

Interculturalism in Cusco, Peru: Inclusion, Exclusion & Discrimination.

An Ethnographic Research at Casa Campesina.




Antonela Kotsoni
Aalborg University



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Subjects: (tick box)	Project	Synopsis	Portfolio	Thesis X	Written Assignment
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Study programme:	CCG
Semester:	10th
Exam Title:	MA THESIS
Name and date of birth/ Names and dates of birth of group members: Antonela Kotsoni	Date(s) of birth 30-04-1991
Hand in date:	15/11/2016
Project title /Synopsis Title/Thesis Title	INTERCULTURALISM IN CUSCO, PERU: INCLUSION, EXCLUSION & DISCRIMINATION. AN ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH AT CASA CAMPESNA
According to the study regulations, the maximum number of keystrokes of the paper is:	2,400 per page
Number of keystrokes (one standard page = 2400 keystrokes, including spaces) (table of contents, bibliography and appendix do not count)*	140.000
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Acknowledgments

The process of writing the present dissertation has been as rewarding as it was tiring. However, it was not lonely and it would not have been possible without the assistance of certain people. At this point, I would like to thank my supervisor Peter Hervik for offering me guidance with his critical questions and for his constructive feedback. A special thank you goes to my dear friend Jaime Borda, for assisting me when I was desperate and hopeless in Cusco, without his intervention, my fieldwork would not have happened. Also, I would like to thank Claudia Cuba for accepting me at the Casa Campesina and allowing me to share her experience. The warmest thanking, deserves my boyfriend Panagiotis Antonopoulos for being with me throughout the whole procedure of my studies, even if at times, thousands of kilometers separated us. Finally I would like to thank my family, for supporting me in education and life.

Front page image:

Tejedoras de Llachón, Puno (Perú).

Image by DOMINGO GIRIBALDI

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Introduction

“How long are you staying” “Till the end of June” “You are so fortunate to be able to watch Inti Raymi!” This was a sequence of dialogue which I had with almost every person I met during my stay in Cusco. I was at the Peruvian Andes, on an altitude of 3300 meters, during ‘the best months of the year’. Inti Raymi stands for the Quechua term sun festival, which was a religious ceremony of the Inca Empire in honor of the god Inti (sun in Quechua); one of the most venerated deities in Inca religion. Incas worshiped the sun and the celebration of Inty coincided with the winter solstice, the shortest day of the year in terms of the time between sunrise and sunset and the Inca New Year (in the contemporary calendar winter is placed between June and July in territories south of the equator, such as Peru.) Inti Raymi was presented as the culmination of interculturalism, to embrace all cultures in one sacred ceremony which held from the Incas, and was revived as a reminder of the glory of the human race.

On the 25th of June, I prepared myself for one of the most unforgettable experiences of my life and by following the tips from the locals, I woke up very early to secure a seat up the hill of Sacsayhuamán (possibly an old fortress which was now an archeological site) which would supposedly offer a panoramic view. All of the spectators were gathered around the hills, with the exception of the few who had bought their tickets and were allowed to be inside the theater, where a comfortable seat was waiting each one of them. To arrive there, one would have to go through two kilometers of *tiendas*; tiny, improvised canteens which sold all sorts of foods and other stuff; accessories, souvenirs. The ritual started at the city center and then moved forward as a parade to cross the *Avenida de Sol* (Literally the street of Sun), and the way up to the west and finally make the most beautiful appearance at Sacsayhuamán. To be honest, I was intrigued by curiosity and started observing the people around me as if I was planning to make an ethnographic study. They were disputing for the sitting spots, throwing all sorts of leftover one could imagine, to whomever made the slightest attempt to get up, because they were preventing the view. Nevertheless, we all got up when the event started and now everyone was just pushing each other to get a better view.

The ceremony started, actors are imitating the Inca king and queen, speak the ancient language while a theatrical sacrifice of a lama is taking place surrounded by traditional songs and dances. When it finished, everyone made their way to the buses and vans and what was left was a messy, polluted environment by abandoned litter and on both sides of the road people were still trying to sell their products. That was Inti Raymi, the most sacred, most mystical, most impressive representation of Incas in Cusco and all of Peru! The exclamation mark goes to all of the adjectives which so much failed to represent the reality.

I was disappointed by the very nature of the ritual, it was not even a dramatic act which could engage the audience and indulge with them in the mysterious past. Which was the reflection of the people of Cusco (a big part of them campesinos) over the issue? Was it really a ritual to connect them with their ancestors or just a national holiday which was a great opportunity for a get-together with the family and maybe make some extra income, if one owns any sort of business? Is the Andean identity a product for cultural consumption or is it a real pursue of self-identification? While the festival is insisting on the presenting itself as an integrated part of the culture of Cusco, they spectators seemed to be pretty aware of the drones which were flying around and filming the event by waving their hands. It made me wonder, where was the interculturalism supposed to be embedded in this ceremony, the fact that both the locals and the tourists could both enjoy was certainly an asset; yet the tourists could afford to buy a ticket while locals were gathered around the hill. Are people failing to appreciate interculturalism or is the interculturalism system failing to apprehend the real problems of the people? All of those question were born to my mind and Inti Ryami certainly became part of the analytical thinking for my dissertation.

Interculturalism in the European Union is defined as the means to achieve social cohesion between the member states, for avoiding conflict and the marginalization of citizens on the basis of their cultural identity. 'It is a process of open and respectful exchange or interaction between people with the goal; to develop a deeper understanding of diverse perspectives and practices; to increase participation and the freedom and ability to make choices; to foster equality; and to enhance creative processes'.¹ Defining interculturalism has been a daunting task and the Council of Europe openly admits that it has avoided giving a strict definition for a long time. For it "intercultural dialogue is an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups belonging to different cultures that leads to a deeper understanding of the other's global perception."²

Interculturalism for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is the "Equitable exchange and dialogue among civilizations, cultures and peoples, based on mutual understanding and respect and the equal dignity of all cultures is the essential prerequisite for constructing social cohesion, reconciliation among peoples and peace among nations."³

Interculturalidad in Peru works as "a guiding principle, to promote and guarantee the rights and integral development of culturally diverse groups in the country, and to build a citizenship that recognizes, respects and enriches the interaction with cultural diversity" and it is the task of the *Viceministerio de*

1 http://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/strategic-framework/intercultural-dialogue_en.htm

2 http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/concept_EN.asp

3 <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/dialogue/intercultural-dialogue/>

Interculturalidad, which has a special body which works for the Rights of the Indigenous peoples⁴.

While the list could go on and by typing the key term ‘interculturalism’ in any online search engine, one could get thousand of results, what is prevalent from the above listing is that interculturalism has come to dominate the debate on cultural diversity, across the world. While it comes with a specific meaning in the so-called western world, it is also prevalent in the discourse of de-colonization of Latin America. The concept has gone through the prism of translation to *interculturalidad*, however “these concepts are differentiated, on the one hand, by the inevitable failure of semantic transference, and on the other hand, by the socio-political circumstances under which they prevailed⁵” (Aman, 2014: 4). This distinction is acknowledged in the present study, however the two terms are used interchangeably. Problematic and contingent as this use is, by no means does it imply the equation of them.

Starting from a narrative on the Peruvian intellectual-political formation and the ontological and epistemological transformation of the problematic colonial discourse of the Andean culture by Marisol de Cadena, to the definition of *interculturalidad* in the Andean notion, this essay is attempting to investigate the application of the interculturalism scheme in the case of the campesinos communities of the Cusco region in Peru. By means of empirical research, the analytical concepts of identity and culture are used to make more clear the situation around the two main research questions;

- How do the campesinos of Cusco construct their social identity in relation to both their heritage and the global processes?
- Which are the factors which are leading to relations of inclusion, exclusion and discrimination?

Exploring Interculturalidad

“...in exploring the tensions internal to the Latin American and Peruvian intellectual-political formation” (de la Cadena, 2006) and the forces of domination and subordination deriving from the center and the peripheries of knowledge, Marisol de la Cadena articulates *interculturalidad* as a descendent notion of Andeanism and the indigenous movement in Peru.

About the dynamic formulation of the Andean anthropological knowledge, de la Cadena talks about a reciprocal procedure of the de-legitimization of western knowledge with a simultaneous emergence of an indigenous pursue of culture (de la Cadena, 2006). A historic narrative where the multi-criticized

⁴ <http://www.cultura.gob.pe/es/interculturalidad>

⁵ By sociopolitical circumstances, the author refers to the critiques, by which the very notion of interculturalism is considered a colonial creation, where interculturalism often leaves behind in traditional societies, a desire to transform indigenous performance in order to suit the palate of the Western consumer. According to it, the intercultural scheme coming from a Western project, uses its own ideologies of capitalism and Christianity to transform the original thinking. See for instance a theoretical application of the theory in the paradigm of theater by Dennis Kennedy (2010) in *The Oxford Companion to Theater and Performance*.

‘Andino’ notion and a state-sponsored ‘Mestizaje’, whereby the indigenous population is expected to go through the process of ‘civilization’ into the values of the modern liberal thinking in order to be welcomed by the society, transgress into radical interculturalism “as a means to produce a national community imagined in all its ethnic-cultural, even ontological, diversity.” (de la Cadena, 2006) Conceptually, not only did *mestizaje* promise to uplift the indigenous population by draining off their backwardness but it also served the goal of the equation of Latin America with its northern neighbor, which subsequently underlined the inferiority of the former. Historically, the development of anthropology in the region, shows the strong network of both people and intellectual interests upon the issue. The interdisciplinary approach through its academic, economic and profoundly political angle, makes interculturalidad an ambiguous sentiment, especially when the approach of it emerges from what came to be known as the *Indigenista* movement. (de la Cadena, 2006)

The embodiment of this ambiguity is for de la Cadena in the life and work of *José María Arguedas*, a Quechua intellectual who brought contradictions in an epoch where it was unthinkable for the indigenous to be sentient beings, let alone intellectuals. Even more provocative was his way of thinking and his equivocal ‘epistemological revolution’ (de la Cadena, 2006) in his work, *Todas las Sangres* (All the bloods). The main character of this book “Willka impersonated an oxymoron hybrid who refused consistency, and thus was able to think-act in modern and non-modern terms” (de la Cadena, 2006) and “ultimately, *Todas las Sangres* proposed an alternative indigenous social movement, a critical ally of the modern left, yet with a modern hybrid logic of its own. Literacy and modern politics were important, yet they had to be selectively used and translated into, rather than eradicate, indigenous ways” (de la Cadena, 2006). In other words a revolutionary approach of ethnic relation in Peru, between the oppressed indigenous population, their beliefs and the political establishment.

There was also something else, *cholificación*, a peculiar adjective to call mestizaje locally, it came mostly from the supporters of the dependency theory with which Latin America was deemed to under-development due to its relationship of dependence to North America and Europe, where colonialism is followed by a capitalist exploitation. Mestizaje or cholificación or de-inidianization, was the Peruvian national vision for a new class. Argueda's protagonist -who represented the author himself- was a major obstacle to this vision. It also challenged socialism and its establishment of knowledge and power. To challenge the establishment means to challenge the Western hegemonic forms of knowledge as incapable to incorporate the very Andean way of being. Instead Arguedas is the first to propose an intercultural politics of inclusiveness or in the words of de la Cadena “proposing multi-ontologism, and a

nationalism capable of being universal and singular” (de la Cadena, 2006).

Finally, his book was rejected on a *mesa redonda* (round table) and it was not until several years later that the topic was revived across the continent, by various organizations who gave form to the notion of indigenous citizenship combined with powerful mobilizations. And it were these mobilizations that will bring the indigenous identity one step closer to renaissance and enactment. No longer is the indigenous identity just a generic Indian one, but “individual histories also unveil multiple ways of being...” (de la Cadena, 2006). According to Marisol de la Cadena, interculturalidad is a political project to produce a different state, a plurinational state which recognizes the diversity of the people. The development continued gradually from demands for a bilingual education to the just coexistence of people, based on equality. What is next required for de la Cadena, is [an] “epistemological site for the production of a different kind of knowledge” (de la Cadena, 2006). To respond to the new production, she brings up, what she calls, relational epistemologies. Relational epistemologies are the dialogical connection between the universal and the local, enabling the possibility for the creation of a new knowledge, the multicultural one, the one which can bridge the western and non-western discipline. (de la Cadena, 2006) Finally, in the concluding remarks, it becomes apparent and important as such, to highlight that interculturalidad is not a smooth and simple procedure. De la Cadena insists that by the dawn of the 21st century, interculturalidad is still based on the process of acculturation, where an Indian is reportedly entering modernity through education, in other words what is called the normalization of education. (de la Cadena, 2006) As a counter action she proposes “that in as much as indigenous social movements articulate an alternative to modern politics -and the nation-states they sustain- they have the potential to transform the liberal empirical notion of ‘diversity’ currently tolerated in liberal multi-culturalism into political demands for the citizenship of plural ontologies and their forms of knowledge” (de la Cadena, 2006) with the science of anthropology being the vehicle for the realization of it.

