

A striking encapsulation of the agro-food heritage discourse in a mainstream context is a two-minute video prepared by Peru’s export promotion agency in 2016 called *Peru, dedicated to the world* (Marca Peru, 2016, see Figure 5.2). The video opens with sunrise over the Andes, before cutting to images of men cultivating a field using the *chaquitaclla*, an agricultural implement of pre-Hispanic origin, followed by a scene of men and women harvesting potatoes. All the protagonists of the opening frames are clearly marked by their dress as *campesino* / indigenous. The video continues with an accelerating pastiche interspersing landscapes and scenes of both ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ production with images showing processing, marketing and consumption in export, tourism and gastronomic settings. Several frames show products with organic certification or other marks of provenance. As the following section discusses, various

criticisms can be made of these representations. Nevertheless, they provide striking evidence of how, through food, Andean difference has been reinterpreted, to the extent of placing an “archaic technology” (Clissold, 1965, p.54) at the centre of a national vision of identity and progress.

Figure 5.2 A still from the Marca Peru video, 'Peru, dedicated to the world'

Source: retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tfLNvXYpzWU>

5.3 Analysing agro-food heritage: Neoliberalisation or the defence of diversity?

Some analyses of Peru’s gastronomic boom emphasise the positive, unifying role that food can play by smoothing sociocultural divisions and offering a dynamic economic alternative to mineral extraction (Fan, 2013; Palomino-Gonzales, 2016; Ranaboldo & Storey, 2011). More critical treatments highlight the elite reframing of indigenous products, tokenistic representation of *campesino* producers, and the way celebration of fusion through food obscures deep and ongoing social inequalities, including issues of malnutrition (Bohardt, 2014; Garcia, 2013; Grey & Newman, 2018; Matta, 2011, 2016).

While the agro-food heritage discourse helped make visible and valuable what was previously ignored or unappreciated, the correlate of visibility can be decontextualisation and appropriation. Matta argues that chefs “re-appropriated and re-signified food items within global discourses which lent value to marginalized indigenous ingredients – but in doing so they displaced indigenous knowledge... removing the ingredients from any prior context – thus neutralizing their unworthiness, their ‘Indianness’ and their lower-class

characteristics” (2013, no page no.). While perhaps a fair evaluation of trends in Lima’s *haute cuisine*, this does not account for the popular embrace of gastronomy as national identity nor the extent that acknowledging *campesino* stewardship has become central to the public celebration of Peruvian food.

However, recognition of the contribution made by *campesinos* to agro-food heritage does not imply anything about their ability to benefit from its value. A brief overview of the trajectory of quinoa’s ‘boom’ helps make this point. Long disparaged as a poverty or ‘Indian’ food, quinoa’s gradual revalorisation owed much to grassroots efforts, particularly in Bolivia (Healy, 2001; Kerksen, 2015). During the 1990s and early 2000s, its popularisation as a high-protein ‘superfood’ saw rapidly increasing global demand, including through new fair trade and organic export networks (Cáceres et al., 2007). In 2011, the Peruvian government declared quinoa to be a *grano de oro* (‘golden grain’) and encouraged its increased cultivation. Its profile was further raised with the United Nations declaring 2013 the International Year of Quinoa.

This created an enthusiastic response from Peruvian farmers, notably in more coastal areas, where flat land and faster growing conditions offered vastly greater productivity than in the high Andes but also implied monocultivation, the use of pesticides and other agro-chemicals. The value of Peruvian quinoa exports increased from \$30.3 million in 2012 to \$196 million in 2014 (SENASA, 2016). In 2014/2015 the Arequipa region produced around 25,000 tonnes of quinoa, most of which was a single variety grown in the Majes plain at around 1,500 metres above sea level (Luna Quiroz, 2016).

This rush to mass production inevitably faced challenges to sustainability. In three consecutive years, container loads of Peruvian quinoa were returned from the United States following discovery of pesticide residues (Ayma, 2015; Bárcena Carpio, 2014; *La Prensa*, 2013). By 2015, the impact of over-production was being felt, with falling prices and stockpiled harvests (Luna Quiroz, 2016; *Gestión*, 2015). In 2014, Bolivia established a denomination of origin for *quinua real* linking the qualities of this variety to the ecology of the southern altiplano, and this was endorsed by the Andean Community (*La Razón*, 2014). In Peru, however, there have been no sustained efforts to distinguish traditional, highland quinoa from coastal mass production. Thus, the ‘golden grain’ of quinoa has gradually been transformed into another bulk agricultural commodity.

An even more troubling case is maca, which is adapted to a specific ecological niche high in the central Peruvian Andes and has nutritional values that extend to reputed medicinal and aphrodisiac properties, valued particularly in the Chinese market. This has seen a scramble for access more typical of rare minerals, involving boom and bust prices, contract breaking, smuggling, and even robbery (*La República*, 2017; Maher & Kozak, 2014), while growing demand has also created new environmental and social pressures in the Junin-Pasco region (Turin et al., 2018).

In some ways, therefore, the ‘rediscovery’ of Andean agro-food heritage might be seen as stimulating the commodification and extraction of biocultural resources nurtured over centuries for their use value (Garcia, 2013). However, the new discursive landscape also created ways to resist these processes. The concept of *biopiracy* emerged in the 1990s to describe the monopolisation of genetic and biological material for profit-making purposes. In Peru, a law to protect indigenous biological knowledge came into force in 2002, and a governmental commission on biopiracy was created to identify and address attempts to patent products involving Peruvian biological resources or knowledge about their use held by native communities. By 2017, the Commission had identified 34 cases of biopiracy involving Peruvian biological resources, and 19 of these had been resolved, all in favour of Peru (INDECOPI, Undated-b, accessed January 2019).

Peru’s challenge to biopiracy is subject to the same point that critics make about food sovereignty in Bolivia and Ecuador – it is primarily a State-led exercise of *national* sovereignty, while internal processes of appropriation continue. Indeed, Grey & Newman suggest that indigenous food has been “de-Indigenized through classification as national heritage” (2018, p.725). While this statement is perhaps too sweeping, it is a reminder of tensions in the food sovereignty discourse and it again highlights the need for place-based exploration of what new visibilities and values mean for Andean people and places.

A less ambiguous example of how the agro-food heritage discourse has been deployed is the mobilisation of a broad coalition of actors in Peru to achieve a 10-year moratorium on the entry of genetically modified organisms (GMOs) in 2011. The campaign to resist GMOs began at a local level, with a series of municipal and regional governments declaring ‘GMO-free’ spaces under the influence of local social movements. The weight of public opinion that eventually made the moratorium an election issue was shaped not just by peasant organisations, academics, and NGOs but also by chefs, consumers,

businesses and agro-exporters (Escobedo & Goya, 2014). The president of the Ecological Agriculture Network (RAE) articulated the coalition's shared logic:

We achieved a moratorium on the entry of genetically modified seeds...with the support we have, from exporters and the local market; we kept repeating: we don't want GMOs, they'll contaminate our ecological products.

(Fernando Alvarado, Ecological Agriculture Network president, 10 July 2016)

The campaign thus successfully presented GMOs as a threat to Peruvian agro-food heritage. This was helped by the fact that food identities were already bearing economic fruit in multiple sectors, ranging from organic exports to gastronomic tourism. Nevertheless, achieving the moratorium was far from a foregone conclusion, and it has remained strongly contested by agribusiness and political interests. It was particularly notable given that more was achieved in Peru's politically conservative context than in more 'progressive' neighbouring countries (see Marris, 2017). As in Chapter 4, this shows the complex relationship of new visibilities and values to neoliberalism. Despite being entangled with neoliberalisation, they helped create common ground for different interests to oppose certain agendas of neoliberal capitalism.

5.4 Conclusions

This chapter has explored how new visibilities and values of food provenance emerged in Latin America from the 1980s. Using Dryzek's pluralist approach to discourse analysis, it identifies different discourses that highlighted the social, ecological and geographical organs and trajectories of food. These discourses primarily originated in the North, with a strong contribution from the South in the case of food sovereignty. The chapter shows how global discourses 'touched down' in Peru by connecting with representations of the Andes as a space of valuable biocultural diversity, and how new ways of thinking about food were popularised through the 'gastronomic boom'.

The chapter argues that this global-local dynamic helped construct the broad discourse of *patrimonio agroalimentario* (agro-food heritage) in Peru, highlighting not only the uniqueness of Pacific-Andean-Amazonian geography but also the protagonism of diversity-conserving *campesino* producers. These broad representations were shared not only by academics and social movements but also by consumers, chefs and agro-exporters. They thus created space for political action of significance, most notably the 2011 moratorium on GMOs.

The chapter shows how new values related to food provenance could create opportunities for profit in emerging market niches, while they could also help defend cultural and environmental values. However, it has not yet shown how these agendas could be systematically connected. Indeed, it has highlighted risks that new markets for Andean food products could stimulate cultural appropriation or lead to exclusionary commodification. However, I will argue that, in theory, these agendas could be made compatible in place-based, participatory development initiatives. In return, agro-food heritage could offer a valuable source of local identity to be mobilised in territorial development projects, combining goals of economic dynamism, social equity and environmental sustainability. Chapter 6 thus takes up the task of showing how these objectives were brought together.

Chapter 6 Discourses of place, development and food in the Andes

This chapter is divided into three broad sections which complete the genealogical journey begun in Chapter 3, reflect on its significance, and set a platform for the case studies to follow. The chapter first looks at how territorial development and development with identity were merged to create *territorial development with identity*, highlighting the role of the pan-Latin American NGO, RIMISP, in this discursive synthesis. It then explores how, during the 2000s, agro-food heritage became the primary way to mobilise local identity within territorial development projects. I argue that by drawing together economic, social, cultural and environmental objectives, this intersection of TDI and LAFH created a fertile common ground for actors with different interests and agendas.

The remainder of the chapter reflects on the discourse genealogy and looks ahead to the rest of the thesis. First, it explores the representative and normative characteristics of TDI and LAFH. Building on the discussions in Chapters 4 and 5, it argues that the multiple tensions within the discourses imply a need for grounded and concrete analysis of claims they make. The final section sets out a model for making these claims explicit, which I term the *virtuous circle of products with identity*. This offers a framework for critically assessing the economic, social, cultural and environmental impacts of development initiatives focused on local agro-food heritage.

6.1 Discursive syntheses in Latin America, 2000-2015

This section describes how the new ways of thinking about development (discussed in Chapter 4) and growing interest in food provenance (discussed in Chapter 5) became more closely and explicitly connected in Latin America during the 2000s.

6.1.1 Linking territory, development and identity: The role of RIMISP

Chapter 4 discusses two threads emerging in Latin American development discourse and practice from the 1980s. *Territorial rural development* connected reflexive changes in rural development practice with wider theoretical trends. *Development with identity* linked a ‘cultural turn’ in development to bottom-up movements reclaiming indigenous rights and recognition. I argue that the pan-Latin American NGO, RIMISP, played a crucial role in drawing these threads together, especially through its 2005-2011 project, *Desarrollo Territorial Rural con Identidad Cultural* (*territorial rural development with cultural identity*, or DTR-IC for its initials in Spanish). While RIMISP did not make new

connections between ideas, it made them systematically and explicitly for the Latin American context.

RIMISP is a pan-Latin American non-governmental organisation with bases in Santiago de Chile, Quito, Bogota and Mexico City. It has operated since 1986 as a “network of knowledge generation for rural development in Latin American territories” (RIMISP, accessed October 2017). While not directly funding development interventions, RIMISP has played host to individuals with personal trajectories that support ‘idea migration’ or ‘policy mobility’ through institutional networks (see McCann & Ward, 2012; Peck, 2011). Researchers involved in the DTR-IC project had worked or consulted for a range of multilateral and bilateral development agencies. Links with Rome-based agencies such as IFAD and FAO reinforced the connections that several RIMISP associates had to Mediterranean Europe and the theoretical influences deriving from there.

According to RIMISP director Claudia Ranaboldo, within the context of existing territorial rural development programmes, “a facet was discovered...that was *little-known or studied within Latin America* – cultural identity and its revalorisation in rural territories” (Ranaboldo, 2009, p.23, emphasis added). This may appear to overlook the tradition of development with identity/ethnodevelopment, which as Chapter 4 shows, had been prevalent in Latin America since the 1990s. However, projects under this category were mostly limited to groups explicitly identified as indigenous, thus needing to “[work] constantly to define who is indigenous” (Andolina et al., 2009, p.69). RIMISP’s innovation was to reimagine territorial cultural identity as a socially constructed relationship to place that could be created by diverse actors over different time periods. This allowed the concept to be applied to a potentially much wider array of rural territories.

During 2005-2011, RIMISP undertook the DTR-IC project supported by the Ford Foundation, with the explicit aim of showing how territory, identity and development could be connected in Latin America. In an overview of the research project, Ranaboldo (2009) articulated its central question:

Is it possible that the revalorisation of the cultural heritage of poor rural territories can become an engine of local development processes that contribute to reducing poverty, inequality and social exclusion? If possible, how can this be achieved?
(Ranaboldo, 2009, p.15)

The following hypotheses or assumptions provided a framework for the research:

[First], many poor territories in Latin America and the Caribbean have an abundant, rich and distinctive cultural heritage, based on multiple tangible and intangible assets. Investment in the revalorisation of cultural identity can be an effective strategy for the sustainable and inclusive development of these territories.

[Second], there is an emergent demand by important segments of consumers for *products and services with cultural identity*, for which they are prepared to pay premium prices.

[Third], innovative policies, public investment and strengthening of actors, institutions and networks are needed to produce and market *products with identity* and achieve a broad and equitable participation and distribution of benefits, including to poor sectors.

(Ranaboldo, 2006, p.4, emphasis added)

Theoretical discussion explored how different actors could be connected at territorial level, and the ways local identities could be transformed into economic value. This drew strongly on European ideas of territorial or endogenous development (Ray, 2000; van der Ploeg, 2000), the literature on clusters and local agro-food systems, and European experiences, such as the Leader Programme, which was mentioned several times as a model to emulate (Fonte, 2009; Fonte & Ranaboldo, 2007; Schejtman, 2009). Drawing from Ray (1998), researchers identified two main options. First, attaching identity to products destined for extralocal consumption through a place-based stamp such as a geographical indication; and second, attracting consumers to the territory through marketing strategies based on a 'basket of goods' that benefit from, and help reinforce, a shared territorial image (Acampora & Fonte, 2007; Hirczak et al., 2008).

As part of RIMISP's project, nine case studies were undertaken in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and five countries in Mexico and Central America which were included together in one study on coffee. In Peru, RIMISP collaborated with the Institute of Peruvian Studies (IEP) and liaised with the IFAD-funded Sierra Sur project, which identified the Colca Valley as a space with potential for linking identity to development. All of the Andean case studies (one each in Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador) defined 'territory' at a similar scale, with total populations ranging from 15,000 to 37,000. The contrast with my case studies – rural localities with populations of 1,000 to 3,000 – becomes a point of discussion in later chapters.

Syntheses of the studies (Fonte, 2009; Schejtman, 2009) noted two broad findings. First, tourism was the primary strategy for gaining economic benefits from local identities, including in all the Andean locations. The only two cases involving extralocal export of products related to wine in Argentina and coffee in Mexico and Central America. Second, although ‘territory’ was constructed in a variety of different ways, no examples were found of systematic public-private collaboration comparable to the Leader programme’s local action groups. While Fonte (2009) reiterated the project’s hopeful vision, Schejtman concluded that there remained a “range of questions” (2009, p. 101) about its hypotheses.

Despite the uncertainties, the TDI discourse was consolidated through institutional networks at multiple scales. Multilateral institutions such as IFAD and FAO funded or participated in projects and disseminated publications (Baquero, et al., 2007; Uribe, 2013), while at supranational level the Andean Community adopted TDI in its 2009-2011 project, Models of Rural Development with a Territorial Focus (MDRT, for its initials in Spanish) supported by funding from the European Union (Comunidad Andina, 2011). University diplomas in TDI were established in the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru in 2011, Austral University in Chile in 2013, and the National University of Colombia in 2014. These were aimed primarily at local actors leading identity-based development initiatives, such as local government and NGO workers and community leaders. All included programmes of field work in territories identified as emblematic: the Colca Valley in Peru, the island of Chiloe in Chile, and western Antioquia in Colombia.

At government level in Peru, the concept of ‘products with identity’ was incorporated into programmes developed by the Ministry of Trade and Tourism (MINCETUR), including *De mi tierra, un producto* (‘From my homeland, a product’) and *Al turista, lo nuestro* (‘To the tourist, what is ours’) which aimed to connect local products and services to tourism and export markets. Both of these were relatively short-lived and small scale, although the latter stimulated what Chapter 8 argues was a symbolically important initiative in the case study locality of Tuti.

Probably the most significant initiative in Peru to explicitly deploy the TDI discourse was the Sierra Sur project, which was undertaken over two phases between 2005 and 2014, funded through loans from IFAD to the Peruvian government. Sierra Sur served as kind of laboratory for TDI, building on and seeking to scale up IFAD’s participatory development innovations discussed in Chapter 4. Researchers with links to both IFAD

and RIMISP helped establish the terms of reference for the Sierra Sur project and disseminated its findings through international networks. The case studies look more closely at how this dynamic played out in the Colca Valley.

6.1.2 Food as identity: The intersection of territorial development and agro-food heritage

As TDI evolved as a discourse, it was enriched and energised by connecting with the new visibilities and values of food provenance discussed in Chapter 5. A focus on food offered a way for local natural and cultural resources to be transformed into economically promising ‘products with identity’ while also drawing in social and environmental objectives such as food security, sustainability, and agrobiodiversity. In return, a territorial focus offered a way to anchor concepts of agro-food heritage in place, potentially defusing some of the criticisms of elite appropriation and decontextualisation directed at the Lima-centric gastronomic boom.

RIMISP’s original scoping work on TDI did consider food and agriculture as a source of ‘products with identity’ and it gave particular consideration to geographical indications. However, the concept of *cultural identity* was broad, with the DTR-IC project covering archaeological sites, museums and folklore, and just four out of nine case studies mentioning agro-food products (Ranaboldo and Schejtman, 2009). From the later 2000s, there was a stronger turn towards farming and food, reflecting the trends explored in Chapter 5 such as the influence of the agroecology and food sovereignty movements and the gathering momentum of Peru’s gastronomic boom. Where documents in 2005-2011 had referred simply to cultural identity, RIMISP’s post-2011 website reframed this in terms of *patrimonio biocultural* (biocultural heritage). The diploma in TDI offered by Lima’s Pontifical Catholic University (PUCP) from 2011 carried the subheading ‘*valorización del patrimonio cultural y agroalimentario del territorio*’ (revalorising territorial cultural *and agro-food heritage*, emphasis added).

In 2012, RIMISP joined with fellow Latin American NGO Procasur, Slow Food, and other Latin American and Mediterranean institutions to form the Biocultural Diversity and Territories Platform (BDTP) based on the philosophy that: “valorisation of biocultural diversity is an important strategy to promote sustainable, inclusive, competitive and resilient territorial dynamics” (BDTP, accessed December 2018). During 2014, RIMISP, Slow Food and Peruvian gastronomy association APEGA signed agreements that aimed to “[promote] agro-food heritage, gastronomy, good, clean and fair food in the context of territorial development with cultural identity, food security and

sovereignty” (RIMISP, 2014). Development agencies, governments, and other actors including RIMISP and Slow Food were involved in initiatives to revalorise local agro-food heritage in Bolivia, Chile, Colombia and Ecuador. Descriptions of these initiatives cited objectives of territorial identity, environmental sustainability and social inclusion while some also mentioned food security and/or sovereignty (MIGA, undated; Pallacán, 2016; Porras, 2015; Ranaboldo y Arosio, 2017).

It was not just those focused on rural development, agriculture and food that pursued the strategy of connecting local agro-food products to provenance-valuing markets but also those with a primarily environmental mandate. A representative of the UNDP Global Environment Fund (UNDP-GEF) small grants programme in Peru explained this logic:

We have two fundamental requirements: to conserve biodiversity, which is of worldwide importance, but at the same time to obtain...local benefits for communities, which means generating income, employment, promoting better education [and] health improvements...So, one way that they can obtain income that helps them improve their quality of life is through marketing...So in that sense we're supporting all those small projects to connect to [second-level cooperatives] to assure sales, mainly to the fair trade market.

(Emilia Bustamante, National Coordinator, UNDP-GEF, 3 August 2016)

Nor was it just mainstream agencies promoting such initiatives but also NGOs and social movements working from postdevelopment, indigenous and ecological perspectives. For example, by the later 2000s Cuzco's Potato Park had established an eco- and gastronomic tourism initiative which aimed to attract high-paying tourists to help generate income for local communities and underpin their efforts to conserve biocultural heritage (Asensio & Cavero Castillo, 2013; Grey, 2011). The Potato Park communities also sought to develop a 'basket' of value-added products and link these to a territorial collective mark (Argumedo, 2013).

At a global level, food sovereignty and agroecology advocates presented the development of local and ethical markets as key to supporting social and environmental goals, citing cases from the Andes as examples of the possible synergies (Argumedo & Swiderska, 2014; Altieri & Toledo, 2011; Mier et al., 2018). Thus, by the 2010s, a broad and diverse group of actors were seeking to make connections between place, food and development. While each had their own philosophies and objectives, they all shared representations of the Andes as a space of valuable agro-food heritage.

6.2 Exploring the regime of representation

From a genealogical account of how the discourses of TDI and LAFH emerged and exerted influence, this section now turns to analysing their representative and normative characteristics. In the following analysis, I initially delineate these characteristics as what Escobar (1995) terms a ‘regime of representation’, using the work of researchers associated with RIMISP as the clearest and most explicit articulation of the values, assumptions and logic embedded within TDI and LAFH. I then complicate this idea of a single ‘regime’, arguing that a deeper analysis of these discourses requires exploring the multiple tensions they contain.

6.2.1 Discursive characteristics

A fundamental component of TDI’s basic ontology is the concept of *poor* or *marginalised territories*. This goes beyond an atomistic and monetary view of poverty to incorporate insights about the collective disadvantages experienced by groups of people. However, whereas the spatial political economy analyses made by structuralist and dependency theories saw marginalisation as an ongoing process bound up with power (Kay, 1989), TDI reinterprets it as the potentially correctable state of *exclusion*. By framing people as ‘left out’ of wider society and economy, the goal of *inclusive development* acknowledges inequalities, while obscuring deeper questions about social and economic structures (see also Leiva, 2007).

This creates space for the central discursive manoeuvre, which is to represent people and places in terms of *untapped value* based on *difference*. This valuable difference derives from an apparently serendipitous separation from modernity – linked, ironically, to the same historical processes that created poverty and marginalisation. For example, Ranaboldo notes that “cultural heritage is often associated with very poor and discriminated against segments, such as women, indigenous groups, Afro-descendants and *campesinos*” (2009, p.21), while Fonte states that “although modernity has been characterised by a marked process of cultural homogenisation, in the *most marginal rural areas* there still survive specific cultural forms, linked to...a particular geographic and social context” (2009, p.42, emphasis added).

Chapter 3 has shown how constructions of Andean otherness have been constantly reproduced, including in positive representations by researchers and postdevelopment advocates. Chapters 4 and 5 have explored how reflexive consumer interest in social and ecological values is associated with ambivalence about the ‘juggernaut’ of modernity and

romanticised views of the pre-modern as natural, traditional and authentic. Combining these helps understand how representations of Andean people and places as separated from modernity can take on connotations of valuable authenticity. Otherness thus gains economic value as a source of *differentiation* in the highly competitive market of what Coombe (2016) calls ‘informational capitalism’. Discussions by TDI advocates make clear the economic logic underpinning the revaluing of local identities:

By talking about valorisation of cultural identity, we are referring in terms of cultural economy, to the range of strategies that attempt to transform local culture and knowledge into an *economic resource*.

(Ranaboldo, 2006, p.4, emphasis added)

Different [rural] actors have the possibility of *economically valuing* local identity and the resources linked to it, through initiatives centred on natural and cultural specificities.

(Fonte, 2009, p.42-43, emphasis added)

TDI’s representations of nature and culture as *resources* to be *invested in* make interesting metaphorical allusions to extractive industries, with Ranaboldo’s assertion that poor territories have “rich and abundant...tangible and intangible assets” (2006, p. 4) echoing an International Trade Centre overview of geographical indications, which stresses the opportunity for regions to “realize the inherent potential in their latent geo-cultural assets” (Giovannucci et al., 2009, p.20).

TDI advocates recognise this apparent economic bias and argue that revalorising local identities is not *just* about converting them into market value. Nevertheless, markets remain a primary sphere of activity and aspiration. While the early fair trade movement promised to work ‘within and against’ markets, the TDI-LAFH intersection presents markets as a generally benign space in which sufficiently well-organised local actors can compete through quality and innovation.

This leads to the other key discursive feature, which is the primacy of *collaboration* as a natural relationship. As Chapter 4 discusses, the territorial development discourse inherits this both from the economic literature on clusters and from the broader interest in social capital that emerged in the 1990s. TDI presents territorial identity as a way to facilitate collaboration, using shared attachment to place to strengthen social bonds and help people work together (Boucher & Reyes-Gonzales, 2013; Fonte, 2009; Sanz Cañada & Muchnik, 2016). In the Andean context, the discourse draws on what Radcliffe & Laurie (2006)

call ‘culture as institution’ – the view of indigenous groups as possessing inherent social capital that underpins collective action. It thus reproduces and naturalises what Ferreira & Isbell (2016) refer to as the ‘long-termist’ representation of *lo andino* as based on reciprocity and solidarity.

It is interesting to compare these discursive characteristics with the continuities that Escobar (1995) traces through previous iterations of what he terms ‘the rural development discourse’:

The rural development discourse repeats the same relations that has [*sic*] defined development discourse since its emergence: the fact that development is about growth, about capital, about technology, about becoming modern. Nothing else. ‘Traditional peasants need to be modernized; they need to be given access to capital, technology, and adequate assistance. Only in this way can production and productivity be increased’...

...It is important to keep in mind that the entire debate is primarily about food production. What is involved in agricultural strategies such as [integrated rural development] is the further expansion of the type of agriculture responsible for the emergence of modern food (fully commodified and industrially produced food products of remarkable uniformity, perhaps best exemplified in sliced white bread as a standard of modern life).

(Escobar, 1995, p. 163)

At face value, the normative implications of the TDI-LAFH intersection are quite different. Far from promoting “fully commodified and industrially produced food products”, these discourses stress the latent value in “links to...pre-industrial agricultural practices, tradition...local agricultural and food knowledge, and the physical, climatic and chemical specificities of the territory” (Fonte & Ranaboldo, 2007, p.27). However, they also retain many of the same framing assumptions critiqued by Escobar, including the need for ‘productive transformation’ and ‘institutional change’ led by outside experts, intensified relationships with markets, and orientation towards Western paradigms.

A difference is that, rather than basing development on the Fordist, high-consumption society of the mid-20th century United States, TDI and LAFH frame possibilities in terms of Mediterranean spaces such as Tuscany (see Morgan et al., 2006), where value-added products based on nature and culture circulate through post-Fordist networks of reflexive consumption. This raises the question whether Escobar’s analysis just needs to be updated to acknowledge what Escobar himself (1996) refers to as the ‘post-modern ecological form of capital’ which turns its attention to nature and local knowledge as reservoirs of

value, to be exploited in innovative, more ‘sustainable’ ways. From this perspective, TDI and LAFH might be interpreted as merely adapting the agenda of capitalist modernisation to changing consumer demands. However, I argue that such an interpretation is overly simplistic and pays insufficient attention to the interesting tensions within the discourses. The following section explores these tensions.

6.2.2 Discursive tensions

TDI and LAFH promote self-organising, localised action and identify markets as primary mediators of value and spheres of endeavour, characteristics which appear to bear a clear stamp of neoliberalism. However, as Chapters 4 and 5 have argued, identifying the rich threads of neoliberalism in these discourses’ DNA is not sufficient to pronounce on them. A closer analysis requires sensitivity both to the differences within neoliberalism, and to the possibility for ‘neoliberal’ features to co-exist with other agendas. I identify three key points of tension within these discourses, over issues which I term *commodification*, *knowledge/power*, and *politicisation*.

Commodification. The first tension relates to the agenda to covert local identities into economic value, which taken in its crudest sense, can be interpreted as simple commodification. Advocates acknowledge the risk of this ‘economistic’, ‘mercantilist’ or ‘functionalist’ interpretation (Schejtman, 2009; Fonte, 2009; Ranaboldo, 2009; Urrutia, 2009). They argue that, rather than implying subservience to economic logic, engaging with identity-based markets is one way people can work together to define and pursue their ideas of development. Fonte draws on Amartya Sen in commenting that:

The great challenge is to *change the concept and vision of development...economic development must be linked to and assume the diversity of local cultures...*it’s not only about using culture to achieve economic development [but] to use the market to reinforce development understood as increasing people’s capability to be themselves and be free...The market, in other words, is a means not an end, nor worse still, an ideology.

(Fonte, 2009, p.70, emphasis added)

Drawing on Ray’s vision of “markets as manifestations of broader social movements” (1998, p.6-7), authors present economic success as one way of achieving social acceptance and overcoming discrimination. For example, Ranaboldo argues that “...valorisation is therefore linked to the public recognition of [marginalised groups] knowledge and capabilities, helping lift their self-esteem and sense of citizenship” (2009, p.21).

In addition, authors stress that they are not necessarily talking about marketing to the wealthy but about connecting with the ‘ideological consumption’ of social movements that defend small producers and biodiversity, reconnecting urban migrants with their place of origin, and building solidarity-driven short-supply chains (Asensio, 2012; Ranaboldo & Fonte, 2007; Ranaboldo & Storey, 2011). This argument for markets as a means to build networks of ethical interdependence resembles those made by fair trade, food sovereignty and agroecology advocates. TDI authors acknowledge the risks with economising identity, including loss of local control, decontextualisation, and ‘folklorised’ and ‘stereotyped’ production for mass markets, as well as the potential for identity-based initiatives to create new exclusions (Acampora & Fonte, 2007; Fonte 2009; Ranaboldo, 2009). Importantly, how these risks and opportunities balance out is an empirical question, to which local case studies can give insight.

Knowledge/power. A second tension is the extent to which these discourses reproduce or modify relationships of knowledge and power. Some of Escobar’s (1995) most incisive criticisms relate to how the development discourse problematised countries and people as *lacking* (in wealth, productivity, or industriousness) and made them into objects of modernising transformation led by a cadre of experts. By contrast, TDI and LAFH highlight the undiscovered and undervalued natural and cultural wealth of rural territories. They also acknowledge the important role of *campesinos* and indigenous peoples in nurturing biocultural diversity that would otherwise have been lost to modernity’s homogenising tendencies.

However, this new recognition does not necessarily overturn hierarchies of knowledge/power. While local knowledge and resources are reinterpreted as valuable, this can depend on their being selected, reworked and approved by experts and cultural arbiters. Critical discussions of Peru’s agro-food heritage discourse draw attention to paternalist concerns of urban elites about the hygiene of farmer representatives at gastronomic fairs and the acceptability of popular markets to tourists (Garcia, 2013; Matta, 2013). Continued hierarchies of expertise are also seen in the way local populations are framed as requiring re-education to respect and appreciate their own resources and traditions (again, as defined and selected by experts). Descriptions of local agrobiodiversity initiatives by representatives of the UNDP Global Environment Fund in Peru provide one example of this framing:

There was a project in Cajamarca related to conservation of *arracacha* (an Andean root vegetable)...and the children didn't want to eat *arracacha*, so the women prepared a series of dishes with potatoes and *arracacha* and all their things, and the kids started eating without realising what it was. 'Yum, what's this, mum?' [It was] *arracacha*. So, from then on they changed their dietary habits...So, that's what the projects are doing, so people recover their knowledge of foods that they've left behind, because they're too much hard work, because the kids don't like them or because they prefer to buy chips. But then, they start eating the foods they have, and they're much tastier than the foods full of fat that people eat nowadays, fast food.

(Emilia Bustamante, National Coordinator, UNDP-GEF, 3 August 2016)

The way that local populations apparently morph from being insufficiently modern (conservative peasants), to being *too* modern (slack consumers of fast food) suggests that the knowledge/power dynamic in development discourse can be impervious to changes in its content (see Shepherd, 2010). Nevertheless, TDI's emphasis on local agency and creativity leaves room for debates about *which* local resources and practices are valuable and *how* they are to be reinvented, offering at least the possibility of renegotiating hierarchies of expertise. Again, case studies can explore the ways that knowledge/power play out within particular initiatives.

Politicisation. A third point of tension is the degree to which these discourses either reinforce or help challenge wider power structures. At face value, TDI and LAFH appear to take an accommodating stance to dominant regimes of neoliberal development through market expansion. However, as Chapters 4 and 5 have argued, newer visibilities and values of place, culture and environment have also been mobilised by social movements to contest certain agendas of neoliberal capitalism, most strikingly, in Peru's anti-GMO movement. One interpretation is that these discourses have created a common ground shared by grassroots social movements and a 'postmodern' or 'ecological' tendency within capitalism. Under certain circumstances, this common ground can offer a platform for an alternative politics of development.

In response to a question about this potential for politicisation, RIMISP-linked researcher Raúl Asensio suggested that the TDI discourse maintained an inherent ambiguity. He argued that in one, descriptive or academic sense, territorial development refers to a particular scale and technical approach to development, which could perfectly well be linked to mining. In another, programmatic sense, it represents an alternative political

project to neo-extractivism. He argued that these different interpretations varied between individuals and maintained an uneasy co-existence within institutions:

I think that's an unfinished debate within the [territorial development with identity] project...whether we want to make it into an ideology that's anti-mining or anti-neoliberal or however you want to call it, or if what we're saying is, this is how territories are articulated and that's a way to develop strategies to escape from poverty. It's an unresolved question.

(Raúl Asensio, Institute of Peruvian Studies researcher, 20 February 2016)

Notably, all three points of tension turn on questions about the concrete ways these discourses are deployed and the material results of processes they set in motion. It really matters how territorial development projects based on local agro-food heritage play out, including how specific connections between place, food and development are defined, how initiatives are implemented, and what kinds of impacts result. Thus, while the genealogical approach taken so far has provided important insights into how and why representations of Andean people and places have changed, local case studies are vital to exploring the consequences of these changes.

As argued in Chapter 1, a fundamental task for this thesis is to evaluate the claims made by these discourses, on their own terms. To this end, the following section distils the claims and aspirations embedded in the TDI and LAFH discourses and proposes criteria to test them. It thus moves from analysing what the discourses *do* as regimes of representation to taking seriously what they *argue*. This not only offers a framework for evaluating the development initiatives covered by the case studies but also suggests how the concrete experiences explored in the case studies can 'speak back' to the assumptions and logic of the discourses.

6.3 Unpacking the virtuous circle of products with identity

Based on analysis of their explicit and implicit logic, I argue that the desirable outcomes promised by TDI and LAFH can be characterised as a *virtuous circle of products with identity* (see Figure 6.1). In sum, the virtuous circle refers to synergistic relationships between the economic value obtained from 'products with identity', equitable distribution of these benefits to local populations, and conservation of the unique biocultural resources on which product identities rest. Collective action and collaboration are required to achieve these benefits, and in turn are strengthened by them. These promised synergies are made most explicit in theoretical discussions of TDI and in publications on origin-based agro-food products (eg, Bayer, 2017; Larson, 2007; Vandecastelaere et al.,

2010; van de Kop et al., 2007), but expectations of a similar dynamic relationship (especially between economic, social and environmental outcomes) are also often implicit within ethical consumption, agroecology and food sovereignty discourses (FAO, 2015; Mier et al., 2018; Scharber & Danks, 2016).

I thus define the virtuous circle as comprising three linked objectives: *equitable economic development*, *biocultural sustainability*, and *territorial governance*. The following sections look at how each of these objectives might be interpreted and evaluated. To do this, I review diverse criteria distilled from the debates related to rural development and food provenance that previous chapters have explored. This helps to tease out the meanings of terms (such as equity or diversity) that can be vague, complex or contested. Drawing from these different discursive currents also gives the broadest possible interpretation to concepts of development, identity and agro-food heritage, thus sidestepping some of the tensions discussed in Section 6.2.

Figure 6.1 The virtuous circle of products with identity.

Source: own elaboration, based on Vandecastelaere et al., 2010, p.xxi.

6.3.1 Equitable economic development

The objective of equitable economic development can be broken into two components, which I term *impact* and *equity*. For each of these, a single question condenses a range of considerations.

Impact: *To what extent do ‘products with identity’ generate economic benefits for local actors?*

A fundamental promise of the virtuous circle model is that ‘products with identity’ can deliver an economic premium, which Galtier et al. (2013) refer to as the *effectiveness* of geographical indications and Hirczak et al. (2008) call a *territorial quality rent*. Fulfilling this promise requires product identities to generate added value *and* for this value to be captured locally. In initiatives focused on specific products (eg, fair trade, organic or origin-based), a common measure of effectiveness is the price premium local producers receive (Dragusanu et al., 2014; Giovannucci et al., 2009; IFAD, 2003; Méndez et al., 2010; Rangnekar, 2004; Ruben & Fort, 2012). In ‘basket of goods’ strategies, desirable impacts also include ‘spillover’ benefits such as improving a territory’s image, increasing tourism and contributing to broader economic dynamism (Belletti et al., 2017; Giovannucci et al., 2009; Hirczak, 2008; Sanz Cañada & Muchnik, 2016).

Critical analyses often evaluate the relative as well as absolute gains from identity-based initiatives. Studies of fair trade and organic networks consider the balance of benefits, costs and commitments for Southern producers compared to Northern retailers and distributors (Dolan, 2008; Lyon, 2006; Valkila et al., 2010); while research on GIs assesses the extent to which place-based premiums are captured by authentically ‘local’ actors such as small farmers or artisanal producers compared to extra-local processing companies, ‘elites’ or larger producers (Bowen, 2010; Galtier et al., 2013; Rangnekar, 2004). In some studies, assessments of impact require sophisticated statistical analyses, but in many cases the direction of change is evident from a more descriptive treatment of available data.

Equity: *To what extent are benefits distributed equitably, including to those with fewer resources, women, older and younger people, inward migrants, landless workers and local consumers?*

An implicit promise of TDI is that local economic dynamism will reduce poverty and inequality by reducing *spatial* inequalities, which as Chapter 3 shows, are very significant in Andean Latin America. Nevertheless, this risks conflating the ‘social with the spatial’ (Hinrichs, 2003), raising questions about the local distribution of benefits. To address this, some discussions emphasise the institutional innovations and public policies needed for territorial development to be ‘pro-poor’ (Ranaboldo, 2009; Schetjman & Berdegú,

2008), while others argue that poorer or indigenous actors have a natural advantage in products with identity (Bramley & Kirsten, 2007; Morgan et al., 2006), an assertion that requires critical evaluation.

Fair trade partly avoids the spatial-social conflation by focusing specifically on ‘small’ farmers. However, this can obscure the difference between farmers with 5-10 hectares, and those with one hectare or less (Leutchford, 2008), while also excluding unorganised farmers, those without secure land tenure, and workers on small farms (IFAD, 2003; Ruben & Fort, 2012; Utting-Chamorro, 2005). While studies of ethical consumption networks often focus on ‘vertical’ power relations along value chains, some researchers also raise concerns about their ‘horizontal’ effects in consolidating participant advantages relative to other local actors and potentially worsening local inequalities (Gonzalez & Nigh, 2005; Mancini, 2013; Neilson & Pritchard, 2010).

A territorial lens means considering not only the distribution of benefits from development initiatives but also how initiatives change the environment for people who do *not* directly participate. This includes risks that building connections between local producers and affluent ‘ethical’ consumers can worsen food insecurity for local and other poorer consumers (Brett, 2011; Garcia, 2013; Goodman et al., 2012; Tregear, 2011). Distributive questions extend to groups Ranaboldo refers to as “generally more excluded” (2009, p.21), including women, younger and older people. This requires attention to impacts that initiatives have on gender and generational power dynamics, which can be overlooked by a focus on small family farmers (Bernstein, 2013; Patel, 2010; Porras, 2007).

6.3.2 Biocultural sustainability

The objective of biocultural sustainability can also be divided into two separate components of *diversity* and *sustainability*. Again, a single question condenses a range of considerations for each component.

Diversity: *To what extent do initiatives support the conservation of agrobiodiversity and the sociocultural practices that connect with and sustain it?*

Agrobiodiversity is a complex concept, encompassing *within-crop* genetic diversity, *between-crop* diversity, locally unique species and varieties, and productive ecologies incorporating non-cultivated plants, animal life and microorganisms (Kahane et al., 2013; Zimmerer, 2015). The concept of *biocultural* diversity recognises all of these as linked

with and sustained by culture and indigenous knowledge (Argumedo, 2013; IIED, 2005; Larson, 2007). The discourse of local agro-food systems extends this concept to include processing, exchange, consumption and other cultural practices linking place with food (Bressiere, 1998; Fonte, 2008; Sanz Cañada & Muchnik, 2016). Thus, the objective of conserving diversity has considerable scope for differing interpretations.

In theory, demand for agro-food ‘products with identity’ can help maintain biocultural resources by economically rewarding efforts to conserve them. This is a premise of Slow Food’s strategies such as *presidia*, and it is one of the public goods that authors argue GIs can support (Belletti et al., 2017; Larson, 2007). However, critics note that while in some cases niche markets can encourage biodiversity retention (such as efforts to promote shade grown coffee), in others, economic success of an emblematic product can encourage mono-cultivation of a particular crop or variety and actually erode biological diversity (Bowen, 2010; Larson, 2007).

In relation to cultural factors, discussions of GIs consider the degree to which local knowledge and traditional practices are valued in product specifications, or conversely, are marginalised by technical standards (Bowen, 2010; Giovannucci et al., 2009; Mancini, 2013). Critical perspectives on agro-food heritage identify risks of local traditions and tastes being re-shaped to be acceptable to markets (McDonald, 2013; Nowak, 2018; Turner, 2016; Matta, 2013, 2016). Debates about these issues raise vexed questions about the desirable balance between cultural continuity and innovation. A critical evaluation need not take a fixed stance on these questions but should at least consider how development initiatives affect the different dimensions of diversity.

Sustainability: *To what extent do initiatives commit to sustainably managing natural resources (such as soil, water and vegetation) and maintaining or improving environmental quality?*

Questions of environmental sustainability are linked to, but separable from, questions of diversity. On the one hand it is possible for ‘ecological modernisation’ processes to be technically sustainable but not fully conserve biological or cultural diversity (de Master, 2013; Dryzek, 2005). On the other, traditional practices are not necessarily sustainable and may be implicated in environmental challenges such as deforestation and soil erosion, although political ecology perspectives usually place these in the context of wider inequalities (Escobar, 1996; Saad, 2009).

Direct measurement of environmental quality indicators is outside the scope of this study. Nevertheless, it is possible to explore the extent to which development initiatives incorporate environmental priorities. For example, some research on fair trade, organic and origin-based networks looks at what kind of farming practices and land use they encourage (Dragusanu et al., 2014; Ruben & Fort, 2012; IFAD, 2003; Larson, 2007). A broad qualitative approach can also evaluate the level of commitment to sustainability objectives in territorial governance and participant motivations. This indirect evaluation of sustainability is similar to the approach taken by Peru's Ministry for the Environment in its Sustainable Local Environmental Management awards (GALS, for its initials in Spanish) (MINAM, 2015).

6.3.3 Territorial governance

What mechanisms of social organisation and coordination have been formed to connect local actors and to link with extralocal actors? How effective, self-sustaining and inclusive are these institutions?

The concept of territorial governance lies at the centre of the virtuous circle. TDI and LAFH coincide in emphasising collective action as an end in itself and necessary for achieving other economic, social, cultural and environmental objectives (Boucher & Reyes, 2013; Hirczak et al., 2008; Fonte & Ranaboldo, 2007; Ray, 1998; Sanz Cañada & Muchnik, 2016). They stress the need for networks of local collaboration between public and private actors to define and generate common benefits. For TDI, a basic requirement is having an 'institutional referent' for identity-based initiatives, which should preferably include both public and private actors. Several authors explicitly present the Leader Programme's local action groups as a model (Schetjman, 2009; Fonte & Ranaboldo, 2007).

Effective territorial governance "requires that distinct actors are able to negotiate, compromise, and collaborate" (Hinojosa et al, 2014, p.114). Also important is the *inclusivity* of territorial governance. This refers not only to the participation and representation of different groups (an issue linked to equity), but also the extent to which the local population shares the values and connects emotionally with identity-based initiatives. Ray (1998) argues that affective connection to territory helps build sociocultural cohesion and lift self-esteem, especially in places with histories of culturally based marginalisation. In theory, this can not only encourage people to invest, innovate and work together but also contribute directly to well-being.

6.3.4 The virtuous circle

Implicit across all three categories is a need to evaluate the *dynamic* aspect of the virtuous circle; in other words, the extent to which different objectives are compatible with, and reinforce, one another. Figure 6.1 schematically illustrates the theoretical relationships, based on Vandecastelaere et al.'s (2010) discussion of geographical indications. This shows that markets are the fulcrum on which the virtuous circle turns, by *rewarding* and thereby *incentivising* the conservation of local diversity. Meanwhile, territorial governance sits at the centre of the circle, providing the co-ordination and collaboration to help achieve and balance economic, social, environmental and cultural objectives. Therefore, an evaluation should not only consider the different objectives but also test assumptions about the relationship between them.

Several clarifications are required regarding this model as a strategy for evaluation. First, no attempt is made *a priori* to weight the relative importance of each objective, or to offer a single index of 'success'. Such judgements are always context-specific and contested. Second, it does not imply that these objectives and their interpretations are the only reasonable ones. Indeed, the thesis specifically seeks to complement the 'top-down' evaluation by exploring local perspectives on the values of place, farming and food.

Finally, the framework is appropriate for a holistic, mixed-methods approach which combines available quantitative data with qualitative analysis of processes and relationships. This differs from some approaches in the food provenance literature that have sought to rigorously measure associations between participation in fair trade or organic networks, and outcomes such as farm gate price or income poverty. Such an approach was not plausible for this research project, both because of data limitations and issues with scale. More importantly, the research focuses on understanding the factors and connections specific to place and time. Rather than trying to separate relevant variables from contextual factors, the local context *is* the object of this study.

6.4 Conclusions

This chapter has completed the discourse genealogy by showing how new connections were made between place, food and development in Andean Latin America during the 2000-2015 period, as agro-food heritage became the primary source of local identity mobilised in territorial development strategies. It highlights the role of researchers associated with RIMISP in articulating and disseminating these discourses, arguing that they both drew from, and created common ground for, diverse actors and agendas.

The chapter has explored the values and logic of TDI and LAFH as a ‘regime of representation’. It argues that these discourses are consistent with ‘postmodern’ or ‘ecological’ forms of neoliberal capitalism but also share significant common ground with alternative social movements. This creates multiple tensions within the discourses, which cannot be fully evaluated through decontextualized analysis. Therefore, concrete, empirical research is needed to explore how these tensions play out in particular places, looking both at the material impacts of development initiatives and the micro-geographies of knowledge/power they enact.

To guide such exploration, the chapter has set out the *virtuous circle of products with identity* as a model for thinking about territorial projects based on local agro-food heritage. This offers a framework for testing the discourses from *within*, by asking: if what they claim is plausible, what impacts should we expect to see? The thesis now moves on to make these concrete explorations through case studies of two localities in the southern Peruvian Andes, Cabanaconde and Tuti, where territorial development initiatives focusing on local agro-food heritage were undertaken from around the mid-2000s.

Chapter 7 Place and livelihoods: Introducing Cabanaconde & Tuti

Case study-based research often provides a brief overview of ‘local context’ as background to the issues being explored. The approach and theoretical concerns of this thesis require a richer and deeper understanding of place. By introducing the case study localities of Cabanaconde and Tuti, and the people who live there, this chapter therefore plays a central role in the thesis.

The names Cabanaconde and Tuti refer both to municipal districts and to the main population centres of those districts. Cabanaconde and Tuti are separated by approximately 75 kilometres, and both lie within the Colca Valley, a territory defined by the intersection of physical, political and sociocultural geographies. The chapter’s first section gives an overview of the Colca Valley’s geography, history, and its transformations in the later 20th century as it has become more tightly connected to regional and global economies. This section also explores how agro-food networks have evolved along with these changes.

The second section provides an overview of population, economy and environment in each locality, while the third section looks in detail at local livelihoods, based primarily on information gathered through interviews with local participants. This section gives insights into how people in Cabanaconde and Tuti pursue their livelihoods across places and over time, and how farming practices fit into these livelihood trajectories. These insights are important to the case studies in following chapters, helping understand how people have experienced initiatives to revalue local agro-food heritage.

7.1 The Colca Valley

The Colca Valley is defined by the course of the Colca River, which rises in high rolling country near the Andean continental watershed and flows generally southwest towards the Pacific coast. Politically, it lies the province of Caylloma, one of seven provinces making up the department of Arequipa, which in turn is one of twenty-four departments and one constitutional province within Peru (see Figure 7.2). The valley is framed to the north by the Cordillera del Chila, with peaks rising up to 5,600 metres, and to the south, by a volcanic massif dominated by the peaks of Ampato, Sabancaya and Hualca Hualca, rising to between 5,975 and 6,300 metres (see Figure 7.3). At its western end, the valley dramatically deepens to form the Colca Canyon, which some scientists have argued to be

one of the world's deepest (Paulo, Galas & Galas, 2014). The terrain then flattens and broadens into the Majes plain, with the Colca River becoming the Majes, then the Camaná, on its journey to the sea. Widespread thermal activity manifests as geysers, hot springs, and in more threatening ways such as the earthquakes and volcanic activity which had devastating effects on parts of the valley in 1994 and again in 2016.

From east to west the valley slopes generally downward but the topography steepens (see Figure 7.3). The area has a semi-arid climate, with average rainfall of around 400mm falling mostly during December-March, reducing from east to west and from higher to lower altitudes (Denevan, 1988; Gelles, 2000). Based on these topographical and climatic differences, the valley can be divided into three broad zones:

- The *upper valley* is mostly high rolling plateau above 3,800 metres. Livestock herding is the predominant activity, with crop cultivation only viable in a few lower-lying areas. The largest population centre is the village of Callalli, with a population of around 2,000. Tuti lies at the western end of this zone.
- The *middle valley* contains a series of population centres located between 3,300 and 3,650 metres on either side of the river, surrounded by layered agricultural terraces and steeply rising terrain to the north and south. Crop and some livestock farming are the main activities. Chivay, which had a 2007 population of around 6,000, is the capital of Caylloma province, the largest urban centre in the Colca Valley, and the hub of transport, commerce and tourism.⁸
- The *lower valley* contains the area's most varied and dramatic topography including the Colca Canyon (see Figure 7.1). Its main population centres are located between 2,900 and 3,300 metres, but terrain ranges between 1,800 and 6,300 metres above sea level, varying from alpine to subtropical in ecology, giving access to high pasturelands, crop growing areas, and orchards. Cabanaconde village is the largest urban centre, with a 2007 population of around 2,200.

The urban centre of gravity for the area is the city of Arequipa, which has a population of around one million and can be reached by road via Chivay, taking approximately four hours from Tuti and five hours from Cabanaconde. The lower valley is also connected by

⁸ Although Chivay is the provincial capital, more than half the population of Caylloma (39,000 of 74,000 at the 2007 Census) lives in the Majes district, which was created in 1999 after large-scale settlement following the Majes irrigation project.

road to the Majes plain and the Pan-American Highway leading to Lima. Road improvement projects since the 1970s have gradually reduced travel times to and within the valley.

Figure 7.1 The Colca Canyon

Looking north from the Cabanaconde side of the canyon towards Tapay. Source: Nadia Infantes.

Figure 7.2 Location of the Colca Valley in Peru

Source: Drawn by author in Arc GIS.

Figure 7.3 Population centres and physical features of the Colca Valley

Source: Drawn by author in Arc GIS.

7.1.1 History of the Colca Valley

Archaeological evidence suggests that agricultural terrace and irrigation development began in the Colca Valley hundreds of years before the Incan expansion, probably in the Middle Horizon period (500-1000 AD) during which time the area received important influences from the Wari culture which expanded south from Ayacucho and the Tiwanaku culture which spread west from the Lake Titicaca basin. The area then came under the influence of the Incan empire at its height, with important impacts on agricultural infrastructure, politics and culture (Doutriaux, 2004; Wernke, 2006).

According to chroniclers, at the time of the Spanish Conquest there were two distinct ethnicities in the Colca. The Collaguas occupied the middle and upper valley, spoke Aymara, and focussed on livestock herding. The Cabanas occupied the lower valley centred on present-day Cabanaconde, spoke a version of Quechua, and focussed on cultivating maize (Ulloa Mogollón, 1565 cited in Cook, 2009).

Following the Conquest, the Colca Valley was divided into three *encomiendas* (see Chapter 3). The *encomenderos* were replaced by Crown-appointed *corregidores* in 1565 and the *encomiendas* merged into the *corregimiento* of Collaguas. In 1570, Viceroy Toledo ordered the ‘reduction’ of scattered indigenous populations into urban centres to facilitate religious conversion and tribute collection. Development of the valley’s villages dates from this time. The discovery of silver at Caylloma in 1626 transformed the regional economy and the Colca’s native population was forced to labour in the mines. A series of rebellions in the later 18th century were followed by the eventual decline of the mines (Manrique, 1986). The combined effects of epidemic disease, periods of civil war and forced labour saw an estimated pre-Conquest population of around 70,000 reduced to a low of barely 10,000 (Cook, 2009).

The Republican era saw the creation of the province of Caylloma and the conversion of population centres into district capitals. From the mid-19th century the Colca was drawn into an export boom for sheep wool and alpaca fibre, which was consolidated with the arrival of the railway in 1870. White and mestizo migrants settled in Chivay as intermediaries, then began to annex pastoral lands. Some haciendas were established, although this did not affect either of the case study areas. The later 19th century also saw mining activity return to the area, with a mine established near the village of Madrigal in the middle valley. A road into the valley was constructed in 1940.

As noted in Chapter 3, the Spanish Empire divided populations into racialised social hierarchies of white, mestizo, and Indian, and this left social and cultural legacies in the Colca. Until the mid-20th century, families identified as mestizo combined social status with privileged access to literacy to consolidate political and economic power (Gelles, 2000; Paerregaard, 1997). By the later 20th century, inter-marriage, mass migration, general literacy and other political and economic changes had destabilised these relations of domination and undermined any consistent divisions by race or ethnicity; however, racial categories persist in discourse and are a basis for discrimination.

Ethnic distinction between Cabana and Collagua has continued to the present day, although with some fluidity between the groups (Paerregaard, 1997). Unlike race, ethnic identity unites as well as divides. People from the Colca are often identified collectively (including by themselves) as ‘Cabanas and Collaguas’. Both groups share the *Wititi*, a dance traditionally practiced at carnival time, but which has now become ubiquitous in celebrations and tourism displays and was recently awarded intangible heritage status by UNESCO.

7.1.1 The Majes project, migration and tourism

From the 1960s on, the Colca underwent a series of transformations that provide the context for recent initiatives to connect place, food and development. Fundamental to these transformations was the Majes Project, a State-led initiative to dam the upper Colca River and channel water to irrigate the Majes desert plain between Arequipa city and the coast. The project’s construction phase began in 1973 and it was finally completed in 1985 (Beltrán Barco, 1987; Gelles, 2000). Tuti became the site where the waters of the Condorama dam and the intermediate catchment area were diverted to the Majes canal, which followed a course along the southern flank of the Colca River to the Majes plain.

The Majes project improved transport and communications between the Colca Valley and Arequipa, and also within the valley, particularly through the construction of two tunnels on the Chivay-Cabanaconde road. The project had direct economic impacts by employing local workers and establishing construction camps in the valley, which generated local markets and increased the presence of the cash economy. It also accelerated migration and generally reoriented economic activity toward regional markets.

The project also heightened local awareness of marginalisation and inequality. Here was a large-scale State investment seeking to address a major livelihood issue for local

populations – access to water – yet, despite vague pre-project promises, it appeared it would bypass them without benefit. Gelles (2000) describes how in 1983 during a serious drought linked to an El Niño event, a group of Cabanaconde residents ‘broke in’ to the irrigation pipeline, dynamiting a hole in the canal where it crossed the Hualca Hualca River. When State authorities arrived, the village claimed collective responsibility, impounded project machinery, and continued to demand access to water. Eventually, the authorities agreed to concede quotas of water from the canal. This allowed Cabanaconde to reclaim large areas of previously dry agricultural land, which are referred to locally as the *ampliaciones* (literally, ‘extensions’). When other villages on the canal’s course along the Colca’s southern bank threatened to take similar action, they too were given quotas of water.

The Majes project was one factor that contributed to accelerating outward migration during the second half of the 20th century. The valley’s 2007 population of approximately 30,000 was slightly *less* than in 1961, while the population of the Arequipa region and Peru as a whole tripled over the same period (Bidwell, 2011). There was also migration *to* and *within* the valley, particularly towards Chivay, thanks to its growth as a service centre and tourism destination. In 2007, 44% of Chivay’s population were inward migrants, with nearly half of these from the upper Colca Valley. Finally, there were local urbanisation processes, with people in livestock herding areas gravitating from scattered homesteads to the district capitals, attracted by educational and other services (Zeballos, 2009). Tuti provides an example of this latter process.

Table 7.1 helps summarise the scale and direction of migratory flows to and from Cabanaconde, Tuti and Chivay, based on the 2007 Census.⁹ It shows the city of Arequipa is the most important migratory destination for all three districts, although Lima is a strong second destination for Cabanaconde migrants, who are much more likely to move there than people born in Chivay or Tuti. Chivay is an important destination for people from Tuti, but not for those from Cabanaconde. Table 7.1 also does not account for the significant number of Cabanaconde-born people independently known to be living overseas (discussed in Section 7.2.2).

⁹ This is based on analysis of responses to the question: ‘What district was your mother living in at the time of your birth’.

Table 7.1 Migration from, to and within the Colca Valley

	Chivay	Cabanaconde	Tuti
Total resident population 2007	6,532	2,842	888
Inward migrants (residents born elsewhere)	44%	22%	15%
Total born in district & resident in Peru	8,244	4,075	1,251
In district	43%	54%	60%
Chivay	-	1%	9%
Majes	5%	5%	4%
Other districts in Caylloma	2%	1%	4%
Arequipa city	35%	20%	13%
Other provinces in Arequipa	4%	3%	4%
Lima	4%	13%	3%
Elsewhere in Peru	7%	3%	2%

Source: own elaboration from INEI, undated-a, accessed October 2018.

The improvement in road access brought by the Majes Project also permitted the development of tourism. In 1986, national legislation declared tourism in the Colca Valley to be of national interest and established Autocolca, a semi-autonomous entity charged with promoting and regulating tourism in the area. Following the return of political stability to Peru in the mid-1990s, tourist numbers grew quickly, rising from 30,000 in 1998 to 175,000 in 2012, about two-thirds of them international tourists (Rendón & Bidwell, 2015). Although Chivay was the centre of tourism services, Cabanaconde became a secondary hub for independent tourists and speciality operators undertaking trekking trips through the Colca Canyon (Bidwell & Murray, 2019). By 2014, this route attracted an estimated 30,000 people per annum (Bidwell, 2016).

The growth of tourism reoriented development interventions, with the Colca becoming a focus of the Ministry of Trade and Tourism's *turismo rural comunitario* programme, which sought to foster local initiatives in homestay and cultural tourism (Bidwell, 2011). Tourism also became one target market for local agro-food initiatives, which the following chapters explore further.

7.1.2 The changing face of intentional development in the Colca Valley

From the mid-1980s, the Colca Valley became a space of intensive intervention by development agencies, for several interconnected reasons. First, while the Majes Project stimulated economic activity in the Colca Valley, its end saw the sudden withdrawal of employment and markets at a time of national economic crisis. Second, while this situation saw the Colca portrayed as a zone of poverty, its emerging reputation as a tourism destination and relatively benign environment for farming offered potential for

‘progress’ through development projects. Third, the Colca Valley was largely untouched by the armed conflicts that affected Peru during the 1980s and 1990s, while the growth of accommodation and other tourism services around Chivay consolidated its attractiveness as a base for agencies and their workers.

Changes in development interventions since the 1980s have been driven by the shifting roles and resources of the State and international donors; trends in development practice; and Peru’s political and economic cycles. I argue that the great diversity of actors and projects can be grouped into the following three broad eras.

Technology transfer: 1985-2000

The period following the end of the Majes project in 1985 saw an important role for bilateral aid, with a focus on technology transfer and improved productivity. It was dominated by the long-running projects of COPASA, a development programme supported by German aid funding through Arequipa’s regional government, and Desco, a Peruvian NGO that was created in 1965 and established a presence in the south of Peru in 1985.¹⁰ Interventions evolved over time, with Green Revolution-style technologies giving way to low external inputs and agroecological approaches during the 1990s. Projects tended to work through community institutions such as irrigator commissions and to seek early-adopter farmers prepared to learn and disseminate productive technologies.

COPASA operated in the Colca Valley from 1987 to 2001. The first phase, called the Integrated Food Security Project (PISA, for its initials in Spanish), ran from 1987 to 1993 and aimed to address issues of food insecurity arising in the wake of economic crisis and hyperinflation. It targeted 50,000 families across four provinces in highland Arequipa, with a total budget of approximately \$7 million USD. The second phase, known as the Colca Rural Development Project (PDR, for its initials in Spanish) ran from 1994 to 2001. This was a more focused ‘development’ programme in nine selected districts, including Cabanaconde and Tuti. The PDR project made significant investments in irrigation infrastructure and promoted productive innovations including market-oriented crop diversification and introduction of improved sheep and cattle breeds.

¹⁰ This section draws on information provided by José Huerta, Executive Director of COPASA, and Germán Ramos, who worked with COPASA during the late 1980s and early 1990s, as well as contributions from local participants.

Desco's involvement in the Colca Valley began with the 1985-2000 Colca Valley Rural Development Project, funded by the German Protestant Development Aid Association (EZE) (Desco, 1996). In the second half of the 1990s, Desco and COPASA agreed a loose division of spheres of interest, with COPASA focusing on crop and livestock farming in the middle and lower valley and Desco on alpaca herding in the upper valley. However, following COPASA's withdrawal, Desco extended its sphere of influence throughout the valley.

Participatory development: 2001-2015

This period was the 'boom' of development in the Colca, with abundant, albeit fragmented, resources, delivered proactively through NGOs and decentralised government programmes.¹¹ The focus on technology transfer was superseded by participatory approaches, promoting associative organisation and access to markets. While the era's overall policy framework fit the terms of what Andolina et al. (2009) call 'social neoliberalism', the flavour of these interventions is perhaps best captured by Hirsch's (2017) notions of 'indigenous entrepreneurship' and 'identity-based enterprise'.

Arguably, the spirit of this era was defined by the Sierra Sur projects (2005-2014), which were funded by IFAD through a loan to the Peruvian government. These projects drew on lessons from two decades of IFAD-funded rural development initiatives in Peru (Cleaver, 2013). They aimed to address rural poverty by empowering local residents to engage with markets, while incorporating objectives of gender equality, cultural identity, and environmental sustainability (Astete Veria & de Zutter, 2008; Aldana Durán & Vásquez Luque, 2014; Escobal et al., 2012).

Sierra Sur I, which ran from 2005-2011, allocated \$18.2 million USD to projects in 120 districts across five regions, focused primarily on sustainable natural resource management (conceptualised as improving the local population's asset base) and small business development initiatives (improving its income flows). Among its key innovations was the local resource assignation committee (CLAR, for the initials in Spanish), which involved public presentation and evaluation of project proposals. Groups with successful proposals were responsible for managing project funds and directly contracting technical advisors. Participants in sustainable resource management projects

¹¹ This section draws on information from Lilia Samayani, local office chief of Sierra Sur II, and Wilder Mamani, local co-ordinator for the RIMISP/PUCP diploma in TDI, who had also worked for Desco, Sierra Sur and ASDE.

were expected to produce maps of territory and natural resources (see Figure 7.7), and competitions for dances and other cultural manifestations were also encouraged as part of these events. Sierra Sur also aimed to improve savings by attracting financial institutions to the area and encouraging women to establish bank accounts.

Sierra Sur II ran from 2011-2014 with IFAD contributing \$8.3 million across 119 districts in six regions (Yancari & Cliché, 2012). Sierra Sur II took a more explicitly territorial focus, with local associations that applied for funding required to nominate a ‘lead’ group that would co-ordinate all their actions through a territorial plan. Stronger efforts were made to involve local governments, which under the 2003 Local Government Law had been given responsibilities for local social and economic development by co-ordinating local actors and acting as interlocutors for external agencies.

Sierra Sur also connected the Colca Valley to Lima-based and international institutions, thereby enabling its representation as an emblematic site of TDI. These networks saw the Colca included in a research collaboration between RIMISP and the Institute of Peruvian Studies (Asensio, 2009), its coverage in several reports by RIMISP, and its selection as a site of the Pontifical Catholic University’s diploma in TDI (see Chapter 6). Sierra Sur’s international connections helped local association leaders travel to Turin for the Terra Madre festival and brought representatives of Slow Food Italy to the Colca. The profile that the Colca gained from these interactions helped continue to channel development resources towards the area.

During this period, Desco remained involved in diverse initiatives including agricultural terrace reconstruction, organic farming, livestock improvement, environmental education, rural community tourism, and youth entrepreneurship, among others (Desco, 2014). Its projects were driven by the changing priorities of funding agencies, local needs and demands, and the expertise and connections of its local staff. Since at least the mid-1990s Desco has consistently articulated themes of new rurality and territorial rural development, promoting development of denser local economic links focused on ‘intermediate cities’ that act as market and service centres for surrounding rural areas. Chivay is an explicit model for this (Llona et al., 2004).

‘Grow in order to compete’: The post-2015 era

The year 2015 saw the culmination of the Sierra Sur II project and the end of Desco’s sequence of agriculture-focused projects in the Colca Valley. This marked the end of 30

years of proactive development interventions in the Colca Valley, linked both to the general reduction in European development aid following the 2008/09 financial crisis, and a view that the Colca Valley was no longer a zone of extreme poverty.

Since 2015, development projects have been primarily administered by the State, either through decentralised sectoral programmes or regional government. Funding is often contestable and generally based on more rigid specifications related to economic objectives. Emphasis on associative organisation, competitiveness and access to markets developed during the 2001-2015 period has been retained, but objectives of cultural revalorisation no longer receive the same emphasis. This economic emphasis is summed up by the title of a book summarising recent interventions supported by Agro Rural, the Ministry of Agriculture's rural development agency and inheritor of the Sierra Sur programme, called *Crece para competir* ('grow in order to compete').

7.2.3 Agro-food networks within and beyond the Colca Valley

This section provides a brief overview of agro-food networks in the Colca Valley and how they have changed over time. This offers important background to the case studies by showing the co-existence of different networks of agro-food exchange and giving insight into how local participants and development agencies have perceived problems and opportunities.

As well as cultivating and consuming their own produce, people in the Colca Valley historically sought complementary products from different, sometimes distant, ecological zones. They combined the 'vertical archipelago' provisioning method (Murra, 1975; Mayer, 2002) with relationships of *trueque* (barter trading) that linked different parts of the Colca Valley to each other, with the southern highlands of the Cuzco region, and with Arequipa's coastal plain. Herding populations in the upper Colca Valley played a particularly important role in forging these trade routes, given their control of the means of transportation (llamas and mules) and the valley's central position along these routes (Corrales, 1983; Desco, 1996; Gelles, 1990; Manrique, 1986; Paerregaard, 1997).

An example of 'vertical archipelago' provisioning is the traditional access upper valley residents had to coastal areas of Arequipa where they travelled to harvest *cochayuyo* (edible seaweed), an important source of iodine (Corrales, 1983). *Cochayuyo* and other durable, highly-valued products such as maize were used as means of exchange in extensive and complex trade networks. For example, traders from Tuti might collect

cochayuyo and barter or sell live sheep for rice and sugar on the coast, trade these for maize and fruit in Cabanaconde and Tapay respectively, then barter the latter for *chuño* in the Cuzco highlands. Trade journeys were carried out in small groups of family members and close friends. Traditions of hospitality, reciprocity, and rigorous accounting using agreed standards characterised these trade interactions (Paerregaard, 1997).¹²

Barter was complemented by mutilocal labour exchange and cash-based market sales. People from the upper valley and Cuzco's highlands gained access to maize by travelling to work in Cabanaconde at harvest time, a tradition which has continued to the present day. In turn, Cabanaconde participants remembered a practice of making three-day mule journeys to Arequipa to sell oranges from their orchards in the Colca Canyon (see also Gelles, 1990). In addition, livestock herding families from the upper valley were linked to regional markets for alpaca fibre, for which Arequipa has been a global processing and export centre since the 19th century.

During the second half of the 20th century, the *trueque* system gradually changed and declined. The improved road links with Arequipa brought by the Majes project opened up new markets, allowing the entry of intermediaries and encouraging degrees of productive specialisation. For a time, barley production for the *Arequipeña* beer factory provided market income for farmers in the middle valley (Desco, 1996), while the milk conglomerate Leche Gloria began to collect milk from the valley in the 1990s, as development interventions promoted productivity improvements in dairy farming.

By the time of the research, agricultural produce was distributed primarily through a market-based system centred on Arequipa. As explored further in Section 7.3, local farmers usually retained some portion of their harvest for family consumption and sold the rest to intermediaries. The products made their way to large wholesale markets in Arequipa and from there to traditional retail markets. In return, shops in the case study localities sourced most of their processed products and fresh fruit and vegetables from Arequipa wholesale markets.

This dominant model co-existed with alternatives both old and new. In 2016, short-supply networks persisted at the most spatially adjacent levels. For example, participants in Tuti sold beans and potatoes directly to neighbouring Sibayo and Callalli. In Cabanaconde,

¹² I am grateful to Jesús Mamani for the explanations and colourful descriptions of these trading expeditions.

people from neighbouring Tapay periodically sold avocados and fruit on a corner of the main street, while workers travelling from Cuzco or the upper valley at harvest time were still paid in maize as well as cash. Local shops and restaurants generally bought alpaca meat and trout from people in their own or nearby districts.

Alternative market networks were also emerging at a regional level. At the time of the research, supermarkets were growing in importance in Arequipa but still represented a niche rather than a dominant space for fresh food. Their standards of quality and formality and their higher final prices appeared to offer an alternative to the standard model of sale to intermediaries and an opportunity for farmers to achieve ‘added value’ and ‘fair prices’ (Desco, 1996), subject to being able to meet the required standards and engage collectively with these buyers.

In addition, some explicitly relational or ethical markets were emerging, driven by a small but active group of regional professionals linked to NGOs and private consultancies.¹³ Arequipa’s first weekly organic fair began in 2008 in the suburb of José Luis Bustamante y Rivero, led by the NGO El Taller and promoted under the name of Verde Thani (Sotta, 2013). This mainly involved producers from the rural areas around Arequipa city but also incorporated alpaca meat, cheese and honey producers from the Colca Valley. In 2012, a second organic fair under the Verde Thani umbrella started in the Yanahuara district, and in 2013 an alternative organic market started in the same area, although this was later discontinued.

In 2011, a group of NGOs together with the gastronomy association AGAR organised Arequipa’s first organic festival, called *Festiorgánico*. This was repeated in 2012 and then from 2014 on an annual basis, with representation from throughout southern Peru and incorporating culinary, educational, and artistic activities. The year 2015 saw the first festival specifically linked to the Colca Valley, called *FestiColca*. This was organised in collaboration between the Caylloma provincial government, regional and provincial offices of the Ministry of Agriculture, and regional NGOs, with the intention of supporting producers affected by climate change. The event reportedly attracted 72,000 people and yielded S/. 500,000 (approximately \$150,000 USD) in sales over three days. The event was held again in following years, attracting similarly large numbers.

¹³ Information in these two paragraphs depends significantly on information provided by Raúl Ojeda, representative of the Bioferia Arequipa and the Ecomatiz consultancy.

The State was largely peripheral to these initiatives, although some of the local organisers had worked for public agencies. In 2015, Arequipa's regional organic production council (COREPO) was established under the National Organic Promotion Law (see Chapter 5), incorporating representation from the Ministry of Agriculture, State sanitation and research agencies, organic producers, NGOs, academia, and the processing and exporting sectors. In 2016, the COREPO was in its second year of establishment and was undertaking a diagnostic exercise to assess organic production across the region with a view to developing a strategic plan.

A related initiative was Euro Eco Trade, an agreement between the Peruvian government and the European Union to promote export of organic quinoa, kiwicha (amaranth), mango, banana and cacao in four Peruvian regions, with Arequipa targeted as a producer of quinoa and kiwicha. By 2016 this had filtered down to regional government level as an administrative budget line. A few staff were working to align with the COREPO and export promotion agencies to strengthen export value chains and convert Arequipa into what a regional government representative described as an “axis of organic production”. At the time of the research, the concrete implications of this agenda were not yet clear.

Figure 7.4 Stalls at the FestiColca festival in Arequipa in 2016.

Source: Vincent Bidwell.

7.2 An overview of Cabanaconde and Tuti

This section provides more detail on the case study localities of Cabanaconde and Tuti. It first provides a summary of population statistics and development indicators followed by a brief overview of key environmental and socioeconomic features of each locality.

7.2.1 Population, basic services and employment

Tables 7.2 to 7.4 show some key statistics for the two case study localities, contrasting them with the provincial capital of Chivay and regional and national averages. Detailed data on income is not available at district level in Peru but this selection of indicators from the national Census helps show the case study localities as ‘Andean’ spaces with clear socioeconomic differences from urban Peru.

Table 7.2 shows that in 2007 the population proportion of young working age (20-44) was lower in the Colca Valley than regional or national averages, with this slight ‘hollowing out’ from rural-urban migration being most pronounced in Cabanaconde. The proportion with Quechua as a first language was much higher than regional or national averages in all three Colca Valley districts, and in Tuti it represented the majority. Both case study districts had a lower proportion with secondary or tertiary education than the regional or national average, although the proportion of the 15-34 age group with secondary education was close to the national average. These differences reflect both the historical inequalities in access to education, and the few local job opportunities for people with tertiary qualifications.