Many more scholars follow de la Cadenas steps by highlighting the incapability of the western discipline to be able to express the complicated ethnic relations of the Latin American region on the one hand and the very thought that diversity itself is considered a non desirable fact, a problem which needs to be fixed. Ana T. Solano-Campos in her work “Bringing Latin America’s Interculturalidad into the Conversation” (2013) recounts the development of interculturalidad and its scholarly analysis, tangled with historicism and societal factors. The hybridity of mestizaje and the indigenus struggle for recognition are the two main driving factors of interculturalidad, according to her analysis. (Solano- Campos, 2013) The two authors also agree on a common indication of the indigenous movement ‘victory’, a national bilingual

education. (de la Cadena, 2006, Solano-Campos, 2013)

In modern times and terms, interculturalidad (which also applies to this study) is defined broadly as the contemplation of *convivencia* (Cruz Rodríguez, 2014, Solano-Campos, 2013) Whilst the translation of *convivencia* would be coexistence, in the Latin American context interculturalidad goes beyond that and beyond the simple tolerance between cultures, to the point where they construct relations of mutual respect, harmony and understanding. (Cruz Rodríguez, 2014, Solano-Campos, 2013) Dialog is a central figure in interculturalidad along with tolerance and empathy. Interculturalidad is a sociocultural project and an axiological framework simultaneously. It works for the establishment of universal human rights and morals as well as elevating the societies to a substantial, desired democracy. (Cruz Rodríguez, 2014, Solano-Campos, 2013)

Interculturalidad celebrates diversity and revokes the admission of other systems (such as multiculturalism⁶) which keeps considering it as a fault. (Cruz Rodríguez, 2014, Solano-Campos, 2013) Of course it does not mean that interculturalidad is ignoring the harsh reality and the unequal power relations which are provoked. On the contrary it is constantly working towards a structural change for eliminating the root causes of inequality and oppression. Lets not forget that interculturalidad is inspired by the fight for decolonization. (Cruz Rodríguez, 2014, Solano-Campos, 2013)

Solano Campos defines this struggle against oppression as the distinctive difference between interculturalism and *interculturalidad* (Solano-Campos, 2013). But Cruz Rodriguez as well, argues that colonialism impedes the egalitarian goals of interculturalidad. Besides, the latter has a wider methodological scope when comparing to multiculturalism for instance (Cruz Rodríguez, 2014). At this point, one can spot the division of western (mainly North American and European) and the Latin American think tanks, citing back to de la Cadenas' argument in regards to the de-legitimization of the western knowledge with a simultaneous emergence of Latin American alternatives, which on turn are more representative of the actual situation in the continent.

Ethnography

What is ethnography?

According to Draper “‘Ethnos’ means people, race or cultural group and ‘graphie’ means writing; thus, ethnography literally means writing culture.” (Draper, 2015: 36) For O’Reilly ethnography is a fascinating scientifically rigorous and systematic methodology which employs a wide range of methods

6 For multiculturalism see Will Kymlicka

that do not lie far from the common sense captures, people use in their everyday lives. According to Hammersley and Atkinson, ethnography is a fundamental form of social research which studies people with the aim of understanding them and their social context by adding that “ethnography plays a complex and shifting role in the dynamic tapestry that the social sciences have become in the twenty-first century” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:2). Brewer does agree by describing ethnography as “the study of people in naturally occurring settings or ‘fields’ by means of methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally” (Brewer, 2000: 10) Ethnography describes people in their cultural context but also their interactions with the society and the construction of their culture by studying even the most simple, mechanical and taken-for-granted things. (Draper, 2015) Of course the uncertainty for a single definition should by no means underestimate the label value of ethnography since ethnography is a discipline and a meaning could be conceived by reaching out to its historic background and what ethnography has been ‘doing’. (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007)

Origin and History

Ethnography and Anthropology

Initially ethnography was an asystematic method of data gathering for various purposes but never regarding pure scientific analysis with profound processes and goals. Prior to the 19th century ethnographic data had been gathered by missionaries, administrators, travelers etc with no research training whatsoever. The anthropologists engaged in analyzing these data were doing, what used to be called ‘armchair theorizing’. (O’Reilly, 2005) In the beginning of the 1900’ ethnography, “a descriptive account of a community or culture” was just complementary to ethnology which in turn was the “the historical and comparative analysis of non-Western societies and cultures.” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:1)

The researchers had already begun to quest for ‘getting out into the field’, when Bronisław Malinowski traveled to the Trobriand islands in Melanesia to conduct extensive fieldwork for two years. According to O’Reilly and Scott Jones, it was at this point that ethnography became a ‘rite of passage’ and a key characteristic for anthropology and Malinowski its ‘founding father’. For Malinowski the ultimate goal of the ethnographer should be to grasp the native’s point of view by immersing to their social world. It is

by being in the field that one can talk and listen to the people and learn about their daily lives. Moreover collecting as much data as possible in as many facets as possible, which of course should correspond to the scientific aims of the investigation. Exploring their culture by contextualizing it within the field, not making a-priori judgments and relying on second hand information. (Scot Jones and Watt, 2010) For allowing credibility the context needs to be described in details together with the setting just as a natural scientist would describe an experiment. Also being able to observe the *imponderabilia*, how people think at the same time when an event takes place. (O'Reilly, 2005) Observation was for him a key point for ethnography; an accurate observation notes down every key detail and makes the research active and purposeful. This can be achieved by learning the local language, sharing the same living place and participating in the activities of the field 'subjects'. Participation was a major feature of ethnographic research, it assists the researcher to immerse in the culture and become part of the community and the natural surroundings. This in turn, allows them to observe the attitude of the community without it being affected by the presence of the ethnographer. Finally, Malinowski also referred to the isolation from external factors meaning, back then, the European influences. Furthermore the researcher should collect as much data as possible and keep a diary of their emotions. (O'Reilly, 2005, Scott Jones and Watt, 2010)

Together with Malinowski, Franz Boas was the first to establish systematic and subversive ethnography in the United States. Boas used a four-field approach in his fieldwork; from cultural, to archeology and linguistics as well as the physical/biological (affected by his other background in natural sciences). (Helm, 2001) His first ethnographic work, the one that made him direct his interests towards anthropology, was among the Eskimos.⁷ "He returned with an abiding conviction that if we are ever to understand human behavior we must know as much about the eye that sees as about the object seen. And he had understood once and for all that the eye that sees is not a mere physical organ but a means of perception conditioned by the tradition in which its possessor has been reared." (Benedict, 1943: 60) Boas did not think the individuals play an important role on the whole, he believed that culture is an evolutionary phenomenon and that by studying its developmental history as a totality, not in parts, one could comprehend it. By tracing the; customs, language and social systems one can understand and explain a cultures' psychology. (Benedict, 1943, Helm, 2001)

Ethnography and Sociology

7 Today the term Eskimo is considered derogatory in some parts of the world and some people prefer referring to this ethnic group as Inuit. The use of the term Eskimos, is for the sake of authenticity of the original study and, it does not represent any personal opinions and of course it is not meant to insult or generalize over any ethnic group.

According to the scholars, when talking about ethnography in sociology there is a tendency to closely associate it with the *Chicago School* which still remains the best example of ethnographic use in sociology. (O'Reilly, 2005, Scott Jones, 2010) By the end of the 19th century Chicago city was rapidly growing in population and territory. The evergrowing urbanization and the large influxes of immigrants made it the perfect 'social lab' for the researchers. Chicago school refers to the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago. Indeed Chicago University was the first one to establish a sociological department in USA. (Scott Jones, 2010) The Chicago School was concerned with documenting urban life patterns and how they were affected by the urban ecology. (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) By combining Malinowski's approach with the philosophical and theoretical principles of the German tradition, the ethnographers of Chicago School produced descriptive narratives of the social world by pursuing everyday interactions in their studies. (O'Reilly, 2005)

Nordic ethnography is thought to be tied to the sociological scheme. Nordic region today we call the Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Norway, Sweden) together with Finland, Iceland and the Faroe Islands. According to Alison Cool, early on, the ethnographic research of the region was mainly focused on indigenous Sámi peoples or small maritime agricultural villages while the Nordic anthropologists chose to conduct their fieldwork abroad. (Cool, 2014) In the decades of 1970s and 1980s, the author talks about an enlargement of research topics which now came to include among others, urban communities and institutional and bureaucratic settings. Also, the migration flows towards the Scandinavian countries in those periods made immigration an important area of inquiry. Researchers began to examine articulations and transformations of understandings of race and ethnicity in relation to cultural logics of gender, sexuality, and national belonging. (Cool, 2014)

The biggest Nordic ethnographer is almost unanimously believed to have been Frederic Barth who was precisely trained in Chicago. Born In Norway, he spent several years of his life doing fieldwork both in Norway and abroad; the Middle East, New Guinea, Indonesia and the Himalayas. In his long lasting career, in his own words he "sought to unite ethnographic and theoretical work by using empirical findings as provocations to critique received theory and raise unasked questions [by using] generative modeling to identify the empirical processes that, in their aggregate, shape social and cultural forms" (Barth, 2007:1) Like his precedent grand ethnographers, Barth firmly emphasizes the importance of living like the people under study and sharing their ways of experiencing their life and world, even though Barth never 'went native' (Eriksen, 2015). His academic interests were directed among others, towards ethnicity and ethnic boundaries, cultural and religious ramifications and socioeconomic ecology.

The 'Intellectual Biography of Fredrik Barth' by Thomas Eriksen is an analytical disclosure of Barth's life and work. According to it, Barth's position towards his developed theories, is that of cultural relativism. "They can usefully be applied to a number of facts, but do not provide a key which unlocks the secrets to all variation and diversity, making them fall quietly and tidily in place." (Eriksen, 2015: 201) Eriksen also illustrates all angles of Barth's writing career: He was trying to find a social analysis approach to encompass the individual and the whole. Oscillating between the local and the universal, between explanation and interpretation, with a hint of poetry and humanism, he is convinced that no matter how different the people, they have just the same value. (Eriksen, 2015)

Ethnography and other fields

According to some scholars it was around the 1960s when ethnography started making its shy appearance in other fields and subfields together with a transfer from USA to Europe and other parts of the world. (O'Reilly 2005, Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) Notably the rise of cultural studies and the 'the whole issue of cultural consumption' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:2), the emergence of cultural psychology and the psychoanalytical tradition made more extensive use of ethnographic research with a view of getting an in depth understanding. Finally the last decades of the 20th century ethnography migrated to other social science sectors such as human geography, sports, education and business. (O'Reilly 2005, Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007)

Ethnography and Criticism

For Holland et al, the criticism of ethnography could be summarized to what they call 'Critical Disruption (...) in the universalist-culturalist debate'. (Holland et al, 1998) The collaboration of the anthropologists with colonial powers was one of the epicenters of its criticism. "In order to reinforce the imperial mindset one must construct stereotypes of the colonized that serve to justify their colonization" (Scott Jones and Watt, 2010: 15). Talal Asad writes that "anthropology emerged as a distinctive discipline at the beginning of the colonial era... [and] its efforts were devoted to a description and analysis -carried out by Europeans, for a European audience- of non-European societies dominated by European power." (Asad, 1973:15) For him anthropology is rooted in an unequal power encounter between the West and what he calls the Third World and fieldwork knowledge was used as a means of objectification of alien societies and a maintenance of the power structure of the colonial system.

However Asad does not believe that ethnographic research in the colonial era was just an assessment or a reflection of the colonial ideology, for him it was merely a historic outcome of the anthropologists focus on a particular image of the colonized world, an image which according to the writer has been built over the centuries “since the Renaissance the West has sought to both subordinate and devalue other societies, and at the same time to find in them clues to its own humanity” (Asad, 1973: 104) Following the anthropological paradigm, the sociologists of the Chicago School “mimicked...[the] exotization of urban ‘others’” such as immigrants, the rural population, workers, homeless and genuinely the fringes of the western cities (Scott Jones and Watt, 2010: 21).

Moreover the tendency of ethnographic fieldwork to write exclusively about men and men-oriented activities left a huge blank space without representation of ‘others’ such as women (and gay persons). (Holland et al, 1998, Scott Jones and Watt, 2010) Up to that point research was conducted in its overwhelming majority by white men, who failed to include issues of gender, race and sexuality but also gave an incomplete image of the domestic and social activities, since, inevitably, they did not occupy their studies with womens’ activities, with what consequences this could have in the depiction of a culture. (Holland et al, 1998, Scott Jones and Watt, 2010) Since the upsurge of the civil rights movements during the decade of the 1960s “feminist critiques see many cultural discourses as impositions, pushing women and men to behavior compatible with the structures and institutions that favor members of one social category over another” (Holland et al, 1998: 25)

Then, there was the ‘ethnographic present’ (writing in the present tense) presenting the ethnographies as timeless and definitive. But “such usage suspended these peoples in time, removed them from history and treated them as though they were simply pliable specimen of science, comparable to other ‘cultural species’” (Holland et al, 1998: 23) Johannes Fabian talks about *coevalness*, an intersubjective sharing of the same historic time and space between the ethnographer and the subject while he argues that anthropology has articulated a linear view of life and constructed the *Other* as a temporal, historical and political act (Fabian, 1983). To come up with those findings, he examines and analyzes *Time* as an intersubjective topic which requires communicative and interactive processes. (Bongmba, 2001) Therefore, according to Fabian, the ethnographic rhetoric has distanced the subject by denying their contemporaneity. This denial creates a distinction between both the subject and the ethnographer and their societies while the key elements to facilitate it are the use of ethnographic present and the elimination of the autobiographical first person in the writing procedure. (Marcus, 1984, Bongmba, 2001) Ethnographic present claims to discuss others in the present but it is also an objectifying process

which creates a discrepancy between the here and now and the writing style of the ethnographer (Marcus, 1984, Bongmba, 2001) and it creates a “cosmos for western society to inhabit, rather ‘than understanding their cultures’ (...) [a cosmos which ultimately is just an] ostensible vocation” (Fabian 1983).