Table 7.3 shows that in 2007, access to basic services in the Colca Valley districts was mostly above the national average and close to the regional average. This reflects the concentration of most of the area’s population in small urban centres, which by 2007 were mostly connected to public water, electricity and sewerage networks, though these networks often did not extend to smaller hamlets or rural farmsteads. Further infrastructure projects since 2007 have brought electricity and water access closer to 100% in both case study localities and also extended sewerage infrastructure.¹⁴ Table 7.3 also shows that housing in the case study localities was generally basic, with over 80% of houses in both Cabanaconde and Tuti having earthen floors.

¹⁴ There were well-documented issues with Peru’s 2017 Census and the data collected for the Colca Valley has inconsistencies with both the 2007 Census and local data collections. Hence I prefer to use 2007 figures.

Table 7.2 Population and education in Cabanaconde and Tuti, 2007

	Aged 20-44	Age >15 with high school education	Age 15-34 with high school education	Age >25 with tertiary education	Learned to speak in Quechua
Tuti	34%	47%	72%	7%	60%
Cabanaconde	32%	57%	81%	9%	30%
Chivay	37%	68%	87%	26%	36%
Arequipa	40%	80%	92%	33%	15%
Peru	38%	69%	82%	23%	13%

Source: Own elaboration from INEI, undated-a, accessed January 2018.

Table 7.3 Basic services in Cabanaconde and Tuti, 2007

	Houses with access to electricity	Houses connected to public water system	Houses connected to public sewerage system	Houses with earthen floors
Tuti	66%	71%	68%	84%
Cabanaconde	78%	91%	66%	82%
Chivay	90%	92%	67%	52%
Arequipa	84%	74%	65%	29%
Peru	74%	64%	54%	43%

Source: Own elaboration from INEI, undated-a, accessed January 2018.

Table 7.4 summarises the primary occupation of the ‘economically active’ population in both localities. This shows the high importance of farming as an occupation in both Cabanaconde and Tuti compared to the provincial capital of Chivay and regional and national averages. It is also a reminder of internal differences within these ‘peasant’ communities, with around one third of people in Tuti and one quarter in Cabanaconde describing their primary occupation as agricultural labourers rather than independent farmers. As explored further in Section 7.3, this does not necessarily mean they had no land of their own, but it suggests that working for others was an important income source.

Table 7.4 Occupation and employment in Cabanaconde and Tuti, 2007

	Professional or technical occupations	Commerce and services	Farmers/skilled agricultural workers	Tradespersons and operators	Elementary occupations ¹⁵
Cabanaconde	5.8%	13.5%	34.3%	9%	36.2%
Tuti	5.2%	10.1%	30.6%	10.9%	43.2%
Chivay	10.3%	24.4%	8.0%	20.7%	35.3%
Arequipa	24.3%	16.1%	6.7%	23.3%	29.6%
Peru	22.1%	15.4%	12.8%	19.9%	29.8%

Source: own elaboration from INEI, undated-a, accessed January 2018.

¹⁵ This category includes the occupation of agricultural labourer, given by Tuti 32.5% of respondents in Tuti and 24.2% in Cabanaconde.

7.2.2 Environment & economy in Cabanaconde

The district of Cabanaconde has two main population centres: Cabanaconde village, which is located at 3,287 metres above sea level and had approximately 2,200 residents at the 2007 Census; and the secondary population centre of Pinchollo, which is located at an altitude of 3,600 metres, some 25 minutes east of Cabanaconde village by road, and in 2007 had a population of approximately 600. References to Cabanaconde here and in the remainder of thesis relate to the territory and activities of people based in Cabanaconde village.

An important socio-political feature of Cabanaconde is its constitution as a Peasant Community under legislation which allows groups of families with ancestral links to a defined territory to obtain formal collective title and regulate the use of land and resources in that territory. This status was obtained in 1979 after what Gelles (2000) indicates was a long period of internal debate. As a political institution, the Peasant Community is not necessarily more representative of the local population than the municipal government, and at the time of the research there was considerable overlap in roles and functions, with a rotating cast of political candidates competing for election to both institutions. However, the very existence of the Peasant Community helps maintain a diverse local economy by allowing collective ownership of land and resources and their distribution according to non-market criteria.

The foundation of livelihoods in Cabanaconde is the *campiña*, approximately 800 hectares of agricultural terraces surrounding the village, which have remained in constant cultivation for hundreds of years (see Figure 7.5). This zone was historically irrigated by the Hualca Hualca River, which flows from the eponymous 6,025-metre mountain overlooking Cabanaconde, although since the 1990s this has been bolstered by the additional water quotas from the Majes canal. Land in the *campiña* is divided into plots (*chacras*) generally no bigger than one *topo* (approximately one-third of a hectare); the exception being 32 fields up to one hectare known as the *chacras de cofradía* which were traditionally farmed on behalf of the church (Gelles, 2000). The latter are now administered by the Peasant Community and rented to community members through an application and lottery process. Most of the *campiña* is dedicated to cultivating the local maize variety, *maíz cabanita*, whose special characteristics are discussed further in Chapter 8.

Figure 7.5 A view over the terraces of Cabanaconde's *campiña*.

Looking north to Cabanaconde village (beyond the ridge) and the Cordillera del Chila. Source: author.

Additional water quotas from the Majes project allocated in the 1980s allowed Cabanaconde to recover long-abandoned areas of land, known locally as the *ampliaciones*. These are located to the west and east of the village, mostly at higher altitudes than the *campiña*. During the 1990s, the reclaimed land was divided into one to two-hectare *lotes* (blocks) and distributed to community members, with theoretical priority given to young, land-poor families. Access to water is administered by an irrigator commission that oversees the *campiña*, and separate commissions for each of the *ampliaciones*.

The rainwater-fed pastures in the hills surrounding Cabanaconde are administered by the Peasant Community and community members may graze their animals there for a nominal fee. Some 1,000 metres of altitude below Cabanaconde village are a series of orchards along the course of the Colca River, which historically provided an abundant source of fruit. They were struck by disease in the late 1960s and have been largely abandoned, although the locality of Sangalle has been redeveloped as a space for tourism.

Cabanaconde village is the urban hub for the lower Colca Valley with a health centre, high school, two primary schools, a pre-school and a Centre for Technical and Productive Education (CETPRO). In 2016, tourism demand was met by two hotels and four hostels

in Cabanaconde village and five tourist accommodation sites in Sangalle, most owned and run by families of local origin. The village had a shifting cast of around ten *comedores* (small restaurants) and approximately 60 small shops, including pharmacies, butcheries, hardware and stationery stores. At least three bus companies ran daily services to and from Arequipa via Chivay, with other services linking to Tapay and west to Huambo and Majes.

Within the general trend of accelerating rural-urban migration, Cabanaconde is a special case. During the early 20th century, the local population formed strong migratory links with Lima and Arequipa (Gelles, 2000; Paerregaard, 1997). In the 1970s, a few people from Cabanaconde settled in the United States, establishing a beachhead which over following decades drew in increasing numbers of relatives and compatriots. By the early 2000s, there were several hundred people of Cabanaconde origin living in Maryland and Washington DC, forming a distinct ethnic community (Gelles, 2000; Martinez & Gelles, 1993; Paerregaard, 2010). People from Cabanaconde have also migrated to Canada, several Western European countries, Chile and Argentina (Bidwell, 2011; Zeballos, 2009).

The impact of these far-flung mobility networks is evident in several ways. First, the main annual fiestas in February and July see a large temporary influx of urban and international migrants. Migrants usually sponsor these fiestas, sometimes spending up to \$50,000 USD on provisions and entertainment (Paerregaard, 2017). Another favoured investment of migrants who accumulate capital is to rebuild on their family property. This has seen the village dotted with large, multi-story houses, many of which remain empty for much of the year.

Second, the network connections to extended family in Arequipa, Lima and the United States provide access to accommodation and employment opportunities, thus influencing post-school trajectories and expectations for young people. Third, the outward movement has allowed some purchase and accumulation of land by those who have remained or returned. However, for economic security and affective reasons, many migrants try to maintain connections to land and farming as long as they can, including some who live as far away as the United States. Thus, relationships to land are diverse, with multiple rental, sharecropping and stewardship arrangements. In 2016, the president of the irrigators

commission estimated that less than 60% of the *campiña* was being cultivated by its direct owner.

7.2.3 Environment & economy in Tuti

Tuti's population at the 2007 Census was 888, but this may be an underestimate, as a municipal census in 2009 recorded around 1,000 residents. Most of the population now lives in the main village at an altitude of approximately 3,800 metres, following a relatively recent urbanisation process driven by the establishment of a permanent primary school and the beginning of the Majes Project in 1972. Prior to the 1970s, most families lived in *estancias*, farm houses scattered through the grazing lands above the village, where they focussed on animal herding. People cultivated crops by trekking down to the *chacras* near the village and returning to the *estancia* in the evening.

Figure 7.6 A view over the village of Tuti and the surrounding campiña.

Looking west, with the Colca River to the right. Source: author.

Tuti's *campiña* is approximately 250 hectares of gently sloping irrigated agricultural land in a narrow area around Tuti village, bordered by steeply rising terrain to the north and the Colca River to the south (Figure 7.6, Figure 7.7). It is watered by two principal irrigation canals sourced from the Cordillera del Chila to the north. Cultivation involves

flexible rotation between cultivated pasture, broad beans, quinoa, barley, and native tubers such as potatoes, *oca*, *izaño* and *olluco*.

A zone of grazing lands at intermediate altitudes (3,900-4,200 metres) lies to the north and northeast of the village. This is largely natural pasture with some sown pasture and fodder crops and is primarily rainwater-fed, complemented by springs and local irrigation canals. Beyond this, the *puna* extends towards Nevado Mismi, where above about 4,200 metres, cattle and sheep give way to hardier alpacas and llamas. Unlike Cabanaconde, Tuti has never become a Peasant Community and all land is privately owned, including the rain-fed pastures. A single irrigators commission administers all the irrigated land.

Figure 7.7 A model prepared for a Sierra Sur project showing the different zones within Tuti's territory

Looking north: Nevado Mismi is at top centre and the Colca River runs across the bottom. Source: author (model courtesy of Reynaldo Churo).

Tuti has a primary school that opened on its current site in 1971, and a high school that was established in 1988. Prior to this, local children had to travel to Chivay or further afield for secondary education. Tuti also has a primary health care clinic. Unlike Cabanaconde, Tuti is not a centre of tourist activity. In 2016, two to three families

provided accommodation to the handful of tourists and other visitors. Local commercial activity amounted to two larger grocery stores and several smaller stores. However, Tuti had an active transport service, with locally-owned minivans offering frequent services between Tuti and Chivay, and a business called Tuti Tours, formed by five local associates, providing a daily bus service to Arequipa via Chivay.

Outward migration from Tuti is significant but more constrained than Cabanaconde, with most people moving to Arequipa or Chivay. This means that migrants tend to retain a closer relationship with Tuti even while living or working elsewhere. Following chapters return to this difference between Cabanaconde and Tuti when reflecting on the outcomes of development initiatives.

7.3 Local livelihoods in Cabanaconde and Tuti

The remainder of the chapter looks in more detail at local livelihoods in Cabanaconde and Tuti, as an essential basis for understanding how people have interacted with and experienced the agro-food development initiatives to be explored in Chapters 8 and 9. It first looks at the *mobile* quality of livelihoods in the case study localities, shaped by dynamic interactions between place, family, education and employment. It then looks in more detail at local farming activities, including people's access to land, the crops and animals they farm, and how they use the resulting products.

The primary sources for this section are the 40 people who were specifically interviewed for this study as 'local participants'. As discussed in Chapter 2, participants were recruited purposively, with the aim of obtaining a broadly (though not statistically) representative cross-section from each locality. Across the two localities, there was an overall gender balance, a spread of ages between 22 and the 65, and roughly proportionate representation of people of non-local origin. The discussion also draws on interviews with other regional and local participants, previous research, and periods of context immersion in the Colca Valley between 2009 and 2017. This allows some generalisations about livelihoods to be made with more confidence than if based only on a sample of 40 people.

7.3.1 Networks of mobility: place, family, education, employment

The relationships that people in the case study localities had to place and farming are an important theme in the following chapters. However, these relationships must be understood in the context of people's diverse and mobile livelihoods. While acknowledging the relevance of *migration*, referring to the stable exchange of one place

for another, mobility and multi-locality better capture the complex and flexible relationships to place typical of livelihoods in the rural Andes (de Haan & Zoomers, 2005; Kay, 2006; Steel, 2011). Insights into mobile livelihoods are relevant both to the experiences in the case study localities and general reflections on the efforts to revalue agro-food heritage in the Peruvian Andes.

Participants' rich and diverse livelihood histories can be broadly conceptualised as shaped by the dynamic interaction of place, family, education and employment, mediated by the demographic factors of age and gender. The way these factors interconnected is illustrated by participant experiences of education. Because a local high school was established in Cabanaconde in 1965 but not until 1988 in Tuti, a high school education was the default for all Cabanaconde participants and those under 40 in Tuti, while only those older Tuti participants whose families were able to send them to Chivay or Arequipa had studied to secondary level. Differing family resources and priorities could also generate mobilities that *limited* education. For example, a number of (mostly female) participants had moved to urban areas to undertake domestic employment, the youngest starting at age eight, while some male participants left school to do agricultural labouring work in coastal areas, from about age fourteen.

Mobility was a key factor in the post-school experiences of most participants, with many seeking further education or employment outside the district. Those pursuing higher education faced multiple challenges, including the need to cover fees, accommodation and living costs in the city, short-term pressures to seek paid work, and family factors such as sick parents or unplanned pregnancy. While a few participants completed university or technical qualifications and some had undertaken short courses, others saw their plans for further education interrupted. Personal factors also influenced life pathways, with some participants reporting notably different experiences of education and employment than siblings living elsewhere.

Table 7.5 Participant education

	Cabanaconde			Tuti		
	Age <40	Age >40	Total	Age <40	Age >40	Total
Completed tertiary education		1	1		2	2
Completed secondary education	5	5	10	4	4	8
Incomplete school education	4	3	7	1	8	9
Incomplete information		2	2		1	1

Source: participant interviews, December 2015-July 2016.

Tables 7.6 and 7.7 help show the contrasting patterns of mobility across the two localities. In Cabanaconde, family networks were spread far and wide. Of the 19 participants who provided a full personal history, just two had never lived outside the district. Of the 12 Cabanaconde-born participants who provided full information, nine were the only sibling still living in Cabanaconde, and the other three had just one sibling living locally. Most siblings were spread between Arequipa, Lima, and other countries. In Tuti, livelihood trajectories were more spatially circumscribed. Eleven participants had not lived outside the district apart from periods of schooling or military service, although some of these had engaged in ‘circular’ migration to work in mining or construction. Ten of the 14 Tuti-born participants who provided full information had at least one sibling living locally. Most other siblings were in Arequipa, elsewhere in the Caylloma province, or other locations in southern Peru.

Table 7.6 Participant experiences of mobility

	Lived and worked outside district for at least 1 year	Schooling or military service outside district for at least 1 year	No extended adult residence outside district	Inward migrant as adult	Incomplete information
Cabanaconde	12	2	2	2	1
Tuti	6	6	5	2	1

Source: participant interviews, December 2015-July 2016.

Table 7.7 Location of participants' siblings

	Median family size*	Of local origin, no other siblings locally	Of local origin, at least one sibling living locally	Inward migrant	Incomplete information
Cabanaconde	5	9	3	4	4
Tuti	6	4	10	2	4

*Based on participants that provided full information.

Source: participant interviews, December 2015-July 2016

Given this general tendency of mobility, people living in their place of origin and working mainly in farming was an *outcome* rather than a default situation. Factors that influenced stable return to the locality included family commitments such as marriage and children; the needs of elderly parents; personal economic or health problems; or the accumulation of capital which could be invested locally. Often, more than one of these factors overlapped. Even cases of relatively limited movement tended to involve a back story. For example, one male participant each in Cabanaconde and Tuti had worked in the

Majes Project for a period of seven to eight years. From this period of stable, well-paid work they accumulated capital which they invested locally in land and animals.

Participants often envisaged continued mobility in their futures. While family commitments were among the reasons for settling in their home community, participants with school-age children often expected to eventually shift to the city to support their children's education. This was driven by a frequently expressed desire for their children to become 'professionals' who would be 'better/something more than me' (*algo más que yo*, see Leinaweaver, 2008). Nine participants in each locality had acquired some form of property in Arequipa, though in some cases this was just a plot of land not yet connected to basic services:

Yes, we've got a little house in Arequipa...one of the reasons [is that] education is not so good [here] in the high sierra. That's why, because one always wants the best for his children, and that's the effort we're making.

(Male Tuti resident, age 50, 7 June 2016)

The livelihood trajectories of younger generations were becoming more standardised. Smaller family sizes, expansion of government scholarship programmes, improved transport links and efforts that parents made to establish an urban base were combining to make urban residence and some form of tertiary education a standard part of the life course. Almost all participants with children beyond high school age reported that these children were working and/or studying outside the district.

Both localities were also recipients of *inward* movement from adjacent districts and places linked by traditional trade routes. In particular, Cabanaconde's status as a tourist centre and relatively productive agricultural zone offered migrants from poorer, high-altitude areas opportunities for employment, small business development and access to land, plus the chance to eventually access collective resources by becoming a *comunero*. To an extent, inward migrants occupied the space and resources left vacant by outward migrants, though often on a more provisional or precarious basis.

7.3.2 Non-agricultural employment

Most participants had some involvement in farming, but in most cases the participant and/or their partner also worked in at least one other activity. For approximately half, other activities were economically more important than farming. This reflects the well-documented importance of non-agricultural income to rural livelihoods in Latin America (Reardon, et al. 2001) and Peru specifically (Phelinas, 2009). Table 7.8 provides an

overview of the non-agricultural or waged occupations participants reported that they and/or their partners had undertaken at some stage.

Table 7.8 Non-agricultural & waged occupations of participants and their partners

Occupation	Cabanaconde	Tuti	Total
Health & education (professional and semi-skilled roles)	3	3	6
Public administration (including paid elected roles)	2	5	7
Public security (including Autocolca contracts)	4	2	6
Mining	1	4	5
Construction (all types & occupations)	6	8	14
Driver or machine operator	3	1	4
Commerce, food or hospitality business (fixed premises)	4	3	7
Commerce or food (ambulatory)	2	2	4
Commerce, food, hospitality or services (employee)	4	2	6
Domestic employment	5	4	9
Agricultural labouring / care of animals	5	3	8
Artisan	1	4	5
Tourist guide	3	1	4
Musician		1	1

Refers to both past and present occupations. Source: participant interviews, December 2015-July 2016

In each locality, a few participants or their partners worked in qualified roles in health and education, which were among the handful of professional jobs available locally. Male participants without tertiary education commonly worked in mining, construction and transport, often outside the district. Those who had completed short technical courses or learned through apprenticeship could undertake skilled jobs such as machinery operator in a mine or contractor in residential construction, but even less-skilled roles could be relatively well paid, enabling some capital accumulation. However, these occupations (especially mining) were considered physically demanding or dangerous, and not conducive to family responsibilities. Thus, they were usually not sustained beyond middle age. Several participant narratives highlighted how returning to farming allowed transition to a lower-impact activity as they got older.

For female participants without higher education, the main non-agricultural activities were commerce, food preparation, and craft work (while some male participants also worked in these areas). Several participants had built small businesses over time, which was aided by having an initial resource base such as a well-located property to run a shop or restaurant from. People without such advantages could also build a business through

gradual accumulation of skills, experience and capital, though often on a smaller scale or more precarious basis.

At least 11 participants in Cabanaconde and 14 in Tuti described some form of public employment, spanning professional roles in health and education, political or administrative positions with local authorities, work as a driver or in security, labouring in infrastructure projects and temporary contract work for the Autocolca tourist authority. In contrast to discourses presenting local government as a space of coordination, planning and citizen participation (Lindert & Verkoren, 2010), the primary expectation of local residents remained the provision of *obras* (public works) which not only produced useful infrastructure, but, perhaps more importantly, provided relatively well-paid employment.

In both case study localities, tourism provided a few dedicated business or employment opportunities for early adopters with strategically located property and/or capital to invest. In Cabanaconde, with its much greater tourism flows, it also provided a complementary market for shopkeepers and artisans, casual work in accommodation, construction or as tour guides, and opportunities to learn food preparation and customer service skills (see Bidwell & Murray, 2019).

Finally, participants without other employment and limited access to their own land could undertake seasonal work in agriculture or tending animals. These activities were an important source of employment for inward migrants or young return migrants without land or capital. There was also skilled work as an *arriero* (muleteer) or *gañán* (bull driver), which as following sections discuss, had become a relatively specialised role in both Cabanaconde and Tuti.

7.3.3 Access to land

Tables 7.9 to 7.11 show that in both Cabanaconde and Tuti most participants had some form of access to agricultural land, although the amount of land and conditions of access varied. Unlike in some areas of the rural Andes, neither locality had seen significant historical processes of land concentration, and there were no large landholdings of greater than 10 hectares of irrigated land. In both places, fragmentation of land through inheritance had been the dominant historical process.

Table 7.9 Participants' access to land in Cabanaconde

	Lotes in agricultural frontier areas			
Land in <i>campiña</i>	None	One	More than one	Total
None	2			2
<1 hectare	3	2	3	8
1-2 hectares	1	6	3	10
Total	6	8	6	20

Source: participant interviews, December 2015-July 2016.

Table 7.10 Participants' access to land in Tuti

	Land in hill pastures		
Land in <i>campiña</i>	Yes	No	Total
None		2	2
<1 ½ hectares	2	6	8
>1 ½ hectares	6	4	10
Total	8	12	20

Source: participant interviews, December 2015-July 2016

Table 7.11 Participants' conditions of access to land

	Mainly ownership	Some ownership, primarily rental, sharecropping, or administration	Only rental, sharecropping, or administration	No current land access
Cabanaconde	10	3	5	2
Tuti	16		2	2

Source: participant interviews, December 2015-July 2016

In both localities, most people cultivated from 1/3 to 2 hectares in the irrigated *campiña*, usually divided into multiple small plots spread across different sectors. Four participants in Tuti cultivated between 3 and 5 hectares. The different classifications of *campiña* land area used in Tables 7.10 and 7.11 reflect that in Tuti more land was needed for the same output than in Cabanaconde, given the colder climate and the need to rotate crops.

In Cabanaconde, the other main category of land was the one to two-hectare *lotes* in the agricultural frontier areas reclaimed during the 1990s thanks to the additional water quotas from the Majes Project. Table 7.10 shows that 14 participants had access to at least one *lote*. This land generally needed some work to become productive and its quality varied within and across people's blocks. People in Cabanaconde also had access to the rain-fed hill pastures, where any community member could pasture their animals for a small fee.

In Tuti, some participants had larger, contiguous blocks of land in the hills above the village and/or wider expanses in the high-altitude *puna* around Nevado Mismi. All land in Tuti was privately owned so there was no communal system for pasturing animals.

Gibson-Graham's (2006) concept of *diverse economies* is useful to characterise relationships to land in the case study localities. On the one hand, land was not just treated as a commodity but was associated with strong affective and cultural values. On the other, there were active markets and other mechanisms allowing exchange and redistribution of access to land. Given inter-generational fragmentation, most participants who had one hectare or more had purchased, rather than inherited, the majority of their land. For example, a participant in Tuti recounted how she had accumulated a total of two hectares:

Purchasing, through sacrifice, with my partner – he also gets casual work, he doesn't have a profession either – and that way, we managed it, buying [plots of land]. We had to save up, buy, that's how we got ahead, I would say practically from zero.

(Female Tuti resident, age 38, 4 April 2016)

There were also non-market mechanisms to increase access to land. As well as distributing reclaimed land in the agricultural frontier areas, the Cabanaconde Peasant Community administered the *chacras de cofradía*, 32 large plots of up to a hectare in the *campiña* which were allocated by lottery among those who expressed an interest and were rented for periods of three years.

A practice described in Tuti was *anticresis*. One party pays the other a sum of money for access to an area of land for an agreed time, such as five years. At the end of this period, each party returns the land or money to its original owner. Thus, one party obtains financial capital for purposes such as buying property in the city, without the risks and costs of a loan, while the other has temporary access to more land and a guarantee of getting their money back. This 'exchange of capitals' can be useful where people's priorities change with life circumstances.

There were also diverse rental, sharecropping, lending, gifting and stewardship arrangements, with the exact conditions of exchange or transfer varying between people and sometimes from year to year. Participants in both localities had often worked through a variety of these arrangements on a pathway to obtaining stable access to land. As an inward migrant to Tuti by marriage explained:

At first it was just labouring, then we started to take on *chacras* through sharecropping. Half of the harvest was for [the owner]. With the food, we were able to survive. Later, buyers of potatoes and broad beans started to arrive, and with that money we took out loans [to buy land]. I didn't even spend 10 cents on food, I didn't even buy bread; everything was for investment. Sometimes, doing what we could, we paid back the loans in 8 or 9 months so as not to pay more interest.

(Female Tuti resident, age 63, 21 January 2016)

This overview of access to land highlights the role of migration and mobility in freeing up land to allow (modest) local accumulation and associated economies of scale (Bebbington, 2000). Showing the variety of relationships to land (some of them temporary, precarious, or maintained at a distance) also complicates assumptions – present particularly in agroecology and food sovereignty discourses – about ‘peasant farmers’ having stable control of their land and commitment to its long-term quality. These points are further developed in later chapters.

7.3.4 Farming in Cabanaconde

Table 7.12 shows the crops participants reported cultivating in Cabanaconde, clearly showing the local ubiquity of maize. Participants commonly cultivated maize in the *campiña* and a mixture of maize, broad beans, potatoes and pasture in the *lotes*. In general, maize was cultivated as a stable, low-input source of cash and food, while ‘alternative’ crops such as potatoes, peas and broad beans required greater investment and carried higher risk and reward.

Table 7.12 Crops cultivated by participants in Cabanaconde

Crop	No. of participants	Main uses
Maize	18	Sale to intermediaries, own consumption, animal feed, seed, direct sales
Broad beans	10	Sale to intermediaries, own consumption
Potatoes	8	Sale to intermediaries, own consumption
Alfalfa / pasture	7	Pasturing own animals
Peas	6	Sale to intermediaries
Wheat	1	Own consumption, land rotation
Barley	1	Own consumption, land rotation
Prickly pear cactus	1	Fruit and cochineal for market sale
Nothing currently cultivated	2	

Source: participant interviews, December 2015-July 2016.

Figure 7.8 Maize dominates the cultivated countryside around Cabanaconde.

Source: author.

A disadvantage of maize was the nine months growing time from planting to maturity resulting in ‘just one harvest per annum’, which participants commonly cited as a reason for their relative poverty (although, both the relatively slow growth of Andean maize and the long drying time practised in Cabanaconde are linked to its quality). A common way to describe maize cultivation was that ‘you get back about what you put in’. This evaluation is backed up by Table 7.13, which summarises the typical production costs for cultivating one *topo* (1/3 hectare) in a ‘normal’ year. This suggests that maize can produce a modest cash surplus, while not accounting for the significant time spent by the farming family in tasks such as irrigating, de-eating, de-graining and cooking for workers (see also Mayer, 2002, p.205-235). The fragmentation of most landholdings across spatially separated areas meant that the costs shown in Table 7.13 tended to be repeated, making it difficult to achieve economies of scale. As one participant quipped, “the more maize a *cabaneño* grows, the poorer he is”.

Table 7.13 Estimated costs of production for maize cultivation, one topo (1/3 hectare)

Activity	Resources & costs	Total cost
<i>Barbecho</i>	Tractor at S/. 60-70 per hour.	S/. 100
Irrigation	Five to six rounds at S/. 5 for water rights plus S/. 20 for someone to irrigate if owner can't.	S/. 25-150
Planting	Two teams of bulls at S/. 40 each plus feed. Donkey or horse. Eight to ten people at S/. 30-40 each to guide, plough, sow, scatter fertiliser, and clear weeds. Breakfast, lunch, <i>chicha</i> and <i>alsa</i> (afternoon meal). Bag of natural fertiliser (<i>guano de isla</i>) at S/. 90. Direct costs can be lower if the farmer has their own bulls or gets help from friends or family through <i>ayni</i> .	S/. 490-540
<i>Lampeo</i>	Five to six people at S/. 40 each plus breakfast.	S/. .250
Weeding	Most people will go by themselves to cut any weeds with a sickle so there is no direct cost.	
Harvest	Cutting and stacking: 3 people at S/. 40 each plus breakfast. Carrying: 5 people at S/. 30 each plus breakfast and lunch. Truck hire at S/. 150.	S/. 420
<i>Deshojo</i>	There is no cost if the farmer or their family de-ears the maize. If there is a lot of maize it's common to hire other people to help, but this cost is spread over different plots.	
Total cost		S/. 1,285-1,460
Yield	500-700 kilos at average S/.4	S/. 2,000-2,800

Source: own elaboration from information provided by Ruth Delgado, other participants in Cabanaconde and personal observation.

On the other hand, maize was a resilient, low-input crop that needed much less water than peas, beans or potatoes and offered relatively predictable yields and market prices. Maize could be stored for months as a dry grain, meaning people could try to sell in bulk when prices were better, or sell it little by little to meet costs:

But vegetable products can't be kept, neither beans nor peas, no products that deteriorate or spoil quickly. You can't keep potatoes a year, or even 3 to 4 months...So, the only product that's good for storing is maize...[it] might go up, or down...there's a certain variability in that aspect, [but] maize is the best product, because it can be stored and it can act like a bank, like a savings deposit. (Male Cabanaconde resident, age 30, 3 June 2016)

In 2016, this balance had been affected by successive poor maize growing seasons due to pests, diseases and extreme weather (discussed further in Chapter 8). While many people lost significant portions of their maize crop, others reported successful experiences growing peas and beans in the *campiña*, thanks to a short growing time and good market prices. However, further expansion of these crops was restricted by water availability. In the *campiña*, they could only be grown in plots close to one of two reservoirs, from which farmers could negotiate extra quotas of water from the Irrigators Commission. By November 2017, reduced prices for peas and beans meant the relative advantages of

different crops had changed again. At these prices, one participant argued that the high wage costs of harvesting peas meant he was essentially “working for the people”.

Most participants retained a proportion of their maize harvest for seed, their own consumption and for sharing with family members living in the city, while selling the rest to intermediaries. A few participants who were already engaged in commerce had formed direct connections to urban markets, while some others reported that they had tried to sell their maize directly in Arequipa without much success because of the additional transport costs and the existing arrangements wholesale buyers had with intermediaries.

Income from maize helped guarantee social reproduction, including the continuation of the maize farming cycle itself:

A portion is stored to be able to plant, to be able to eat, and it’s also sold. And that money goes around in circles – you sell, to be able to plant again...to pay the workers, the tractor, the water fees...

(Male Cabanaconde resident, age 28, 18 March 2016)

Mostly we grow [maize] as a saving, because the income goes back into the land we cultivate...that’s why most *cabaneños* sell close to the harvest, to recover their costs...The rest is stored, and most families live off that; with the income they buy [things like] school books and stationery, for their children.

(Male Cabanaconde resident, age 51, 19 March 2016)

As discussed further in Chapter 8, maize had many other uses apart from market sale of dry grain. Thus, even in the wake of poor harvests in 2015 and 2016, people were finding other uses for lower-quality maize such as feeding *peja* (small and ruined cobs) to their pigs and boiling maize kernels with lime to make *chochoca* (see Figure 8.3)

Few people in Cabanaconde engaged in market-oriented livestock farming, although some had a few cows which they pastured in the *campiña* or in their *lote* for fattening or milk for personal consumption. Most people kept a few sheep and/or native cattle in the rain-fed communal pastures. These animals played important productive and cultural roles. Flocks of sheep were used to fertilise the *chacras* during fallow season, and the cattle were herded down from the hills in July to take part in bull fights as part of annual fiestas. They also acted as low-maintenance and relatively liquid assets:

The essential thing is to have a donkey for work and transport, bulls for work, a few sheep to slaughter when there’s no money...To get by, as they say. A fallback, for the times when there’s no money.

(Male Cabanaconde resident, age 51, 19 March 2016)

The most important contribution of animals in Cabanaconde was their physical labour. The importance of the *yunta* (team of bulls) had reduced with the growing availability of tractors, but the more precise bull-drawn plough was still widely preferred for the day of planting. Reduced demand and high maintenance costs had made maintaining a team of bulls a more specialised role, with just four participants keeping bulls. By contrast, thirteen participants in Cabanaconde had at least one donkey, with some also having horses. These animals provided a vital short-distance transport service, taking provisions to and from the *chacra* and being used for various other tasks. Finally, many participants also kept what they referred to as ‘minor animals’, namely pigs, *cuyes* and chickens, primarily for personal and family consumption.

Table 7.14 Animals raised by participants in Cabanaconde

Animal	No. of participants	Main uses
Donkey(s)	13	Transport, agricultural labour
Cattle*	12	Market sale, breeding, cultural purposes (bullfighting), milk for own consumption
Guinea pigs / rabbits	10	Own consumption, use in restaurant
Sheep	9	Market sale, fertilising the <i>chacras</i>
Bulls (for <i>yunta</i>)	4	Agricultural labour
Horse(s)	4	Transport, agricultural labour
Pig(s)	3	Own consumption
Chickens	3	Eggs, meat for own consumption
Alpacas / llamas	1	Fibre and meat for market sale
No animals currently	2	
Incomplete information	1	

*Includes native and improved breeds, excludes bulls kept for ploughing.

Source: participant interviews, December 2015-July 2016.

7.3.5 Farming in Tuti

In Tuti, the main food crops were broad beans, quinoa, potatoes and barley, while the rest of the cultivated space was dedicated to animal fodder, primarily alfalfa and grasses, with some fodder oats and barley (see Table 7.15). Several participants said that in the past they or their parents had cultivated a wider variety of tubers such as *izaño*, *papalisa* and *oca* (yam) but only a few now grew these in small quantities. Unlike Cabanaconde, where maize was planted year after year, in Tuti crop rotation was vital to sustainable production. Beans, potatoes and quinoa had to be rotated and at some stage land had to ‘rest’ by being planted in pasture.

Table 7.15 Crops cultivated by participants in Tuti

Crop	No. of participants	Main uses
Broad beans	16	Sale to intermediaries, own consumption, pasturing animals, gastronomic tourism
Potatoes	15	Own consumption, direct sales, sale to intermediaries, gastronomic tourism
Alfalfa / pasture	14	Pasturing own animals, local rental or sale, land rotation
Quinoa	13	Collective sale, own consumption, direct sale (transformed), gastronomic tourism
Barley	7	Own consumption
<i>Izaño / mashwa</i>	6	Own consumption, gastronomic tourism
Forage oats or barley	5	Animal feed (own animals and local sale)
<i>Oca</i> (yam)	4	Own consumption
<i>Papalisa / olluco</i>	3	Own consumption
Maize	3	Own consumption
Kitchen garden (carrots, onions, silverbeet, etc)	2	Own consumption
Peach trees	1	
<i>Capuli</i> (Peruvian ground cherry)	1	
Nothing currently cultivated	3	
Incomplete information	1	

Source: participant interviews, December 2015-July 2016

Most participants grew some quinoa, and ten had at some stage sold quinoa through the Agro Eco Tuti association, whose story is told in Chapter 8. As discussed in that chapter, quinoa prices had risen as high as S/. 11.70 (approximately \$3.50 USD) but by the time of the research they had dropped back to S/. 5 (approximately \$1.50 USD), and some argued quinoa was no longer worth growing commercially. Representatives of regional development agencies maintained that quinoa was still profitable at this price, an argument which the cost calculations in Table 7.16 appear to support. However, participants argued that quinoa was very labour-intensive around harvest time, not useful as animal fodder, subject to increasing pests and diseases and also vulnerable to bird attacks. These perspectives are supported by the alternative farming output measures used in agroecology, which emphasise total biomass production rather than ‘yield’ of a single commercial crop (Altieri & Toledo, 2011; Van der Ploeg, 2010).

Table 7.16 Estimated costs and yields for quinoa cultivation, one topo (1/3 hectare)

Activity	Resources & costs	Total cost
<i>Barbecho</i>	One team of bulls and feed plus lunch and soft drink.	S/. 120
Irrigation	Four to six irrigation rounds depending on rains, S/. 10 for water rights plus S/.30 for someone to irrigate if owner can't.	S/. 60-240
Planting	Two kilos of seed (S/. 12). A truckload of manure to make fertiliser at S/. 180. A team of bulls and feed at S/. 100. Four workers at S/. 40 each. Lunch, soft drinks and <i>chicha</i> .	S/. 480
<i>Aporque</i>	Three workers at S/. 40 each. Lunch and <i>chicha</i> .	S/. 140
Weeding	One person at S/.30 to apply organic spray (S/.20).	S/. 50
Harvest	Three people for three days to cut, stamp and winnow at S/. 30 per day. Lunches.	S/. 470
Total cost		S/.1,320-1,500
Yield	500 kilos at S/. 5	S/. 2,500

Source: own elaboration from information provided by Benilda Llallacachi.

Most participants grew some broad beans, which were the longest standing commercial crop in Tuti. The calculations in Table 7.17 suggest that under ideal circumstances, broad beans could produce a reasonable profit margin. However, they were vulnerable to frosts and drought, so optimum yields depended on early and sufficient rainfall. There was also a small window of opportunity to sell fresh beans, and producers could be faced with sharp drops in prices as the market was flooded. As with quinoa, participants reported that intensive cultivation for the market had led to increased problems with pests and disease.