The writing of an ethnography was finally presented as a mechanical issue with no political nuances, disregarding apparently affairs of power and accurate representation. (Scott Jones and Watt, 2010) “The critical disruption has further affected the writing of ethnographies across cultural boundaries” (Holland et al, 1998: 25) According to Holland et al, the representation of the research population is significantly based on the language use and the textual synthesis of an ethnography; contemporary ethnographies emphasize on the ‘text’s implications’ about the position of the researcher in relation to both, the people being studied and the reader.

From functionalism to positivism and from naturalism to symbolic interactionism

Malinowski was one of the founders of *functionalism* in anthropology. (O’ Reilly, 2005) He was influenced by Durkheim's theory but he could be considered the first functionalist to collect primary data in his fieldwork. (Scott Jones and Watt, 2010) Functionalism approaches society as a functioning whole, Malinowski linked it to a comparison to the body, like the body parts all the components have a functioning role in the society. For him studying the society means studying all its parts, events and institutions in terms of the function they serve for the individuals and the society they live in. (O’ Reilly, 2005) According to Helm, Boas on the contrary, payed very little attention to the individual and was interested much more in the society as a whole. (Helm, 2001)

Positivism is the research position which tries to mimic the natural sciences by separating facts from opinions and ‘objectively’ collect and analyze data, outside of the researcher. As such the foundation of science is and should be observation. “Today, the term ‘positivism’ has become little more than a term of abuse among social scientists, and as a result its meaning has become obscured.” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:5) With the above mentioned methods and approaches, the scientists try to grasp and explain universal laws. This kind of methodology which corresponds to that of physical investigation is subdue to control and replication, while every attempt is made to dispose of the effects of the researcher. “In short, positivists argue that it is only through the exercise of physical or statistical control of variables, and their rigorous measurement, that science is able to produce a body of knowledge whose validity is conclusive; and thus can justifiably replace the myths and dogma of traditional views or

common sense.” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:6) As such ethnography was totally ousted as an inappropriate and subjective method by the supporters of positivism.

On the other end, naturalism developed as a reaction, one could say. According to the scholars, the main feature of naturalism would be the study of the social world in its natural state, without the intervention of artificial settings. (Brewer, 2000, O’ Reilly, 2005, Scott Jones and Watt, 2010) Brewer argues that the main goal of naturalism is to grasp actions and experiences and how people build up on them; familiarity is what is required to achieve knowledge of the social world and ethnography is suitably equipped for it (Brewer, 2000). The researcher, by all means, should be respectful and appreciative of the social setting of his research, what Hammersley and Atkinson call the ‘fidelity of the phenomena under study’ (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007)

While positivism was a key characteristic in French and British social science research in Germany there was a shift towards subjectivity and hermeneutics with Kant and mainly with the development of the concept *Verstehen* from Weber. *Verstehen* means to understand, perceive, know, and comprehend the nature and significance of a phenomenon. In anthropology it has come to mean a systematic interpretive process with which a researcher is invited to attempt not only to understand but also to empathize with the studied culture. (Tucker, 1965) For Weber “the only facts of empirical reality which are worth knowing in their unique particularity are those which have a particular significance with regard to the cultural values of the society or cultural community in which the historian lives” (Burger, 1977: 167) Thus it refers to understanding the meaning of action from the actor’s point of view, which was a central aspect of what was called interpretivist sociology; how field subjects viewed or better yet, interpreted their social world (Tucker, 1965, Burger, 1977) Naturally this tendency was contradictory to the positivism approach. The main argument of this school would converge that the social world cannot be understood as a simple outcome of causal relationships or some absolute universal laws. On the contrary it is a flexible situation shaped and reshaped by human actions within a cultural context where people’s interactions are based on a stimuli which in turn is affected by the events causing it. (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) The role of the researcher in this case is to learn and understand this context as good as possible in order to be able to interpret it. “Thus the description of cultures becomes the primary goal (...) the value of ethnography as a social research method is founded upon (...) the capacity that any social actor possesses for learning new cultures, and the objectivity to which this process gives rise.” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 9) The Chicago School ethnographies were written upon symbolic interactionism and social ecology, as well. (O’ Reilly, 2005)

Contemporary Ethnography

According to Scott Jones, “Ethnography would seem to have come of age in the past twenty years as a methodology that fits in a social and academic context that places great importance on ethics relativism, representation, inclusion and subjectivity” (Scott Jones, 2010: 25) Needless to say that contemporary ethnography is deviating greatly from the classic one. Ethnographic research of the 21st century is no longer exclusively devoted to the study of ‘others’. Scott Jones and O’Reilly agree that ethnography today is better placed to reveal important truths about people’s lives and cultures, by citing researches that have contributed to policy making and changing in sensitive social matters such as crime, rape, mental illness⁸ etc (O’Reilly, 2005, Scott Jones, 2010) Nevertheless contemporary ethnographic researches still follow the outline of the principles, a close study over time employing participation and observation (O’Reilly, 2005)

According to Scott Jones, social sciences is a problematic term per se due to the many theoretical shifts. In this context, she puts the ethnography in an interdisciplinary approach in order to show the misunderstandings and limitations around the method but also to display its potential. According to her, ethnography across various disciplines may appear distinctive but all the ethnographers have the same ‘core values’ which are called by the name “ethnographic sensibility (...) built on a set of common core values that shape the way they [the ethnographers] see and orientate themselves towards their discipline, their field setting and ultimately their research” (Scott Jones, 2010: 7).

An important feature of ethnography is the interplay between the individual or *emic* and the societal or *etic*. (Draper, 2015). The former is the perspective of the individual, the author calls it ‘the insider’s point of view’ and the latter is the societal perspective, the one shaped by a collective community. Saying that I am from Greece would not make any difference to the participants of Casa Campesina as to being from whichever European country; for them I was the European who can travel to far away places such as Peru. When gradually, I started talking about my country and the whole situation with the financial crisis, the unemployment rates and the migration tendency, their surprise was prominent. One day I saw Claudia knitting a woolen jacket and I told her that my grandmother and my mother used to also do it a lot in the past. Surprised she told me ‘*Look at this, and we think we are different, but we are not so much really*’. Campesinos had formed an image of Europe as a wealthy and prosperous continent with no deviations, better yet, they could not distinguish the diversity between the countries. Also, they seemed

8 See for example: Lees 1996, Westmarland 2001, De Waal 2005, Barton 2007

to place a big importance on the differences between them and the Europeans as illustrated by my small chat with Claudia, quoted above. Their conception of Europe was a fusion of societal beliefs with personal experiences; the public discourse confirmed their opinion but also the Europeans each one of them had met, seemed to at least fulfill their expectations. The emic and the etic perspectives are not mutually exclusive, on the contrary the two of them complement each other. According to Draper the individual contributes to the formation of the social collective experiences by attributing their private meanings and understandings. But then again, a singularity draws on societal meanings for shaping their own performance. This retrospective relationship is called by the author ‘the individual-cultural dialectic’ (Draper, 2015).

Positioning my Research

“Ethnography routinely builds in a triangulation of method because it involves the use of multiple methods of data collection” (Brewer, 2000: 313). The present study used a combination of participant observation and in-depth interviews⁹. It started from a general interest about ethnic relations in Peru, which derived both from my personal and academic interests but also from a formal obligation by the study institution (Aalborg University), as a student who wishes to be attributed a second specialization on Latin American studies in their diploma, needs to carry out a research relevant to a Latin American topic. Cusco was chosen after I spoke with fellow students and friends to ask for their advice.

By arrival, I first started contacting organizations and NGOs that work on the issue, it was quite a hard and disappointing procedure initially. Most NGOs encountered on the internet would ask the participants huge amounts of money for being able to volunteer. Finally, using the circle of contacts I started having in the region, I managed to get in contact with the NGO *Derechos Humanos sin Fronteras-DHSF* (Human Rights without Borders). The director, who was also a local friend, introduced me to *Casa Campesina*. Casa Campesina is a hotel, part of a larger institution called *Centro Bartolomé de Las Casas (CBC)*, a non-profit civil association which, according to the description on the official website, was created out of the need to promote the Andean culture¹⁰. Part of CBC is a library with entries about the Andean culture; history, archeology, linguistics, tourism etc.; and under the same direction one can encounter the *Oficina de Interculturalidad* (Office of Interculturalism) which served this study for the data collection with

9 More under the section *Role of the researcher* and *Interviews*

10 <http://www.cbc.org.pe/>

interviews. Casa Campesina itself was initially a hotel founded to meet up with various needs of the campesinos who would arrive ‘in the city’, in terms of accommodation but also services related to other formalities. Today CC is more a place open to intercultural exchange among Andean people, tourists or social science students. Already by the first visit, Casa Campesina seemed intriguing and the research problem formulation was designed in accordance with the observations.

In the Casa Campesina

The present study was carried out at the Casa Campesina, part of the Centro Bartolomé de Las Casas in Cusco, Peru. Over the course of eight weeks, from the 10th of May to the 29th of June 2016, I was participating in the meetings of the campesinos who would stay at the hotel. The meetings always took place in the evening, around 7 to 8 pm, where we would drink a cup of tea and share some traditional Peruvian sweet bread. The meetings were pretty informal and as such there was not an organization of events. A wide range of activities would go on, many times we would watch the news from different websites and other times we would only talk or some would play the music, using the guitar and other instruments that were available in the room. Indeed there was a specific room designed for this purpose, it also served as an office for Claudia¹¹. Every day of the week was the same except for Tuesdays which were called ‘*Martes Campesinos*’ (Campesino Tuesdays) where the meetings would take a more official stance. Again, practically there was no big difference, its not that there was a specific agenda to follow on those days, just usually there would be a bigger number of participants and many times they were held in a bigger hall. Also the campesinos seemed to be informed about Martes Campesinos and some of them would use them as a channel to push through their own agenda, as was the case of the pre-election period.

The research was overt, I first communicated with Claudia Cuba who instructed me to ask an official permission from the Director of CC; I did it by sending an email where I was explaining my research purpose. Claudia is a social supporter who works every day in the Casa Campesina and the person who is coordinating the Martes Campesinos as well. She is from Chumbivilcas, a village south of Cusco affected by the business of mining. Claudia is bilingual; she speaks Quechua and Spanish while she is an educated campesina who has attended university in Lima, in the years of the Fujimori government, quite a rare incident for the campesinos, even more for females, of her time. She is also a single mother of a 12 year old teenage daughter who was attending the daily meetings of Casa Campesina, apparently because

11 Claudia is introduced later on, on the course of the study.

there was nobody else who could take care of her at home.

The area she is working at the Casa Campesina, according to Claudia, is the area of the ‘campesino animation’ where they try to make the campesinos who stay at the hotel ‘feel at home’. It is the area that facilitates their welcoming and accommodation in a more communal sense. It is more economic for them to stay at the Casa Campesina, 5 PEN per night (*soles* is what they use to call their local currency, where 1 PEN= 0.27 Euros according to the conversion rate of the 7th of July 2016). This price applies only to the campesinos who are accorded their own distinct place in the building, for the tourists and the rest, there exist other rooms and their price corresponds to that of the lodging industry. But also, as Claudia described, ‘the warmth and quality of the place is different, they have clean bathrooms and daily hot showers at no extra charge. *And we offer hot tea and bread in the evenings!* Although the tea, in reality is a pretext for us to meet and have conversations. Without the tea, we could not just say, please come in, we are going to talk’.

Claudia, instructed me to be respectful of the place, unobtrusive and genuinely I assured her that I would bring with me all those qualities that make a descent participant, like for instance not taking photos of people without their permission. Probably, it was a little bit easier for me to gain access because I went there accompanied by Jaime Borda (the director of DHSF mentioned above), a local friend of mine and friend of Claudia. She did indeed express a small annoyance in the beginning, in regards to the volunteers, as she had to do ‘double work’ if they did not speak any Quechua and she was usually found in the middle being the translator. Since my case was the same I would fall under the same category but she did accept my participation without any objections. However, I took note of that very statement and I never annoyed her by asking for translation unless I found it absolutely necessary and crucial for the outcome of the research. Such an example was one of the ‘Martes Campesinos’, when a leader from Q’ero community stood up and talked for almost ten minutes. The other participants seemed to pay a lot of attention and I was impressed by the fact that two of them had their cellphones recording a video of him. This was repeated twice during the night and at the end, I was naturally very eager to know what was it that he had been talking about.

According to Brewer, confidence and relationship building is a time consuming process, ethnographers are viewed differently as trust is developed; much the same as it happens in building every social relation, it requires confidence, reciprocity, friendliness etc. (Brewer, 2000) Before, we started our interview with Claudia I asked her if I can record it while pointing at my smartphone. Seems that it was a small element

of surprise for her and she asked me ‘In that thing you are going to record? You can do it with that?’ I laughed and described her how my smartphone is quite precious; I can record, surf the internet, access the maps or GPS. Very naturally, I made the confession that I really like technology. But then I realized that maybe that put a little bit of a distance between us, or maybe just it was a clue to show me off, yet one of our differences. Probably she also did not approve because I know that Claudia is a more traditional person, who thinks things were better as ‘they have been back then’. It did not of course affect our relationship, but a few minutes later, when she was explaining to me what is the Casa Campesina doing, there came up the issue that now there are less participants than before. When I asked her why, she told, ‘because as you like technology, the same is happening with others. There are now more highways and there do exist more means of transportation, therefore they can simply go back home if they are done with their job here’. So, finally my comment about technology was also a connecting point after all.

Even though, the scholars offer a wide range of instances (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, Brewer, 2000) where the ethnographer has not been very welcome by the setting and the participants have been accepting them with suspicion or even hostility, my experience was quite different. Since the very first day, the participants at Casa Campesina greeted me warmly and they did not make any comments for me being there. According to Peter Hervik my physical appearance did not cause concerns to them (Hervik, 2002) and Brewer confirms by mentioning that when a woman enters a male dominated area it looks less threatening (Brewer, 2000). Some did show a justifiable curiosity for the participation of a person who apparently is not campesina, not even a Peruvian, but generally they seemed to be quite familiar with the fact that students showed interest for the place, and the most common question I would receive was if I was doing an internship. I do remember one Tuesday night though, after the usual meeting of ‘Martes Campesinos’ had finished. when I received the question “Are you a spy” (!) by a participant who had quite impressed me previously, while speaking. The question was posed in a semi-humorist way and I did reply with a laughter. But later, it made me think a lot and unfortunately I never had the chance to meet that person again to ask him, why would he ask such a question.

Role of the researcher

Observer as a participant

My role in the study was that of the *observer as a participant* (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). The scholars Dahlke, Hall and Phinney (2015) classify participant observation as *structured* and

unstructured. The former is all about recording physical and verbal behaviors of the subjects whilst the latter “occurs along a continuum of researcher participation (...) from primarily observing and active listening to complete immersion in the group” (Dahlke et al, 2015: 1117). They also suggest that active participation in the field setting has the potential to enhance the researcher’s understanding of it. (Dahlke et al, 2015) Modern ethnography embraces the role of the researcher which is never neutral, all components of the research are affected by their influence; the questions posed, the design, the methods, the analysis. Indeed the researcher has as much role as the participants, their position shapes the; design, execution and interpretation of the study. (Draper, 2015) For the above mentioned reasons, this research is mainly written in the first person, to show the active participation and the influence of the researcher. Hence the ethnographers should approach their study with Scott Jones’ core values, a list of characteristics that make a good ethnography. Starting with *participation*, not in the conventional or old way -so to speak- and *immersion*. According to the writer, ethnographers not only show a willingness but also make a commitment to participate in the social world of the research subjects on all levels; physical, mental, emotional and social. And they make the commitment to immerse themselves as much as possible in the cultural context of this participation. (Scott Jones and Watt, 2005)

The three R’s of ethnography

The three Rs’ of ethnography; *reflection* for the skills of the researcher to reflect on their own emotions and thoughts, it is “a theoretical, ethical and political stance whereby the ethnographers consider their position within their research” (Scott Jones and Watt, 2010: 8) and *reflexivity* for the ability to be able to evaluate and incorporate issues of gender, race, sexuality, social class and genuinely issues of power and control. When it comes to issues of reflection and reflexivity, I can say that the present study made me aware of the potential and limitations that could pose my very being. Being an educated foreigner from the west, I could very well distinguish the discrepancies between my mentality and that of the campesinos. Sometimes, I would be worried that maybe I am too eurocentric, which was an issue that I had to improve by reflecting on my thoughts and emotions and trying what is mentioned above to immerse on the campesino setting and ‘put myself into their shoes’. Many times, I would get the question if I am married or if I have children which is generally a question that I would not easily get in my age, in Europe. It did make me realize, though that I cannot think according to my own standards but understand their social reality, for the campesinos it was absolutely normal that a 25 year-old female (or male) would

have started a family. Then, there was the issue of gender, in a predominantly male represented community, I found myself subconsciously criticizing this situation, because admittedly, I belong to the category of women who are preoccupied with issues of gender equality. But then, I reminded myself that gender equality is not a procedure that happens overnight and that the campesinos have been making steady progress over the last years. Brewer mentions the issue of viewing the female researchers as a sex object, I did receive some innocent comments and a willingness from the men to get to know me, but nothing beyond that and in no way any insulting attitude.

In regards to emotions there was whole bucket of emotions coming out from this research except from the initial excitement to getting to know such an interesting culture, many times I found myself feeling empathy for the campesinos and their position, especially when I would face or hear cases of poverty and/or discrimination and marginalization. Also, there was a sense of pride when I saw for instance, in Chumbivilcas that the women were organized in contrary to what I had seen till then at the Casa Campesina. And it was a sense of satisfaction and happiness when I would listen to campesinos that were aware of their tradition and culture, they were genuinely informed and ready to advance their community. The negative emotions deriving from the field, would be a sense of frustration when long discussions in Quechua would take place. Also, this was probably a more general issue of my stay in Cusco and not totally connected to the campesinos or my fieldwork, in the last days of the fieldwork, I would almost feel angry because of the cold. Since June and July are winter months and the city is built on the Andes on an altitude of about 3.300 meters the cold, especially during the nights would be extremely sharp. At this point I found myself annoyed by the lack of heating on any interior places, and there came again thoughts of eurocentricism, I just reminded myself that I have to get used to the local way.

In the Casa Campesina, many times the participants would show curiosity and ask me questions about my home country; they would ask about the geomorphology and similarities with Peru. Using as a reference their experiences they were trying to imagine Greece in terms of agriculture and livestock, such conversations were almost exclusively wrapped around; the cultivated products, the climate, the food and ordinary every day objects. Peter Hervik talks about two types of reflexivity; the *shared reasoning* is a reflexivity born out of interaction and exchange; as I was constructing my image about the campesino world, so were the campesinos trying to construct a model of my world. The second type of reflexivity refers to the *reflexivity of the people in the field*, “people who do not write ethnographies themselves, but whose reflexivity and agency that forms the bread and butter of ethnographic knowledge” (Hervik, 2002) He brings the example of Elena, who, during his ethnographic research to the Mayan city Oxzkutzcab in

Mexico, was working for his family as a domestic assistant. Elena told everybody that the family kept a shotgun in order for them to be protected and according to Hervik her action was a type of reflexivity which involved both her and the family she was taking care of. (Hervik, 2002) In a visit to the province of Espinar with DHSF I met a lady, who is a strong activist against the mining activity in her village. She is the president of a committee who is dedicated to defending the human and territorial rights of the people affected by mining in the region. She has been identified with heavy metals in her blood, as is the case with many other residents of the area. Not only has she denounced the Peruvian state but she went off to Washington for defending the rights of the citizens of Espinar. After the completion of the workshop, she followed us to the office (an apartment owned by the NGO). Coincidentally, we were left alone for a few moments and she started narrating me the whole story of her activism and the fatal problems her community had been facing. After her 'monologue' she closed up, posing me the question 'How is madame helping us?' This form of co-reflection from her part was based on certain preconceptions (and a sense of hope or hopelessness maybe, as she was willing to draw to the very last source for the improvement of their life conditions) without knowing me she jumped to the conclusion that I must be there for their help and empowerment.

Finally both of the above (reflection and reflexivity) converge on *representation*, connected more to the powerful and interactive procedure of writing up the ethnography, called otherwise 'giving voice' to the field subjects.

The pillars of ethnography

Thick description. Clifford Geertz following Ryle opposes 'thin description' to thick description which specifies many details, conceptual structures and meanings. Therefore, according to him, anthropology should study culture only through thick description which refers to the actual alive and eloquent description, one which should allow for a sufficient understanding and provide a scrupulous narration as opposed to a simple factual account without any interpretation. (Geertz, 1973) The anthropologist also suggests that an ethnographer's task is to extract meaning structures that make up a culture, structures that are complexly layered one on top and into each other so that each fact might be subjected to crossing interpretations (Geertz, 1973).

For Geertz thick description should have at least some basic parameters to be adequate. *Interpretation*, an interpretive study which traces the manner in which meaning is ascribed, raw ethnographic and

observational material is not sufficient when one is after cultural analysis. Interpretation should go even further by *following the 'flow of social discourse'* by producing the codes for analyzing social events but of course it cannot have access to information that the local informants are not willing to share, inevitably it will only be based on *extrovert expressions*. Finally thick description describes social events as contextualized happenings with specific details, it needs to be written '*under the microscope*' to describe local behaviors and truths. (Geertz, 1973)

Then we have what is called '*impression management*'. Erving Goffman (1959) explains impression management as the performance of self vis-a-vis an audience while Sinha complements "impression management is an active self-presentation of a person aiming to enhance his image in the eyes of others" (Sinha, 2009:104). Impression management is a "fundamental and universal process that involves a number of influential factors; social, cultural and spiritual" (Norris, 2011:1) and is employed according to the specific goals that serve the person. (Merkl-Davies and Brennan, 2011) By cultural and spiritual implications the authors refer to the attempt (and/or desire) of the person to fit in within a cultural or spiritual group. Cultural differences may be decisive of how one will approach impression management, clothing for example is perceived differently in different social contexts. (Norris, 2011) According to the scholars, impression management is the act of receiving societal norms and values and modifying them in order to present oneself favorably, sometimes even by falsifying reality in order to construct social interaction. (Bryman and Lie, 2006, Ferrante, 2008, Newman, 2009)

In his work "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life" Goffman uses the imagery of theater in order to portray the importance of human and social action and interaction; what he refers to as *dramaturgical model of social life*. The model resembles social interaction to a theatrical play and consists of structural parts; performance, setting, appearance, manner, front, frontstage, backstage, off stage. Performance refers to the activities of an individual in front of a particular audience with a specific purpose. As in a stage drama, during the performance the performer and the audience think on a set of predisposed expectations for the role played. The performances deliver impressions to others where the actor formally adheres to conventions that have meaning to the audience, they communicate information that confirm the identity of the actor and each participant needs to "possess certain attributes and to express these attributes in practice employed for saving the show" (Goffman 1959: 135). Frontstage is where the actor formally performs and adheres to conventions that have particular meaning for the audience, the front is general and functions in a fixed fashion. (Goffman, 1959) whereas backstage is "a place, relative to a given performance, where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted as a

matter of course”. (Goffman 1959: 69) In other words, the *fronstage* is the place where one should be primarily concerned with impression management while in the *backstage* they may be more loose and drop their ‘role’.

Impression management in the *Casa Campesina*; primarily clothing and appearance was not the most crucial factor of the research in a sense that it was not carefully planned and I did not have to use or avoid any specific clothes in order to fit in the *campesino* community. Mimicking the *campesino* dressing not only was pointless but it would probably raise questions as to why would I choose to do it. Either way, my appearance as a white Westerner would make me quite distinct and I was just a guest, the ‘*Gringa*’ (a nickname that has different notions but generally it is given to white visitors usually from the West, including Europe and USA; many times it is assigned to wealth. Sometimes, it was attributed a negative and racist meaning). When I was asked about my living place and they listened to the price (450 PEN/month, approximately 120 euros), it was another distinctive feature which would make me ‘wealthier’ (this does not apply to the average non *campesino* Peruvian, who would find it a regular price). Probably, the biggest limitations of the study, since I was probably considered the ‘outsider’ who is studying, with the majority of the participants not being able to apprehend what was it that I was actually doing. From time to time, they would ask me what is my background and according to my preconceptions of their understanding I would answer ‘I am a sociologist’. I found it easier to use a term that sounds familiar than giving the title of my Master studies; ‘Migration and Ethnic Relations’ is more of an abstract notion than a professional title.

Ethics, active and participative include topics of; privacy, sensitivity, consent, representation. Finally there is *understanding*, in a phenomenological and practical sense and *empowerment*. Understanding refers to Weber's notion of *Verstehen*, an actual understanding of the lives of the field subjects. (Scott Jones and Watt, 2010)

Data collection

Field-notes

Ethnography involves a range of data collection methods drawing from every possible source, in order to shed light to the research inquiries. According to Hammersley and Atkinson the data collection wraps around some main features; the people and their activities are studied in the natural environment in an everyday living context and not by setting experimental or highly structured interview environments.

The focus of the study is most usually small scale to allow better and in-depth understanding. The form of the data is relatively unstructured, in terms of both collection and analysis. In regards to the former, the research does not follow a carefully planned research design and when it comes to the latter, the categories employed to interpret people actions, are generated through the process of analysis instead of being the outcome of a structured collection process. In general the analysis constitutes of interpreting meanings of human actions and institutional practices together with their social implications. (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007)

According to Brewer the note taking has to be discrete if it is not possible to avoid it (Brewer, 2000). Since I had assumed that role of the outsider and everybody knew that I was a researcher, I faced no problem in taking notes, I would do it quite openly especially during the meetings on Tuesdays where I would usually sit at the end of the room, so I would basically see everybody's back. I cannot explain why I would choose that seat really, probably to make my presence more discrete, so I would be almost 'invisible' and the participants would forget about it. The notes were taken on a notebook, I deliberately avoided using a computer which would probably seem quite strange plus it is less indiscreet and the typing noise would sooner or later be very annoying. Similarly I avoided using a camera or videocamera for recording the sessions, it would seem abnormal to use them in these kind of informal meetings and it would make the encounter with the participants unnatural. There is also the issues of privacy and practicality, I would have to ask written consent by every single participant every time I would like to use the device. The form of the notes was pretty much as described by the academics unstructured and 'messy' (Brewer 2000, Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, Scott Jones and Watt, 2015). In the middle of the fieldwork, though, I had already started picking patterns and even repetitions which made easier the subsequent organization.