Table 7.17 Estimated costs and yields for broad bean cultivation, one topo (1/3 hectare)

Activity	Resources & costs	Total cost
<i>Barbecho</i>	One well-trained team of bulls at S/. 100 plus feed. Lunch and soft drink. Or tractor at S/. 60 per hour.	S/. 120
Irrigation	Six rounds at S/. 8 for water rights plus S/. 30 for someone to irrigate if owner can't. More irrigation required (every 15 days) if rains delayed or insufficient.	S/. 64 - 304
Planting	Thirty kilos of seed at S/. 6 per kilo. A truckload of manure to make fertiliser at S/. 180. A team of bulls and driver at S/. 100 plus feed. Five to six workers at S/. 40 each to sow seeds, spread fertiliser and clear weeds. Lunch, soft drinks and <i>chicha</i> .	S/. 660-700
<i>Aporque</i>	Six men at S/. 50 each. Lunch and <i>chicha</i> .	S/. 320
Weeding	At least 4 women at S/.30 each. Lunch.	S/. 120-150
Harvest	Three harvests, separated by a round of irrigation. Each one requires five people working for two days at S/. 30 each.	S/. 900
Total cost		S/. 2,300-2,500
Yield	4,500-6,000 kilos at S/. 0.70	S/. 3,150-4,200

Source: Own elaboration from information provided by Jesús Mamani and Ceferino Yanque.

Most participants also grew some potatoes, mostly for personal consumption and sale in relational or short-supply markets. These included sales to neighbouring districts Sibayo and Callalli, through participants' own shops, and in regional fairs and festivals.

Several participants in Tuti stressed that their own consumption was a priority, with market sales only made once family subsistence needs were met. This was linked to an appreciation of the direct nutritional benefits of local produce:

Even though the beans are fine, the buyers in Arequipa don't want the ones with black spots, so it's better to eat them here...It's not about [just] selling, selling, either, because you only have money for a while, but on the other hand, diet...
(Male Tuti resident, age 47, 6 March 2016)

This outlook also reflected the fact that livestock farming was the more important source of market income. Over the previous decade, its relative importance had consolidated, due to the ongoing vulnerability of crop cultivation, support for pasture and animal improvement, and the development of infrastructure and markets for milk products (discussed further in Chapter 8). Eleven participants raised improved cattle breeds. Ten had dairy cows, while one focused on fattening cattle and bought unwanted steers off other people. One participant summarised the advantage of dairy farming:

[Livestock farming] is better. In terms of yield, you've got daily income. Every day you get earnings. By comparison, with other products, they've got their season and that's it.
(Male Tuti resident, age 50, 25 June 2016)

The amount of cattle a family could have was limited by the availability of land and feed, especially during the cold, dry winter months. At the time of the research, around twenty-five cows was the maximum any resident could maintain. Limited land availability for livestock farmers was driving an internal market in fodder production. Four younger participants cultivated pasture even though they had no animals.

Table 7.18 Animals raised by participants in Tuti

Animal	No. of participants	Main uses
Cattle	12	Milk production, breeding, fattening for market sale
Alpacas / llamas	5	Fibre & meat for market sale
Sheep	3	Breeding, fattening for market sale
Guinea pigs / rabbits	4*	Own consumption
Pig(s)	3	Own consumption, breeding & fattening for market sale
Chickens	2	Eggs for own consumption
Donkey(s)	1	Transport
Previously had alpacas and/or sheep	4	
No animals currently	5	

*Likely an underestimate

Source: participant interviews, December 2015-July 2016.

As in Cabanaconde, keeping bulls for ploughing had become a specialised role in Tuti, while the role of donkeys had largely been taken by motorised transport. Several families had trucks or vans and I estimated there were at least fifty motorbikes in Tuti. As in Cabanaconde, people also kept pigs, guinea pigs and chickens, primarily for personal consumption.

Only four participants raised sheep and/or alpacas, and several had reduced the number and diversity of animals due to social and economic changes. In the past, families had maintained activities in multiple ‘ecological floors’, combining crop farming in the *campiña*, raising cattle and sheep in the intermediate zone, and keeping alpacas and llamas in the high *puna*. This relied on an abundance of family labour, with children often charged with looking after the animals. General population urbanisation, outward migration, and the priority given to children’s education has made this model much less viable:

Participant: [The cows] pasture in the *campiña*. In the high parts we did have (land) but not anymore, about 10 or 15 years ago yes, but not really in recent years, we rent in the high parts. It’s not a focus, we had lots of alpacas and llamas, but we’ve sold most and there are only 15 or 16 left. No more sheep either, before we had more than 100.

Interviewer: *Are they not profitable, or is it too much work?*

Participant: It’s not as much as working with milking cows, but we don’t have time. Also, the children are involved in their studies, so there’s no one to take care of so many animals.

(Male Tuti resident, age 60, 25 June 2016)

Figure 7.9 Mixed farming in Tuti's campiña

Cultivated pasture for cattle (foreground), quinoa (middle) and broad beans (background). Source: author.

7.3.6 Differentiation in local livelihoods

This overview shows that most participants combined different resources and activities to build their livelihoods, while acknowledging the uneven access to these resources and activities. Table 7.19 shows that this resulted in different overall levels of assets and capabilities. The seven assets or capabilities listed in the table include those that contributed directly to livelihoods (a stable job or business or a viable amount of land and animals); those that enabled access to opportunities (education and socio-political status); and those that people saw as an investment in their children's future (a property in Arequipa). This is not meant to be a precise index of 'wealth', but it does help show local differentiation, with eight participants having none of the assets or capabilities and six having four or more. Interestingly, access to a *lote* in Cabanaconde is the single most 'equalising' factor, reflecting the non-market distribution system within Cabanaconde's Peasant Community.

Table 7.19 includes assets and capabilities of both participants and their partners. A recurring theme of livelihood histories was how partners organised a flexible portfolio of activities. A husband and wife team could not only combine income sources and inherited property but could also creatively divide labour between children, crops, animals and

non-agricultural activities, sometimes across different places, and often adjusting responsibilities over time in response to changing priorities and circumstances. Those without a partner, or whose partner was estranged or unwell, did not have this advantage.

Table 7.19 Participant assets and capabilities in Cabanaconde and Tuti

	Cabanaconde	Tuti	Total
Completed tertiary education (participant or partner)	2	3	5
Stable non-agricultural employment, pension <i>or</i> current employment in mining (participant or partner)	4	3	8
Business run from fixed premises	5	3	8
Stable access to at least 1 hectare (Cabanaconde) or 1 ½ hectares (Tuti) in the <i>campiña</i>	9	11	20
At least 1 <i>lote</i> (Cabanaconde) or least 5 Brown Swiss cows or 50 sheep/alpacas (Tuti)	14	9	23
Participant or partner has been local authority (mayor, councillor, governor or irrigators commission president)	2	6	8
Property in Arequipa connected to basic services	7	8	15
None of the above	3	5	8
One of the above	2	1	4
Two of the above	7	6	13
Three of the above	6	4	10
At least four of the above	2	4	6
Total	20	20	40

Source: participant interviews, December 2015-July 2016

7.4 Conclusions

This chapter has provided a ‘thick description’ of the case study localities within the wider context of the Colca Valley, thus setting the scene for following chapters. The chapter shows how over time the Colca Valley and the case study localities have been constructed as ‘Andean’ places that share differences from, and unequal relationships with, urban Peruvian society. However, by exploring the mobile and diversified nature of participant livelihoods, it destabilises homogenising images of *campesino* ‘small farmers’ often associated with debates about rural development in the Andes. The discussion of farming activities shows how these activities are embedded in local social and ecological systems, but it also gives a sense of how they fit within dynamic livelihood trajectories that connect to other places.

Understanding the details of place and livelihoods sets a basis for exploring what territorial development initiatives based on local agro-food heritage *mean* in these localities. By showing the Colca Valley’s history of what Frank (1966) calls the ‘development of underdevelopment’ through cycles of conquest, colonisation, mining,

wool export, mining (again) and canal building, the chapter raises questions whether initiatives based on local natural and cultural resources can offer more sustainable and inclusive forms of development. By showing how farming activities are flexibly oriented towards local consumption, short supply networks and broader markets to meet diverse livelihood goals, the chapter raises questions about how initiatives to revalue local agro-food heritage can help conserve and enhance what people value about these activities. The following two chapters address both these questions.

Chapter 8 Revaluing local agro-food heritage in Cabanaconde and Tuti

This chapter tells the stories of initiatives to link place, food and development in Cabanaconde and Tuti. Each case study covers a series of initiatives over a period of about fifteen years focused on the agro-food products and practices of the respective locality. These initiatives were not part of a single project, but most shared at least some of the values and logic of the discourses discussed in Chapters 4 to 6. Their interconnections can be understood through Turner's (2016) concept of 'territorial projects', which refers to the way diverse activities can work towards broadly shared objectives without necessarily being explicitly co-ordinated.

The chapter's main purpose is to provide a historical account of actors and events in the respective localities, thus giving a sense of *why* and *how* the development initiatives took place. Both case studies present additional local background which is crucial to understanding the initiatives. The first case study explains the rich biocultural connections that anchor the *maíz cabanita* maize variety to Cabanaconde, while the second summarises Tuti's unique social history involving collective action to restrict the sale and consumption of alcohol.

The case studies cover events that occurred over an extensive time period, many of which have never been formally documented. As far as possible, I tried to corroborate dates, facts and figures by triangulating the accounts of multiple participants and seeking documentation where available. Most key points were corroborated by more than one participant and in some cases by published information and/or my own observation. For each section, I summarise the key sources in footnotes and I indicate where participant accounts differed or where a notable fact is based on a single source.

8.1 Cabanaconde: An emblematic product

The story of Cabanaconde centres on its emblematic product, *maíz cabanita*. In short, it involves efforts to consolidate and realise economic value from the connections between place and product, processes which writers on local agro-food systems characterise as *patrimonialisation* (Sanz Cañada and Muchnik, 2016; Turner, 2016). To give context to these efforts, this section provides a brief overview of the special characteristics of *maíz cabanita*.

Maíz cabanita can be defined as an ecotype or landrace of Andean maize that has evolved in, and adapted to, the cultivated area around Cabanaconde village known as the *campiña*. The clear linguistic link between place (Cabanaconde), ethnicity (*cabaneño*) and product (*maíz cabanita*) is reinforced by the system of nicknames for people from different parts of the Colca Valley, in which people from Cabanaconde are referred to as *chiri mote* (Quechua for ‘cold corn’).

Information from Spanish chroniclers and tribute records indicates that at the time of the conquest Cabanaconde was already an important centre of maize production (Cook, 2009; Gelles, 2000). Archaeological evidence showing the influence of the maize-growing Wari culture in Cabanaconde suggests maize had at least some presence there in pre-Incan times (Escalante, 2005; Doutriaux, 2014); however, its cultivation was likely intensified and expanded by the Incas. Maize was of special significance for pre-Hispanic populations, not only for its alimentary importance, but also in cultural terms because of the role of *chicha* (maize beer) in religious ceremonies (Krogel, 2011). Thus, Cabanaconde’s specialisation in maize made it a hub of the barter trading system which linked complementary ‘ecological floors’ within and beyond the Colca Valley. Local participants and secondary sources (Desco 1996; Gelles, 2000) coincide in depicting Cabanaconde as having been an ‘emporium’ or ‘granary’ for the region.

8.1.1 The specialness of *maíz cabanita* – *terroir* and bioculture

Several different aspects of *terroir* contribute to the special qualities of *maíz cabanita*. First, the relatively low altitude of 3,200 metres and the sloping terrain that drains colder air make the area around Cabanaconde relatively warm. Second, the soil, which is enriched by deposits from the nearby volcanoes. Third, average annual rainfall is less than 400 millimetres and falls almost entirely in the months December-March (Gelles, 2000; Treacy, 1986). Prior to the Majes Project, Cabanaconde relied on snowmelt from the Hualca Hualca River, whose limited volume restricted irrigation during the growing phase, with irrigation cycles taking up to 60 days. Several participants considered that the characteristics of *maíz cabanita* derive in part from adaptation to this water stress.

Allied to environmental factors are traditional farming practices. A foundation for these practices is the agricultural terraces (*andenes*), whose construction began before the Incas, and whose maintenance is an ongoing task (Treacy, 1986; Denevan, 1988). The terraces facilitate the traditional flooding style of irrigation in which farmers take turns diverting water to evenly soak their plots (Gelles, 1990, 2000; Paerregaard, 2013). In the

post-harvest period between May and July, animals wander freely across the terraces to eat up the stubble remaining from the harvest and fertilise the soil with their urine and manure. Fertility is also assisted by the spontaneous growth between the maize plants of *trebol*, a type of native clover with nitrogen-fixing properties (Arone Gaspar, 2012), as well as some inter-sowing with broad beans and/or quinoa.

For cultivation, bull-drawn ploughs are used to make precise furrows which follow the contours of the terraces and facilitate the desired movement of water and air.¹⁶ Cultivation is supported by labour-intensive practices at planting time, including terrace repair and the removal of grass and weeds, while a key post-planting activity is the *lampeo* or *aporque* which involves manually heaping up earth on each side of the maize plants and removing weeds. Finally, the maize undergoes a long, slow drying process, with the corn left on the plant for a period even beyond the harvest, to continue drying in village corrals.

These productive practices are integrated with social and cultural customs. Historically, a key custom was *ayni*, the traditional reciprocal labour exchange used throughout the Andes, which is sometimes depicted as underpinning a general ethic of cooperation and solidarity (Mayer, 2002, p.105-143; Paerregaard, 2017). The social, ecological and sacred relationships involved in cultivation are acknowledged and sustained through rituals and festivities, especially those associated with the planting or *solay* (see Figure 8.1). Drawing on Turner's (2016) insights relating to the Central Valley of Tarija, Bolivia, I note that these customs also have *gastronomic* aspects. In Cabanaconde, these include the preparation of *chicha* to be consumed in the *chacra*, and a highly-appreciated meal called *alsa*, which is served at the end of the day's planting and includes cheese, olives, tripe, pastries, and small native fish called *challhua*, scattered over a bed of toasted *maíz cabanita*. While in Tarija 'campesino gastronomic heritage' involves urban cooking and restaurant traditions linked to local products, in Cabanaconde the enjoyment of food is directly connected to its production. Here, *campesino* gastronomy reaches its maximum expression in the *chacra*, reinforcing arguments that this is the real centre of Andean culture.

The cultivation process produces a diversity of maize phenotypes, with local participants reporting up to 45 variants on white, yellow, purple and coloured (*checche*) maize (see

¹⁶ I am grateful to Honorio Qoripuna for insights into this aspect of local agroecological practices.

Figure 8.2). Fresh corn cobs (*choclos*) are hand-collected in February and March for immediate consumption, but most maize continues drying and is harvested in May. The maximum expression of *maíz cabanita*, reserved for first-grade kernels, is to lightly toast them to make *cancha* (also called *tostado*). In its toasted form, *maíz cabanita* is said to be uniquely soft (*suave* or *blandito*) and to have a smooth or sweet (*dulce*) taste. Historically, this was a key carbohydrate source. Nowadays *cancha* is eaten as a snack, with Andean cheese, with beer or soda, or as an accompaniment to a main meal.

Another important use is to make *chicha*, made from germinated kernels (*huiñapo*), which is an integral part of planting and other ceremonies. Lower-grade kernels can be soaked with lime and peeled, then dried and ground to make *chochoca*, which is used to make savoury *tamales* or sweet *humitas*.¹⁷ Maize can also be ground into flour to make bread, or to thicken soups and broths. Very small, bird-eaten or otherwise ruined cobs, known as *peja*, are used to feed pigs and chickens.

Maize contributes to social and ecological reproduction in a variety of other ways. Seeds are selected from the centre of the largest, most symmetrical cobs and are planted in a different sector from where they were harvested, as a form of ‘crop rotation’. The dried leaves and stalks of the maize plants, known as *chala*, are an important food source for domestic animals such as bulls and donkeys which play an important part in the cultivation process. The *trebol* (clover) which grows between the maize plants is also a nutritious food for *cuyes* (guinea pigs) which most families keep for personal consumption (see Figure 8.3 for a visual representation of the maize cultivation cycle).

¹⁷ Most of these uses and foods (including *cancha* – spelt *camcha* – *mote* (*mut'i*), *humintas*, and *wiñapo*) were described by Guaman Poma de Ayala in 1565 (see Escalante, 2005).

Figure 8.1 Sharing chicha as part of the solay, the ceremonial practice of maize planting in Cabanaconde

Source: author.

Figure 8.2 Different colours of maíz cabanita

Source: Nadia Infantes.

Figure 8.3 The cultivation cycle of maíz cabanita in Cabanaconde

Source: own elaboration

8.1.2 The *ampliaciones* and changes in commercialisation, 1983-2006

Chapter 7 describes how, in the early 1980s, Cabanaconde obtained additional water from the Majes pipeline, allowing the extension of the agricultural frontier to several long-abandoned areas. During the 1990s, the COPASA project provided financial and technical support to improve and extend the network of irrigation canals and diversify into areas such as potato cultivation, livestock farming, and dairy production, with most of these initiatives focusing on the newly expanded agricultural frontier (Padilla, undated; Rojas, 2001).

In parallel, the traditional system of *trueque* (barter exchange) for *maíz cabanita* was becoming increasingly hybridised with market-based commercialisation. Industrial commodities such as oil, flour, rice and sugar gradually supplemented or replaced the regional food products which had traditionally been exchanged for maize. As road links improved, this trade consolidated into the hands of intermediaries with access to transport and market connections in urban centres. Producers could exchange their maize for goods directly with intermediaries or through the small general stores in Cabanaconde. Up to the mid-1990s, barter continued to be the main way *maíz cabanita* was exchanged locally, but it also made its way into Arequipa and other urban markets, where it has long been known and valued by consumers (Desco, 1996; Gelles, 1990).

In general, the changing terms of these exchanges seem to have been unfavourable to maize producers. Whereas maize had traditionally been bartered for complementary products such as meat and *chuño*, the modified system saw it exchanged for products (such as flour or sugar) of less nutritional value. One participant recalled that in local shops maize was valued at S/. 0.10 per *choclo* (approximately \$0.03 USD). So, for example, a bottle of Coca Cola with a retail price of S/. 4 would be exchanged for 40 corn cobs, a poor deal in terms of use value.

The cash sale of maize to intermediaries also became gradually more common, but prices remained low. Participants recalled that by the mid-2000s the going rate for maize was S/. 1.50-2.00 per kilo of dry grain, which they argued barely covered the costs of production. In 2005, the local municipality and the provincial agricultural extension office supported the creation of an association of maize producers, and a meeting was called where they agreed a minimum price of S/. 2.50 (Neira Aráoz & Samayani Vargas, 2007). This early attempt at collective action was not prominent in participant memories, and it seems to

have been overshadowed by the later initiatives relating to the ASPOMAC association, which the following sections describe.¹⁸

8.1.3 The formation of ASPOMAC

Between 2006 and 2008, the NGO Desco initiated a project to promote certified organic agriculture in the Colca Valley (Desco, 2014). The project drew inspiration from an organic initiative underway in the Cotahuasi province, led by the NGO AEDES, which had been formed by ex-workers from COPASA. Desco's project was targeted at production systems that were already 'organic by default', including alpaca herding in the upper valley, crop growing in Tuti and maize in Cabanaconde. While the rationale for the project addressed broad themes such as climate change, environmental sustainability, and food security, the primary concrete aim was to:

Achieve organic certification. Enter national and international markets with quality products. That was it, basically. Generate [increased] income, for the quality of life of the producers.

(Benigno Martínez, Desco agronomist, 4 December 2015)

Desco approached the Cabanaconde irrigators commission and, following a general assembly, the Association of Organic Maize Producers of Cabanaconde (ASPOMAC, for its initials in Spanish) was formed. A president and directive board were elected. The initial group was around 60 people, and this later grew to more than 100 registered members before declining, although the number of people who actively participated in meetings, training sessions and other activities was always much lower. An approximate estimate is that, even at its height, ASPOMAC involved fewer than one fifth of maize farmers in Cabanaconde.

Desco's project had multiple components. There was training in organic production, including compost preparation, biological pest controls, and the reinforcement of traditional agroecological practices. To meet the requirements of organic certification, members learned to maintain notebooks that documented inputs used, costs incurred, and sales made. Desco facilitated contact with the organic certifier Biolatina, and provided funding, contacts and technical support to obtain a collective trademark, sanitary registration, and product bar code as well as plastic packages and sealing/stamping

¹⁸ Sections 8.1.3-8.1.5 draw particularly from information provided by Desco agronomist Benigno Martínez, ASPOMAC presidents Sonia Jimenez, Patricio Mendoza and Sayda Mendoza, as well as Cabanaconde local authorities, other local participants, and my own observation of events during 2012 – 2017.

equipment. Desco also funded de-graining, sorting and toasting machinery, while the municipal government provided a locale and three-phase electricity for this equipment.

This amounted to an ambitious strategy to turn *maíz cabanita* from a basic foodstuff sold through traditional channels, to a value-added ‘product with identity’ oriented to formal markets. It can be interpreted as a delayed implementation of Desco’s decade-old report which concluded that *maíz cabanita* was a “special variety... [which would require] a great marketing effort to increase its demand in the cities” (1996, p.40) as part of a wider strategy to achieve a “more favourable relation with markets” (1996, p.60)

The project also encouraged and expanded the *maíz cabanita* festival, an annual celebration of Cabanaconde’s emblematic product which had been established in a limited fashion by the municipality (Neira Aráoz & Samayani Vargas, 2007). This included traditional dances, the involvement of schoolchildren, and competitions for typical dishes made from maize (Desco Gestión y Educación Ambiental, 2012).

During 2008-2010 ASPOMAC members achieved the transition to organic certification. Desco facilitated connections between Colca Valley producer associations and commercial buyers, helping ASPOMAC to obtain agreement to sell packaged maize in two regionally-owned supermarkets in Arequipa, Franco and El Super:

In the month of October if I’m not mistaken...we had a fair in La Fia [Arequipa’s showgrounds] [and] a round table with the businesses. After that there was another meeting, [with] a number of businesses and producers of different things. And there we obtained a market. I spoke with the representative of Franco, and he said, Señora, on Monday I want you to come into the office and bring me all the documents...for the certification. So, on the Monday I went to Franco, I took one-kilo and half-kilo packets, I even took packaged *canchita*. And he said ok, bring me 20 *canchitas*, and...something like 50 kilos of maize. But that’s how I started...The same in El Super, with a document where it shows that we have an organic product...that it has a bar code, sanitary registration, trademark, everything.

(Sonia Jiménez, ASPOMAC president 2008-2010, 11 February 2016)

Several participants reported that during the same period there was a general, community-wide transformation in the monetary value placed on *maíz cabanita* and the price that intermediaries were willing to pay for it:

We organised ourselves, and we continued to do so, and our maize went up to S/. 5 [per kilo]. From what it was, S/. 1.80, S/. 1.50, it went up to S/. 5. And so we

organised ourselves, and from then on, our maize provides a bit more income to each household.

(Flora Chuiquicondor, historical ASPOMAC member, 18 March 2016)

Exactly how this occurred is uncertain, although participants reported urging others at meetings and over the local radio station to insist on cash sales and to demand minimum prices. Data collected by the provincial agricultural office confirm a significant jump in average farm gate prices for maize from Cabanaconde between 2008 and 2009, from S/. 2.30 to S/. 3.90 per kilo. However, price increases stagnated somewhat in following years. In 2016, I found that 12 participants reported prices varying between S/.3.50 and S/.5 over the previous year. Official data suggests that for the 2008-2015 period as a whole, the price change for maize from Cabanaconde was similar to that seen for regional commodity products such as rice and wheat.

During the 2008-2010 period, Desco encouraged the formation of a second maize producers association, apparently hoping to generate constructive competition between the two. The second association did not gain much traction and it was soon merged with ASPOMAC. After the end of the first leadership group's term in 2010, the presidency was taken over by a participant in the 'competing' association, and then in 2012 by a long-term return migrant who had re-established her father's bakery in Cabanaconde and had made a success of producing bread from maize.

Desco's involvement with Cabanaconde continued, though less intensively, as part of a series of projects funded by the regional government of Navarra in Spain. The flagship achievement of organic certification was maintained from 2010 to 2015, thanks to Desco's financial and organisational support. However, the wider sustainability of the project soon faced challenges related to administrative capacity and to continuity issues from the two-yearly handover and reconstitution process legally required of community associations in Peru.

An example was a minor tax debt incurred by ASPOMAC because of confusion about declaration and payment procedures. Following the change of directive board, this was overlooked, and by 2014 the debt had grown to S/. 6,000 (approximately \$2,000 USD). Although this was eventually resolved, in the meantime ASPOMAC was unable to trade commercially. To continue the arrangement with the supermarkets, the outgoing president registered her own tax number and kept collecting maize from other association members.

For this, she was subjected to criticism from some community members, with accusations levelled that she was using the association for personal gain.

8.1.4 Wider connections and lost opportunities, 2010-2015

In 2010, ASPOMAC applied for and won contestable funding from the Ministry of Agriculture's Agro Emprende programme to help commercialise *maíz cabanita*. The project involved technical assistance and upgrade of sorting and processing equipment worth a theoretical total of S/. 205,000, with ASPOMAC required to make a matching contribution of S/. 29,000. However, the association could not gather the matching funds, and this funding opportunity lapsed.

In 2011, the Cabanaconde municipal government initiated a process to obtain denomination of origin (DO) for *maíz cabanita*, supported by Desco and Sierra Sur. Document preparation was entrusted to the biologist Cesar López from the La Molina National Agrarian University in Lima, who had previously led the development of successful DO applications for Villa Rica and Machu Picchu coffee, giant maize from Cusco and *pallares* (Lima beans) from Ica. A total of S/. 110,000 was allocated, with Sierra Sur II contributing S/. 30,000 and the remainder covered by the municipality (Agro Rural, 2010).

This process began shortly before a transition between municipal administrations, which seems to have resulted in a loss of momentum. The DO application was eventually completed and delivered to Peru's intellectual property office INDECOPI in 2014. Reportedly, INDECOPI responded with a number of queries and concerns that had to be addressed before the application could proceed further. However, this feedback was directed only to ASPOMAC and the Cabanaconde municipal government. By the time the author of the application became aware of the concerns, the timeframe to address them had lapsed.

In 2012, the Sierra Sur II project supported the outgoing and incoming ASPOMAC presidents to travel to Turin for the biannual Terra Madre festival, along with other producer representatives and small entrepreneurs from the Colca Valley. Following on from this, representatives of Slow Food Italy visited the Colca Valley in 2013, and the information they collected saw several products from the Colca registered in the Ark of Taste, including different varieties of *maíz cabanita* and *bollos* (maize bread) (IFAD and Slow Food, 2016; Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity, accessed July 2016).

With the support of development institutions, during 2010-2015, ASPOMAC members showcased *maíz cabanita* at fairs and festivals in Arequipa, Lima and other centres (Agencia Andina, 2012; Desco Gestión y Educación Ambiental, 2013). This provided opportunities to make contact with food retailers, trading and exporting companies. However, the objective to collectively commercialise maize at a large scale was never achieved. One reason, cited by several participants, was that Cabanaconde could not produce a sufficient quantity to meet the demands of national and international markets (Hanco, 2014). While this is questionable, given Cabanaconde's total production of approximately 1,200 tonnes of maize is not insignificant, a more immediate challenge was collecting even modest quantities of maize to offer to wholesale buyers, given most producers' reliance on immediate sale to intermediaries to meet production costs. Also, ASPOMAC had limited ability to follow up commercial contacts made at fairs and festivals, given the unpaid role of the association president, lack of any staff or resources, and the very limited internet service in Cabanaconde.

The failure to achieve bulk sales to formal markets contrasts with the experiences in Tuti in relation to quinoa, discussed in Section 8.2. In part, these contrasting experiences reflect differences between the localities, but they also have wider lessons for attempts to convert indigenous agro-food products into value-added 'products with identity'. I discuss these lessons further in Chapter 10.

In 2014, a general meeting to renew the ASPOMAC directive board was poorly attended, and in the absence of other willing candidates, the existing president was retained. In the same year, she complemented her bakery business by opening a small store at the top of the main street in Cabanaconde, from where she sold packaged maize using the ASPOMAC labels, as well as other products made from maize such as cakes and cookies.

8.1.5 Pests, diseases, and the decline of ASPOMAC, 2015-2017

During 2014-2016, Cabanaconde experienced a production crisis brought about by pests, diseases and climatic vagaries. The 2015 harvest was badly affected by plagues of moth larvae, and some reports estimated crop losses of up to 50% across the district (*El Pueblo*, 2015). According to representatives from the national agricultural sanitation service (SENASA), prevalence levels of the *elasmopalpus lignosellus* moth larva in Cabanaconde increased from around 5% to 30%, although this was not sufficient to declare an official crisis. Anecdotally, there was widespread, though unorganised, use of chemical pesticides to combat the larva.

In 2015/16 the biggest problem was El Niño, which brought heat and drought during the ‘rainy’ season from December to March, while late rains which continued until early May affected the mature plants and precipitated fungal growth on the corn cobs. Although irrigation water was relatively abundant (see Paerregaard, 2013), participants argued that this did not have the same effect as slowly soaking rain. Plants dried out in the heat, becoming more susceptible to pests and diseases, exacerbated by late rains when the maize was meant to be drying. According to the mayor of Cabanaconde, an experimental plot planted by the provincial agricultural agency, intended to demonstrate biological pest control techniques, suffered as badly as local producers’ crops.

Figure 8.4 Damage to maize plants caused by moth larvae, Cabanaconde, early 2016

Source: author

Meanwhile, by the end of 2015, ASPOMAC had become almost completely inactive. Up to 2015, Desco provided financial and logistic support for renewing organic certification and also helped ASPOMAC continue attending regional fairs and festivals. In 2016, without support from Desco, or any attempt from the ASPOMAC leadership to seek support from elsewhere, no application was made for recertification.

Cabanaconde participants were often critical of current and past leadership groups for failings including making insufficient effort to maintain and build the association,

restricting invitations to fairs and festivals to themselves and a few associates, or otherwise using the association and the ASPOMAC name to benefit themselves:

From what I've seen, all the leadership councils have taken advantage of their position. They sell their own maize, instead of taking other members [to fairs and festivals]...This latest president is taking advantage of her role, and the [association] billboard, she's put it in her shop. You will have seen it on the corner. That's wrong!

(Female Cabanaconde resident, former member of ASPOMAC, 25 March 2016)

Just a few [women] get together and benefit among themselves. They're the favoured ones. They should get everyone to participate – but that doesn't happen.

(Male Cabanaconde resident, non-member of ASPOMAC, 16 June 2016)

Conversely, participants who had been part of the leadership group argued that people were risk-averse, reluctant to contribute even small quantities of resource, and often did not show up to meetings or respond to requests to help promote the association:

So...I had some prizes that were left over from the day of the *maíz cabanita* festival...and I said to them, "I'll organise a raffle, I want you to help me, you can sell tickets and give me S/. 40 per member, and with that we can pay for [renewing] the bar code". And with the number of people we are, only 22 people contributed. So yes, I organised the raffle, but the rest I had to pay out of my own pocket.

(ASPOMAC leadership group member, 25 September 2014)

There were some valid points on all sides. However, more relevant are the underlying issues with community associations that these complaints and disputes reveal. Chapter 10 reflects on these issues.

By November 2017, ASPOMAC had ceased to exist as anything but a concept. The association had no legal status, and it had held no meetings for at least two years. The association president's shop had moved to smaller, less visible premises, only opened in the early morning, and no longer used ASPOMAC labels. Neither the president nor any other community authority had initiated a formal process to renew the association leadership. Thus, Cabanaconde residents continued to produce and market their maize primarily as individuals.

8.2 Tuti: An ecological district

Tuti's story has both differences and similarities with Cabanaconde's. Rather than a focusing on a single emblematic product, in Tuti there were multiple initiatives linked together by a consciously constructed identity as an *ecological district*. While this identity

was most directly linked to the adoption of agroecological farming practices from the mid-2000s, it came to encompass the range of activities undertaken locally, and to represent the collective values of Tuti as a community. The roots of this story lie in Tuti's unique social history, dating from the mid-1980s when the community implemented a 'dry law' banning sale and consumption of alcohol within the district.¹⁹

8.2.1 The dry law and social transformation in Tuti

During the 1970s and early 1980s, Tuti's population was gradually urbanising, driven by the Majes Project, which generated a new nucleus of economic activity in Tuti village. This did not *create* issues of inebriation and family violence, which participants indicate were already common in the *estancias*. However, the Majes Project seems to have intensified these problems. With 30 to 40 local and outside workers based near Tuti village, the project brought increased circulation of cash and availability of a wider variety of alcohol. Gelles (2000) notes similar deleterious influences during the project's operations around Cabanaconde. By the early 1980s Tuti was reportedly considered the most drunken and debauched town in the valley, with problems including poverty, family violence, neglect of children, accidental death and suicide.

The people of my district, Tuti, they drank in groups, women, men. After they got drunk, they got into fights. Poor women, life was sad in this district...they were maltreated. Children, what was the point? [They were] abandoned.

(Florencia Yanque, local leader and entrepreneur, Tuti, 5 October 2014)

What is referred to as 'the dry law' was implemented through popular vote at a community assembly under the mayoralty of Jesús Mamani, between 1984 and 1986. Participant accounts agree that this was led by local women who were fed up with alcohol-fuelled mistreatment by their partners:

There was a lot of drunkenness, they beat and maltreated us, they were jealous, it was terrible, but we proposed, when I was president of the mother's club...[we said] we women can't meet up, because the men control us and maltreat us physically and psychologically. Many arrived with black eyes and beaten...So, we started to draw up a resolution in the mothers' club to take to the mayor and tell him we can't meet, also the Justice of the Peace will listen to us because under the law it says women are equal...We went to [them], we said our husbands beat us and we want to get ahead, they don't let us go to the irrigators commission

¹⁹ Sections 8.2.1 to 8.2.3 draw on information provided by Tuti key contacts Narcisa Cusi, Florencia Yanque and Jesús Mamani; Desco agronomist Benigno Martínez; agronomic technician/development practitioner Germán Ramos, who worked for both COPASA and ASDE; COPASA director José Huerta, and other local authorities, local participants and representatives of regional development agencies.

[meetings], they ask us why we're there. What if our husbands die or have to work far away, who's going to take on the role if they leave us? Well, [the mayor] listened to us and said he was going to call a public meeting and said you are going to make the case and if you win, ok.

(Narcisa Cusi, local leader and entrepreneur, Tuti, 5 October 2014)

The motion did win, and the resulting *ordenanza* (bylaw) prohibited the sale of alcohol within the district and its consumption on all but five designated days of the year when the most important fiestas occur. Reportedly, evangelical community members and a German Catholic missionary couple helped influence this change, but ultimately it was a civic action, neither limited to particular religious denominations nor involving absolute prohibition.

The dry law seems to have taken at least a decade to bed in, with the law's initiators describing experiences of being insulted in the streets and outside participants suggesting that drunkenness and associated social problems were still prevalent in Tuti in the 1990s. However, the municipality made ongoing efforts to enforce the bylaw, and the popular pressure subsequently placed on mayoral candidates to commit to renewing the dry law has helped it persist across different administrations.

Most *tuteños* saw the dry law as a defining feature of local identity. It was widely considered to be the basis for the social and economic progress that had occurred over the past 30 years, connected with reduced family violence, less crime, and increased ability to work, save and invest. The dry law was central to a narrative of self-improvement that contributed to Tuti's sense of exceptionalism, as different from, and an example to, other Colca Valley communities. This was also recognised by participants from development institutions and other communities:

The dry law is very important...it's a point of departure for everything that has happened...everything that [people in Tuti] are now, everything they've achieved is thanks to that law.

(Lilia Samayani, Sierra Sur II local office chief, 16 January 2016)

8.2.2 From the Green Revolution to agroecology

Local participants saw the decision to adopt a dry law in Tuti as philosophically connected with the collective decision in the mid-2000s to adopt an agroecological approach to farming and reject the use of agro-chemicals that had been adopted as diversified subsistence farming moved towards market-oriented production during the 1990s.

Several factors influenced the adoption of Green Revolution-style methods in the Colca Valley. The Majes Project improved transport links with markets in Arequipa and also stimulated local market demand. Government agricultural extension programmes promoted the use of improved seeds and chemical inputs, sometimes through clientelist donations around election time (Wiesz & Lovón, 1998). Intermediaries from Arequipa also provided inputs, conditional on first rights to buy the resulting harvest, an arrangement which perpetuated exploitative market relationships.

In Tuti, with its somewhat marginal conditions for agriculture, this happened less rapidly than in lower-lying parts of the valley. Participants recall that ‘a few’ people began to grow commercial crops (mainly broad beans) in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Some local participants identified the COPASA programme as responsible for more systematic promotion of Green Revolution methods in Tuti:

Why did we start planting our ecological products? In the past, we sowed our crops and we didn’t use fungicides or chemicals, but there was a time when the institution COPASA came and told us we didn’t know how to farm and if we wanted our potatoes and *izaño* to be bigger we had to use fungicide... This would be about 20 years ago. We obeyed what they said and we got big potatoes, but underneath they were empty (*vacías*), and apart from that, they didn’t cook well, they were hard, they had no flavour, they were tasteless. What had happened? We were maltreating the products with so many fungicides and other things.
(Narcisa Cusi, local leader and entrepreneur, Tuti, 5 October 2014)

As Chapter 7 notes, COPASA’s projects in the Colca Valley ran for 15 years and evolved through several phases. Promotion of conventional methods during an early phase later gave way to a low external inputs approach. This may explain why local participants held COPASA responsible for promoting agrochemicals but also credited it with providing initial training in agroecological methods such as compost production.