Interviews

"Interviews provide in-depth information pertaining to participants' experiences and viewpoints of a particular topic." (Turner, 2010:754) Daniel Turner follows Gall and Borg (2003) and analyzes three interview formats in his paper. For this study the most relevant ones are; the *general interview guide* approach and the *informal conversational interview*. The first interview was carried out with Claudia at her office which was also the meeting venue (apart from those of Martes Campesinos), we arranged to meet earlier than the regular meeting. This particular interview followed the format which Turner

describes as general interview guide approach, I was following a structured interview guide which was used more as a checklist to return every time for checking if key areas were covered or not. According to Turner, the structure of these type of interview needs to be flexible for the researcher to be able to adapt and get a more personalized interview with each participant. Such an example would be the thematic of religion in my interview, which was a topic that I had not given any consideration until it came up powerfully during the interview with Claudia. Of course, I followed her and asked her for clarifications when she brought it up and naturally I adjusted my next interview guide to include it. The strength of this method lies on its ability to get to cover the same key areas from each interviewee. (Turner, 2015) The interview with Inez Fernandez was carried out in the same format as well.

The other interview was conducted at the *Oficina de Interculturalidad* (which has been mentioned above as part of the larger institution CBC) When I first approached the office, I had an appointment with Ligia so the plan was to do a one-to-one interview with her. When I arrived at the office though, I found four people, three of them working at the office and one who was doing her internship. After introducing myself, my investigation and the purpose of my visit, Ligia suggested that we do the interview right away; ‘So we are doing a focused group interview’ she told me. I was taken completely off guard and of course I had not planned an interview for a group. Besides, I had no experience and I was not familiar with the method, so it was not a surprise when listening to it later, I found out many of my questions were not covered adequately. We had a complementary interview a couple of weeks later, this time only two of them were present (Ligia and Rafael).

In their work Gustafsson Jertfelt, Blanchin and Li (2016), two European and a Chinese researcher investigate the role of culture while conducting interviews in the context of the Chinese society. They conducted a series of studies based on the technique of open ended interviews and they encountered a pattern of complications. Even though the researchers had already explained the context of the study, the Chinese respondents tended to look for the ‘correct answer’ or think in a structured and hierarchical way. In a communal and timid society issues of privacy and talking about one’s emotion were not easy to approach while the respondents would often swift the questions to the interviewer. All these coupled with a slight suspicion for the westerners brought up the strong need for adaptability. The role of the researcher is once more underlined, how their pre-conceptions and the subjective setting may influence the ecological validity of the data. (Gustafson et al, 2016)

Intercultural research may come with a specific set of problems. The present study came with

differentiated problems than the ones mentioned by the authors above, still the element of culture was a distinct characteristic in the interviews carried out. At first I was also a European researcher conducting interviews with the campesinos, in the case of Claudia and the *Oficina de Interculturalidad* my role was established as that of the outsider, in a sense that I lacked the empathy and identification they may feel. On the contrary with Inez, as she was not of campesino origin herself, there was a more dialogical relationship where she had more knowledge than me in regards to specific topics about interculturalism in Cusco. Claudia was way more passionate than everybody else to show off the qualities (and the superiority?) of the campesinos while Rafael wanted to give a detailed image of the discrimination against them; in these two latter case it seemed to me that they were trying to serve an agenda towards the reinforcement of their ethnic group.

Data Analysis

Ethnographic research should have a characteristic ‘funnel’ structure, being progressively focused over its course. While this progressive focusing may lead to the development of theories there are ethnographies that are purely descriptive. (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Even though they may not involve any attempts to theorize, they are nonetheless constructions involving selection and interpretation. They may serve as a tool for scientific research and they are useful in exploring unknown cultures and challenging mainstream stereotypes (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) The findings of the present study are based on a combination of empirical data collection via participant observation and interviews with what could be called ‘key people’.

The goal of the data analysis is not to generate any theoretical models or explanations of any kind, as such it will remain in the descriptive level described by Hammersley and Atkinson. Using the thick description of Clifford Geertz, I will attempt to give a descriptive account of various elements which should shed light to those parts of the life of the campesinos of Cusco that need the intervention of the interculturalism scheme. According to the scholars concrete descriptions usually cover many different facets of the phenomena they portray, they give a rounded picture and open up all manner of theoretical possibilities. Of course, the present description could cause more questions and open up the way for studies involving the examination of causal relationships or the suggestions of practices and policies to deal with problems, as Hammersley and Atkinson mention “as with all journeys, something is left behind” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 161).

Developing concepts and indicators

Due to the nature of ethnographic research, the collection and analysis of data does not follow a structured strategy; the data are not organized in terms of predetermined analytical categories. Neither does ethnography follow a structured format which is used as a mould for the data nor is each step a separate chapter which can be examined without the presence of the others. (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, Brewer, 2000). As such collection and analysis are intertwined processes which take form by the presence in the field and guide the writing of the ethnography and the final result is an iterative procedure of categorizing and re-categorizing the data.

In the present research, I ended up generalizing a number of concepts which include the most recurrent categories of the data. Some of the strongest indicators that came up were developed in a form of dual contradictions; self-sufficiency and preservation, territory and mining, dependency and exploitation, racism and counter-racism. All the categories came up via the process of analysis, they were iterative, each one was the direct outcome of the previous one and all of them could not exist without the rest. All of them guided the way to one definitive concept, the concept of identity. A definitive concept is defined by Blumer (1954) as “precisely to what is common to a class of objects, by the aid of the clear definition of attributes or fixed bench-marks” (Blumer, 1954) Such a common concept among the campesinos was their identity which seemed to be defined by the above mentioned indicators.

The concept of identity is closely connected to the concept of culture which is again defined by significant indicators such as the language -here Quechua- and religion. Finally, interculturalidad is the requested concept to be investigated via the categories of discrimination, representation and organization. The categories and concepts were the natural outcome of the patterns that emerged through the data collection and the process of the coding was lengthy and immerse and required a toleration of ambiguity in the beginning, until building up the categories, with a degree of certainty.

Analysis

Hammersley and Atkinson talk about an emphasis which should be put in place while in the process of ethnographic analysis, an emphasis on *social action*. “This emphasis (...) demands analysis of the socially shared means whereby people construct their social worlds through engagement in concerted social activities” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 168) and helps with the understanding of how people construct their identities within institutional contexts. In order to understand what people are doing and

why, one needs to explore the meanings that people attribute to social action, which means to the means and methods they use in order to achieve “orderly conduct” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) According to the authors, one of the most important components of social action is talk, since the social actors do things with words. In the Casa Campesina, the meetings I was attending were a brilliant example of social action through talk, the participants were giving their viewpoints and offering explanations of events or justifications of particular sets of actions. The meetings were no more, than shared social meanings of common matters, they were preoccupied with, serving the construction of particular settings where they could express their identities.

When I arrived at the Casa Campesina, it was just one month prior to the second round of the Presidential elections. There were two candidates running their campaigns; Keiko Fujimori, the daughter of the famous dictator Alberto Fujimori and Pedro Pablo Kuczynski (PPK). The former was running with the conservative party Fuerza Popular and the latter with the center-right party Peruanos Por el Kambio (PPK). Both of them from a family origin other than Peruvian -even though they both were born and grown up in the country- would raise concern to the campesinos, Fujimori even more due to the well known authoritarian past of her father (who is now serving his a 25 years sentence in Lima). Both were not considered as suitable state leaders by the campesinos.

The campesinos were really preoccupied with issues of **representation**. Representation was a recurrent topic in which they would return frequently, explicitly or implicitly. One of the participants of the Casa Campesina was a regional political leader; during the first meeting I participated, he said emphatically ‘We have to make a [political] party’. The issue of representation was brought in the topic of capable or incapable leaders which for the campesinos was embodied in problematic examples of leaders who have gone to Lima and ‘have been converted’ or have ‘sold their values’. Such statements were supplemented by the interviewees at the *Oficina de Interculturalidad (OdI)* where Ligia confirmed them in a way, by commenting that there is no campesino representation; an active, vivid and sufficient representation. There have been reported cases where the leaders not only do not represent the villages but they isolate themselves into their own context and forget about the population they are in charge of. To the other extreme, sometimes, they are even abusing the confidence shown by the people. The campesino representation is mostly intermediary, and according to the OdI there is no more representation in a political level, because of the lack of communication between the leaders and the people they are supposedly representing. They also mentioned corruption and how people have lost confidence because their leaders, very often, have been corrupted by the economic wealth they may be offered when they

leave their province.

During another of the 'Martes Campesinos' a social worker stated "*Ellos que manejan el país son Gringos*" (Those who handle the country are 'Gringos') There was a general tendency to talk about foreigners who have been taking advantage and exploiting the country. From politics to tourism and the most equivocal issue of mining. Such a discourse was ordinary for the campesinos; the participant who was quoted above talking about the need for the creation of a campesino political party, also talked in two different meetings about; a French, a Japanese and a United States 'empire' who have been appointing politicians and party candidates in order to manipulate Peru. He also characterized the marriage of Keiko Fujimori to a person from the United States as a geostrategic policy in order for the two countries to maintain a close relationship. I was impressed to hear him saying that 'voting for whomever of the foreigners is equivalent to being a traitor'. Generally, he was pretty critic and abrupt and always advised not to vote for neither of the candidates since not only were they incapable of representing campesinos but they would also be unwilling. The influence of similar ideologies became apparent when, during the second pre-election debate (which we were watching via YouTube during a 'Martes Campesinos' meeting), Keiko Fujimori decided to open her speech with a greeting in Quechua. The reactions of the audience were very expressive, they received her effort with extreme irony and doubtfulness and a sensation as if they were being deceived. In the customary discussion that followed, a participant ridiculed her pretentious affection to the provinces by describing her attitude in her pre-election campaign visits, which she was carrying out only for the sake of media demonstration.

In the ODI, they explained how the public mentality in Peru functions; by political participation what is meant is just voting the very day of the elections. They also talked about existent campesino organizations which in reality fail to represent the individuals, they are self-nominated as indigenous and as such they end up as 'ghost organizations'. In the same mood, Inez Fernandez said that even though decentralization has allowed more people of campesino origin to enter into the regional politics and the majority of the regional mayors are campesinos, still there is not a concise representation of the indigenous Andean culture, neither as an object nor as an expression. It could be Pachamama¹² or 'Quyllurit'i'¹³, which still retains a mystical character connected to elements and ceremonies of the past.

12 Pachamama is a goddess revered by the indigenous people of the Andes. She is also known as the earth/time mother. In Inca mythology, Pachamama is a fertility goddess who presides over planting and harvesting, embodies the mountains, and causes earthquakes. She is also an ever-present and independent deity who has her own self-sufficient and creative power to sustain life on this earth.

13 Quyllurit'i is a religious festival that takes place on the slopes of Mount Ausangate, in the town of Sinakara in the province of Quispicanchi, in the Peruvian department of Cuzco. It is one of the largest religious activities in the southern Peruvian highlands, held

She was also more subtle when talking about the issue, along with mentioning campesino regional leaders as an example of good practices, she pointed out with optimism the upcoming youth leaders. Representation lies in the broader topic of **organization**. Many times the campesinos would complain about the organization, or better yet the lack of it. Statements from the swift ‘we need to be organized’ to the harsh ‘when will we ever organize ourselves?’ were some of the customary phrases to be heard in various occasions among the campesinos of Cusco. Organization was a very important topic for them, they were aware of the big need to organize themselves for the preservation and the promotion of their communities. However a majority did not seem to comprehend the very idea of what this organization meant and many of them reproduced it more as a customary saying which has been repeatedly said for a long period of time and has eventually unconsciously been internalized. Also neither in Casa Campesina nor in the workshops I attended in Chumbivilcas or Espinar, did anyone ever give a definition or a rough description of what was meant by organization, its components or what kind of strategies were required to achieve organization. As such, organization remained a blurred notion which was mostly used as a point of self-criticism for the very inability of achieving it as a means of an improvement for the campesino communities.

Oficina de Interculturalidad had a more concise explanation which would supplement the participants, in technocratic terms. Communitarian organization does exist according to them, while the most important and effective form of organization is the “*Rondas Campesinos*”. There is also a federal organization but one more time, nobody is satisfied with their level of representation. Campesino organization is powerful and efficient in a local, communitarian level but they have been unable to achieve an interdisciplinary and more rigid management in the political sphere. Using the wording of the OdI, one feels recognized and protected within their own community but once they get out of it, they are left without any support or assistance. What has been missing, is an intercommunitary association, “*distrital, provincial, regional y nacional*” for the better service of every single community and their mutual cooperation. At the OdI they also argued that the NGOs have a stronger organization. It was my observation though, that villages affected by mining, like the ones I visited, both Espinar and Chubivilcas, seemed to have gone a lengthy process for informing and organizing their communities and it was obvious that whenever there is a supreme need, organization, is indeed achieved; for instance the corn producers have their own

annually in honor of the Lord of Quyllurit'i with active participation of large number of devotees autodenomian nations from various towns and cities. This festival and the sanctuary of Quyllurit'i were declared cultural heritage of the nation on August 10, 2004.2 Subsequently in November 27, 2011 UNESCO added the “Pilgrimage to the sanctuary of the Lord of Qoyllurit'i” as part of the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

association likewise the craftswomen, but what is lacking is interdisciplinary organization.

All the same, Claudia mentioned that it is necessary for the campesinos to gather at Casa Campesina because it is the only place in Cusco where they can meet and chat with each other. But then one could wonder if these meetings were really helpful for the allegedly nonexistent organization they constantly complained about. According to Claudia it was noticeable that the organization of the campesino communities had diminished lately and it is more scarce and weak adding that even though the campesinos have their Board of Directors, like a local government, the situation has been gradually worsening.