By the 2000s, local concern about the declining fertility and high input costs associated with conventional agriculture coincided with interest from regional NGOs in replicating agroecological approaches being tried in other parts of the Arequipa region. The planned adoption of organic practices in Tuti occurred as part of a project led by the regional NGO ASDE (*Acción Social de Desarrollo*) and funded by the *Fondo de las Américas* (FONDAM) during 2005-2007.²⁰ Participant accounts of this initiative differed slightly in

²⁰ FONDAM is a privately administered fund focusing on environmental sustainability deriving from a debt exchange agreement between the United States and Peru.

whose protagonism they emphasised. A local participant argued that people were dissatisfied with conventional methods and were looking for support to develop in accordance with their values and traditions:

So, later we had an open community meeting (*cabildo abierto*) with ASDE... and they listened to us, because other institutions didn't want to listen to us. [We said], we no longer want you to tell us, 'we're going to help you in this way, we're going to give you this' – we don't want that. So they came here but they didn't tell us how they were going to support us; rather, we proposed the support we wanted... We told them that in the past we never used poisons, we never sprayed chemicals, we brought manure on llamas and donkeys, we fermented it and sprayed it, and that's how we want to farm. So, he listened to us and said, that's fine. But we didn't know how to say 'ecological', we just said in Quechua, 'we don't want to be advised to use poisons'. So... he said, how about if we say 'ecological products'? And we said yes, that was a good name.

(Narcisa Cusi, local leader and entrepreneur, Tuti, 5 October 2014)

Meanwhile, representatives of ASDE recalled taking a participatory approach to introducing appropriate technologies which struck a balance between low-productivity 'traditional' methods and unsustainable Green Revolution-style agriculture.

At that time people began to work in ASDE, there weren't so many engineers, there were more of us from the local area (Caylloma), and there wasn't so much of a technical focus. So we already had a proposal and we talked with them, because the people in Tuti in some ways were happy using their [agro-chemicals], yes they were happy, but perhaps they were getting steadily lower yields or contaminated products, and all that...so, all those things meant that people were easily convinced by our proposal.

(Germán Ramos, ASDE agronomic technician, 12 July 2016)

There were several components to the project, which one local participant remembered having a total value of \$180,000 USD. First, local producers were trained in agroecological production methods, including the use of compost, humus and organic foliage sprays to promote healthy plant growth and combat insects. A key action was to take advantage of the latent resource of natural fertiliser piling up in the alpaca and llama corrals of the upper Colca Valley. Collecting this manure to fertilise crops in Tuti not only provided a vital agroecological input which achieved short-term productivity improvements but also helped solve a cleanliness problem for the alpaca herders:

In order for people to adopt a technology, they have to see the results – boom, this produced results...and in the high valley in Sibayo and Callalli, their corrals were full of manure. [People said] 'Oh Germán, all this manure, the animals are

polluting the place, listen, I can load it up for you, I'll even slaughter a couple of [alpacas] for you [as thanks].'

(Germán Ramos, ASDE agronomic technician, 12 July 2016)

Second, the project supported the formal creation of an organic producer's association, which was named Agro Eco Tuti. Third, the project established collective sales of broad beans. Historically, producers had dealt with intermediaries in their fields, often having to wait until after dark or in poor weather, and they complained that intermediaries would take advantage of their haste to sell by using skewed scales and other exploitative practices. Under the project, the municipality provided transport to bring produce from the fields to a single collection point in the village plaza, where sacks of beans were weighed using locally provided scales and in good light. The focus was thus on transparency and fairness in trading relations rather than generating added value. According to one participant, prices were still "rock bottom", and although the quality of Tuti's beans was reportedly valued by buyers, at this point there was no attempt to differentiate them as 'products with identity'.

Although the implementation of the 'dry law' and the transition to organic agriculture happened in different decades, the rejection of alcohol and agro-chemicals were often linked in local participant narratives. Participants gave similar descriptions of how commercial interests pushing either alcohol or agro-chemicals were prohibited from operating in the village, while using the vocabulary of *veneno* (poison) for both alcohol and pesticides. Their anecdotes revealed that the connection was more than metaphorical:

But what happened as well, at the same time those poisons that they brought, in anger the women fought with their husbands, women, men, children. So, what did they do – the solution for them was to drink poison, so they died as well. That on the one hand, and on the other, we saw that the products were tasteless and we didn't enjoy them anymore, and we said what are we going to do? We've messed things up.

(Narcisa Cusi, local leader and entrepreneur, Tuti, 5 October 2014)

...in Tuti, I remember a woman, because of family problems, because at that time the people in Tuti drank a lot of liquor, whack, she drank the pesticide, because it was close to hand, like, in anger, she fought with her family, and she just drank it down.

(Germán Ramos, ASDE agronomic technician, 12 July 2016)

Similar incidents are reported by Andolina (2012) in rural Ecuador, as part of a drive towards market-oriented development. Arguably, rejecting the 'poisons' of alcohol and

agri-chemicals was less about an absolute prohibition of specific substances and more an assertion of Tuti's autonomy in limiting destructive influences and deciding its own development pathways.

8.2.3 Terra Madre, organic certification and the turn to quinoa

In 2006, the national organic producers association (ANPE) led a Peruvian delegation to Slow Food's Terra Madre festival in Turin. Supported by the Sierra Sur I project, Agro Eco Tuti won the right to send representatives. The president and the treasurer travelled to Italy, and there they found the level of international interest in their products to be eye-opening:

We went to Italy taking our products...we took quinoa, *izaño*, the things we have...We also took craftwork, [pamphlets about] tourism routes, and a young couple to dance the *wititi*. There were 180 countries gathered, 2000 chefs, 800 farmers and the best universities. We invited them to sample our products, and we told them that the source of the Amazon is there, the Colca Canyon, we did some marketing and thanks to them the tourists have started to arrive. We promoted the province, we took traditional Cabana and Collagua costumes. We were there two weeks. There we saw the importance of ecological Andean products in European countries, we represented indigenous women, and we saw there how much the products cost. Here, quinoa was S/. 1.50, and there it was S/. 110, and I realised we had to aim at other countries.

(Narcisa Cusi, local leader and entrepreneur, Tuti, 5 October 2014)

On returning to Tuti, they tried to communicate to others what they had seen and learned, including the importance of organic certification. After initial lack of interest both from fellow association members and from development institutions, support came from Desco, which, as Section 8.1 describes, was initiating its organic certification project around this time.

Between 2008 and 2010, Desco provided technical assistance and funding to support an initial group of around 50 Agro Eco Tuti members through the three-year transition to organic certification. Subsequent projects enabled ongoing support with the recertification process. According to Desco, by 2014 there were 41 members with full certification and 39 in transition, covering a total of 52 hectares. Thus, nearly half of all local crop farmers had some involvement, making the process much more 'community-wide' than the corresponding initiative in Cabanaconde.

As part of the same project, Desco funded grain mills in several Colca Valley districts, including Tuti. This provided basic machinery for making flour and other transformed

products, thus removing the need to travel to Chivay for this service. This also stimulated an attempt to become an official provider for Vaso de Leche, a social programme coordinated through local government that provides dietary support to families with young children. Although this initiative only aimed to provide processed grains to supply the programme in Tuti itself, the bureaucratic application processes proved too difficult and the effort was eventually abandoned.

From approximately 2010 on, Agro Eco Tuti was to focus increasingly on quinoa. One reason was a decline in broad bean production, as the varieties brought by ASDE from Puno began to suffer from pests and diseases. This coincided with the rising national and global interest in Andean grains. The experiences in Terra Madre were reinforced by the Peruvian government's declaration of quinoa as a 'golden grain' with export potential. These discourses raised the tantalising possibility that, through the quinoa boom, the hard work of agroecological production and organic certification might be met with genuine economic reward.

8.2.4 Brown Swiss cows and Tuteñita cheese

Developing in parallel to Tuti's agroecological revolution in crop farming was a longer-term initiative focused on livestock farming.²¹ As part of its rural development project from 1994-2001, COPASA introduced improved cows, sheep and alpaca breeds to the Colca Valley. In Tuti, Brown Swiss cows were found to be most adaptable to the altitude and climate. COPASA established a demonstration project, provided selected local farmers with breeding animals, and delivered technical assistance in pasture improvement, animal care, milking, and production of milk products:

In our diagnosis we concluded that Tuti had potential for livestock farming. There was available forage – [the previous project] PISA had already taught cultivation of oats and improved pastures. And they had that tradition of cattle raising. So, what we did was technology transfer – we went to Juliaca and began to bring breeding cattle from there...[First] we provided training in pasture, hygiene, animal management, and then came genetic improvement...We began to identify local leaders in livestock farming with the capacity to reproduce the experience and share with their neighbours. And little by little, we began to introduce and replace their native cattle with improved breeds.

(José Huerta, Executive Director of COPASA, 31 May 2016)

²¹ Sections 8.2.4 and 8.2.5 draw on information provided by Desco agronomist Benigno Martinez, COPASA executive director José Huerta, Sierra Sur II local office chief Lilia Samayani, Tuti local authorities, members of association leadership groups, and concession holders for the milk products plant. This is bolstered by my own observations for the 2014-2017 period.

Following COPASA's departure in 2001, livestock and pasture improvement processes continued, supported by the municipal government, the Ministry of Agriculture and other institutions. Local farmers improved their animals both through breeding and by directly purchasing Brown Swiss cows. A community association for livestock farmers (ASPROGATU) was formed in 2011 and by 2016 had 35 members.

There was already a tradition of household cheese production in Tuti, and the increased production allowed small-scale sales to neighbouring districts. During the 1990s and 2000s, regional milk conglomerates Gloria and Laive began to collect milk from Colca Valley farmers. However, prices were low (a reported average of S/. 0.50 per litre) and payments often delayed. In 2004, Tuti's municipal government obtained funding from the National Hydrographic Basin and Soil Conservation (PRONAMACHS) programme to construct a milk products plant, which was completed in 2006. A further advance came in 2008 when the municipal government contracted Caylloma cheese maker Cleto Paucar, who had received training in Puno in the 1980s through a Swiss development agency and had subsequently worked making cheese for more than 20 years. He came to Tuti with his daughter, who took charge of administration and marketing. The Paucar family worked on contract for a year and then under concession arrangements.

Initially, village milk production averaged just 80 litres per day, but this quickly increased to hundreds, and eventually over a thousand litres per day. The concessionaires obtained sanitary registration for the cheeses and registered a trademark, *La Tuteñita*. Cheese from Tuti started to be sold in steady volumes in traditional markets in Chivay and Arequipa, and also in small quantities in Arequipa's Franco supermarket. Local milk producers were paid on a fortnightly basis at the rate of S/. 1.00-1.20 per litre (\$0.40 USD), well above what they would have received from the milk conglomerates. In 2014, cheese from Tuti beat stiff competition to win prizes at a regional cheese competition organised by the Sierra Exportadora agency and the Arequipa regional government.

As volumes grew, not all the milk could be processed in the local plant, which only had capacity for around 600 litres. Tuti milk producers entered into an arrangement whereby approximately half the milk was collected for processing in Chivay by Felipe Ccacya, another cheesemaker who had trained in Puno with the Swiss. In 2015, the Paucar family ended their concession arrangement in Tuti. They were replaced by two brothers who had

worked elsewhere in the Colca Valley, though Cleto Paucar continued providing advice to the new concessionaires through early 2016.

8.2.5 Stumbles and successes in Tuti, 2010-2017

In 2010, Agro Eco Tuti successfully applied to Ministry of Agriculture's competitive Agro Emprande fund, obtaining S/. 90,000 (approximately \$30,000 USD) for machinery to produce value-added quinoa products such as popcorn, flakes and flour (Ministerio de Agricultura, 2011). Although the exact details are somewhat hazy, this project was not successful. Some machines were of poor quality or broke down, while several participants alluded to mismanagement and lack of transparency on the part of the project consultant and/or the association leadership.

Reportedly, this disenchanting experience discouraged participation not only in Agro Eco Tuti but in collective projects generally. However, during 2012 to 2014, Desco, Sierra Sur, and the municipal government worked to rebuild the association by seeking a new president, convincing people to re-join, recovering the organic certification that had lapsed in 2011, recovering the association's legal personhood and co-financing a technician to fix the machinery. In parallel, the Ministry for Social Inclusion and Development's FONCODES agency worked through Tuti's irrigators commission to fund farmer-to-farmer training in quinoa production and support the presence of quinoa from Tuti in the Mistura 2013 fair (FONCODES, 2013). During this time, Agro Eco Tuti participated in many of the same regional fairs and festivals as ASPOMAC, where representatives publicised their products and made market contacts.

In 2014, Agro Eco Tuti sold approximately 8 tonnes of organic-certified quinoa to regional trading and exporting companies. Producers received what one participant described as a 'bonanza' price of S/. 11.70 per kilo (approximately \$3.80 USD) for their quinoa. The success encouraged more widespread planting of quinoa in 2014/15. However, as the impact of national over-production began to be felt, this season saw a significant drop in prices, at the same time as problems with pests and diseases increased, and the extensive areas planted in the *kancolla* quinoa variety proved attractive to birds. In 2015, around 20 tonnes were sold at a price of S/. 5.20, most of it to a regional exporter. Nevertheless, Agro Eco Tuti's organic certification helped maintain a price margin, with the farm gate price paid for non-certified quinoa elsewhere in the Colca Valley reportedly only around S/.3 (Field notes, 30 November 2015).

Meanwhile, from 1998 Tuti's municipal government had organised an annual agricultural and pastoral fair which included contests for traditional dishes, allowing local residents the opportunity to develop and showcase their culinary skills using local ingredients. In April 2013, representatives of travel agencies and restaurants from Arequipa attended an event organised by the municipality in conjunction with the Ministry of Trade and Tourism's *Al turista, lo nuestro* programme (see Chapter 6). Tuti residents displayed local crops and their production processes in the plaza and offered an impressive smorgasbord of dishes made with ingredients including quinoa, *izaño*, local cheese, broad beans and native potatoes. Since this event, Tuti has received occasional visits from tour groups interested in local products and gastronomy. Smaller groups are received by two or three local families who also offer accommodation services, and when larger groups arrive, they enlist other local families to help.

Figure 8.5 Gastronomic creations from local products presented at an event in Tuti in 2013

Source: author.

Thanks to ongoing collaboration between local associations, the municipality and private consultants, Tuti continued to generate external project funding and receive recognition. In 2014, construction began on a new milk products plant with increased capacity and improved infrastructure, which was completed in 2017 thanks to funding from the Caylloma provincial government. Other funds and awards included the following:

- In 2014, the United Nations Development Programme Global Environment Fund (UNDP-GEF) Small Grants Programme awarded \$50,000 USD each, to the ASPROGATU livestock association for a native potato project, and to Agro Eco Tuti for a quinoa project that aimed both to promote agrobiodiversity and improve links to markets.
- In late 2015, Procompite, a regional government-administered contestable fund, awarded Agro Eco Tuti S/. 160,000 (approximately \$50,000 USD) to purchase machinery to aid production and harvesting of quinoa.
- During 2016/17, ASPROGATU obtained support from the Ministry of Agriculture's Agro Ideas programme, which co-funded 32 member families to construct covered housing for their cattle.
- In 2016, Tuti was awarded a national-level prize by the Ministry for the Environment for sustainable local environmental management.

An emerging issue during 2016 was the failure to renew organic certification. During 2014/15, Desco employed an intern to support Agro Eco Tuti members with the documentation process required for recertification. Desco also paid 80% of the recertification fee of approximately S/. 5,000 (\$1,650 USD), with the remaining 20% contributed by association members. By late 2015, Desco's formal project support had ended.

In June 2016, Tuti was chosen as the venue to present Arequipa's recently formed regional organic production council (COREPO) and the meeting was attended by regional representatives of the trade and tourism and environment ministries, and the export promotion agency, PromPeru. This event coincided with the realisation that Agro Eco Tuti's certification was expiring, and there were pleas from the association leadership for financial support to help renewal. Issues included the failure to consider recertification costs in any of the project applications, greatly reduced production of quinoa (the only crop for which certification generated a premium), and the higher cost of certifying

storage and processing areas, as well as the cultivated fields, in order to market value-added organic products.²² In addition, the association had made no efforts to prepare documentation for certification, despite informal advice from Desco to do so (Field notes, 18 May 2016).

In early 2017, Desco obtained new funding from a German development agency for a three-year project to give Tuti ongoing support with organic certification. Funding from Procompite was redirected to support certification costs. Meanwhile, however, Agro Eco Tuti faced other problems. The performance of harvesting machinery purchased with the Procompite funding was found to be somewhat disappointing, while the location where the processing machinery was housed, on the second floor of the new milk products plant, proved unsuitable and unlikely to meet standards for processed organic products. In addition, UNDP-GEF had abandoned its quinoa project with two-thirds of the funds unspent. Issues included a slow start to the project because of delays renewing Agro Eco Tuti's legal personhood, minimal planting of quinoa in 2015/16 and 2016/17, and transparency concerns about use of project funds by the association in 2017.

By mid-2017, the new milk products plant was complete. However, the concessionaires had run into financial difficulties and were unable to pay milk producers on time. The municipality ended their contract and established a one-year provisional arrangement with Felipe Ccacya from Chivay, who as noted earlier, was already collecting half of Tuti's milk. He moved his centre of operations and some of his equipment to Tuti. He was able to transfer his existing sanitary registration to Tuti and register a new trademark to replace *La Tuteñita*. With the new plant's expanded capacity, it could now process Tuti's entire milk production. In addition to the existing market links, Felipe Ccacya was also a longstanding participant in the weekly Verde Thani organic fair in Arequipa, where he reported he could sell up to 225 cheeses. Tuti's cheese production network thus appeared to have a promising future.

8.3 Conclusions

The stories in this chapter contribute to the research objectives of exploring why and how initiatives to revalorise local agro-food heritage in the rural Andes were undertaken. In both Cabanaconde and Tuti, the initiatives emerged out of interactions between global development discourses, national policy agendas, the interests and expertise of regional

²² Together with the general increase in rates charged by certifiers, this would see the cost of certification increase to approximately S/. 14,000 (\$4,500 USD).

development actors, and the priorities of local populations. The case histories connect threads leading from global agrobiodiversity agendas, European agro-food movements, emerging Peruvian agroecological networks, and participatory rural development practice refined over two decades by IFAD. These interacted with local concerns about reduced soil fertility, exploitation by intermediaries and alcohol-fuelled gender-based violence. The different claims of protagonism in Tuti's agroecological initiative suggest it may not always be possible to define where 'outside agendas' end and 'local interests' begin.

In Cabanaconde, initiatives related to a single emblematic product, *maíz cabanita*, focusing primarily on the problem of commercialisation, as producers sought fairer exchange relationships for their maize. In Tuti, a broader strategy created a local identity as an *ecological district*, linking the local population's traditional skills as livestock farmers, their adoption of agroecological practices, and their self-image as sober, responsible and hardworking, underpinned by their long-term commitment to the 'dry law'. Across the two localities, initiatives experimented with a wide variety of provenance-related mechanisms and networks, including organic certification, denomination of origin, territorial collective marks, local transformation, short-supply markets, gastronomic tourism and attempts to supply government social programmes. These efforts achieved some successes but also had many setbacks, especially in becoming economically and administratively self-sustaining.

Most representatives of regional development agencies felt that Tuti was an example of success, while Cabanaconde was a demonstrable failure. However, a closer reading suggests the two cases had more in common than first appears. Both Cabanaconde and Tuti had multiple 'failures' involving lost or wasted funding, disenchantment with collective initiatives and projects that petered out. Both localities had lost their organic certification by 2016. The primary difference in Tuti was that the failures and periodic crises were part of a 'hit and miss' process that constantly generated new projects and reinvented older ones. Fundamental to this was the co-ordinating role of local government, supported by broad continuity across administrations.

Building on this chapter's narratives, the thesis now turns to the crucial task of assessing what these interconnected initiatives to revalue local agro-food heritage have meant, both in terms of measurable outcomes and in terms of their relevance and value to local populations. That is the task of the following chapter.

Chapter 9 Impacts and experiences in Cabanaconde and Tuti

The stories of Cabanaconde and Tuti in Chapter 8 cover at least a decade of efforts to recognise and revalue local agro-food products and practices. The accounts of successes, stumbles and ongoing challenges leads to a key question of the thesis: what were the impacts of these efforts, and what did they mean for local populations? This chapter addresses these questions in two complementary ways.

The chapter's first half compares experiences in the two localities using the *virtuous circle of products with identity* framework outlined in Chapter 6. It evaluates economic, social, cultural and environmental outcomes, framed in the terms set by the discourses of TDI and LAFH. The second half builds on the discussion of local livelihoods in Chapter 7 to explore how the development initiatives related to people's priorities and values. It first looks at the reasons people did, or did not, participate in the initiatives. It then explores the ways participants interpreted the discourses that framed the initiatives, noting both the connections and disconnections between 'local' values and 'external' agendas.

The chapter's first half is typical of critical analyses of development initiatives, using technical and political economy lenses to evaluate results against outcomes judged to be desirable. The second half is more typical of ethnographically focused research, exploring what people value and find meaningful. Together, these approaches give a richer and more nuanced overall picture than offered by taking just one of these perspectives.

9.1 Evaluating the virtuous circle in Cabanaconde and Tuti

This section applies the *virtuous circle of products with identity* framework outlined in Chapter 6 to the two case studies. It critically assesses the extent to which initiatives in Cabanaconde and Tuti achieved the linked objectives of *equitable economic development*, *biocultural sustainability*, and *territorial governance*.

9.1.1 Equitable economic development: impact

To what extent have 'products with identity' anchored in the territory generated economic benefits for local actors?

In Cabanaconde, the initiatives aimed to achieve an economic premium for *maíz cabanita* both by strengthening its territorial anchoring through formal certifications (organic certification, a collective trademark, and denomination of origin) and by inserting it into

new markets. Although these efforts had some initial successes, their longer-term results were ambivalent at best.

At the time of the research, *maíz cabanita* continued to be valued for its texture and taste throughout Arequipa and other parts of southern Peru, with a price margin maintained compared to other maize varieties. However, the anchoring of this value to Cabanaconde was being weakened, as cultivation of *maíz cabanita* spread elsewhere in the Colca Valley and other geographically similar areas within the Arequipa and Moquegua regions. While Cabanaconde remained the dominant producer, participants complained that the intermediaries who bought their maize adulterated it with lower quality, inauthentic grain from other areas.

Figure 9.1 The president of ASPOMAC promoting maíz cabanita at the 2015 Festiorgánico event in Arequipa

Source: author.

Despite this, there was some evidence that consumers valued the territorial connection of *maíz cabanita* with Cabanaconde. In traditional markets in Chivay and Arequipa, some stalls differentiated *maíz cabanita* by origin, with maize sourced exclusively from Cabanaconde commanding a higher price (see Table 9.1). Local participants who attended regional markets and fairs reported that consumers identified their traditional

cabaneña dress as a guarantee of authenticity. The efforts ASPOMAC representatives made to highlight the origin and organic status of *maíz cabanita* at fairs and festivals during the 2008-2015 period may have helped strengthen consumer awareness of product origin.

The efforts to find new markets for *maíz cabanita* had some initial success. By 2016, *maíz cabanita* was being sold in various formal and niche markets, including the regional supermarkets Franco and El Super, weekly bio-fairs in Arequipa, and organic shops in Arequipa and in Lima. However, none of these were supplied by ASPOMAC and most did not identify the product with Cabanaconde. Table 9.1 shows that retail prices for *maíz cabanita* varied widely across different markets, with the S/. 12 (\$4 USD) for a 500g packet in an organic store in Miraflores, Lima, nearly five times the price in traditional markets in Chivay and Arequipa. However, this price variation was driven by the location and prestige of the retailer rather than by product differentiation, and none of the variation was reflected in the price paid to producers.

Table 9.1 Price of maíz cabanita in local, regional and national markets, 2016-17

Market	Price per kilo	Comment
Organic store in Lima.	S/. 24	Packaged and distributed by Colca Valley family who buy from Cabanaconde.
Organic store in Arequipa.	S/. 16	Unknown origin (claimed to be sourced from ASPOMAC but did not use official label and was disavowed in Cabanaconde).
Franco and El Super supermarkets, Arequipa.	S/. 12	Packaged by Arequipa distributors, unknown origin.
Verde Thani ecological fair, Arequipa.	S/. 8	Packaged and sold by Colca Valley family who buy from Cabanaconde.
San Camilo market, Arequipa (May 2016, November 2017).	S/. 5.00-7.00	Some stalls differentiated by origin (higher price for Cabanaconde-only maize).
Chivay market (March 2016).	S/. 5.00-6.00	Some stalls differentiated by origin (higher price for Cabanaconde-only maize).
Local store, Cabanaconde.	S/. 6.00	Sold in Cabanaconde with ASPOMAC labels.
Price paid to producers in Cabanaconde.	S/. 3.50-5.00	Based on 12 participants, with reported prices varying by time of year.

Source: Own elaboration from data collected during field work

A fundamental issue was that any sales in formal or niche markets were very small scale. Taking into account the costs of entering these markets, such as sorting, packaging, travel and administration, producers received little or no premium over the price paid by intermediaries. In part for these reasons, ASPOMAC's efforts to supply these markets were gradually abandoned, with the small existing demand met by regional wholesale

companies (which supplied supermarkets) or individual entrepreneurs (who supplied fairs and speciality stores). Participants who had been involved with ASPOMAC disagreed about whether it was worth persisting with these markets. Ultimately, however, none of the formal certification processes generated extra value for producers. Thus, these processes never became self-funding nor provided any incentive to maintain associated quality standards.

In Tuti, a shared territorial image was mobilised in support of a ‘basket of goods’ including quinoa, cheese, broad beans and tourism services. A notable economic success was the ‘bonanza’ prices for quinoa in 2014, thanks to the connection to export markets at a time of high global prices, bolstered by a premium for organic certification. Although prices later dropped dramatically, organic certification helped maintain a margin over non-certified quinoa. However, at no stage was Tuti’s quinoa distinguished through a territorial connection, either to Tuti, the Colca Valley, or to the wider Andean production zone. The significant decline in quinoa production and the failure to renew organic certification undermined collective sales in 2016, and by 2017 the future of Agro Eco Tuti’s quinoa-exporting initiative was uncertain

Tuti was also unable to achieve a ‘territorial quality premium’ (Hirczak, 2008) for its other crops. Despite being produced organically, Tuti’s broad beans and potatoes were not differentiated in regional markets and were mostly sold to intermediaries for the same prices as conventional products. A partial exception was native potatoes, which some participants sold in short-supply networks through local shops, to people in neighbouring districts and in regional fairs and festivals. However, despite participant comments that Tuti’s broad beans were ‘highly valued’ (*bien cotizadas*) in Arequipa, neither their origin nor their organic status were recognised in these markets.

The most consistently successful ‘product with identity’ from Tuti was its cheese, which built a reputation combining intrinsic and extrinsic quality components. On the one hand, the creamy milk from Brown Swiss cows operating at the limit of their altitude range combined with the cheese making skills brought by the Paucar family. On the other, Tuti’s ‘ecological’ territorial identity, sealed by its organic crop certification, provided a legitimising stamp to the generally natural and low-intensity livestock farming methods practised locally.

The relative importance of these components varied in different markets. In fairs and festivals, *Tuteñita* cheese shared stall space with Agro Eco Tuti, thus highlighting Tuti's 'ecological' territorial identity. In Chivay markets, Tuti was one of three recognised local origins for quality cheese. In Arequipa's San Camilo market, where Tuti's cheese sat alongside many others from different provinces of Arequipa and other regions, it benefited from vendors' opinion that cheeses from high-altitude localities such as Tuti were especially creamy and had achieved superiority to longer-established products from other provinces. Vendors said that some customers did ask for Tuti's cheese by name; however, more commonly the vendors would select it to meet customer requests for tasty but low-salt pasteurized cheeses (Field notes, 7 May 2016). Although Tuti's cheese was not as highly priced as some packaged, matured cheeses from other origins, its reputation helped achieve steady sales, thus giving cattle farmers fortnightly payments for their milk at better prices than they would have received from milk conglomerates.²³

Figure 9.2 Politicians from Peru's Congress are presented with local cheeses during Tuti's anniversary celebrations in 2016

Source: author.

²³ Up until 2016, production volume was around 60 one-kilo cheeses per day, but this increased following the completion of the new milk plant with its capacity to process all of Tuti's milk production.

In both localities there were individual efforts to add value by transforming local products. In Cabanaconde, the most notable was local baker Sayda Mendoza's use of *maíz cabanita* to make bread and other products. By 2016 she reported selling approximately 250 maize breads per day locally. She also sold other products such as cakes, cookies, and crackers from her shop and filled occasional orders as far away as Lima. Bakeries in Chivay had also begun to make bread from *maíz cabanita*, and one Chivay baker won a regional prize for a *maíz cabanita* bread in 2014 (*La República*, 2014).

In Tuti, a few individuals sold processed products such as washed quinoa, flakes and flour, through relational networks to Chivay, Arequipa and beyond. Agro Eco Tuti sold small quantities of quinoa to tourist hotels in Chivay and to a Chivay-based entrepreneur who had begun to make cookies that identified the origin and organic status of local ingredients. Agro Eco Tuti also obtained the infrastructure to produce value-added products, and several participants stressed the need to 'industrialise' to break out of commodity price fluctuations. However, little progress had been made towards a collective, larger-scale process to transform quinoa or other products.

Finally, Tuti had small but successful experiences with gastronomic tourism based on local products and cooking styles. This primarily involved just a couple of local families, with others assisting when larger groups arrived. However, this was a unique experience within the Colca Valley and probably one of the few examples of *campesino*-led gastronomy in southern Peru (see Argumedo, 2013). The presentation of local products embedded in their place of origin and in their most nutritious form suggested the potential for more sustainable, 'bottom-up' revalorisation of local foods than offered by fickle export markets, a point I develop further in Chapter 10.

In Cabanaconde, a few shops sold toasted *cancha* in small bags, a couple of the local *comedores* offered a complementary bowl of toasted maize with meals, while the Kuntur Wassi 3-star hotel occasionally offered menu items linked to *maíz cabanita*. In general, however, there was very limited interaction between maize-related initiatives and Cabanaconde's significant tourism market. Given the unique cultural aspects of maize cultivation in Cabanaconde, the potential for agro-tourism was identified by Arequipa's regional tourism office during the mid-2000s and a proposal for a *maíz cabanita* tourism route developed; however, little progress was made due to a lack of sustained local

interest or organisation. In general, the rich array of traditional maize-based foods that participants described or I was offered privately were rarely seen outside the domestic setting.

Overall, despite some promising experiences, economic gains were mostly short-term or limited to relatively few people, as initiatives struggled to combine economies of scale with recognition of product identity. The significant exception was Tuti's experience of cheese production, in which efforts to develop 'products with identity' were linked to longer-term processes of productive modernisation and institutional innovation.

9.1.2 Equitable economic development: equity

To what extent are benefits distributed equitably, including to those with fewer resources, inward migrants, landless workers, women, older and younger people, and local consumers?

In Cabanaconde, participants reported that ASPOMAC's efforts to raise awareness of the value of *maíz cabanita* helped modify the dynamic between producers and intermediaries and achieve a one-off price increase. Importantly, this increase was for everyone in Cabanaconde, including those with no involvement in ASPOMAC. Ironically, what the previous section suggests was a failure to develop *effective* 'products with identity' defuses concerns about the *fairness* of identity-based distinction, where smaller or poorer producers may be excluded because they are unable to meet the criteria for distinction (Galtier et al., 2013; Mancini, 2013). Participants highlighted this inclusivity as an important positive impact:

When we started this business, [the price of] maize started to go up, from S/. 1.50 [to] S/. 4... So, I say thanks to Desco, if it weren't [for them] the price would still be rock bottom... And people were happy with S/. 4...Everybody sold at a good price. They always said, Señora Sonia, thanks to the association, the price of maize has gone up. Yes, I say, because the intermediaries were abusing us by buying our product so cheaply, and we suffer to produce this maize. That was how it was. Everyone in Cabanaconde benefited with the price rise for maize. And I think that's how – people with fewer economic resources, with the rise in maize [prices], they could buy themselves a little something more [*alguito más*], maybe a better stove, maybe another pot.

(Sonia Jimenez, ASPOMAC president 2008-2010, 11 February 2016)

The positive impacts of these price increases for farmers were limited by the concurrent rise in production costs, as wages were driven up by the rates available in alternative

employment such as publicly funded infrastructure projects. Participants recalled that the standard rate for a day's farm labour in the Colca Valley at the turn of the century was less than S/. 10, and the increase to around S/. 40 by 2016 was well ahead of inflation or minimum wage increases. While placing a check on farming profitability, these wage rises benefitted workers (often the young, inward migrants and others with little land), so from an inclusivity perspective the ability of local agriculture to absorb them is a positive impact. A more fundamental setback to any gains from higher prices was the reduced production because of pests, diseases and unfavourable weather linked to climate change. Faced with production losses of up to 50% over the 2014-2016 period, many participants felt that the returns from maize farming had worsened rather than improved over time.

In Tuti, there were *proportionate* inequalities, in that those who grew more quinoa, or produced more milk, received more benefit from the added value through organic certification or cheese production. However, there were not significant inequalities in *access* to these benefits, which were open to people who only produced a couple of hundred kilos of quinoa or had a few cows. A caveat is that alternative short-supply networks such as local shops, gastronomic tourism and fairs and festivals were more accessible to better-off families who had the time and resources to attend the fairs, or who owned shops or accommodation services. As in Cabanaconde, people without any permanent access to land (including the young and inward migrants) did not benefit directly from higher product prices, but they did benefit from the ability of local agriculture to absorb wage rises.

In Tuti, the balance between ensuring social equity and raising quality standards varied over time. While the ASDE project focused on achieving fair exchange relationships with intermediaries, later initiatives such as the UNDP-GEF and Procompite projects sought to consolidate smaller, more disciplined groups of producers capable of meeting external standards. This was contested at a local level, with discussion at Agro Eco Tuti meetings indicating that any equipment obtained through Procompite would be available to the whole community, even though the project consultant argued that those who 'took a risk' by participating in the project should receive greater rewards (Field notes, 8 January 2016, 21 July 2016). These tensions were also present at an individual level. Local participants involved in product processing described how they had to mediate between their desire to support community members by buying their products, and meeting the

expectations of external customers about basic standards, such as quinoa being washed and milk not exceeding defined acidity levels.

An interesting feature of the initiatives in both places was their inclusivity by gender. In Cabanaconde, two of the three ASPOMAC presidents were women and some of the language used by participants indicated that they saw the association as a primarily female space. In Tuti's producer associations, women seemed to be limited to the single quota position in leadership groups (often as treasurer); however, as Chapter 8 describes, female leadership was important in establishing the dry law and adopting agroecological production methods. At least half the attendees at Agro Eco Tuti meetings were women, as were 17 of the 28 listed applicants for the Procompite funding, one of the factors which helped Tuti's application score highly (Field notes, 8 January 2016). In Tuti there was also an important role for young people, with several members of the Agro Eco Tuti leadership group and the president of ASPROGATU all aged under 40.

There was also some evidence that the initiatives had positive impacts for local consumers by promoting renewed appreciation for, and access to, local products. Adoption of agroecological discourses and the experience of market demand for Andean products reinforced the value of these products and encouraged their retention or reincorporation into people's diets. This complicates critical narratives which have portrayed global demand for quinoa and other traditional Andean crops as driving reduced local consumption and substitution by less-nutritional alternatives (Brett, 2011; Cáceres et al, 2007). These critiques have mostly been based on research in Bolivia and neighbouring areas of the Peruvian altiplano. In the Colca Valley, where dietary modernisation was already well advanced, the revalorisation of products such as quinoa and native potatoes seemed to be resulting in *increased* consumption. Ironically, one of the consequences of setbacks with market-oriented initiatives such as lower than expected prices was that they made it easier for local farming families to prioritise their own consumption. As one participant noted:

[Even] when the [quinoa] price was high, I didn't sell, because I prefer to consume it as flakes, flour, whole quinoa, so I hardly sell any. I wash it in my own house, I take it to Chivay to process it, because dry quinoa can be stored easily...Every morning we make quinoa with apple, I take flour and flakes to my son in Arequipa; they don't eat every day, but two or three times per week they have quinoa.

(Female Tuti resident, age 37, 6 March 2016)

9.1.3 Conservation of biocultural diversity

To what extent do initiatives support the conservation of agrobiodiversity and the sociocultural practices that interact with and sustain it?

Maíz cabanita appears a promising case of synergies between markets and diversity, given its status as a unique local landrace with acknowledged organoleptic qualities linked to *terroir* and cultural practices (reflected by its recognition in Slow Food's Ark of Taste). By the time of the research, some of the unique biological and cultural aspects of *maíz cabanita* had already been eroded or were under threat. Some participants reported that the *chacras* used to be home to an abundance of toads, whose diet included the *elasmopalpus lignosellus* moths that attack maize plants, while falcons that were present in the area helped control mice numbers. By the time of the research, the falcons had disappeared, and toads were hardly seen. Participants suggested that reasons could include the increasing use of tractors for ploughing as well as the ecological effects of agro-chemicals, which began to be sporadically used in the 1980s and 1990s.

Some traditional productive and cultural practices (especially the most labour-intensive ones) were also declining as economic and time efficiency became dominant concerns. In addition, problems with pests and diseases were driving maize production from the lower, warmer parts of the *campiña* to the higher, cooler parts of the *campiña* and the *ampliaciones*. The *ampliaciones* are distant from Cabanaconde village (generally reached by bus), so movement of production to these zones would exacerbate time pressures and could accelerate decline of cultural practices. This would also contribute to severing the links between product and *terroir*, since the unique qualities of *maíz cabanita* are historically associated with the *campiña*, the only area considered in the denomination of origin application.

The initiatives discussed in this thesis offered little prospect of addressing these threats. To an extent, the projects did help strengthen local pride in *maíz cabanita* as an emblematic product and countered views of traditional maize cultivation as a symbol of poverty and productive stagnation (see Neira Aráoz & Samayani Vargas, 2007). As Chapter 7 has explored, local residents valued maize for a variety of pragmatic reasons and its continued cultivation was not under immediate threat. However, the lack of economic results from the organic certification, trademark and denomination of origin initiatives meant there were no incentives to maintain particular practices.

Further, there was no clear consensus about exactly which vision of agrobiodiversity or local heritage should be conserved. Indeed, Cabanaconde's traditional system involving repeated cultivation of maize through the 'rotational' replanting of local seeds came under question from at least two 'modern' perspectives on diversity. A representative of the organic certifier Biolatina said that they were initially reluctant to certify *maíz cabanita* because of the lack of crop rotation as usually understood. Meanwhile, two agronomist participants separately argued that *maíz cabanita* had experienced loss of diversity at the genetic level due to long-term interbreeding. They suggested that Cabanaconde should have specialised seed producers and should consider developing new hybrid varieties, possibly incorporating genetic material from outside the district.

This should not be interpreted as a simple clash between 'external' and 'local' values. As Section 9.2 explores further, local participants also had a range of perspectives on issues including the usefulness of different production methods, the relative importance of quality and taste versus productivity, and the priority of cultural and ecological versus economic values. This had not translated into a constructive public debate about how best to value and conserve *maíz cabanita*; nor was such a debate part of the denomination of origin application process. On the one hand, this meant that no single, potentially exclusionary definition of local heritage had become dominant. On the other hand, existing changes were seeing a continued erosion of cultural elements and the disorganised modernisation of productive practices.

In Tuti, there were overlapping, partially contradictory processes with regard to diversity. Development projects in the 1990s had explicitly aimed to *reduce* diversity, as seen by Desco's recommendation that Colca Valley producers should "[reduce] the wide portfolio of crops to 4 or 5 that have a market or the potential for transformation" (1996, p.39). Farmers in Tuti had previously grown a greater variety of root crops such as *izaño*, *olluco* and *oca*, but by the time of the research most focused on a few market-oriented crops and cultivated pasture.

More recently, development agencies had led efforts to *recreate* diversity, focusing on within-crop diversity of marketable products such as potatoes and quinoa. Tuti was never a major potato producer, with potatoes and *chuño* being obtained from the trade routes with Cusco described in Chapter 7. Increased potato cultivation from the 1990s involved the progressive introduction of different varieties, by COPASA (commercial varieties),

ASDE (varieties compatible with agroecological farming) and UNDP-GEF (lesser-known varieties from centres of potato agrobiodiversity in central Peru). A similar process occurred with quinoa, also a minor crop historically in Tuti. This initially saw the promotion of varieties such as *kancolla* most in demand by wholesale markets, while the (later abandoned) UNDP-GEF project aimed to encourage the:

“...association of varieties of quinoa...black, cream, red, yellow, because we promote biodiversity, that’s the idea, not mono-cultivation, not just one type”
(Jhulinho Sotomayor, UNDP-GEF Small Grants Programme administrator, 3 August 2016)

This philosophy was inconsistently translated locally, with the project marketing consultant telling Agro Eco Tuti members to seek out the best-yielding varieties and advising them to ‘reduce self-consumption’ (Field Notes, 21 July 2016). Further, the focus on regenerated, market-friendly diversity largely overlooked Tuti’s indigenous quinoa variety, despite the view of local participants that it was relatively resilient to pests and less vulnerable to bird attacks. Tuti’s most emblematic product, *izaño*, was also largely neglected, and only a few people reported growing it. However, *izaño* was being incorporated into the local gastronomy initiatives mentioned in Section 8.3.1, while there was also emerging interest in its medicinal properties.

A recent evolution was the increasing dominance of alfalfa and other introduced pastures, driven by the success of livestock farming and milk production and the fragility of crop farming in the face of unpredictable weather, pests and diseases. Peru’s 2012 agricultural Census reported that 33% of Tuti’s total land area under plough was planted in pasture. I observed a clear increase in land area planted in pasture between November 2015 and November 2017, and this promised to be extended by government agency Agro Rural’s commitment to help Tuti plant 300 hectares of improved pasture (Field notes, 23 November 2017).

In Tuti, there were fewer ceremonial practices associated with crop farming than in Cabanaconde, with participants indicating that these practices had largely declined over previous generations. However, introduction of explicitly organic farming methods helped revive traditional biocultural practices such as bringing manure from the higher-altitude areas. These practices, historically associated with patterns of itinerant movement between *estancia* and *chacra* on llamas and donkeys, were reinvented by the ASDE-led project and continued through the municipality’s provision of motorised transport.

The experiences in the case study areas thus illustrate the contested discourses on the meaning and importance of diversity, while underlining the tenuous and contingent relationships between biocultural diversity and markets (Belletti et al., 2017; Larson, 2007). In Chapter 10 I will argue that the initiatives did offer various forms of support for efforts to conserve what local people valued about place, farming and food. However, overall there was little evidence of dynamic relationships between market success and diversity conservation. The one initiative that came closest to showing such a dynamic was the introduction of diverse potato varieties to Tuti, which offered both economic and gastronomic benefits and were a source of pride for those who grew them. Ironically, potatoes were not, at least in living memory, a ‘traditional’ product in Tuti.

Figure 9.3 Potato and tuber diversity presented at an event in Tuti in 2013

Source: author.

9.1.4 Environmental sustainability

To what extent do initiatives commit to sustainably managing natural resources (such as soil, water and vegetation) and maintaining or improving environmental quality?

Available evidence indicated that Tuti’s identity as an ‘ecological district’ was backed up by community-wide environmental commitments. Although not all community members were involved in Agro Eco Tuti or the organic certification process, there was widespread

adoption of agroecological practices including crop rotation, avoiding non-organic fertilisers and pesticides, and maintaining soil quality by incorporating organic material. Importantly, Agro Eco Tuti did not just focus on commercialisation but facilitated manure collection and compost preparation. Individual families and small groups also collected manure to apply to their *chacras* and some made organic sprays. Agroecological commitments were tested by the increase in pests and diseases affecting crop production. Participant anecdotes and my own observations indicated that there was some pesticide use in Tuti, though this was not widely endorsed.

In Cabanaconde, participants estimated that only a handful of people continued agroecological practices such as compost or humus production as a legacy of past development initiatives, while traditional cultivation practices continued but some aspects were being eroded. Strong statements made by some participants about using only organic methods contrasted with widespread views about the necessity of pesticide use. As one participant noted off the record, “you’re only going to grow naturally if you want small, worm-eaten corns cobs that even the pigs won’t eat” (Field notes, 22 November 2017). These contrasting views are explored further in Section 9.2.

One indicator of environmental commitments was the treatment of rubbish. In Cabanaconde, there was a notable presence of solid waste such as plastics, metals, glass, and construction materials, including in pathways, waterways and the cultivated fields themselves. It is worth acknowledging that my personal response to this was primarily aesthetic, underpinned by a cultural positionality that values the *invisibility* of waste products. I have no concrete evidence about a measurable impact of this waste on soil or water quality or any link between the rubbish in the *chacras* and the increased presence of pests, although some participants did draw this link.

Nevertheless, this situation undermined principles of certified organics (emphasising freedom from contamination) and Andean cosmovision (emphasising respectful reciprocal relations with nature) Further, although the denomination of origin application never progressed to the stage where INDECOPI representatives visited Cabanaconde, two participants indicated that local environmental conditions would have undermined the application. Although some participants, including local authorities, expressed regret about the state of the environment, nothing significant had been done to address this issue.

By contrast, in Tuti, the countryside, waterways and village streets were mostly free of plastics and other non-biodegradable waste. According to participants, this depended on individual ethics but was supported by community-level actions, such as organising periodic clean ups, and it was also linked to the ethos of organic crop production. As noted previously, Tuti won national recognition from the Ministry for the Environment for local sustainable environmental management. This award was at the GALS I level, which is “the initial stage, focused on showing evidence of planning and...environmental governance, including citizen participation” (MINAM, 2016).

9.1.5 Territorial governance

What mechanisms of social coordination have been formed to connect local actors and to link with extralocal actors? How effective, democratic and self-sustaining are these institutions?

In Cabanaconde, many of the shortfalls in economic, social and environmental outcomes described in previous sections could be attributed to failures to organise and/or agree on a collective course of action. Development institutions and local leaders alike attributed this to Cabanaconde’s ‘culture of individualism’. However, in Tuti local associations also suffered from uneven leadership and internal mistrust. Individual commitment to collective action was inconsistent and often transactional. Section 9.2 explores in more depth the perspectives of local participants on associative organisation, which Chapter 10 incorporates into general reflections about social organisation in relation to territorial development in the Andes. While leaving reflections on local culture to these discussions, I note that a key difference between the localities related to the role of local authorities.

In Cabanaconde, the municipal government provided initial financial and infrastructural support to ASPOMAC, and it also led the denomination of origin application. However, as ASPOMAC struggled to function, local authorities took a mostly hands-off approach. When asked about their interactions with ASPOMAC, local government participants were simultaneously critical of each other, the performance of association presidents, and the general population, whom they characterised as passive and uninterested. They coincided in viewing the challenges faced by ASPOMAC as a problem for which they did not have ultimate responsibility.

In Tuti, local authorities took a more consistently interventionist approach. The municipality helped renew associations' legal personhood, funded physical infrastructure, contracted experienced consultants to win project funding, and helped with project co-payments. It helped generate public goods by organising anniversary festivals, promoting environmental standards and providing transport to collect manure. Local authorities also worked with development agencies to revive Agro Eco Tuti after its near collapse in the wake of the failed Agro Emprende project.

A factor in Cabanaconde was the long history of discontinuity within institutions and rivalry between them, with participant comments on these issues closely resembling those recorded by Gelles (1990) in an ethnographic community study from the 1980s. The political rivalry of the two most recent mayors, Guillermo Cayani (2007-2010 and 2015-2018), and Jorge Guerra (2011-2014) became an institutional one when Jorge Guerra was elected president of the Peasant Community for the 2015-2016 period. By contrast, in Tuti there was unusual continuity across administrations. The four current or former mayors interviewed generally respected the work of both previous and subsequent governments, and they saw their role as contributors to ongoing development processes. The collective narrative of *achievement* meant local politicians were able to share credit rather than deflect blame.

In addition, there was a relationship of dialogue and mutual accountability between Tuti's population and local government. I suggest this may be linked to the experience of the 'dry law', which persisted over the years by being both *enforced by* and *demanding of* local government. It also related to community-level geographies. First, the concentration of Tuti's population around the main plaza made for a physically intimate community, in which the municipality's loudspeaker played a key role. Every morning and evening, a series of messages issued forth, providing updates about the current location of the irrigation water, informing about upcoming events, and urging people to come to meetings. During the cold evening twilight in Tuti it was usual to hear a message like the following repeated several times:

For the last time, for all Agro Eco Tuti members, tonight's meeting is in the room on the second floor of the municipality. The presenter has arrived, and the meeting is about to start.

Second, the more circumscribed scale of migration and multi-local livelihoods, compared to Cabanaconde's far-flung diaspora, meant that in Tuti there was a critical mass of

people with leadership experience whose lives and productive activities centred on the district.

Different approaches were also seen in the relationships with external institutions. Both districts were the subject of proactive development interventions up to 2015. However, while even the most committed institutions such as Desco eventually gave up trying to work with Cabanaconde, Tuti maintained connections with these institutions and also found new funding sources, which local authorities tried to link into a coherent programme of infrastructure development, productive improvement and territorial marketing. By contrast, Cabanaconde's leaders advanced grand, somewhat quixotic agendas such as building a road across the mountains to connect more directly to Arequipa (thereby 'gaining independence' from Chivay); and the S/. 10 million construction of a museum, which not only contributed to destroying an archaeological site but up to 2017 had remained completely empty (*El Buho*, 2015).

Arguably, Tuti's greatest collective success was its ability to *perform* TDI. Ray (1998) suggests that territorial development involves a simultaneous internal orientation, to identify local resources and create common purpose, and an external orientation, to market the territory to outside actors. While most interpretations focus on connections to extralocal consumers, Ray argues that territories must also market themselves to governments and policy makers, given that, in a neoliberal environment, there is competition even for public resources. By demonstrating commitment to 'indigenous entrepreneurialism', and achieving sufficient initial or symbolic successes, Tuti was rewarded with ongoing access to limited funding.

This is illustrated by the billboard shown in Figure 9.4, which was painted by Tuti's municipal government in late 2015. The phrase *fortaleciendo las cadenas productivas* ('strengthening value chains') accompanies depictions of cheese and quinoa from Tuti in trademarked packaging. Intriguingly, it is not just the district's attractions or its products that are advertised, but its *achievements*, couched in the vocabulary of policy makers and development agencies.

Figure 9.4 A roadside billboard in Tuti showing packaged cheeses and quinoa and reading ‘Strengthening value chains’

Source: author.

This does not mean that the efforts in Tuti were merely for show, or that its residents were subject to ‘symbolic conquest’ by neoliberal discourses. By engaging flexibly with different development initiatives, Tuti’s population was able to build individual and collective capital, at times by manipulating or subverting the strict intentions of projects, engaging with aspects that fit with their livelihood priorities but also ignoring or discarding less relevant aspects (see Shepherd, 2010).

A limitation of the collaboration and planning in Tuti was that it ended at the district’s borders. Arguably, the identity of Tuti as *different* and *exemplary* for its dry law and ecological status contributed to internal cohesion but also mitigated against the ability to make wider connections. This was reinforced by the generally small-scale, fragmented, and competitive approaches both national and international agencies took to funding development projects. As I discuss in Chapter 10, there appeared little prospect of local initiatives joining up to achieve economies of scale at a broader territorial level.

9.2 Exploring ‘bottom up’ perspectives in Cabanaconde and Tuti

As I argue at the outset of the thesis, it is important to not only evaluate impacts in terms of the outcomes defined as desirable by development discourses, but also to explore them from an ethnographic perspective that takes into account people’s “hopes and fears, norms and values” (Sakdapolrak, 2014, p.20). This provides a richer understanding of the initiatives as experienced locally; while it also offers a way for experiences to ‘speak back’ to the assumptions and logic of the discourses which propose and shape them.

Therefore, the second half of this chapter takes a ‘bottom-up’, person- and family-centred perspective to explore the relevance of the development initiatives in Cabanaconde and Tuti to people’s livelihoods and values. It first looks at the level of interaction people had with the initiatives and the reasons that influenced whether or not they participated. It then explores the way participants interpreted the discourses that framed the initiatives. This helps understand both the connections and disconnections between these discourses, and the ways local people valued place, farming and food.

9.2.1 Participation in development initiatives: Motivations for collective action

The two localities differed significantly in the overall level of participation in collective activities. As Section 9.1 argues, this reflected not only ‘cultural’ differences but also the different level of support that local authorities gave to collective organisation. Tables 9.2 and 9.3 illustrate this difference between the localities. In Cabanaconde, none of the nine participants under the age of 40 were active in a local association at the time of the research. While eight of the remaining 11 had at one stage been members of ASPOMAC, this was because I specifically sought ASPOMAC members for my participant sample. Few were involved in any other collective activities. On the one hand, there were few local associations that people could join; on the other, the associations that *had* been started had declined through lack of participation.

Table 9.2 Involvement in collective activities in Cabanaconde (participants and their partners)

	Leadership role in local authority or civil society group (past or current)	
	Yes	No
No reported involvement in collective activities	-	8
Involved in at least one producer association or other collective activity	2	8
Involved in multiple producer associations or other collective activities	2	

Source: participant interviews, December 2015-July 2016

By contrast, in Tuti almost all participants and/or their partners had some involvement in collective activities, and many participated in more than one group. Those who did not participate in the main producer associations were often active in the artisans or tourism associations, the mother's club, civil defence committee, or school or church groups. Half (n=10) had at some stage played a leadership role in local government, a community association or a development project. The daily cycle of meetings had become a feature of local identity:

Here, as one engineer said, in the day people go off to work in the *chacra* like ants...and in the evening to their meetings – always, every night there's a meeting (*both laugh*), whether it's livestock farmers, or crop farmers, there's always a meeting, until 8, 9, 10 at night. You're there listening to your meeting, then you go off to rest, and the next day, back to the *chacra*...there's not another village like it, they say.

(Female Tuti resident, age 38, 4 April 2016)

Table 9.3 Involvement in collective activities in Tuti (participants and their partners)

	Leadership role in local authority or civil society group (past or current)	
	Yes	No
No reported involvement in collective activities	-	1
Involved in at least one producer association or other collective activity	3	4
Involved in multiple producer associations or other collective activities	7	5

Source: participant interviews, December 2015-July 2016

In Cabanaconde, participants gave a variety of reasons for not being involved in ASPOMAC, including lack of time, lack of interest, or the theoretical fee for later joiners, although this was reportedly never charged. However, two reasons stood out as most important. First, people without stable access to land (primarily the young and inward

migrants) felt that the initiative did not include them, as a perceived requirement was to be able to deliver significant volumes of maize:

No, I haven't considered [joining ASPOMAC], because they asked for a sufficient quantity [of maize], to be able to cultivate and supply the market. And I think that I wasn't eligible because I didn't have fixed [access to] land, because every year we have to apply to the community to keep renting.

(Male Cabanaconde resident, age 28, 18 March 2016)

Second, there was general scepticism about the association. As Chapter 8 notes, there was a widespread view that the association leadership did not provide good information or seek to include others. Despite this, several participants said they would have been interested in joining ASPOMAC if it were more effective at achieving added value or forming connections with wholesale buyers. This was something of a 'chicken and egg' situation, since one of ASPOMAC's problems was its inability to collect significant quantities of maize to offer to potential buyers. A key barrier was the dependence of local farmers on short-term sale of maize to meet day-to-day costs:

Because, to collect (*acopiar*) maize, you need to have money, no? And the few people who've given certain quantities, a few kilos [to ASPOMAC] to promote, haven't been paid on time. Because, as you know very well, here our economy is based on our maize – we sell, we invest. We sell a little more, we invest, and so on...So, what practice have we got used to – selling our maize to the intermediaries. Why? Because the intermediary buys from you, product weighed, money paid. So, we can see the money straight away, and we can plan how much to spend, how much is left, and so on. That's why the association isn't collecting at a large scale, only those people who want to contribute to promoting the maize.

(Female Cabanaconde resident, age 63, 18 March 2016)

In Tuti, some participants also expressed critical views about association leadership groups, while some also found the time commitments burdensome, were intimidated by interactions with development institutions or felt excluded by the narrow focus on quinoa. However, they set these negative considerations against the concrete benefits of associative organisation, which included higher prices for certified organic quinoa:

The association has been working, it hasn't done much more, but we've got together at the harvest. Why? Because of the [organic] certification, it gives you a margin. If I don't work with the association, I sell as conventional, and [the price for] conventional is less. So, it's worth being a member, to pay the certification costs, it raises your price one or two points, and I can sell like that... We weigh everything, it gets sold, and straight away we get paid, just like that.

(Female Tuti resident, age 38, 4 April 2016)

Unlike in Cabanaconde, association members not only were prepared to wait to sell their quinoa collectively, but in both 2014 and 2015 they held out for higher prices (in 2015, sales and payment for the May harvest were still being finalised in December). Two explanations appeal as most likely for this difference. First, as Chapter 7 shows, participants' agricultural activities were more diversified than in Cabanaconde, with dairy farming in particular offering an alternative or even primary income source. Second, visibility of existing wholesale markets for organic quinoa gave Agro Eco Tuti members confidence that they would be able to achieve significantly higher prices than by selling to intermediaries.

Local associations also acted as a platform for assistance from government and development agencies, such as agricultural inputs, equipment, infrastructure and technical advice. In Tuti, the continual generation of new projects meant a variety of such assistance was on offer. Participants critically weighed these benefits against the costs of participation and were not afraid to change allegiances:

I'm going to retire from Agro Eco Tuti, because I'm no longer going to grow quinoa. There's no profit, it's a lot of work, I'm just going to grow for my own consumption... I'm a member of the tourism association, so I'll stay with that, and the livestock association, ASPROGATU, for my cows I'm going to get involved in that. ASPROGATU was applying to [government agency] Agro Ideas so they'd help us have a stable, a milking machine, a feeder... The cows get sick during this cold weather... We want a stable so they can sleep inside... So, that's why I'm joining ASPROGATU, and to improve my house I'm in the tourism association. I'm going to retire from Agro Eco Tuti, I'm already [in the process of] leaving it.

(Female Tuti resident, age 63, 21 January 2016)

In both places, associations were also envisaged as spaces for co-ordinating agroecological production methods, but only in Tuti did this happen at any scale. The ASDE project established a collective system for taking advantage of the abundant nearby manure resources, and the municipality helped this system to continue by providing transport to the *estancias* of the upper valley. In Cabanaconde, a few people individually

applied agroecological techniques learned through ASPOMAC's projects, but there were neither the available resources nor the leadership and co-ordination to do this systematically.

Local associations also offered less tangible benefits related to social inclusion and empowerment. As mentioned in Section 9.1, not only was ASPOMAC inclusive of women, there was some evidence that it was seen as a primarily female space. Two out of three presidents were women. Two people who I asked to list active participants in ASPOMAC mentioned 14 names, of whom 11 were women. At least three participants used female gender-specific terminology to describe their experiences with the association, referring to their fellow members as *socias*. Several of the most active female members were motivated by the opportunity to develop independent farming skills, and they highly valued the training and technical assistance they had received.

A final point which connects back to the discussion of mobile livelihoods in Chapter 7 is that in both localities participants' involvement with local associations frequently changed over time, depending on their movement between places and the compatibility of their priorities with those of the association. Thus, even where collective activities had been sustained over time, this did not imply a stable membership. This points to a general challenge for initiatives whose success relies on long-term commitments to a collective enterprise, a theme which Chapter 10 discusses further.

9.2.2 Participant perspectives on place, farming and food

This section explores the ways local participants interpreted and deployed the discourses associated with development initiatives to revalue local agro-food heritage. I organise the discussion into the following three interconnected themes, which I argue are the key elements of the TDI and LAFH discourses as they come into contact with the farming practices of people in the rural Andes:

- *Environment* – interpretations of the value and challenges of agroecological/organic farming.
- *Place* – views about the unique characteristics and identities of local products.
- *Culture* – perspectives on the value of local knowledge and traditional practices.

While these themes organise the discussion, they are interwoven with participant perspectives on the economic and social values of farming and food. The discussion can therefore be treated as exploring views on the meaning of 'products with identity' and

their relevance to livelihoods. This is not necessarily intended to contrast pre-existing ‘local’ values with ‘external’ development discourses. The perspectives of local participants were partly constituted *through* these discourses, as well as through their internalisation of broader and longer-standing agendas of modernisation and ‘progress’. Nevertheless, their interpretations were anchored to the concrete challenges, aspirations and enjoyments of their own lives. Exploring these interpretations thus helps assess how the discourses of TDI and LAFH connect and disconnect with efforts to “make a living and make living meaningful” in the Andes (Bebbington, 1999, p.5).

Valuing the environment: Perspectives on agroecological and organic farming

In both Cabanaconde and Tuti, participants framed agroecological or organic farming in several different ways. Most commonly, participants associated organic with *natural*, defined as the absence of artificial pesticides or fertilisers. In both localities, participants stressed that farming organically meant that they and their families could eat tasty, wholesome foods uncontaminated by chemicals:

Why do we sometimes grow small areas of potatoes and broad beans? So we don’t lack for our personal consumption. Because we don’t want to buy from the city. Why? Because [there] *everything* is based on chemicals...there’s fertilisers, insecticides, everything is chemical! And that’s doing a great damage to our organism...So, what do I do for my children that live in Arequipa, in different places? I send them products from here. My children don’t buy from the market. I send at least a sack this size [*pointing to a 50-kilo sack*], for 15 or 20 days, or a month...So in that way, we’re keeping the illnesses away from our organism at least a little.

(Female Cabanaconde resident, age 63, 18 March 2016, participant’s emphasis)

Ecological production is important. Ecological means natural, tasty food, potatoes that are floury [*harinosa*] and aren’t harmful... [Organic products] don’t rot either. They maintain the same taste for months, they don’t have an expiry date...That’s why I want a hothouse, to grow silverbeet, spinach, onion, carrots, so I don’t have to eat contaminated vegetables...I’ve been to the coast, and they fumigate by the litre, by the cylinder – why do they spray so much poison? They talk about how in the sierra there’s only one harvest [per year], while they [coastal farmers] feed the city. They don’t care about people’s health, just making money. For us, it’s not about making money, it’s about not doing harm. We must always keep growing our products.

(Female Tuti resident, age 63, 21 January 2016)

These comments align with agroecology and food sovereignty discourses in the way they contrast profit-oriented commercial farming with a ‘peasant principle’ (van der Ploeg,

2010) of producing healthy food. Interestingly, in the contrast with coastal producers, they also reveal consciousness of a broad *sierra* identity, based not on the cultural essentialism of *lo andino* but on concrete aspects of geography and farming practices.

In Cabanaconde, these values were being challenged by the serious problems with pests and diseases over recent seasons. While some participants said they had been able to control pests by natural methods such as careful land preparation and organic sprays, others argued that natural methods could not combat the increased virulence of pests and insisted that chemical pesticide use was necessary:

[Production] has reduced a lot, we're being attacked a lot by pests. Before, the maize was natural, spraying wasn't necessary. The last two years, we've had to fumigate, to save the maize...yes, it's sad [that it's no longer organic], but it's our livelihood. If we don't combat the pests, we're finished. Because that's where we've invested all our efforts, our capital you could say. We have to combat the pests, by necessity.

(Male Cabanaconde resident, age 28, 18 March 2016)

Participants described efforts by the municipal government, provincial agricultural agency and SENASA to provide training in natural pest control methods such as using lanterns to attract and drown moths or trap them on sheets of sticky yellow plastic. However, to be effective, these methods had to be applied collectively across a geographical area, which was undermined by the fragmentation of land ownership and variable commitments to land management among farmers. Participants who defended organic methods, and those who favoured chemical pesticides, expressed similar frustrations about the inability to co-ordinate pest control in Cabanaconde.

While many people saw pesticide use as regretful but necessary, the spectrum of views included those who saw it as an inevitable part of modern, market-oriented farming. As one Cabanaconde resident argued in a casual conversation:

In the past they didn't use any [agro-chemicals], it was organic maize. Before, there weren't pests. But now *maíz cabanita* is commercial, so, organic maize is no longer relevant, what's relevant is productivity.

(Field notes, 23 January 2016)

In Tuti, participants also recognised the challenges of remaining committed to organic production in the face of pests, diseases and the short-term benefits to plant growth that artificial fertilisers offered. However, their practices were underpinned by theoretical and ethical commitments to agroecology. As well as generally rejecting agro-chemicals,

almost all emphasised the importance of rotating crops and incorporating organic material to sustain soil fertility. In Cabanaconde several participants who had been actively involved in ASPOMAC said they continued to prepare compost, humus and organic sprays but said that only a few others did so. Others noted the natural role of *trebol* clover in maintaining soil fertility or mentioned traditional practices such as sleeping sheep on the *chacra* during fallow season, while noting that these were now practised inconsistently.

In both localities, organic status was also seen as a source of *market value*, and participants generally felt that ecologically grown products should obtain higher prices. Several expressed frustration that the hard work of producing organically did not receive greater reward:

Because at the price we get, there's no point maintaining that the maize is organic. It should be at least S/. 6; that would encourage you to plant. Maize doesn't generate earnings any more, it would be better to work labouring or in any business, because growing maize requires a lot of sacrifice.

(Female Cabanaconde resident, age 22, 23 January 2016)

Everyone else is in the same situation, because what we want is to get some benefit. But, complying with all the [organic] standards, we're not going to reap that in terms of money, no? It's a lot of work...What we lack is a market – a market that buys from us at a fair price, with that we'd be fine, a market for all our products, quinoa, potatoes, beans, everything – if we had a market we'd be able to farm organically better.

Male Tuti resident, age 41, 27 June 2016)

One participant in Tuti argued that organic farming was not overly burdensome and made sense regardless of price premiums:

No, for me it's not too much work, I don't look at it like that. If I was [using conventional methods], how much would it cost me for the fertilisers? It's more than S/. 100, 200, I think, so I pay, and my *chacra* ends up poorer. I'm contaminating it myself – I mean, like I say, from what I harvest, I keep a third for the household. So [using agro-chemicals] doesn't suit me. If I didn't participate in the association, I'd keep farming organically, because I'm the one who's going to eat it, and if I sell it, I sell it, but I'm not going to be in a big rush to spray, it would just be more polluted.

(Female Tuti resident, age 38, 4 April 2016)

Meanwhile, a participant couple in Cabanaconde suggested that, although economic motivations were not necessarily most important, lack of a market premium over conventional production was still discouraging:

Participant A: Yes, for example, wouldn't we like to be able to use insecticide...

Participant B: But there's something else here ...

Participant A: We eat that maize. We consume it.

Participant B: There are a few, maybe five people who use [agro-chemicals]. They harvest good quality maize. But they don't eat it, they only sell it. But the price that we sell organic [maize] at, they sell for the same. Our maize should cost a little more.

Participant A: More, because it's organic. We conserve...but no, there's not that [margin], it doesn't exist...The person who grows with...everything, artificial fertilisers, insecticides, they sell at the same price.

(Cabanaconde female (A) and male (B) residents, age 61 and 56, 16 June 2016)

Finally, organics was also framed as a *certification system*. In Tuti, certification was presented as an official validation of the district's ecological identity. This was highlighted by Tuti's mayor in a speech at the 2016 anniversary celebrations, where he stressed that Tuti was ecological "not by reputation but by certification" and that it had papers to prove it (Field notes, 2 May 2016). However, the certification process was a source of disconnection between development actors and local participants. For development agencies, organic certifiers and actors in export value chains, *documentation* of organic status carried as much importance as productive practices (see Mutersbaugh, 2005). This was emphasised by Desco during its projects, which instructed local farmers how to note down their inputs, yields and sales.

However, without oversight from Desco, Agro Eco Tuti members largely neglected to maintain their notebooks and often reported having 'lost' them when questioned. This produced some last-minute scrambling in December 2015, when Agro Eco Tuti was finalising bulk sale of quinoa to a wholesale buyer who requested to see a sample of association members' notebooks to confirm their organic status (Field notes, 16 December 2015). This disconnection was also highlighted in an Agro Eco Tuti meeting where a project consultant scolded association members for not bringing notebooks and a pen to the meeting and, to considerable embarrassment, circulated a written 'test' to

evaluate understanding of the presentation she had just given on the Procompite project (Field notes, 8 January 2016).

In Cabanaconde, no interaction with organic certifiers occurred during the research period. However, some participants who had been active in ASPOMAC spontaneously mentioned their notebooks. They stressed the need for documentation not only for compliance but also to better understand and manage the costs of production. For these participants, the activities associated with organic certification were part of a move towards a more rational, efficient approach to farming.

Overall, perspectives on agroecology were diverse, complex and contested, differing both across and within the localities. While participants often expressed commitments to farming organically for social and environmental wellbeing, these were anchored in pragmatic considerations about the amount of work required, the importance of farming to income or family food supply, and their degree of control over land. These partial connections with both the market-oriented and more radical versions of the organics/agroecology discourse destabilise assumptions about Andean *campesinos* as either having ‘natural’ competitive advantages in organic production, or as maintaining inherent, ‘cultural’ commitments to sustainable farming (see Bernstein, 2013; Mello & Hollander, 2013).

Valuing place: Perspectives on terroir

In both localities, participants argued that local products had special qualities related to place. This was especially important in Cabanaconde, where the longstanding recognition of *maíz cabanita* as rooted in the locality was under threat from its gradual spread to other parts of the region and conversion into a generic product. The ways participants linked the special qualities of *maíz cabanita* to the local environment closely resembled Mediterranean concepts of *terroir* articulated in the LAFS discourse (Bowen & Mutersbaugh, 2014; Sanz Cañada & Muchnik, 2016).

A common argument was that *maíz cabanita* could be grown successfully elsewhere, and could even deliver satisfactory flavour, colour or nutrition but would never have exactly the same qualities of being both *dulce* and *suave*, ‘like a cookie’ or ‘like popcorn’. Participants suggested that Cabanaconde’s altitude, climate, soil and water all contributed to the qualities of *maíz cabanita*, while some also highlighted local knowledge and ecological cultivation practices. Participants generally acknowledged that *maíz cabanita*

from the *campiña* had to be distinguished from that grown over the past twenty years in the higher-altitude *lotes*:

I think [what makes it special is] the climate, the soil, the water, and the way we cultivate it, because they've taken seeds to other places and it's not the same. For example, maize is grown in the *lotes*, outside the *campiña*, but it's not the same [there] either. It's a little harder...I don't know, there's a clear difference but I think it's the soil, the water and the climate here in the Cabanaconde *campiña* and that there are still some of us who live here that instead of using chemicals, use natural fertiliser, from animals.

(Female Cabanaconde resident, age 43, 15 December 2015)

A common complaint was that intermediaries adulterated Cabanaconde's maize with cheaper, lower quality grain from other places. Participants saw this as affecting not just the price but also the status and identity of *maíz cabanita*. As one participant argued, "it has the name, it's *maíz cabanita* in name but not in its heart" (Female Cabanaconde resident, age 63, 24 March 2016). Some participants argued that, despite the adulteration, informed consumers would always appreciate the qualities of the genuine article:

The person who eats *maíz cabanita*, recognises it. She knows it by its taste, by its softness...it must have something special because the consumer says so, it's not me saying it, the consumer says I want *maíz cabanita* from Cabanaconde, not from anywhere else...look, this [traditional] dress...it's easy, I put on this dress and I sell the product: 'No, madam, I'm the producer, I have my card here, I'm the president of the *maíz cabanita* association'.

(Female Cabanaconde resident / ASPOMAC president, 19 December 2015)

Others pointed out that this only worked in relational or short-supply markets and not with the average consumer:

The intermediaries, for example, buy maize from Cuzco, from Santo Tomás, it's cheap. They buy 10 or 20 sacks from there, the same from here, and they mix them. A lot of people have noticed, and they have doubts, and the ones who know people from [Cabanaconde], they only buy from them. But of course, there are thousands of people.

(Male Cabanaconde resident, age 56, 16 June 2016)

Many participants were aware of the efforts to obtain a denomination of origin for *maíz cabanita* but most had not engaged with (or been consulted for) this process. There were also some criticisms of the trademark registered by ASPOMAC, which did not highlight the name *maíz cabanita*, but rather the expression *troja sara* (a Quechua phrase referring to a traditional maize storehouse). Again, pessimism about the market's ability to value

the special qualities of local products discouraged people from trying to maintain these qualities:

Now, many people are [planting maize] in the *lotes*, and it's doing better than in the *campiña*...But it's the plant [that grows well] – the kernel is harder. But it's for the market; what can we do? It all gets mixed together in Arequipa anyway. It's not the true *maíz cabanita* anymore.

(Female Cabanaconde resident, age 32, 19 March 2016)

In Tuti, the special characteristics that participants claimed for their products were more closely linked to their ecological production methods than to their historic connection to place, given that seed stock for potatoes, broad beans and commercially grown quinoa was sourced from elsewhere. However, participants did claim that Tuti's soil, climate and water had special qualities that, together with organic methods, gave their products intrinsic qualities such as being dense and maintaining freshness:

What gives broad beans from Tuti their special flavour is that we use organic fertiliser, it makes them denser. The seed we use isn't from here, we bring it from Puno. Those beans are hard, not so floury (*harinosa*), but in Tuti the soil makes them softer, and also the water – it's different here in Tuti, because it's not so salty.

(Male Tuti resident, age 47, 6 March 2016)

Almost all Tuti participants mentioned the marginal nature of agriculture in the district as an impediment to productivity and a reason for preferring livestock farming. They also noted that they had opted for Brown Swiss cows because the higher-producing Holstein breed could not adapt to the altitude. This appeared to open possibilities for making links between productive marginality and quality (Cáceres et al, 2007; Morgan et al., 2006). Arguably, Tuti's high-altitude environment, at the very limits of where agriculture was possible, facilitated organic production because of a lesser presence of pests and diseases, and also made for lower-volume, creamier milk, ideal for cheese production (Bartl et al., 2008). A few key participants came close to articulating this connection, with the mayor of Tuti noting that “products from Tuti are sparse, but they're quality” (3 December 2015) but most stopped short of making this argument explicitly.