In her ethnography, “The Myth of ‘Weak Ties’ and the Ghost of the Polish Peasant: Informal Networks of Polish Post-Transition Migrants in the UK and Germany” Małgorzata Irek challenges the supposedly weak ties of the Polish immigrants in Germany and the UK, by demonstrating the strength of the Polish informal networks, which seemed to be working just on the opposite side. According to her, the informal networks worked indeed as a strong connection between the Poles by establishing “the plurality, omnipresence and instrumental effectiveness” of them (Irek, 2011:0). Seemingly, in this research I will challenge the main discourse of the campesino discontent with their state of organization and argue that the campesino organization was strong enough to have reached levels of primarily uniting in their efforts to perceive their common identity and fight for their rights and resources. Just the fact, that they were asking for organization was a strong indication that they were conscious of the omnipresent needs of their communities and the tools by which they should proceed to acquire them. The topic of the workshop which took place in Espinar was the monitoring of the communitarian environment, by presenting the results of various monitoring institutions on the quality of the water. There I saw the embodiment of the organization of campesinos towards their reinforcement in terms of both knowledge and justice.

Hammersley and Atkinson in their manual about ethnographic analysis (2007) warn about the dangers of not taking into account the social context of the interviewees, especially the interviewees attitude towards the researcher and their perception of the research subject. In this context, seems like Claudia, the interviewees at the ODI and Inez have a totally different agenda in their mind. In both the above concepts, the former highlighted mostly the inadequacies of campesino representation and organization while Inez found it more handy to talk about the positive examples and the societal development. To go further by associating their interviews to their profession and social position, the three representatives of Casa Campesina focused mainly on the micro level, by mentioning individualized examples while Inez was taking the macro level and the angle of the state. To monitor the levels of potential bias in the regards to

the concepts, I will argue that they emerged spontaneously by the participants as well as in the interviews they came out as inevitable topics, when talking about campesinos. Finally, even if all of the interviews took a different stance, they did converge on the need for improvement which was facilitated by the constant change of the campesino society.

Before exploring issues of representation and organization one needs to wonder who are the campesinos and which is their **identity**. Even though it is quite a wide term, which cannot be defined precisely even by the most self-aware campesinos, an expressive summary would be that campesino is; an agrarian person who lives and works in the countryside to produce foodstuff for self-consumption, has Quechua roots, a very little access to quality services and little exercise of their rights. It comes out imperative to analyze how, at the ODI, the discourse of self-identification made an extreme turning point. Even though the question was formulated as ‘what is it that makes a person identify as a campesino’, quickly Rafael, one of the interviewees, shifted the conversation from what it is to how it is seen from the outside and the state: Campesino is a very poor, ‘lazy’ person who lacks knowledge and is being discriminated. The state has to ‘do them the favor to provide them with social support’. They have been so much discriminated and feel as if they are incapable that they have internalized these notions, they have convinced themselves that they must be just like that. As a result, they are ashamed to admit who they are and try to convert themselves and westernize. When the latter happens, all the same they will be discriminated because they do not speak good Spanish and they will be occupied in menial jobs, the state ‘has not prepared them for working in an office’. “*Ser campesino en Perú es terrible*” (Being campesino in Peru is terrible) he concluded, to my surprise. Rafael’s reaction to a seemingly simple question was used as a means for him to exploit and subsequently object to the unfair treatment of the campesinos before Ligia protested as a means of compensation both for my question above but also for what one would call the campesino dignity, she did not wish the campesinos to be defined solely by external factors and even less in negative terms. So, she argued that campesino is also a person who has a distinctive knowledge, heritage and language. A person who is tied to a geographic territory but does not have proprietary relations with it. It is genuinely a person who is living a specific way of life, who works in agriculture and produces what has always been produced by the ancestors or improves the products because ‘nothing is static’. Campesinos have a history which is tied to the space and time, it may be a history who has suffered a lot of discrimination but also it is a history rich in its wisdom and unique in its heritage.

To see how has the campesino identity changed one needs to go over a small analysis on campesino history and sociology. The campesinos of the 70s and 80s to the campesinos of the 21st century have had

profound changes. The former have been a lot more invisible by the state, even more on the ‘*época de la hacienda*’ when campesinos were just the property of someone. The campesinos of today have different perspectives, oriented mainly towards topics of rights and education. Nowadays the campesino leaders have launched a reclaim of Quechua and are using more their provinces as adjectives to pronounce their origin; they are *Chumbivilcanos*, *Espinarenses* (from the province of Chumbivilcas and Espinar respectively) etc. This discourse has been reinforced even more by decentralization.

As has been mentioned before, the meetings of Martes Campesinos were devoted to various topics of interest, one of them was of course, the campesino identity. A social worker who was occasionally participating in the ‘Martes Campesinos’ talked about the Quechua people being different by commenting “*Nosotros somos diferentes, antes de ser Peruanos somos Quechuas*” (We are different, before being Peruvians, we are Quechua). And he continued with ‘they want to manipulate us through the school, they teach us the history of the conquerors’. A couple of weeks later he repeated himself by saying that ‘they kill our culture firstly through school and the dominant education and secondly through the church’. The Catholics are experts on that, he did say in an abrupt way! They want to make us Peruvians but we are different. We have a different cosmotheory, we worship nature, the ‘*Pachamama*’. They call it development when they construct a highway for example but we find happiness in staying well with our family and being connected to nature. They are individualists, it is a different way of thinking.’ He started his statement by saying that ‘once the Quechua people learn Castilian, they start thinking like Peruvians’. “*Un autor Boliviano dice que un Indio Castellanizado es un Indio muerto*” (A Bolivian author says that an Indian who has been converted is a dead Indian). All the above were romantic notions of a distant past, notions driven from an ideology which supported that campesinos were direct descendants of the Incas, and as such they had (or should possess) all the values that used to distinguish the great empire. In reality, the whole mentality did not converge with the modern campesino lifestyle, which, like every modern society, is influenced by the global advances and by the efforts to identify and establish itself as a part of the political arena. What is more, the campesino community of Cusco was defined by a kind-of-late neo-liberalization which seemed to prolong their grief for the cultural and language loss.

The concern in regards to the campesino identity and how it has been changed, or even worse distorted was widespread among the participants of Casa Campesina. According to the Peruvian Ministry of Culture, there are 55 indigenous communities in Peru¹⁴ but Claudia claimed in her interview that there is

14 <http://bdpi.cultura.gob.pe/lista-de-pueblos-indigenas>

not a consensus over the issue. Also, there is the fact that in the Andean zone, there are no more indigenous but other communities such as campesinos “which is a superior category of the indigenous”. Further investigation in the way it is a superior category was met with self-repeating comments such as ‘because now they are not indigenous anymore, they have become campesinos, hence superior’, statements that confirmed once more the uncertainty over a precise definition. To clarify further one could see if these identities follow a hierarchy but the reality is that both terms are questionable by many organizations because they are terms that ‘have been imposed from above’.

Since the term indigenous was an insult, it changed to campesino. The drawback of this change is that it is omitting the culture; campesino is the person who works in agriculture it is just an occupation. But also the term has always been associated with the indigenous population and the rural zone, and the people prefer using it instead of the term indigenous. Inez was the one who maintained a relative distance and allegedly objective position, she tried to define the campesino identity in its evolutionary historical and linguistic form. With her, the usual question who are the campesinos ended up as a mini analysis of the discourse of hybridity as well as the boundaries between the naming categories. *Indio* is just an insulting word, *Cholo* is the immigrant, the one who is coming to the city and has had the higher ascending rate, it is the one which Marisol de la Cadena refers to as the creation of the dependency theory (de la Cadena, 2006). It is used as an offense in contrary to the *Mestizo* which is not. There is also *Misti*, one who comes from the higher social classes of the provinces, could be “a little white” and is wealthy. It is a creation of the village, it is used more from the people of the provinces in order to characterize the urban(ized) ones as being more coward and less resistible. *Pituko* is another one, but it refers more to the coast and Lima. The term mestizo was also once referred by Rafael but apart from that one could argue that all the above mentioned concepts have lost their power and their use has almost diminished. People are not categorized with such terms anymore and everybody is trying to use terms that will promote and reinforce the group identity of the campesinos. Neither did the campesinos themselves use them under any circumstances. What was back in the decades of the 90s a discourse of categorizing people, inasmuch the everyday as the academic language, seems to have shifted in the second decade of the 21st century, at least in Cusco, where the general public discourse over the ethnic identities seems to have turned towards a more humanistic and inclusive nature.

One way for the campesino participants to position themselves was via the discourse ‘**us versus them**’ where ‘them’ was a blurred notion to include many; from politicians to the *Limeños*. So, **them** would get a meaning which was absurd and wide, they were all; the politicians, the powerful foreigners who were

dominating the country's economy, the governments and local authorities, the 'rest' of the Peruvians who were not campesinos, the them who had been making the campesinos feel inferior and suffer marginalization. It was the them who were positioned on the opposite site of the campesinos trying to make their; language, traditions, religion and genuinely their identity disappear. In her interview Claudia claimed that many people avoid revealing their campesino origin when they go to Lima or other places, since they are ashamed because they are made to feel so. She also complained about the new generations nowadays, who are not able to speak or do not wish to speak Quechua. "*Hemos llegado a un punto de humillación*" (We have reached a point of humiliation) she concluded her thought on the issue while bringing up the discrimination of the past, to an epoch when the campesinos were not even recognized as a people nor their spirituality or work; when practically they were converted into slaves and were dominated by a religion which was not theirs.

A discourse which reveals altogether **discrimination**, probably the most important, relevant and notorious issue of the campesinos. In the Casa Campesina, Claudia and those who took the floor more frequently, would return to the issue and try to analyze it in all its angles. In one of our weekly meetings, within the context of the lack of a campesino representation on a state level, I asked why is there not a campesino candidate and I received a very particular answer from a participant (later that day he told me that he was a professor at the University of Cusco, something that was never confirmed, though). The answer started with a peculiar sentence which was more or less formulated as: 'There are thousands of reasons but I am going to sum up a few important for you'. He then told me that *they* have stigmatized the campesinos as incapable, that 30 years ago it was not even permitted for campesinos to go to school and that the elitist politics do not allow the campesinos to enter in the political life to conclude "*Son así las relaciones de poder*" (It is the way relationships of power are [formulated]).

Inez would give a more subtle picture and attribute discrimination to an a priori, sometimes inevitable, stratification of the society. For her discrimination was a social pathogeny rather than a distinctive character of exclusively campesino communities. On the other hand, at the ODI they added some psychological parameters; the discrimination has been so common for the campesinos, that even they, themselves have accepted and internalized the whole mindset. Part of this indignation is also the fact that the campesinos have gotten accustomed to having intermediaries in defending their cases, as for instance NGOs that attempt to fight for them.

Discrimination and the 'us versus them' discourse are important in approaching and explaining several aspects of the campesino life. Franz Fanon talked about internalized oppression, especially (but not

exclusively) in his book *Black Skin, White Masks*. He examined thoroughly how colonialism is internalized by the colonized by inculcating an inferiority complex and how, through the mechanism of racism, they end up mimicking their oppressors. (Fanon, 1952) Of course Fanon was referring to the colonization of African countries by European imperialists, but one can easily distinguish the resemblance of the situation with that of the Andean campesinos. There have been quite a few scholars who have talked about internalized racism; W. E. B. Du Bois, Stuart Hall and more. More recently Karen D. Pyke attempted to deconstruct the taboo around the study of the issue. (Pyke, 2010) For her, internalized racism is “defined as the individual inculcation of the racist stereotypes, values, images, and ideologies perpetuated by the White dominant society about one’s racial group, leading to feelings of self-doubt, disgust, and disrespect for one’s race and/or oneself.” (Pyke, 2010: 553) She also makes clear that internalized racism is not the result of some cultural or biological characteristic of the subjugated. Nor is it the consequence of any weakness, ignorance, inferiority, psychological defect, gullibility, or other shortcoming of the oppressed. The internalization of oppression is a multidimensional phenomenon that assumes many forms and sizes across situational contexts, including the intersections of multiple systems of domination (Pyke, 2010: 553) Could internalized racism have subconsciously occurred to the campesino communities of Cusco? Was their query for an explicit ethnic (re)identification, the outcome of it or was it a more obscure ideological revolution? Most importantly, could they really find their revitalization in the pursuit of distant past manners and traditions?

The campesinos are finding themselves in an “identity crisis or cultural crisis” commented Rafael and Ligia and there is also a tendency for ‘ethnic (re)identification’ which sometimes is not coming from the campesinos themselves but also from people who have been backing this (re)identification. Rather, I would argue, there is a development in the semantics and pragmatics of ‘ethnicity’ and ‘ethnic relations’. ‘Ethno-genesis’ – becoming conscious of one self as a community that holds an arena of platform with a ‘separate culture’ which is a basis for work, and equally important, more and more includes being able to talk about oneself as a “culture’, ‘local community’ and ‘minority’. The campesinos are gradually renouncing the imposed on them values of colonialism but they do not know exactly where to turn for compensation. How would they name this ‘new’ culture, should they look back to their ‘ancestors’ or maybe the ethno-genesis would revolutionize and broaden out to become the Andean culture?