A striking feature of these perspectives was the emphasis participants placed on highly localised identities. In both places, a sense of their immediate community as unique and exceptional, both for its physical geography and its practices, was a source of pride and motivation. While the previous section suggests that participants were open to engaging

with wider identities, their strongest emotional commitments related to place-product connections at a far smaller scale than the tacit definition of ‘territory’ assumed by TDI advocates (see Schjetmann, 2009).

Valuing culture: Perspectives on local knowledge

As previous chapters discuss, since the 1990s rural development discourses have often emphasised, at least rhetorically, the value of local or indigenous knowledge. In the case study localities, development agencies reproduced this rhetorical emphasis, stressing the need to recover or revalue *conocimientos ancestrales* (literally, ancestral knowledge) while interweaving this with representations of traditional products and practices as ‘unimproved’ and requiring market-oriented modernisation (eg, Desco, 1996; Neira Aráoz & Samayani Vargas, 2007). Participants engaged with these overlapping, partly contradictory discourses in relation to their own livelihood circumstances and priorities. Again, this resulted in diverse and contested perspectives on local knowledge and traditions.

In Cabanaconde, several participants argued that traditional practices were time-consuming and inefficient. They emphasised the costs associated with planting under the historical *ayni* system, which was highly labour-intensive and required the *chacra* owner to fete the people who helped him or her over multiple days:

Participant: The costs of maize production have reduced because of mechanisation, and it’s no longer necessary to spend so much on the planting...Because in the past, it was a party. For one *topo*, four teams of bulls, with 12 men. To those men you had to give good food, *chicha*, beer, liquor...Not any more...I pay for the tractor, I go with a horse, two people, and plik! I plant...In the past you didn’t pay [wages], it was just *ayni*, so I had to give them to eat and drink, and the next day, get them together again and give them food and *chicha*. But not anymore; since I pay wages, it’s a little *chicha*, a little liquor, and that’s it.

Interviewer: So, you don’t do all the ceremony, blessing the seed and all that?

Participant: A little, always, but not as much as before, it’s less.
(Male Cabanaconde resident, age 62, 23 March 2016)

Figure 9.5 Planting maize in Cabanaconde using the traditional yunta

Source: author.

Such reflections displayed an interesting mix of disparagement and nostalgia in depicting the *antepasados* (ancestors) as disinterested in material ‘progress’, living in a state of Edenic abundance and ignorance, where as one participant said, “there was no lack of fruit, no lack of meat, of *chuño*, of maize...because in those times the arrival of the seasons was almost exact” (Male Cabanaconde resident, age 51, 19 March 2016).

Other perspectives contested or added nuance to this view. While acknowledging the labour-saving benefits of mechanisation, some participants argued that tractors were compacting the earth and making it less absorbent, thereby reducing resilience in the face of heat and drought. Some blamed the use of tractors and agro-chemicals for the loss of wild biodiversity such as toads and falcons which had helped control pests in the past. Some participants recalled useful labour-intensive traditional practices which had largely been lost, such as routinely spreading ash on the *chacra* and sending children to place a drop of oil on each corn cob.

Several participants acknowledged the agricultural terraces as an important ancestral technology and a few explicitly talked about how indigenous knowledge of topographic

and microclimatic factors was woven through the production process. At least one participant argued that the traditional water allocation system, abandoned since the 1990s, carried embedded agronomic knowledge and was superior to the rationalised system that had replaced it (cf. Gelles, 2000).

Participants also stressed the importance of maintaining social and sacred relationships in maize cultivation. At least two (female) participants argued that *la tierra está viva* (“the earth is alive”) to justify their continuation of traditional practices:

Yes, I go by myself, I do go. I make the *alsa* (traditional afternoon meal), because *the earth is alive, the earth is alive*. I make a little *chicha*, a little *pito* (*chicha* mixed with cereals), my *picante*, my *alsa* – and the workers, I never lack for workers, they always come, and I make it for them.

(Female Cabanaconde resident, age 62, 23 June 2016, emphasis added).

Historically, this maintenance of relationships with human and non-human beings was part of a pragmatic ethic of reciprocity that was just as important to successful farming as timely irrigation or careful ploughing. As one participant explained:

[Some people] say that the *chacras* talk to one another [*acting out dialogue*]:

‘Hey, what has your owner brought you?’

‘Ah, *cuy*, cheese, all kinds of things’

‘Well, mine didn’t bring anything! So, for being ungrateful, I’m not going to give him a good harvest’.

(Female Cabanaconde resident, age 38, 23 June 2016)

This logic was not being rejected, so much as undermined by the productive crises linked to climate change and a market which failed to value traditional, ‘beyond organic’ practices. Thus, people were being forced to critically weigh the costs of these practices:

Until about three years ago, the customs were almost as usual – lunch, *picante*, *alsa*, *mocco tinkay* (seed-blessing ceremony). [Now] everything’s changing, because the maize is declining, I don’t know, but it’s not producing the same quantity. *So, why are we going to spend so much if the maize isn’t valued?* We don’t make it valued, that’s what happens.

(Female Cabanaconde resident, age 63, 24 March 2016, emphasis added)

In Tuti, participants generally felt that local knowledge and practices had been creatively fused with the training provided by development agencies to construct a modern agroecological approach. However, there was also debate about the value of different productive techniques and some regret about what had been lost. For example, some participants acknowledged that planting in rows (a practice introduced by COPASA)

allowed more efficient use of water but argued that crops had grown more abundantly before with a traditional scattering approach and soaking-style irrigation. Others discussed the communal pasturing of animals on crop stubble, which still continued in Cabanaconde, but which no longer happened in Tuti because most land was fenced off. Fenced land allowed individualised, productivity-oriented approaches to crop and fodder cultivation, but it reduced the ecological efficiency of integrated crop and livestock farming, and, according to one participant, it had made the animals fussier.

Even though Tuti participants stressed the value of the technical training provided by development institutions, they noted this was filtered through intimate local knowledge of *terroir* which determined where to plant different crops. For example, broad beans and root crops were rarely grown on the slightly higher ground to the east of Tuti village, where they were said to be poor in both yield and taste. Meanwhile, a few participants proudly reported growing maize, theoretically well above its maximum productive altitude, in microclimates on sunny sheltered terraces.

Overall, theoretical scientific knowledge and local/indigenous knowledge were generally seen as complementary. Several participants mentioned academic studies of the local environment and products and were eager to see more such research to validate and extend their existing knowledge. Some envisaged a dialogue between different but equally valid approaches:

The farmer doesn't just wait for technical advice from professionals...we've got our own storage techniques, for example for potatoes, as native farmers we store them with *muña* or straw, whereas I think the professionals would use refrigeration, but we don't need that.

(Male Tuti resident, age 50, 7 June 2016)

Rather than seeing conflict between knowledge paradigms, participants were sometimes frustrated about the lack of genuine engagement between them. Complaints included technical advisors not taking into account local conditions or spending enough time in the area; assistance being delivered by people with only theoretical knowledge and little practical experience; and a lack of useful advice about specific pests and diseases:

The association...hires a technician, and I ask him, what is this disease, what should I do – and he waffles on, and in the end, there's nothing real. I'm learning how I should farm through the school of hard knocks. This year I've made these mistakes...next year I'll be better...The [agronomic] engineers come here, *they learn from us*. There is a part that I can learn [from them] but the person who

works [in farming], learns how she can improve...An agronomic engineer who has studied theoretically comes here and he tells me, 'yes, this is the disease; it's mildew'. 'But what do I cure it with?' 'No, it's because of the rain, or for this or that reason', and he waffles on, he doesn't give me what I need.

(Female Tuti resident, age 38, 4 April 2016, emphasis added)

Thus local participants largely saw knowledge through the lens of problem-solving, which could involve creatively adopting and adapting diverse aspects of science and tradition to meet the particular challenges they faced. In both localities, participants proudly described innovations that responded to pressures to increase efficiencies and reduce monetary costs, while maintaining the precision and low impact of traditional methods. These innovations included labour-saving ploughing methods using skilled animal training, and natural pest sprays based on *rocoto* (hot chili pepper). By contrast, development agencies only tended to recognise the aspects of local knowledge that intersected with general, scientifically validated agroecological methods, such as using manure for fertiliser.

While development actors at least acknowledged the importance of local productive knowledge, there was much less recognition of the ways *campesino* products were transformed, consumed and valued locally. In both places there was rich knowledge related to storage, processing, and food preparation connected to the household and the *chacra*, which was not visible in, or easily translated to, the market. In Cabanaconde this included the need to dry maize slowly in the shade to retain the best flavour, careful selection of the highest-grade kernels, and the skill and individual variation involved in making *cancha*, *chicha* and other products which are best enjoyed fresh or have no saleable form. In both localities, I was able to observe the enjoyment of eating in the *chacra*, and the way that appreciation for the origin, freshness and quality of foods was embedded in place, social interaction and the work of cultivation. Apart from sporadic efforts by Desco, and the one-off visit by Slow Food, local food cultures were largely overlooked in development projects to achieve 'added value' in extralocal markets.

For me, the disconnection between local food cultures and the concepts of quality and identity disseminated by development agencies was exemplified at a training session for livestock farmers in Tuti. The presenter, from a regional development institution, was emphasising the need to reduce salt levels in locally-produced cheeses. An older female audience member interjected, pointing out that local people enjoyed the combination formed by salty cheese with *cancha* (traditionally toasted without oil or salt). With an

expression of frustration, the presenter asked the audience “do you want to progress or not?” and went on to reiterate that production standards must be adapted to the demands of national and international consumers (Field notes, 1 December 2015). The implications of this disconnection for discourses related to local agro-food heritage are explored further in Chapter 10.

9.3 Conclusions

This chapter has undertaken a detailed exploration of what development initiatives to revalorise local agro-food heritage have meant in Cabanaconde and Tuti. It combines a ‘top-down’ analysis of outcomes with a ‘bottom-up’ ethnographic analysis that looks at the initiatives through the lens of local livelihoods and values.

With the exception of the livestock farming and cheese production value chain in Tuti, economic impacts were mostly marginal or short-lived, although there were a number of promising initiatives with potential for further development. Most of the initiatives were relatively inclusive, especially of women and people with smaller amounts of land. Nevertheless, people in a position to benefit most were those who had accumulated larger (though still modest) amounts of land and other resources, who had the skills, social connections and time to participate in workshops, implement quality standards and attend fairs and festivals. Several projects included objectives relating to environmental sustainability, biodiversity or valuing local knowledge, but there was little evidence of a dynamic relationship between market success of ‘products with identity’ and biocultural diversity, a finding which I ponder further in Chapter 10.

A key difference between the two localities was in the degree and continuity of formal collective action. In Tuti, the much greater presence of associative organisation reflected both the ongoing support that local authorities gave to associations, and the concrete benefits that association membership offered. People engaged with associations on a pragmatic and transactional basis and often changed their involvement over time. In Cabanaconde, the lesser presence of collective initiatives was often attributed to a ‘culture of individualism’. However, I argue that an important factor was the lack of any clear prospect that associative organisation would offer an attractive alternative to selling maize to intermediaries, which families relied on to meet short-term costs.

The chapter’s exploration of participant perspectives shows that their priorities and values only intersected partially with initiatives to generate ‘products with identity’, understood

as *quality-differentiated* products aimed at *markets*. Some aspects of quality and identity valued by local participants related to practices in the household or the *chacra* and were not recognised, or even recognisable, in markets. On the other hand, where local participants did focus on markets, they often prioritised productivity and quantity, given that differences in scale, predictability or frequency of returns generally outweighed any margin for quality or identity. Nevertheless, there was widespread sentiment that the special qualities of local products *ought* to be valued in monetary terms, and participants found it harder to justify the time and resources required to maintain these special qualities if they were invisible to markets.

People's partial connections with efforts to revalue local agro-food heritage can also be read in a more positive way. I will suggest that by stimulating material processes and discourses which could be locally adopted, adapted and recombined, these efforts helped consolidate diverse spaces that softened what is often seen as a conflict between *campesino* and market capitalist values, thereby helping maintain what I term *diverse territorial economies*. This argument is taken up in the second half of Chapter 10. First, however, the complementary perspectives of this chapter set the scene for some general reflections on the prospects for territorial development initiatives focused on local agro-food heritage in the Peruvian Andes.

Chapter 10 Cultivating what is ours: From ‘products with identity’ to diverse territorial economies

This chapter builds on the arguments of earlier chapters to address the overall question of the thesis set out in Chapter 1. Chapters 3 to 6 have undertaken a discourse genealogy of TDI and LAFH. Chapters 7 to 9 have assessed the claims of these discourses, exploring the experiences in Cabanaconde and Tuti through a critical evaluation of outcomes and through the lens of local livelihoods. This chapter reflects on the general lessons from the case studies, and draws them together with the discursive analysis to answer the question: *What do connections between place, food and development mean for people and places in the rural Andes?*

The chapter’s first half builds on the case studies to evaluate the promises of TDI and LAFH on their own terms. Returning to the *virtuous circle of products with identity* model, it considers the challenges to this model under the categories of *production*, *social organisation* and *markets*, followed by some suggestions about how these challenges might in principle be negotiated. While these reflections are most relevant to the Peruvian Andes, they may also be applicable to other contexts involving historically marginalised peasant or indigenous communities with distinctive agro-food cultures.

The second half moves beyond these pragmatic considerations to reflect more broadly on the meaning of connections between place, food and development in the Andes. Drawing on the work of J.K. Gibson-Graham and others, I propose *diverse territorial economies* as an alternative frame for thinking about how people in the Andes pursue their aspirations while conserving what they value about place, farming and food. I then explore how development initiatives related to local agro-food heritage can support the maintenance of diverse territorial economies. This is a ‘hopeful postdevelopment’ perspective (McGregor, 2009) which sees a role for development interventions in dialogue with local values and priorities. However, it is also cautious and sceptical, as it acknowledges that diverse territorial economies are likely to be limited both in scale and transformative potential.

10.1 A virtuous circle of products with identity in the Andes?

The first half of this chapter returns to the *virtuous circle of products with identity*, summarised as the promise that collective efforts to revalue agro-food heritage can generate equitable economic gains while helping sustain biocultural diversity. It uses the insights from the case studies to develop a pragmatic critique of this model as it applies to the Peruvian Andes. This is divided into three parts focusing, respectively, on *production*, *social organisation* and *markets*. Each section shows how an appreciation of place and livelihoods in the Andes challenges certain assumptions of the *virtuous circle* model. Together, they draw attention both to the inherent difficulties with valuing Andean agro-food heritage through markets, and the tensions in balancing impact, equity and identity. The section ends with some suggestions about how these problems and tensions might in principle be negotiated.

10.1.1 Challenges of production

An assumption shared by market-oriented discourses with food sovereignty and agroecology is that small farmers in historically marginalised rural areas have a natural advantage in producing diverse, ecologically friendly and authentic products which can be marketed as *products with identity*. Research on fair trade and organic export networks sometimes acknowledges challenges of production, for example by noting that the ‘turn to quality’ within fair trade and organic markets has made it difficult for poorer producers to meet the formal quality standards demanded by buyer-driven value chains (Arce, 2009; Goodman et al., 2012; Neilson & Pritchard, 2010; Raynolds, 2008). However, discussions focusing mainly on tropical commodity exports such as coffee, cacao and bananas have not necessarily captured the specific productive challenges for *campesinos* in the Andes.

First, communities at the scale of the case study localities may not even be able to deliver consistent volumes of a single product. This was seen in Tuti, where after two years of increasing quinoa production marketed through Agro Eco Tuti, fewer than ten families planted quinoa in the following two seasons. This was both because of the decline in prices and the need for crop rotation to retain soil fertility and comply with organic certification. Only the few people with more than two hectares could rotate crops *and* produce consistent quantities of quinoa. This played a role in the collapse of the UNDP project, and the uncertain outcomes of the Procompite project, both of which focused exclusively on quinoa. A presentation by the marketing consultant for the UNDP project which set an objective for Tuti to aim for 100 tonnes of quinoa per annum (compared to a

peak of 28 tonnes in 2015) appeared not to acknowledge these local productive realities (Field notes, 8 January 2016). Unlike even small coffee, cacao and banana producers, diversity and flexibility are pivotal to Andean peasant farming; thus, the Fairtrade model, which primarily aims to offer stability, is less relevant in this context.

Second, the ‘beyond organic’ practices that underpin the special characteristics of Andean agro-food products cannot be taken for granted, since, as Chapters 7 to 9 have shown, these practices are embedded in socioeconomic systems that are experiencing ongoing transformation. The Andean approach to cultivating small plots on steep terraces has attracted admiration for its resilience, ecological efficiency and ability to nurture diversity, but it is also highly labour-intensive. Historically, the labour required for planting, harvesting, irrigating, animal care and terrace maintenance was mobilised within families, through reciprocal *ayni*, and in communal *faenas*. Major events in the cultivation cycle such as planting were celebrations that served to maintain social and ecological relationships and were thus an *end* as well as a *means*.

Chapters 7 to 9 explore how this system has largely declined in the Colca Valley. Urban migration and the priority given to children’s education have reduced the availability of labour, and farming is usually one of multiple family activities, sometimes carried out across different places. Most workers are now paid in cash, and local wages have been driven up by other options such as government-funded construction projects. Although these changes have occurred within the evolution of a highly unequal national socio-economy, they have not been ‘externally imposed’, they are not necessarily negative (some, such as improved access to education, are clearly positive), and they are not reversible even in principle. However, they do mean that inputs into the productive process now have to be carefully evaluated in terms of both money and time.

This is shown by the increasing mechanisation as tractors have become more widely available. In the case study localities, the *yunta* was acknowledged to be better both for crop yields and long-term land quality, and the direct monetary costs of using a tractor and a bull-drawn plough were similar. However, as Chapter 9 shows, a mechanised approach was valued not only for being quicker and easier but also because it reduced the profile of productive activities as *social events*, with the corresponding commitments to feed and entertain. What was once an investment in social status and future reciprocal commitments had come to be seen primarily in terms of financial costs. In contrast to

some presentations of *ayni* as inherently more egalitarian than market exchange (eg, Grey, 2011), participant perspectives supported Mayer's (2002) argument that, for those with limited resources, it can be unaffordable (see also Paerregaard, 2017).

For similar reasons, various other agroecological practices requiring abundant time, labour and social relations had declined or were practised inconsistently. In Cabanaconde in particular, the prevalence of diverse rental, sharecropping, stewardship and other arrangements meant farmers didn't necessarily have a long-term commitment to the land they cultivated. As well, climate change was modifying spatial patterns of production and destabilising traditional connections between product and *terroir*.

Understanding these livelihood and ecological pressures helps destabilise assumptions that indigenous farmers will naturally prefer traditional products and practices (see also Mello & Hollander, 2013). In the case study localities, the highest priority for farmers was having a harvest *at all* in the face of risks from climate, pests and diseases, while they were also open to considering any option that could raise productivity, especially to get beyond the limit of 'one harvest per annum'. In Tuti, concerns with productivity were reflected in the increasing dominance of livestock farming on introduced pastures. In Cabanaconde they were shown by the interest in faster-growing 'alternative' crops and preferences for an abundant harvest of maize over retaining its unique organoleptic qualities.

The perspectives explored in Chapter 9 suggest that an important motivation for conserving traditional products and 'beyond organic' practices was that farmers and their urban family members consumed part of the harvest, and taste, nutrition and health therefore remained important considerations. However, these perspectives also show that short-term economic calculations could not be ignored. Not only was overall profitability important to people's wider livelihood goals, such as educating their children, but monetary income was needed to cover the costs of farming itself.

10.1.2 Challenges of social organisation

Chapter 6 argues that collaboration and collective action are assumed as essential elements of the *virtuous circle* model. In Peru, government and development agencies also stress the need for small farmers to associate to achieve economies of scale and any kind of bargaining power (Descro, 2014; Zegarra, 2015). This normative weight given to collective organisation can obscure its inherent difficulties and overlook the contingent

features of situations where it works well. Building on the experiences discussed in Chapters 8 and 9, the following points reflect on the challenges Andean rural communities face with associative organisation to manage and market agro-food heritage.

Challenges of organisational structure.

Since the 2000s, the standard organisational form promoted by Peruvian rural development projects has been the local community association. This has the advantage of being a recognised legal entity that is relatively straightforward to establish. However, while local associations are constituted like not-for-profit clubs, they have been expected to operate like businesses. Following development initiatives in Cabanaconde and Tuti, local associations inherited responsibility for equipment maintenance, product collection, quality control, marketing, and administration. A particular burden fell on the association president, which was an unpaid role but was expected to shoulder a significant burden of work and travel. Rather than a ‘first among equals’, association presidents effectively had to act as business managers, without having the training or resources to do so.

Chapters 8 and 9 discuss dissatisfaction with association leaders, who some participants accused of using the association for material benefit or to gain political status. Sometimes there may have been basis to these accusations; however, some level of self-interest was understandable given the commitment and sacrifice required in these roles. A further issue was that where competent and committed leaders did appear, they had to be replaced every two years as part of the legally required renewal process. For both ASPOMAC and Agro Eco Tuti, progress made by the initial association leadership group was interrupted after two years, and the transition to a new leadership group generated problems.

Challenges of culture

Chapters 3 to 6 argue that Andean rural communities have long been portrayed as ‘naturally’ collective and therefore amenable to associative organisation. These assumptions of natural collectivity appeal to both development agencies (as a source of social capital) and postdevelopment advocates (who see indigenous solidarity as resisting capitalist individualism). Andean communities do maintain traditional collective institutions, especially to manage resources such as water and shared infrastructure (de la Cadena, 1988; Gelles, 2000; Mayer, 2002). However, these social arrangements do not necessarily resemble the business-like associations promoted by development agencies,

involving pooled resources, shared risk, and principal-agent relationships. Within communities, a culture of mistrust is often prevalent, and people are reluctant to contribute to pooled resources for fear of corruption and mismanagement (sometimes well-founded based on past experiences).

This was shown by the difficulties implementing requirements for project co-payments to be made in cash rather than labour, a policy pioneered by Sierra Sur and carried on by government programmes. Chapter 8 describes how in Cabanaconde ASPOMAC could not collect a co-payment for the Agro Emprande project, while in several projects in Tuti this requirement was bypassed through creative manipulation by the project consultants or ended up being covered by local government.

This does not mean that people were unable or unwilling to invest money. In Tuti, 32 members of the ASPROGATU livestock association made co-payments to obtain support from the Agro Ideas programme to build stables for their animals. In Cabanaconde, members of an association formed to obtain fruit trees from a provincial government project also contributed the required co-payments. In these cases, participants obtained a tangible asset in exchange for their money. As with other successful collective initiatives such as compost production in Tuti, individual contributions and benefits were transparent and predictable.

People were less amenable to investing in initiatives with uncertain outcomes and unclear accountabilities. This was reflected in a debate about finalising collective quinoa sales at an Agro Eco Tuti meeting in December 2015. The association leadership group argued for charging an overhead of S/. 0.20 on the S/. 5.20 sale price to cover the costs incurred over the previous year and fund ongoing activities. The membership eventually voted to allow a S/. 0.10 discount (\$0.03 USD), while debating both the amount and the distribution. Self-identified *mayoristas* (larger producers) argued that a flat-rate discount was unfair as it meant they contributed more (Field notes, 16 December 2015). While this may contradict assumptions of *campesino* solidarity (see Barkin, 2016; Grey, 2011; Huambanchano, 2015), reluctance to make open-ended contributions was understandable given general mistrust and most people's limited earnings. Further, as previous chapters note, flexible livelihood priorities meant people moved in and out of associations and so, understandably, they looked for short-term returns rather than committing to a longer-term investment.

Challenges of scale

In the Peruvian Andes, initiatives related to local agro-food heritage have mostly been undertaken at the district level, with populations ranging from around 1,000 to 3,000. As noted in previous chapters, this is much smaller than what some analysts consider a viable ‘territory’ but is nevertheless a highly relevant scale for personal, collective and agro-food identities. Within these localities, there are usually limited skills available in areas such as administration and marketing, making the required rotation of association leaders even more problematic. Having relatively few members also makes it hard to distribute costs for things like organic certification or professional services, even without other impediments such as mistrust.

The experiences in the case study localities show that all these problems can be overcome with intensive support from one or more development agencies, which provide expertise, financial resources, and organisational drive. It also helps if there is a motivating ‘pull’ from an external market such as the boom in world quinoa prices offered Tuti during 2014 and 2015. However, these challenges do make it difficult for initiatives to become administratively and financially self-sustaining outside the project context.

10.1.3 Challenges of markets

A third fundamental requirement of the virtuous circle is that markets value the special qualities of local products and thereby help sustain them. Challenges with markets have been foregrounded by the agro-food research more than those with production and social organisation. Again, however, these discussions do not necessarily capture the specific issues for Andean peasant farmers.

To understand these, it is worth revisiting the perceived problems with the status quo involving individualised sale to intermediaries. Local farmers and development agencies alike felt this system failed to reward the ecological and origin-based qualities of local products. They also argued that intermediaries took advantage of local producers, both through the inherent power imbalance created by farmers needing to sell their crops to make ends meet, and through specific underhand practices such as using skewed scales and exploitative lending. As Chapter 3 notes, historically in the Andes exchange relationships between small farmers and intermediaries have reflected sociocultural inequalities between urban mestizos and indigenous *campesinos*. Participants and development agencies thus saw bypassing intermediaries and connecting directly to

higher-value niches as the key to achieving ‘added value’ and ‘fair markets’ (Desco, 1996).

However, while underhand practices undoubtedly existed, the case studies did not support a view of intermediaries as profiteering at the expense of local farmers. In Cabanaconde, the main *acopiadores* of maize lived locally and at least one was of local origin. Chapter 9 shows that there was a relatively small margin between the farm gate price for *maíz cabanita* and the final retail price in traditional markets, with this margin covering not only intermediaries’ earnings but also those of the transport provider, wholesaler and final retailer. These incremental margins contrasted with the geometric price differences between traditional markets, supermarkets and specialist organic stores (see Table 9.1). Participants complained that intermediaries and wholesalers improved their margins by mixing Cabanaconde maize with cheaper grains, but this is unlikely to have given them more than small additional gains.

This more nuanced view of local intermediaries is supported by Ofstehage (2012), who notes that in southern Bolivia, intermediaries provide a vital link to urban markets for quinoa producers, and their willingness to pay cash for even lower-grade product offers an outlet for those unable or unwilling to meet quality standards for fair trade organic exports. The point is that, despite some similarities, exchange relationships for Andean peasant farmers are not the same as for coffee producers locked into oligopolistic international commodity markets. In general, low prices for farmers correspond to cheap products for urban consumers. Destabilising the view of local intermediaries as having *uniquely* exploitative relationships with farmers gives context to the following challenges with the alternatives pursued as part of identity-based development projects.

Dilution of identity in distant markets

For farmers used to low prices from local intermediaries, getting their products into the premium national and international markets that some participants referred to as *la vitrina del mundo* (‘the world’s shop window’) was an inspiring prospect. However, the special qualities related to place or ‘beyond organic’ practices are rarely recognised in these markets, where added value is generated in rather generic ways such as through organic certification or the presentation of certain products as ‘superfoods’.

A well-rehearsed point in the literature is that organic certification has come to value documentation, traceability, and freedom from contamination far more than the overall

productive philosophy (Gomez Tovar et al, 2005; Mutersbaugh, 2005, Gonzalez & Nigh, 2005). Thus, while small peasant producers have seen some initial gains through early entry to organic markets, as these markets develop, they tend to reward economies of scale and control of processing and marketing (Bidwell et al., 2018a, 2018b; Raynolds, 2008; IFAD, 2003). Likewise, the ‘boom’ of quinoa as an internationally-valued superfood also saw short-lived gains for Andean farmers, but increased production by larger, more efficient producers has driven down prices.

This gives perspective on Cabanaconde’s failure to achieve bulk sales to national or international markets. Given that the distinctive qualities of *maíz cabanita* were not recognised in these markets, it is unclear whether reaching them would have offered producers any significant gains. By way of comparison, the free-on-board price for GI-registered Cuzco giant maize exported in 2011 was \$1.54 USD (Alianza de Aprendizaje Perú, 2011). This is barely more than the farm gate prices paid for *maíz cabanita* in Cabanaconde (and where Cuzco giant maize and *maíz cabanita* sat alongside one another in Arequipa markets, the *cabanita* maize had a clear price advantage). This bears out Yeung & Kerr’s (2011) argument that, without an existing product profile, geographical indications are unlikely to help Southern producers gain competitive advantage in international trade.

Low volumes in niche markets

Conversely, in the short-supply chains where the special qualities of local products *are* recognised, often only very small volumes are demanded. Chapter 8 documents how low demand undermined efforts to sell packaged, certified *maíz cabanita* in Arequipa supermarkets. It is possible that more persistence on the part of ASPOMAC could have increased supermarket sales, but even optimistic views saw a target of around 500 kilos per month after several years, which still wouldn’t have had much impact at a community level.²⁴

Chapter 8 also notes that Agro Eco Tuti sold some quinoa to tourist restaurants in Chivay, and several Chivay restaurant proprietors or entrepreneurs reported working with local producers but described needing at most around 60 kilos per month of quinoa or potatoes. Thus, they tended to work with just one local farmer for each product. Regional fairs and festivals provided another relational market space where local product identities could be

²⁴ A total of 6 tonnes per annum represents about 4 hectares of production, i.e. it could be delivered by three to four families.

recognised and valued. However, these also happened intermittently and usually involved only a few people from each locality.

The difficulty and perversity of ‘adding value’

In theory, a way through this dilemma is for *campesino* producers to enter wider markets with value-added products by taking on some processing and marketing functions. Such ‘finished products’ can more easily be bearers of local identity through marks and certifications. In Tuti, some participants argued for the need to ‘industrialise’ quinoa and other products in order to reach external markets while retaining more value locally. A challenge to this approach is the significant levels of cost and commitment, including investment in machinery and processes, higher costs for certifying processing as well as farming systems, and the need to find a guaranteed market. As participants acknowledged, the necessary investment is usually too much for local producers without significant outside support.

These challenges can be met through ‘vertical’ partnerships between local producers and other value chain actors, often facilitated by government or development agencies. One example is a project led by the Swiss Development Corporation and the International Potato Center to link native potato producers in the central Andes with national processors and retailers to develop new product lines including selected, packaged potatoes, potato chips and instant mashed potatoes. Potato producers involved in this initiative reportedly achieved higher productivity and price premiums of 20-26% (Ordinola et al, 2018; Devaux et al., 2011; 2018). Another initiative, whose surplus stock I saw showcased in an organic store in Lima, involved a partnership between a Dutch development agency and a small community in Huancavelica to make purple native potatoes into packaged chips and export them to Europe (Field notes, 5 July 2016).

These results appear positive, although the reported price premiums are quite low. However, questions remain about sustainability following the project’s end and issues such as local inclusiveness. Another concern is that the discourse of ‘added value’ overlooks the risk that processing and packing may actually *reduce* the product’s use value. A distinction needs to be made with non-staple products already linked to export markets such as coffee and cacao, where more sophisticated processing since the 1980s has allowed increased emphasis on quality and provenance. By contrast, traditional Andean food products usually offer their best nutrition and taste when fresh and

consumed with minimal processing. There is certain perversity in requiring them to become ‘finished products’ to have their quality and identity valued. From a food sovereignty perspective, the conversion of native purple potatoes into chips raises questions both about what happens to the taste and nutritional qualities of the potato, and who benefits from these qualities.

10.1.4 Tensions in ‘success’ and creative ways forward

Thus, there are multiple, interacting challenges for generating a virtuous circle of products with identity in the Andes. The ability and motivation of farmers to maintain the special qualities of local products is far from assured; local collective action to protect and promote local agro-food heritage is fragile even with outside support; and for the most part, existing markets do a poor job of valuing the rich connections between people, place and products in the Andes.

While meeting these challenges is possible, this will often involve trade-offs between impact, equity and identity. This can be seen by comparing the ‘successful’ experience of cheese production in Tuti with the disappointing outcomes for *maíz cabanita*. In Tuti cheese production was underpinned by long-term support for pasture improvement, animal breeding, processing and transport infrastructure, in what was essentially a territorial project of productive modernisation. In Cabanaconde, the special qualities of *maíz cabanita* were rooted in traditional cultivation, which faced challenges from both climatic and social changes.

In Tuti, different actors shared the functions, ownership and risk of cheese production. Livestock farmers focused on producing milk, while the concessionaires took charge of transformation and marketing and the municipality owned the physical infrastructure. Shared interests and collective responsibility helped these actors respond to the intermittent problems in each area. Multiple markets (local and regional, informal and formal) offered gradual increases in volume and quality expectations, and the different actors worked to balance milk volumes, daily cheese production, and weekly sales.

In Cabanaconde, a fragile producers association was responsible for making the qualitative leap from supplying traditional markets to selling a certified organic, trademarked, packaged, bar-coded product in supermarkets, which could be undermined by the loss of just one of these components. A drip-feed of packaged maize sales was not

much use to people who had one harvest per year and needed to sell in quantity to meet costs.

Thus, in some senses, the products with identity model fit better with *cheese as a product*. Tuti's achievements were helped by local factors including continuity across municipal administrations and the specific cheese-making skills brought by the Paucar family, while the problems in Cabanaconde were also undoubtedly linked to its 'cultural' difficulties with collective action. However, I would argue it is not complete coincidence that the most successful initiative across these localities was the least obviously *Andean*, a point which calls into question Bramley & Kirsten's confidence that "the stronger the connection between the product and the region, as facilitated through its link with the indigenous people, the stronger the competitive advantage" (2007, p.67).

Other 'successful' local resolutions of these challenges have generally involved sacrificing at least one of impact, equity or identity. One example was an association created by the Caylloma provincial government to bring together what one participant described as the 'top' quinoa producers across middle Colca Valley districts. In 2016, a wholesale buyer reportedly agreed to help association members obtain organic certification and commit to buying their quinoa, subject to testing. Quinoa that passed the testing regime would receive S/. 7, while detection of any agro-chemical residue would result in a price of S/. 3 being paid. Such 'contract organics' arrangements, which González & Nigh argue "mock the original philosophy and purpose of the organic movement" (2005, p.454) can overcome the challenges of organising and paying for certification and finding a market. However, this is a less equitable system than the local associations, which at least tried to involve the smallest, poorest producers. Nor does it attempt to value local identity.

Challenges were also overcome by the small-scale local entrepreneurs who individually accessed urban markets. One example was a family from the district of Achoma who produced their own organic honey and other products while also buying and distributing products from other parts of the Colca Valley, including *maíz cabanita* from Cabanaconde. This family attended *bioferias* in both Arequipa and Lima and distributed products through several organic shops in Lima. They overcame the issue of low demand in identity-valuing niches by marketing multiple products through multiple channels. By accepting individual risk and reward, they could dedicate the time and resources to

marketing that community associations could not. However, while these relational networks preserved product identities, they did not have much impact for anyone apart from the entrepreneurs themselves.

In theory, impact, equity and identity might be balanced by combining imperfect options. Ofstehage (2012) discusses the ability of quinoa producers in San Agustin, Bolivia, to choose between export of fair trade organic quinoa through a national-level cooperative; a local mark highlighting the ‘beyond organic’ qualities of local quinoa distributed through speciality stores; and sale of lower-grade, uncertified quinoa to local intermediaries. Imperfect options can also evolve. On the one hand, export-oriented associations might become more independent and inclusive, for example, by reorienting to regional markets, diversifying products and moving to a participatory guarantee system (PGS) for organic certification. One example is the Verde Thani association of farmers from rural areas around Arequipa city, who diversified from exporting aromatic herbs to a single buyer in Switzerland, to producing organic vegetables for regional supermarkets (Sotta, 2013).

On the other hand, locally oriented initiatives might multiply and expand, drawing in more people. Successful regional fairs and festivals could become (semi)-permanent, either in dedicated spaces or within traditional markets, where instead of needing certification, identity can be signalled by means such as using traditional dress – a tactic highlighted in this thesis and one which has long been practised by women from the Colca Valley (Flemenias, 2005). Small-scale entrepreneurs could develop producer-linked shops, market spaces or restaurants. Such gradual extension and expansion of relational networks may offer the most potential for balancing impact, equity and identity. Nevertheless, as Tregear (2011) warns with regard to local agro-food networks in the North, neither spatial scale nor type of market *necessarily* imply better social and ecological outcomes, so these would remain open questions.

Creative ways forward for ‘products with identity’ in the Andes should not only acknowledge the differences with Northern local agro-food networks and tropical commodity-exporting cooperatives but also take seriously the lessons from the latter two contexts. I argue that two key lessons are the importance of local processing and consumption cultures and the role of ‘top-down’ coordination led by the State.

Discussions of origin-based products (especially in English) have focused on formal certification systems such as GIs. However, as the LAFS literature argues, GIs only place

a final seal on deep-rooted traditions, values and know-how that connect primary production with local processing and consumption cultures (Murdoch et al., 2006; Fonte, 2008; Trubek, 2008; Sanz Cañada & Muchnik, 2016; Vandecastelaere, 2010). The few products that reach wider markets tend to combine physical transportability with well-established quality conventions inviting interrogation of origin: primarily wine, cheese, olive oil and processed meats (McDonald, 2013; Acampora & Fonte, 2007; Fonte, 2009; Rangnekar, 2004). Interestingly, place-based identities for other transportable semi-luxuries such as coffee and chocolate seem to be reproduced with relative ease in the Global South (Bidwell et al., 2018b). This has led some to assume that origin-based certification for distant markets can work for any product.

However, European experiences suggest that, first, local consumption is fundamental to any deep and sustainable appreciation of local agro-food identities; and second, this is a contested, political process. In France, the association of *terroir* with taste has varied between positive and pejorative connotations, with only gradual cultural change from disparagement of ‘peasant food’ to appreciation of local authenticity, while political action by farmers was central to the inclusion of place-based criteria in French *appellations d’origine* (Nowak, 2018; Trubek, 2008). In the wake of the Peruvian ‘gastronomic boom’ there remains considerable space to move from an elite-mediated ‘discovery’ of Andean and Amazonian ingredients to presenting products on their own terms, as valued and consumed in the village, the home and the *chacra*.

The case studies show this is already happening in small ways, with gastronomic tourism in Tuti and the reinvention of maize-based baking in Cabanaconde being two striking examples, while the fairs, festivals and networks developed by small-scale entrepreneurs are other spaces in which *campesinos* take the lead in presenting products to urban consumers. Farmers sharing produce with urban family members is another, non-market way in which Andean consumption cultures are permeating wider society. However, more could be done to value local products closest to home. The minimal presence of maize-based products in tourist and other public consumption spaces in Cabanaconde, at the same time as producers hoped to reach export markets, is a reminder that new appreciation of local agro-food heritage still wrestles with an underlying sense of cultural inferiority.

A second lesson is the historical importance of top-down, State-led processes in supporting collective action and territorial identities. In Europe, national governments historically had key roles in defining territories, setting quality standards and creating decentralised governance bodies for denominations of origin, while more recently the Leader Programme, CAP Pillar II and geographical indications framework have extended across the European Union. As Bowen (2010) notes, these frameworks have generally been accompanied by both economic resources and political legitimacy. In the South, fair trade and organic export networks have built on a platform of State-led land reform, cooperative formation, and marketing infrastructure. Historical background to recent studies reveals that one or more of these state-led processes has been important in (at least) Mexico, Peru, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica (Bacon, 2013; Fridell, 2007; Giovannucci et al., 2009; Leitchford, 2008).

Acknowledging this point helps understand the organisational challenges faced by local associations discussed in Section 10.1.2. While coffee farmers may have experienced 30 years or more of working collectively and producing for international markets *before* getting involved in fair trade & organic initiatives, community associations in the case study localities were expected to act as producer cooperatives following brief NGO-led interventions, without having the organisational structure, resources, or permanent support networks to do so. In theory, local associations such as those in the Colca Valley could overcome issues of scale by joining together to form a second-tier cooperative, However, given their own fragility, it is unrealistic to expect local associations to achieve this by themselves, and it would therefore require some degree of ‘top-down’ leadership and resources, which could most plausibly come from the State.

This may appear counter-intuitive, given that the cooperative structures established by the Peruvian agrarian reform are associated with modernising homogenisation (Mayer, 2009; see also Healy, 2001 with regard to Bolivia). However, such structures can and have been repurposed to allow economies of scale to be combined with recognition of diversity. An example is the COCLA coffee cooperative in Cuzco, which was established in the 1960s agrarian reform but evolved into a platform for local growers to connect to fair trade and organic networks. COCLA’s ability to separately identify coffee beans from different local associations underpinned the denomination of origin obtained for Machu Picchu

coffee, which is produced by a small association of around 100 growers in the Santa Teresa area, covering less than 200 hectares.²⁵

Ideally, a permanent, territory-wide body with sufficient resources could help community associations maintain basic organisational capabilities and (where desired) facilitate their connection to wider networks. Something like this role was played for a time by the NGO Desco through a series of projects but its efforts became ever more limited and targeted because of diminishing resources. As indicated in earlier chapters, there has been tentative progress to develop a regional organic production council (COREPO) in Arequipa but its future evolution is uncertain, while the associated Euro Eco Trade initiative focuses on promoting export of a few, regionally defined, certified-organic products.

State leadership could also help develop information frameworks to protect and promote agro-food identities. Past decades have seen Andean products such as quinoa and maca experience processes of commodification and homogenisation, which the fragmented, commercially focused and under-resourced geographical indications registration process has been inadequate to address. Meanwhile, the construction and popularisation of the *papa nativa* identity arguably represents a counter process of differentiation and decommodification, which shows an interesting dynamic between national and regional, scientific and cultural perspectives (CIP & FEDECH, 2006; Ministerio de Agricultura y Riego et al., 2017).

Argumedo (2013) reflects on the problems with both GIs and collective trademarks and argues that new, innovative certifications are needed to protect and valorise the biocultural heritage maintained by Andean communities. While agreeing on the need for innovative approaches to defending and promoting identities, I have argued that the productive and social systems underpinning these identities are also fragile. Therefore, as those involved with the Potato Park have argued elsewhere (IIED, 2005), intellectual property tools by themselves will be insufficient to sustain agro-food heritage.

Nevertheless, the progress made and lessons learned with *papa nativa* could help inform reworked geographical indications frameworks for other products. Such frameworks could combine scientific, cultural, historical and culinary perspectives. They might have

²⁵ I base this point on a discussion with Cesar López, agronomy professor at the La Molina National Agrarian University.

uses in some (primarily export) markets but would not restrict use in most local markets. Their primary purpose would be to recognise, conserve and educate, thereby dovetailing with efforts to democratise gastronomic cultures.

10.2 From products with identity to diverse territorial economies

The overall message of this chapter's first half is a sceptical one. It identifies fundamental challenges to the idea that mobilising the special qualities of local agro-food products through markets can simultaneously generate equitable development and conserve diversity. While it also suggests some possible ways forward, these rely on social and political commitments that will not necessarily be fulfilled. The chapter's second half looks at what this means for people and places in the Peruvian Andes.

One interpretation of the research findings is that inclusive, community-level initiatives based on local agro-food identities are not viable except in special circumstances. According to this view, they should therefore be abandoned, with future support being allocated at a larger territorial scale to better-prepared producers, oriented by existing market demand. This perspective is summed up by the statement that local farmers should “produce what they can sell rather than try to sell what they produce” (Fairlie et al., 2012, p.51).

It should be clear from the time spent on the unique histories and identities of the case study localities, and the comment that existing markets *do a poor job* of valuing these identities, that I do not endorse this response. Although the case studies identify challenges of scale, they also highlight the relative inclusiveness of community-level initiatives, the meaning people attach to local agro-food identities, and the ways these are valued outside markets.

An opposing interpretation is to see the initiatives discussed here as part of a process of neoliberalisation imposed on local communities. This perspective would see attempts to differentiate products and gain entry to identity-based markets as elitist processes of commodification and would reject them in favour of solidarity-based short supply chains.

I have generally agreed with framings of development programmes in the case study areas as being part of a process of ‘roll-out’ neoliberalisation promoting ‘indigenous entrepreneurship’ (Hirsch, 2017, 2018). However, I have also argued that detecting a certain ideological flavour within discourse does not imply rejecting all that flows from it. Dismissing initiatives as elitist commodification overlooks the pride people had in the

special qualities of their products and their desire for markets to recognise and reward these qualities. Participants in both case study localities were eager to present their products as *different* from other places, and a sense of exceptionalism helped motivate their collective efforts. I have agreed that, in general, local networks are likely to be more sustainably rewarding for both producers and local consumers. However, this can be consistent with distinguishing local products by building provenance into exchange value, and it does not rule out making connections to distant consumers (see Kerksen, 2015).

To find a middle way between treating markets as the arbiters of all value and seeing new market networks primarily as a threat to solidarity, I use insights drawn from J.K Gibson-Graham's work on diverse economies to develop an argument hinted at in the conclusion to Chapter 9. In sum, I argue that imperfect, selective engagements with projects to revalue agro-food heritage can provide some of the material and discursive resources to sustain *diverse territorial economies* that allow people in the Andes to both pursue their aspirations and conserve what they value about place, farming and food.

One of the aims of an ethnographic approach was to understand development initiatives through the lens of participant values and aspirations. This revealed some broad tendencies which are also well supported by the literature. On the one hand, people aspired to 'make progress' so they or their children could be part of modern Peruvian society as 'professionals' (see also Bebbington, 2000; Leinaweaver, 2008; Paerregaard, 1997). This might be argued to reflect subjectivities influenced by a long history of discrimination against Andean culture and livelihoods (Rengifo Vásquez, 2002; Barkin, 2016). However, such aspirations were genuinely held, and they reflected desires for material comfort and security, predictable income, and better health and education (see Asher & Wainwright, 2019).

On the other hand, while Chapter 7 has shown that pursuing these goals often required movement to the city, many people expressed preferences for the social and natural setting of their home village, which they saw as having clean air and water, being safer, and importantly, offering basic economic security. People emphasised the fundamental *precarity* of life in the city, where even water cost money and (paid) work was essential to survival. In the rural village, people could produce their own food, and security was offered not only by the availability of communal, free or non-commodified resources, but

also by the social embeddedness of the local economy, where local government acted as the employer of last resort.

Preferences about place were also linked to the strong affective values people held towards farming and food. These values were seen in the multiple examples of urban residents maintaining ties to their land and coming back at planting and harvest time; older people resisting encouragement from their children to move permanently to the city; and the nostalgia and desire to return that people reported despite achieving economic success elsewhere. People also expressed emotional attachment to the *chacra* as a place of work and a space of interaction with people, animals and nature; emotional and sensory attachment to local foods; and commitment to farming traditions as a source of personal identity:

Like our ancestors, we're accustomed to growing our *maíz cabanita*, which is a natural grain that we'll always maintain.

(Male Cabanaconde resident, age 51, 19 March 2016)

The affective relationships people have with place and farming, which Herrera encapsulates as caring about “beauty, taste, health and pride” (2014, p.43), are well documented elsewhere, including in Latin America (de la Cadena, 1988; Isakson, 2009; Perreault, 2005; Rengifo Vásquez, 2002) and Africa, (Ngwainbi, 2000), while also being highlighted by van der Ploeg's (2010, 2016) concept of a ‘peasant principle’ in both the North and the South. However, to avoid an essentialising view of participants as content and virtuous *campesinos*, it is important to acknowledge that people also talked about finding farm work boring, difficult or unpleasant, wanting to have a regular income, and the dream of being able to retire with a pension.

The question of how people might aspire to material progress while preserving what they value about place, farming and food leads to the idea of *diverse territorial economies*. This draws from the concept of *diverse economies* developed by J.K. Gibson-Graham and collaborators (Gibson-Graham, 2006, 2008, 2014; Gibson-Graham & Roelvnik, 2011). The fundamental insight of these authors is epistemological. They criticise the ‘capitalocentric’ perspectives of much research, which, by depicting capitalism as ‘totalising’, obscures the diverse kinds of production, exchange and financing relationships that are woven together in different places.

For these authors, a primary objective is to notice and encourage diversity within nominally capitalist economies. One implication of this is to resist seeing change processes involving expansion of markets, money and private entrepreneurship as representing a ‘slippery slope’ that inevitably corrupts and destroys other practices. Such a view not only gives capitalism a totalising inevitability, it also tends to idealise the past and oversimplify change processes as erosion and loss. A diverse economies perspective “resist[s] the gravitational pull toward strong theories of...unidirectional change” (Gibson-Graham, 2014, p.S148) and can therefore acknowledge the possibility of pragmatically combining different economic practices while maintaining (or strengthening) ‘ethical interdependence’.

The concept of diverse *territorial* economies emphasises the influence of place – understood as a socio-cultural construction “at the interface of history and geography” (Bebbington 2000, p.496) – in maintaining local diversity. To a certain extent, rural communities in the Peruvian Andes maintain shared differences from national society. They are generally agro-centric, with a significant proportion of the population having some involvement in farming. Whether or not they are formalised as peasant communities, they usually retain some role for collective resource management, reciprocity and other non-market forms of exchange and distribution alongside cash markets for land, labour and products. Social commitments to guarantee employment and subsistence extend to local government.

However, degrees and forms of diversity differ across places, reflecting local idiosyncrasies and negotiations of continuity and change (see Shepherd, 2010). The case study localities provide good examples of this variability within diversity. In Tuti, formal collective action was more prominent, and the shared commitments of population and local government underpinned action to restrict markets considered harmful, such as alcohol and agro-chemicals. However, Cabanaconde had retained stronger ‘commoning’ practices than Tuti. Its status as a Peasant Community allowed it to control and distribute resources on a non-market basis, while commons-style pasturing, reciprocity-based exchanges and embedding of farming in ceremonial traditions persisted more than in Tuti.

The concept of diverse territorial economies unsettles the normative assumptions embedded in the TDI discourse. Rather than assuming a standard pathway to development through ‘productive transformation’ and ‘institutional change’ (Schetjman

& Berdegué, 2004) which experts can define and guide based on Northern models, it proposes seeing ‘progress’ through an explicitly postdevelopment lens, in terms of (evolving and negotiated) local values and priorities. For example, rather than a ‘proactive’ response to market globalisation based on quality and innovation (Fonte, 2009), local populations might combine low-cost, ‘folklorised’ exploitation of their cultural capital with ‘defensive’ protection of other aspects of local livelihoods.

At the same time, recognising the role of place in maintaining diversity avoids an essentialising vision of ‘local communities’ as offering alternatives to development based on a pan-Andean ethic of solidarity, self-sufficiency and sustainability. The diverse territorial economies frame is both descriptively and normatively more flexible, allowing for the many different ways that communities have evolved historically, and acknowledging that local aspirations will not necessarily conform to such an ‘Andean’ ethic (see Shepherd 2010; Asensio & Caverro Castillo, 2013).

These reflections lead to a key question: how do development initiatives related to local agro-food heritage help maintain diverse territorial economies? I suggest they do so in three ways, which I call *rapprochement*, *instrumental value*, and *discursive resources*. The idea of *rapprochement* refers to bridging the gap between different value frameworks for farming and other activities. Some studies have suggested that personal and cultural commitments can enable traditional, agrobiodiverse farming to survive in parallel with increasing market integration. For example, Isakson’s (2009) study of traditional production of *milpa* (inter-sown maize, beans and squash) in highland Guatemala concludes that although *milpa* isn’t profitable, people continue to cultivate it both for livelihood security and for reasons related to identity, affection, autonomy and tradition. They may even cross-subsidise their engagement in *milpa* from petty commodity production, remittances and cash cropping. Similar accounts are given by, among others, Perreault (2005) in lowland Ecuador, and Mayer (2002, p.205-239) in the central Peruvian Andes.

While the participant perspectives explored in this thesis do support these findings, they also suggest that most people required some level of profitable return from farming, even if only to cover their costs. Their willingness (and ability) to cross-subsidise traditional cultivation was not unlimited, and this was leading to the erosion of some traditional practices and products. Therefore, I suggest that one effect of initiatives to revalue

traditional products could be to ease this tension between economically profitable and locally meaningful farming activities.

This is consistent with the doubts cast on the *virtuous circle of products with identity* in the first half of this chapter. It does not mean that identity-based markets need perfectly reward the conservation of local diversity, or that all the value associated with local agro-food heritage can or should be marketised. Rather, the fact that *some aspects* of local agro-food identities are valued by markets *to some extent* may reduce the need for cross-subsidisation and ease the difficulty of making different values and aspirations compatible. There may even be positive synergies, such as in Tuti where market-oriented cattle farming and cheese production benefited from the image of an ‘ecological district’ deriving from (commercially marginal) crop farming.

The concept of *instrumental value* builds on the arguments in Chapter 9 that Tuti drew selectively from cycles of development assistance to build individual and collective capital. This implies taking an alternative perspective on what development projects *do*. A traditional expectation is for projects to achieve specific aims, such as reducing poverty. By contrast, some critics have argued that their real purpose is to indoctrinate local populations, extending and embedding the presence of the State and/or market (eg, Andolina, 2012; Ferguson, 1990; Saad, 2009; Walker et al., 2008). An alternative perspective is to see development projects as temporary encounters, in which people join associations, sit around in meeting rooms and get lectured, and in return possibly get some useful learning or resources (Bebbington, 2000; Shepherd, 2010). Rather than seeing people as either improved or indoctrinated, this perspective sees development interventions as *transactions*, emphasising the way local populations take and combine what is useful from different projects.

For example, Tuti engaged with separate initiatives to connect to export value chains, and to recreate agrobiodiversity, each of which reflected different global and national development agendas. By engaging in transactional ways with different projects, people in Tuti advanced their own ideas about markets and diversity, which did not fit exactly with any of these agendas but rather centred on sustainably improving productivity, earning more regular income, and having a variety of nutritious food for their families.

A third way identity-based initiatives can support diverse territorial economies is by offering not only material but also *discursive resources*. By this I mean that they provide

vocabularies to legitimise and defend viewpoints that might otherwise remain marginalised. This does not imply that discourses of TDI and LAFH are thoroughly empowering. As previous chapters have explored, they can be criticised for reproducing hierarchies of knowledge/power and ignoring or marginalising local expertise and values that fall outside their agendas. Again, however, the point is to look at the scope for local actors to adopt, adapt and/or discard aspects of these discourses.

In Tuti, Narcisa Cusi's comment that *we didn't know how to say 'ecological'* offers an example of how agroecological discourses enabled people to argue for development interventions that would incorporate local priorities and practices. In Cabanaconde, identity-based initiatives also offered discursive resources to defend traditional practices and emotional connections to maize cultivation, in a context where these bore strong internalised associations with backwardness. Chapter 9 has shown that values of "beauty, taste, health and pride" wrestled in an uneven contest with imperatives of efficiency and productivity. In this context, globally connected discourses of environmental sustainability, traditional ecological knowledge and local food heritage offered language to defend these values. This is not to suggest that local populations do not have their own ways of defending their values and practices, but to see the concepts and language of TDI and LAFH as useful resources in a national context where the authoritarian tones of the 'dog in the manger' discourse threaten any attempt to resist agendas of capital-intensive extractive development.

Something I only noticed following data analysis were that such defences were made especially (though not exclusively) by women, while women formed a majority of members in local associations in both Cabanaconde and Tuti, as well as in farmers associations around Arequipa city (Sotta, 2013). Without recurring to an essentialist view of women as more environmentally connected or nurturing, the strong construction of roles and identities along gender lines in Peruvian society makes it plausible that women were more likely to identify with and articulate certain values (de la Cadena, 1995). Arguably, therefore, initiatives to develop local agro-food heritage not only included women but also enabled stronger representation of perspectives identified as 'feminine'.

10.3 Concluding the discussion

Following a detailed critique of the 'products with identity' model in the chapter's first half, the second half has offered a more positive reading of how initiatives to revalue

local agro-food heritage can make partial connections with local values and priorities and help build meaningful livelihoods. A reader can legitimately ask what this means more broadly, whether in terms of sustainable development, achieving collective wellbeing, or building ethical interdependence between humans and non-humans. In this concluding section, I explore the issues that answers to this query need to consider.

A general caveat is that diverse territorial economies in the Andes are likely to be limited in both in scale and transformative potential. Retaining diverse spaces in the Andes is helped by lack of much capitalist interest in its difficult and relatively unproductive agricultural lands (except in limited ‘putting out’ arrangements such as contract organics). Here, the direct competitor of peasant farming is not capitalist farming but extractive industries such as mining. In some cases, these activities co-exist and even have some complementarities – such as the role nearby mines play as markets and sources of employment in Tuti. In other cases, these activities can come into conflict. This thesis has argued that discourses of place, environment and culture can be deployed to contest extractivism. However, this does not mean that these efforts succeed, as the highly variable outcomes of resource conflicts in the Andes show (Vindal Ødegaard & Rivera Andía, 2019).

Therefore, while reproducing Gibson-Graham’s arguments for making diversity more visible, I am sceptical as to whether this can support the gradual extension of postcapitalist alternatives. A plausible alternative possibility is that diverse territorial economies can co-exist within capitalism, with “not quite neoliberal spaces” (Anthias & Radcliffe, 2015), surviving as an “integral part of a complex hegemonic order” (Sanyal, 2014, cited in Asher and Wainwright, 2019, p.40).

In addition, the in-principle possibility of rapprochement between different values still leaves the question of how exactly how to balance these. In relation to local agro-food heritage, questions include how much to prioritise specialisation, productivity and market acceptability, and how much to defend diversity, resilience and local definitions of quality. This thesis has argued that these questions produce tensions not only between communities and development actors but also within communities and even between the preferences and aspirations of individuals.

A perennial dilemma is the issue of local differentiation. Asensio & Cavero Castillo (2013) highlight the tension between innovation and equity even in such celebrated

‘bottom-up’ initiatives as Cuzco’s Potato Park, while this thesis has shown that those best able to engage with identity-based markets were families with existing resources and easy rural-urban mobility. In my view, this is an issue that should neither be overlooked nor exaggerated. The success of a few *campesino* entrepreneurs should not be equated with community-wide development. However, nor does modest local accumulation necessarily imply a cascade of new inequalities. This not only treats market capitalism as ‘totalising’ but also overlooks existing socioeconomic differentiation in most places. ‘Indigenous entrepreneurship’ may still be celebrated, given that accumulation based on and embedded in Andean livelihoods represents, at least, a symbolic challenge to longstanding spatial and cultural inequalities.

Relevant questions include the kinds of relationships entrepreneurs maintain with other community members and the consequences their accumulation has for others. Kerksen (2015) explores how renewed interest in quinoa cultivation in southern Bolivia has created local tensions between ‘peasant’ and ‘entrepreneurial’ farming practices. In her case study, different philosophies broadly mapped to long-term residents and return migrants. However, this thesis has shown how different value systems can compete even at an individual ethical level – such as where desire to support a neighbour conflicts with commitments to meet product quality standards, or when farmers must decide whether to prioritise product volume or taste and nutrition.

The ways local populations resolve these questions will differ across places, and they will not necessarily be perfectly wise – nor is it necessarily clear what would count as wise decisions. Ofstehage (2012) shows that competing visions of quality, identity and solidarity can co-exist in creative tension, while other authors have explored how decisions about uses of space may close off other options (Kerssen, 2015; Turner, 2016). Outside observers such as researchers with particular understandings of, and commitments towards, impact, equity and diversity may contribute to these debates. Rather than having privileged knowledge of correct actions, researchers might contribute as part of a dialogue (perhaps better expressed as a multilogue) with diverse local perspectives. Deciding how to contribute to these debates should be as much a matter of ethics, as of expertise.

Chapter 11 Conclusions

In this concluding chapter I make some final reflections on the journey taken in the thesis. I summarise its contribution to debates in development and agro-food geographies. I explore some limitations which also point to opportunities for further research. Finally, I reflect on researching and writing the thesis, including how such academic work connects with the everyday efforts of people to build places and livelihoods.

11.1 Thesis contributions, limitations, and suggestions for further research

As its overall question, the thesis asks what the connections being made between place, food and development mean for people and places in the rural Peruvian Andes. The answer it offers is complex and nuanced. Through a genealogical approach, the thesis has explored how discourses of territorial development with identity and local agro-food heritage have evolved and the influence they have exerted in Andean Latin America. It acknowledges that these discourses are entangled with neoliberal agendas to commodify nature and culture and produce market-ready subjects. However, the new visibilities and values of place, farming and food they generate can validate aspects of local knowledge and unsettle longstanding geographies of discrimination. By creating shared ground for alternative social movements and ‘ecological’ or ‘postmodern’ forms of capitalism, they can also be mobilised to contest narrowly economic or extractivist development agendas.

The thesis has found the material impacts of development initiatives to revalue local agro-food heritage to be largely positive, though often small scale, short-lived, or differing from the outcomes envisaged in project plans. While superficial or short-term commitments by development agencies can limit the impact of initiatives, this can also allow local populations to adopt and adapt the aspects of the initiatives that are useful to them, while ignoring or rejecting those that are not. Overall, the thesis has presented initiatives to revalue agro-food heritage as involving constructive (though imperfect) interactions between extralocal agendas and local priorities, while noting that these interactions face larger threats such as climate change and the expansion of extractivist capitalism.

From its vantage point anchored in place and livelihoods, the thesis engages with wider debates in development and agro-food geographies. Since the 1990s, researchers and

advocates have debated not only the process, but also meaning and desirability of rural development in Latin America. The thesis contributes to these debates by examining territorial development with identity's argument that local diversity might be seen as neither an impediment nor an alternative to development but rather its *basis*. Through the *virtuous circle of products with identity* model, the thesis unpacks TDI's broad promises about synergies between economic, social, cultural and environmental objectives, making these into concrete claims that can be critically assessed.

Drawing on lessons from local case studies, the thesis identifies multiple practical obstacles to generating such a 'virtuous circle' in the Andes, as well as highlighting tensions between objectives of market success, social equity and biocultural sustainability. It thus tempers the optimism of the TDI/LAFH discourses, critiquing both their Eurocentric assumptions and their idealised representations of people and places, while also recognising how their partial connections with local priorities and practices have produced a number of positive or promising results.

In proposing the concept of *diverse territorial economies*, the thesis combines TDI's ideas about place as a source of value and an anchor for meaning, with Gibson-Graham's arguments for imagining and enacting possibilities not necessarily defined by market capitalism. The diverse economies frame offers a way to imagine futures for Andean places that do not necessarily conform to a market-oriented vision of development, nor offer transformational 'alternatives to' development. Conversely, discussions of diverse economies can be enriched by recognising how territories can possess what Lewis et al. (2013) call *resourcefulness*. Richer concepts of territory, both Mediterranean-influenced (place as a socially constructed repository of knowhow and value) and Andean (place as situated relationality between humans and non-humans) can help explain *why* locally diverse practices might continue to survive and thrive. The thesis has only begun to draw the connections between these theoretical traditions, leaving significant potential for further elaboration in future work.

The thesis also offers an innovative approach to exploring agro-food networks in the Global South. Rather than studying places as examples of how specific (Northern-defined) networks operate, it looks at multiple markets and networks from the perspective of Andean places and livelihoods. This perspective shows that values related to food provenance are relevant and meaningful in the Peruvian Andes, but the ways these values

are embedded in (changing) local social and ecological systems often do not fit well with Northern-centric frameworks such as fair trade, certified organics or geographical indications. The thesis argues that efforts to apply these or similar frameworks to the Andes must be sensitive to the differences between Andean places and the contexts where the models originate, while also taking seriously the substantive features (such as strong local consumption cultures and long-term State support) that allow them to function well in their original contexts.

The thesis contributes to debates on national projects of food heritage within and beyond Latin America, which to date have often taken either celebratory or highly critical perspectives, leaving space for subtler, ethnographically informed accounts of how the meaning of agro-food heritage “crystallizes at the local scale” (Blas-Yañez et al., 2018, p.450). It also shows how agro-food geographers can engage with food sovereignty. While offering powerful critiques of global agrarian capitalism, food sovereignty’s call for more localised, sustainable networks of food production and distribution leaves many questions about how such networks might mediate between the needs of the environment, farmers, workers and consumers in diverse settings (Bernstein, 2013; Janssen, 2015; de Masters, 2013). This is an area where grounded, critical approaches such as taken in this thesis can make a significant contribution.

This research faced a number of limitations related to time, resources and expertise, as well as the challenge of following the many threads suggested by literature, by experiences in the field, or by the data collected. Acknowledging these limitations also helps identify starting points for possible further research.

A strength but also a limitation of the thesis is its connection to place. While I have argued that the case study findings are likely to be relevant to other settings, they are also clearly embedded in the context of the Colca Valley. Further elaboration of the research could closely analyse the similarities and differences with other experiences, such as those in Bolivia and Cuzco, possibly with the aim to make stronger generalisations by ‘reading across’ these studies (Bebbington, 2000). Further case studies across a greater diversity of places in the Andes would also contribute to this objective.

The research set an ambition to connect multiple scales of analysis. Its scope, negotiated through field work, reading and writing, ultimately involved a dual focus on the evolution of discourse at global, Latin American and Peruvian levels, and the concrete details of

experiences in the case study localities. This meant relatively less emphasis on the ‘middle layer’ of analysis: the institutional translation of broad agendas into regionally clustered projects. Such analysis might best be pursued by research across a ‘network of sites’ (see Bebbington, 2000), with Shepherd’s (2010) exploration of agrobiodiversity conservation across different sites in the Peruvian Andes offering one such example.

The engagement with local livelihoods generated some interesting threads which could be pursued further. For example, I have suggested that the mobile nature of people’s livelihoods not only shapes their involvement with community associations and development projects but may also influence and constrain farming and land management practices. This hypothesis merits further detailed exploration. To date, research on mobile livelihoods and on farming practices in the Andes (and elsewhere in the Global South) has generally been undertaken in parallel, with only limited interconnections such as acknowledging loss of labour from outward migration. There is potential to explore (mobile) livelihoods and (local) farming practices as an integrated social-ecological system, an approach that would contribute to debates both on agroecology and food sovereignty, and on migration and mobilities.

The reflections in this thesis also suggest potential for further research on the different ways food products are transformed, consumed and valued across places and contexts in Peru. Recent critical engagement with gastronomic discourses in Peru (López-Canales, 2019; McDonell, 2019) has made insightful points, but by starting in Lima and with top chefs, it continues to place them at centre stage. Building on discussions of what ‘culturally appropriate food’ means in the context of food sovereignty (Sampson & Wills, 2013), there is scope for research that works outwards from the *chacra* and the household to look at how the form, meaning and value of food products are negotiated.

Further research might focus on areas which I have acknowledged as paths not travelled in the thesis, such as the gender implications of initiatives to revalue local agro-food heritage in the Peruvian Andes (see Sarapura, 2013). There is also scope to explore how revaluing agro-food heritage and maintaining diverse territorial economies relate to inter-generational family aspirations for ‘progress’, a topic which foregrounds issues related to education (see Sumida Huaman, 2015, 2016).

11.2 Final personal reflections

This thesis is the culmination of more than a decade of learning about people and places quite different from my own background. My experiences are part of a long tradition where students and researchers gain new insights into the world by engaging with geographical, social and cultural difference. The Andes has been a particular locus of this type of exchange, not only because of its interests for diverse academic disciplines, but also because of the kindness and tolerance of its people who have long been prepared to share their knowledge and experiences with outsiders.

Over the course of the research, I began to question the assumed naturalness of such exchanges and reflect uneasily on their implied commitments. At the time of writing, it is two years since I completed my last period of field work and had contact with people in the localities of Cabanaconde and Tuti. While I still intend to meet my commitments to giving something back from my research, I cannot be sure how relevant the ‘findings’ will be. Will I be able to tell anyone anything they don’t already know? Certainly, I have no practical solution to the problems of pest control or water management that most vexed local participants.

One way to reconcile with these concerns is to acknowledge doctoral research as primarily a conversation with other researchers, a small addition to the edifice of academic discourse which continues to (however indirectly) shape the context in which people live. In this sense, I worry that my reflections here end up being too nuanced and agnostic. Perhaps I could have made a stronger case for the policy changes needed to support more equitable and sustainable market-oriented development, or I could have adopted the strategic essentialism of pan-Andean discourse to better oppose the march of extractivism and neoliberal ideology. Ironically, my contributions when engaging with people and institutions in Peru were often more opinionated and less careful than those written here.

However, in representing people and places to the wider academic community, the researcher has a responsibility to the truth as they understand it. In respecting this responsibility, the thesis offers value in other ways than through policy recommendations or political advocacy. It tells the story of specific histories and experiences, which merit recognition, and whose richness might otherwise be lost. It does this from an ‘outside’ viewpoint that nevertheless endeavours to be respectful and inclusive of diverse perspectives. As Gibson-Graham (2008, 2014) argue, writing research is a ‘performative

practice', which through 'thick description' and 'weak theory' can contribute to enabling a wider range of possibilities than if local complexities are forced into the straitjacket of 'strong theory'. Stories that highlight the personality of people and places, which capture the accidental successes, useful failures and uncertain futures of development encounters, can complicate and enrich well-trodden, simplifying narratives of improvement, indoctrination or virtuous resistance. My hope is that this thesis contributes to imagining a wider array of possibilities for building places, valuing food and defining development in the Colca Valley, Peru and beyond.

Appendices

Appendix I Ethics committee approval form

Phone 0-4-463 5480
Email susan.corbett@vuw.ac.nz

MEMORANDUM

TO	Simon Bidwell
COPY TO	Warwick Murray
FROM	AProf Susan Corbett, Convener, Human Ethics Committee
DATE	16 October 2015
PAGES	1
SUBJECT	Ethics Approval: 22288 Identity-based rural development in the Peruvian Andes

Thank you for your application for ethical approval, which has now been considered by the Standing Committee of the Human Ethics Committee.

Your application has been approved from the above date and this approval continues until 1 April 2018. If your data collection is not completed by this date you should apply to the Human Ethics Committee for an extension to this approval.

Best wishes with the research.

Kind regards

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads 'Susan Corbett'.

Susan Corbett

Convener, Victoria University Human Ethics Committee

List of participants

National participants

Name	Position or role relevant to research
Raúl H. Asensio	Researcher, Institute of Peruvian Studies (IEP).
Fernando Alvarado	President, Ecological Agriculture Network (RAE).
Emilia Bustamante	National Coordinator, UNDP-GEF Small Grants Programme.
Patricia Gamboa	Former Director of Trademarks, INDECOPI.
Cecilia González	Administrator of the diploma in territorial development with identity, Pontifical Catholic University of Peru (PUCP).
Cesar López	Director of Biology at La Molina National Agrarian University (UNALM) and author of several denomination of origin applications.
Aristoteles Neira	Inspector, Biolatina Peru.
Johnny Ponce	Manager, Biolatina Peru.
Moises Quispe	Executive Director, National Organic Producers Association (ANPE).
Grimaldo Rengifo	Founding member of Andean Technology Recovery Project (PRATEC).
José Sialer	Executive Director, Agro Rural and former Executive Director of Sierra Sur.
Roy Soria	Anthropologist and community engagement representative, National Agrarian Confederation (CNA).
Jhulinho Sotomayor	Administrator, UNDP-GEF Small Grants Programme.
Mario Tapia	Agronomy researcher and former representative of Slow Food Peru.
José Tavera	Associate Professor of Economics, Pontifical Catholic University of Peru (PUCP) and former Chief Economist at INDECOPI.
Andrés Valladolid	President, Biopiracy Commission.

Regional participants

Name	Position or role relevant to research
Valerio Ali	Director, ASDE.
Waldo Cornejo	Manager, National Agrarian Sanitation Service (SENASA) Arequipa office.
Roxana Cabana	Restaurant proprietor, Chivay.
José Huerta	Executive Director, COPASA.
Fernando Isuiza	Local entrepreneur and NGO director, Chivay.
Pedro Herrera	Assistant manager for agricultural development, Caylloma provincial government.
Vincente Medina	Chair of the Arequipa Regional Organic Products Council (COREPO), 2015-2016.
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Name	Position or role relevant to research
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Germán Ramos	Agronomy technician and development worker with COPASA and ASDE.
Geovanna Rivera	Arequipa Regional Office of Trade and Tourism (GERCETUR)
Doris Samayani	Local co-ordinator for the UNDP-GEF Small Grants Programme.
Lilia Samayani	Local office chief of the Sierra Sur II programme for the Caylloma province.
Cesar Suni	Restaurant proprietor, Chivay.
Fabiola Tejada	Representative of Euro Eco Trade programme, Arequipa Regional Government.
Rómulo Tinta	Mayor of Caylloma province, 2015-2018.
Julver Vilca	Head of Plant Health, National Agrarian Sanitation Service (SENASA) Arequipa office.

Local key contacts

	Name	Position or role relevant to research
Cabanaconde	Guillermo Cayani	Mayor of Cabanaconde, 2007-2010 and 2015-2018.
	Jorge Guerra	Mayor of Cabanaconde, 2011-2014 and President of Peasant Community, 2015-2016.
	Juan Valdivia	President of Cabanaconde irrigators commission, 2015-2016.
	Sonia Jiménez	President of ASPOMAC, 2008-2010.
	Sayda Mendoza	President of ASPOMAC, 2012-
	Patricio Mendoza	President of ASPOMAC, 2010-2012.
	Axi Silva	Secretary of Cabanaconde irrigators commission, 2015-2016.
Tuti	Jorge Capira	President of Agro Eco Tuti, 2014-2016.
	Artemio Ccaccya	Milk plant concessionaire, 2015-2016.
	Felipe Ccaccya	Milk plant concessionaire, 2017-
	Reynaldo Churo	President of ASPROGATU, 2012-2016.
	Narcisa Cusi	Local entrepreneur and treasurer of Agro Eco Tuti, 2005-2007.
	Alfonso Mamani	Mayor of Tuti, 2015-2018.
	Segundo Illpa	Grain mill operator, 2007-2008.
	Florencia Yanque	Local entrepreneur.
	Sebastian Yanque	Mayor of Tuti, 2007-2010.
	Yohny Yanque	Mayor of Tuti, 2003-2006.

Local participants

Tuti	Leonidas Anco
	Flora Capira
	Leonidas Capira
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	Teresa Cusi
	Zacarias Cutipa
	Rita Illpa
	Benilda Llallacacahi
	Paulino Malcoaccha
	Elisabet Mamani
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