Culture can very well be examined under an analytical prism off its components, starting with language. **Quechua** has been and is the indigenous language of the Andean campesino population. Quechua is also recognized as the second official language of the country and supposedly it is taught in schools on an

equivalent level with Spanish, it is the *Educación Bilingüe* of Peru. At the Casa Campesina, almost every single person of the participants spoke Quechua, sometimes they would discuss in Quechua for an extended time. Of course, there were others who would speak it fluently and others not so much. Quechua, like every language, is a dynamic, alive organism which connects the campesinos. It has been changed over the years with imported influences from Spanish and what was an impressive phenomenon was that the campesinos could use both languages at the same time. Very often did I observe them switching from the one to the other in just an instant or they would mix them. In other instances they would include Spanish words when they spoke Quechua or they could have a conversation where one of the correspondents would speak Quechua and the other Spanish. I felt a sort of identification with the ethnic community I also belong back to Greece. Being of Albanian origin, my family migrated 16 years ago. In our reunions, I have noticed a similar attitude towards language and traditions. Many times the people speak both languages, we have created new words that do not typically exist in neither of the languages, we have replaced some of the Albanian vocabulary with the equivalent of Greek and generally there is a tendency of mixing the languages. The case is more profound on younger generations who tend to also forget or avoid Albanian or just find it easier and more convenient to speak Greek. This latter case I encountered during my fieldwork in Casa Campesina, where I heard Claudia complaining that Quechua one day might disappear. She also underlined it on the interview we had and it was mentioned by the interviewees of the ODI. They spoke about campesinos who avoid teaching their children Quechua because they want to protect their children from the discrimination they may have faced in the past. And it was true, it confirmed a small diagram of language acquisition across the generations. Grandparents were mostly native Quechua speakers with little or no Spanish skills. Next generation is bilingual as for instance Claudia, Ligia, Rafael etc and grandchildren have Spanish as their mother tongue with passive, or only oral Quechua skills such as Claudia's daughter. The diagram would be like Q/s, Q/S, q/S, an outcome of urbanization, education and the assimilation model which has been employed by the country so far. Quechua in the 1800s was used by the 78% of the population while in the 1920s it halved to 40%, today only the 13.5% of the kids do still speak it, Rafael explained the numbers. Bilingual education, even though it was welcomed as a stone from the scholars, according to my interviewees, it is not functioning except only in theory, they commented (something that the time span of the study did not allow to explore further).

A widespread fear of a potential extinction of Quechua with the years, because it is not widely used anymore, by younger generations was expressed also. While, the villages are still maintaining it, the big

and cosmopolitan cities are not. What is more, Quechua has constantly been an element of discrimination and many people still feel ashamed to use it. Rafael specifically said that Quechua is a language that does not serve the campesinos, it is the means to lead them to more discrimination and Vilma assured me that campesinos are being more discriminated because they do speak only Quechua and they do not understand Spanish and the official, the official working language of the state. All the same happens in education and the quality of it as well as the health sector. Being an expert in health, she explained how the specialized doctors exist only in the cities and those who are assigned to the communities are just technicians.

On the contrary, Inez's opinion that the language has started being much more appraised confirmed my observations. In the past Quechua was more an element of discrimination and everyone was trying to avoid it let alone seek to learn it. But now it has gained value, there are people who seek to learn it and many institutions require people who have speaking and writing abilities, while it is also a considerable advantage for one's CV. And there is also pride in speaking it; while previously it was attributed shame, today it represents a certain dignity and self-estimation. I also noticed a sense of pride when speaking Quechua, by quite a few people, including Claudia who had developed strong nationalist feelings for her campesino identity. Claudia was also a person who would insist on them using Quechua during the meetings and would derive joy if this was happening. However, I was confused by her communicating in Spanish with her 12 year old adolescent daughter, who could definitely understand Quechua but I never heard her speaking.

I also noticed some individuals who would prefer to use the Castilian, for instance a social worker and a lady who replaced Claudia in the coordination of the Martes Campesinos for a couple of weeks. Then, there were the others who would speak Quechua very well but their Spanish level was elementary. Usually the latter would be men of older age who lacked education and worked on the manual labor. The few women who participated rarely, mostly representatives of the older generations did not speak any Spanish at all. This did not apply in Chumbivilcas where I met women who would speak fluently both languages. But again, the ones who did so, had attended education and they were also politically organized with the aim of promoting their rights. The most distinctive example and the one I singled out, both due to personal admiration and her activist achievements, was a lady who was the coordinator of an association of campesino women who had been forcibly sterilized by the government of Alberto Fujimori during the 1990s. When I met her, it was just a couple of days after she had given an interview to the Guardian. Their case was so interesting and touchy that it has caught the attention of international

media and NGOs.

So, there seemed to exist a **gap** between the gender and the subsequent roles that which one was ascribed to. The women were predominantly in charge of the domestic and reproductive labor, while the men were the ones who had a wider social life and more opportunities to get out of the house. At the Odl, I was told that nowadays there is a greater exercise of the rights of the campesinos, at least in terms of knowing that there are rights to be exercised, but there is a huge difference between men and women. A notorious example of this was Casa Campesina, where as has been mentioned previously, the overwhelming majority of the participants were men. In my 8 weeks of fieldwork, the women I encountered in the meetings can be counted on the fingers of just one hand. But, even when they came to the office or the hall, they did not participate or have an opinion. When, I asked Claudia why she told me that women do not get involved in politics and that they are often restricted to the domestic labor. The gender roles of the campesinos are oriented to a more patriarchal society where men have an active social life which allows them to get out of the house more easily and frequently. Whereas the women are more tied to the house and the domestic labor including for being mothers. Also, the latter have had more obstacles in regards to their education and there are quite a few who are illiterate. But lately their role is improving and the gap is closing "*poco a poco*". Rafael would agree by mentioning that men have more opportunities to go out unlike women; when a woman is getting married, she misses her liberty, she depends completely on her husband. The woman is going to be 'at her house for her house', on the contrary, men are much more independent. Only the women who have had the chance to get out and train, the ones who have terminated the reproductive cycle of their life, are the ones who have more chances. They younger ones "*forget about it...apart from being violated physically, psychologically and sexually...they will not get out*" were the exact words of him. Vilma would add some distinctive characteristics which are not understood elsewhere. For example, one may see that when walking the husband is always the one leading the way while the wife follows behind, but at home, the wife is also participating in the decision making and her position is quite strong.

On the other hand, the women are the ones who have always been wearing the traditional costumes whilst the men would dress in more western and contemporary clothes. Thus the campesino women are the ones who preserve more the campesino identity or as Marisol de la Cadena puts it "women are more Indian", in accordance with dominant stereotypes. (de la Cadena, 2006) As such they are also the ones who conserve more the Quechua tradition and identity. The women are the ones who conserve more the traditions, clothes as well as the language and other rituals. For Inez, especially the food, fortunately

there have not been any state interventions to regulate the food!

On one of my last fieldwork days, I took a piece of paper and a pen and asked those who had come to the office/room of the meetings to tell me a few basic words, like; *Hello, Welcome, Good Bye, Sister, Brother, House, Bread* etc in Quechua so I could write them down and have them remembered. It was extremely interesting to observe how this simple action prompted a whole debate over the origin and the authenticity of a number of expressions in Quechua and how they may have been altered by or from Spanish. The sequence of dialogue followed a natural route; from language to traditional being to religion and history.

Religion. Religion, in contrary to other topics such as traditions and language was one of the themes which I had not given a lot of thinking prior to my participation in Casa Campesina until it came up powerfully during the interview with Claudia. The first weeks until the 6th of July, when the elections took place, the major topics of the meetings were wrapped up around politics. When the elections were over, the participants started talking about other issues as well, among them the controversial subject of religion. And it was not until then, when I started listening conversations about the campesino religion and how Catholicism did not express them anymore, at least not all of them. Claudia, following the remarks made by a participant who was quoted above saying that campesinos have a different religion, the one they inherited directly from the Incas, continued ‘if it is mentioned to a Catholic, they will blame you for paganism, satanism and as such committing a huge sin’. Before, she had told me something similar in our interview; ‘the ones of us that have realized the truth, do not follow the Catholic religion anymore because it is not ours’. But then again, there seemed to be a lack of knowledge in terms of which religion they should follow. Apparently, it was clear that the Campesinos were not and should not be Catholics but neither was there a proposed alternative, at least not in Casa Campesina during the meetings I attended. This would explain the entrance of various sects. Even though, campesinos still do practice Catholicism which is the mainstream religion, they are quite a lot of abandoned customs and an obvious syncretism which denounces the old-way of practicing religious rituals.

Another way around on how to explore the campesinos identity of today was, consciously or not, by naming their **problems**. Indeed, the problems that campesinos were facing are unique to them apparently but also they put the campesino population in a distinctive position towards the state and the rest of the ethnic groups of Peru. Problems in regards to **territory** and the mining were the first ones to come up, followed by issues of; rights, autonomy and marginalization.

The important and controversial issue of **minery**, being the centerpiece of their difficulties, was one of my

very first distinguished interview questions. In the interview, I asked Claudia if those enterprises working on the field at the moment are from Peru. At this point, I have to admit that it was a well-planned, careful and deliberate question, since I had already noticed how critic Claudia was about the activity of the foreign businesses in the country, for her it was a way of dependency and exploitation. And again she told me with that regretful voice ‘no, they are not from Peru they are from Switzerland, from China, Canada...’. For her a village that has had mine, is left with more poverty than advancement.

In the past the communities were a collective property but during the 90s and the Fujimori governance new norms for *splitting up and individualizing* have taken place, described Claudia. I cannot help but mention the simultaneous sad, ironic and repentance tone she gave to this phrase, it really seemed like an affective topic and for Claudia this was more like a betrayal of the ancient sacred places and customs, when the common terrain becomes an individual property. At the ODI, mining was referred to as the most significant campesino problem today bringing the inevitable confrontation with and by the state in terms of territory and property, starting with the mining companies. There is uncertainty over the territory and it seems the campesinos have never been consulted on the matter. The only way for them to react and bring their agenda to the front is by protesting. But not only this method is not recognized, all the contrary the state criminalized protesting and there have been a lot of cases of campesinos who have been detained.

Along with the above mentioned themes, there were **self-sufficiency** and **preservation**. According to Rafael, in economic terms the campesinos are not contributing to the country’s GDP, they are consequently financially unsustainable for the Peruvian state. Even though they claim they are the population who sustains agriculture, to my big surprise I learned that Cusco region is not actually able to contribute to the financial growth of Peru. But their inability is strongly connected to the discourse of **dependency and exploitation** which is a longitudinal situation, starting from the way governments have been always seductive of the campesinos and their territories, including minery. According to the law, the campesinos have the right of ownership up to 50 centimeters of the farmland depth, anything that goes deeper is of “international interest”. (Eguren Neuenschwander, 2009) Indeed, for Claudia, the issue of dependency and exploitation were of great importance and she never missed a chance to mention it. For example, the “*Chinos*” (the Chinese) are very smart, look at what they have done, she told me once by pointing at a table cover next to us. They fabricate products with our iconography, and when one (apparently a campesino) sees it, they identify themselves. The ‘Chinos’ were probably a silent enemy, since Keiko Fujimori’s name had been lately swapped with the nickname “*la China*”, even though her family’s origin was from Japan. A couple of weeks later, I did connect her statement with an incident I

was informed about from an outside but credible source, the Sunday of the elections, a Japanese lady went to the Casa Campesina to offer voluntarily her assistance. Not only she was not welcomed but she was basically dismissed from the place.

There exists also a great problem of **racism**; Rafael went as far to say that even school children are racists in Peru because they are taught to. In one of the last meetings I attended, Claudia was recounting an article she had been reading where a resident from Lima, right after the elections had been saying some very insulting words regarding the people of Southern Peru, including expressions like ‘why don’t you die’ and ‘you are imposing on us the governments you like and vote’. “*Un Fujimoritsa narcotráfico*” (A drug trafficker, supporter of Fujimori) she concluded her thought, meaningfully.

Dependency, exploitation, discrimination, marginalization and genuinely a whole discourse of colonialism which was still prevalent in the thinking patterns of the campesinos would cause what will be called in this study, **counter racism**. Attempting to define this term; when, due to a wide range of reasons, a group of people suffers racism and discrimination over a course of an extended time period, usually a few decades or more and within one or two generations they project their reaction as a strong racism and hatred towards the people who have insofar been discriminating and exploiting them. It is a human attitude based on reaction and counteraction, when one is being offensive to somebody, then the second will just try to defend himself by creating the appropriate system to do so. In simple every day terms one would say, counter racism is developed on the basis of the thought ‘if they do not like us, then why would we like them’. It would be at least unwise to perceive the term as an oversimplified reaction. Drawing on my background again, I have seen counter racism happening in my ethnic community back in Greece, when for various reasons, one fails or is not allowed to integrate himself into the hosting society, they will develop mechanisms for justifying their position within it. I felt the same with what was happening between campesinos and the rest of the population they have picked as liable for their unprivileged position, either they were the ‘Chinos’ or the religious Catholic leaders etc. Counter racism, many times could be stronger than the racism which caused its appearance in the first place, because it is based on experiential incidents which appeal directly to the sentimental sphere of those involved and it is as dangerous as any form of racism.

A representative example would be Claudia, for her it was very important to protect the dignity of campesinos at every cost, sometimes even by justifying their actions. When I mentioned the problem of teenage alcoholism that Chumbivilcas (which happens to be her birthplace) seems to be facing, she told me ‘which place does not have a problem with alcoholism, if we make a study in every big city of how

many bars, pubs etc. exist, what would the conclusion be?”. And she continued that Chumbivilcas now is a mining zone and wherever there is mining there is money which equals to more social problems. Now this second point was partially real, mining was indeed contributing to the social problems but it was not the exclusive cause of them; in reality Chumbivilcas was an extremely remote place with little to no opportunities for the young people. Coupled with poverty and exclusion, it is not hard to image why young people would drive themselves to alcohol. Many other times had I heard Claudia claiming “we are innocent” which was a mere, unfounded generalization. On the final days, when it somehow occurred to talk about campesinos, I expressed the opinion that their behavior is extended over the two extremes, they are either very pleasant and kind or all the contrary. She did agree with me, but she added the detail that for being the bad extreme they need to have been provoked; her means of objective idealization in order not to spoil the image she would like campesinos to have.

Franz Fanon described internalized oppression as a structural outcome of uneven opportunities and inequality and Pablo Gonzalez Casanova notes that internal colonialism is above all structural; bound to the official policy of the state (Fanon, 1952, Gonzalez Casanova, 1965). To examine the relationship between these two terms would be out of the scope of this study, however to investigate their combination would mean to shed light on the many nuances of the life of campesino communities in Cusco, including counter racism. Gonzalez Casanova names internal colonialism as “the result of an encounter between two races, cultures, or civilizations, whose genesis and evolution occurred without any mutual contact up to one specific moment. The conquest or the concession is a fact which makes possible intensive racial and cultural discrimination, thus accentuating the ascriptive character of colonial society.” (Gonzales Casanova, 1965: 33) For him, political independence brings up a notion of an integral independence and of neocolonialism. Independence does not necessarily bring a structural change, on the contrary in the name of a “decolonization” policy the internal and most importantly the international social structure remains the same. As a result the direct domination of foreigners over natives is swapped with that of natives by natives, which case applies in the Peruvian Andes as well.

It is difficult to ascertain whether inequality in technical development has more influence over the formation of the colonial system than the colonial system itself has on uneven development (Gonzalez Casanova, 1965). I would argue that is a vicious circle whose continuous momentum requires the intervention of an external factor to break it. For the campesinos that factor can be found in the synthesis of the answers of my interviewees to the ultimate question *¿Qué falta?* (What is missing). Either the problem lies in the politics and the authorities and the fact that they do not make commitments to change

the whole situation and the goal to be achieved is “*Valorar y no discriminar*” (To value and not discriminate) as reported by Claudia or the solution can be found in Ligia’s recognition and her request to use ‘how much’ is missing as a topic for constructing interculturalism.

The campesino **culture** is a powerful and animated organism while simultaneously it is being the vehicle for their growth and evolution. For Inez Fernandez culture is used more as a utilitarian form of claiming benefits rather than an identity. Nowadays the campesinos have shown interest in establishing elements of the culture as cultural heritage. But she warns of the dangers of such actions because once something is considered as cultural heritage, rather than preserving the culture per se, it cannot change anymore and this way the culture is missing its very fundamental principles, change and advancement. It becomes more of a tourists product than a vivid element of their own life. Andean culture has also been used by the state as a means of commercialization and tourist consumption. Various festivities ancient ceremonies, traditional dances and clothes made of alpaca fiber, the gastronomy are all advertized as objects for tourist consumption and a ‘medium to get to know the local culture’. Let alone Machu Picchu and the whole Inca terrain which was the main discourse of selling off Cusco’s picturesque mystery.

In reality, the campesinos were far from the marketing image of the tourist industry but also far from the extreme objectification of some of my interviewees. In fact they are ‘regular’ people who are trying to resolve their problems and position themselves in the time and space of a globalized world, which has disregarded them for a long time. They are trying to survive and evolve in their lives, as Claudia and Ligia themselves told me, their concerns are; finding a job or educating their children. They want their children to be educated because they have realized that education is the only medium to escape the misery of ignorance and poverty but they also want them to follow studies and professions which will tag the desired social status and financial prosperity. They are also working on topics of the defense of their resources with the topic of language as secondary. Moreover, there is the issue of food safety control (*seguridad y soberanía alimentable*), health and cultural pertinence.

Like any other person, campesinos try to encounter their identity and culture in the small every day actions and they are concerned with issues of health and prosperity. A characteristic example could be the internet and how it has improved the lives of campesinos but only for those who have access to it as well as the ones who have at least the elementary knowledge to handle a computer or a smartphone. The use of cellphones especially is very interesting, everybody does possess a mobile phone including illiterate women. But, since they cannot write or read anything on their phone, they have invented their own codes to note down and later recognize their contacts, I was told purposefully by Ligia; another

powerful example of their efforts to overcome the challenges of modernization by being part of it. Of course, under no circumstances, should this be perceived as an underestimation, neither for the suffering history of them nor for the unfulfilled visions. On the contrary, it should be considered as a matter of reinforcing equality and constructing interculturalism. There is a lot of diversity and multiculturalism in Peru but there is still a long road towards **interculturalidad**. In multicultural countries such as Peru, the issue of the rights lies on the acknowledgment that ‘you are part of...’ Indeed, viewing the campesinos as completely distinctive and needy is as if putting them once more time in a position of reliance. The interculturalism scheme has its own integrated contradictions and asymmetries, embedded incompatibilities and very recently has started being debated on a state level in Peru. Till now it was more a topic for NGOs and other institutions. It started with bilingual education, the first to make its pilot application, considered a benchmark of interculturalism by scholars and political analysts. Interculturalidad is a matter of cultural enrichment but it is also a hard procedure as is everything trying to switch power relations. Power, discrimination, racism and recognition seem to go together in this rhetoric. In the course of our discussion with Odi, racism was mentioned together with a statement that as long as there is racism, interculturalism will not be possible. A complete turn of education, including reeducating all educators and working with people who are completely devoted to the issue and would do their best to reorganize everything, is the best course of action, for the majority of my interviewees. Inez does not believe that there can be radical changes anymore. For her the transition will and should happen internationally, a civil change and a content revolution with a focus on development in life. The political change needs to be combined with a cultural and humanitarian change and there is a lot more to go, interculturalism is something that has just begun to be touched and analyzed in Peru.

Discussion

Ethnography is a systematic, rigorous scientific research for investigating people and their social context, by means of common sense methods, as is for instance observation. Over the years, ethnography has been criticized for collaborating with colonial powers and using a variety of means to objectify the people who are being studied. It has also been criticized as being subjective due to the presence of a researcher and the interpretative stance they might take, which in turn may be influenced by factors of origin, race, gender, age, social class etc. For those reasons, contemporary ethnographers have invented a safeguarding system, and incorporate into the study presence of the researcher, by taking into account all the preconception and qualities they might bring into the field. Ethnographic sensibility and ethics are

now the core values of ethnographic research, coupled with thick description they are intended to offer accurate accounts of social reality.

As ethnographic research is not a study which follows a predetermined structure, the writing up is not merely a depiction of what was seen in the field but an iterative process which involves ethnographic reflexivity and reflection on one's actions. In the Casa Campesina, a variety of ethnographic elements were used to collect empirical data, via participant observation and interviews and produce descriptive accounts of emergent analytical categories.

Campesinos of Cusco are a distinctive ethnic group with a unique identity, which they are trying to construct by investigating their past and their distinctive characteristics but also by positioning themselves in relation to their history and the global arena. To explore one's identity requires the realization of their uniqueness along with a robust claim for its recognition. Axel Honneth in his work "The Struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts" (1995), assigns three spheres to the concept of recognition; the private, the legal and cultural and the political solidarity. The first refers to the sphere of love and close relationships, the second to the sphere of rights and the third to the sphere of solidarity, where the person is being appreciated by the members of their society. (Honneth, 1995) The campesinos of the region of Cusco are dynamically demanding their recognition in all spheres; the legal, the cultural and the political. In the political sphere especially, one of the constant quests is that of a legitimate representation, capable of promoting their agenda. The legal and the cultural sphere more obviously deal with issues of rights and cultural appropriation. This includes recognition of their; territory, culture, history, language and acquiring their position within the state.

To achieve such a tribute, campesinos need to accomplish a level of 'internal' organization which will allow them to expand their goals. Organization is a polymorphic procedure which requires a complex set of actions and interactions. It is a prerequisite for their representation and their recognition but, at the very moment, it lacks a precise definition. And as much as definition is missing, organization is missing the reach of its ultimate purpose. Regardless its substantial meaning remains present and ready to be applied into social practice. What is essentially going on with the campesinos is, they wish to be organized, they try to be organized but they have not established a measurement for the evaluation of their organization. As such they find themselves in a state of constant criticism which comes from within. In the present project, this self-criticism is being interpreted as the ripe moment of their transition from an irregular mass of people to a self-conscious community.

To define their identity, the campesinos used a discourse of thematic patterns which included special features and problems, including marginalization and discrimination. It was the latter, which made them realize the need for self-identification. Primarily, mining was the most outstanding example of the exploitation of the campesino communities, it was a major obstacle to their development. The mining companies have taken advantage of the campesino territory but worst of all, mining has also been affecting their health, since many campesinos have been detected with heavy metals in their circulatory system. Mining was one of the most affective issues and the one that campesinos were attempting to monitor and control in their own favor, not always successfully, though.

Discrimination was another recurrent theme of the campesinos, interconnected to all the rest of them. Discrimination is a prominent element in every interaction as well as every aspect of the daily and the political life. It was also a leading component of racism. Racism in Cusco is a perplexing system with a lot of nuances. Racism towards the campesinos from the majority of non-campesino population, internalized racism which refers to the internalization of all the negative notions implied by racism, in the case of campesinos internalizing all the features that have been attributed to them since colonialism. Finally, counter racism, a concept which was developed in this study to depict the campesino backlash, a reaction which is driving them to be racist against those groups who have been discriminating them so far.

It is quite complicated to try to understand which are those groups of people that the campesinos are blaming for their discrimination and quite wide. It could be the politicians but also non minority, non campesino members or some wealthy foreign investors. This last point is closely associated with the issues of exploitation, another emergent campesino theme. Exploitation was the result of the lingering presence of exploitative governments and most recently the presence of the mine industry. An indicator which brings us to the relations of power in Cusco and the concept of internal colonialism, a notion of structural political and economic inequalities between regions within a nation state, by inculcating an inferiority complex and through the mechanism of racism, the oppressed end up mimicking their oppressors. Internal colonialism in the case of campesinos worked as a hinder for the achievement of interculturalidad.

Ultimately, interculturalidad. Interculturalism in Peru started as an indigenous movement, what Marisol de la Cadena called an ideological revolution, which encompasses elements of dismissing westernization with a simultaneous emergence of a nationalism which is capable of encompassing the singular Andean

culture into the universal one. According to the scholars, interculturalism in the Latin American context goes just beyond the simple tolerance between cultures, to the point where they construct relations of mutual respect, harmony and understanding. The interculturalism scheme though, has its own integrated contradictions and asymmetries, embedded incompatibilities. The campesinos find themselves in a bit of a negative self-presentation and a mourning of cultural and language loss and interculturalism in Cusco is still being apprehended on an elementary level. Bilingual education in Peru was considered a huge victory, but interculturalidad only recently has started being debated on a state level in. Genuinely, interculturalidad is a licit request in Cusco, there have been a lot of advancements in terms of rights to be acquired. Nevertheless there is a lot more left to advocate to achieve Marisol de la Cadena's quest.

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Appendix

Interview Guide EN

GENERAL

Identity (sense of belonging)

- Who are the campesinos in Cusco?
- What is it that makes a person identify as a campesino, today?
- Has the identity of campesinos changed over the years? If yes, how?
- What was it that made their identity change?
- Please, give me some examples.
- How many campesino communities are there in Cusco?
- The main activities of the campesinos are; agriculture, trade and mining. Specially, here in Cusco corn and alpaca wool. Do you think they are sufficient for making a living?
- For examples, alpaca wool in a product in high demand by the tourists. Are the campesinos making profit of this?
- What more should they do take advantage of their cultivations?

Organisation

- How do the campesinos organise themselves?
- Which are the major topics that interes them in regards to their communities?
- Which are the major topics that interes them outside of the communities?
- Do all the communities have the same organisation?
- Many neighbouring communities have conflicts in regards to the land, how does this affect the campesinos and their development?
- Could you please give me some examples?

NGOs

Casa Campesina

- What is CC doing?
- How is CC working with campesinos?
- In which areas is it assisting them?

- How and in what directions do they need help in the first place?
- Where does the work of CC contribute?

DISCRIMINATION

- Based on the description on its official website, CC is trying to tackle discrimination and inequality and promote intercultural dialogue, through various projects.
- Could you talk to me about these unequal relations and where do they arise from?
- What is it that is causing discrimination in Cusco?
- How are social relations between the different classes formulated in the region?
- Could you please, give me some examples?
- What should the campesinos do to overcome inequality and discrimination?
- What should the state do?
- What should civil society do?
- How successful are the efforts of those people, organisations etc who are working to help campesinos?

GLOBALISATION

- Which is the impact of tourism on the campesinos?
- Which is the impact of the Internet on the campesinos?
- Which is the impact of foreign enterprises, like the ones in tourism and the mining industry?
- In general, how has globalisation affected their communities?
- Do you see an improvement of life conditions or not?

Migration

- Is it easy-ier to find work in big cities? Where do people usually go?
- Is it the young who can leave more easily and more often?
- Where do they usually go?
- Why do you think this is happening?
- What is the impact of this migration to the campesino communities?
- What do you think is happening in Cusco in regards to migration?

Inti Raymi- Fiesta del Sol (The winter solstice celebrations)

- What are these celebrations?
- Where did they start from and what do they represent?

- Who is organising these celebrations? The municipality?
- I guess there must be sponsors? How are they chosen?
- How are they affected by the large influx of tourists for the period?
- What does Fiesta del Sol mean for the campesinos in terms of tradition?
- What does it mean in the contemporary times, (i.e. does it generate new jobs)?

TRADITIONAL/ MODERN SOCIETY

- In the weekly meetings in CC, I have noticed that you use both; Quechua and Spanish. What is the importance of Quechua for the campesino communities?
- The women that I have seen here speak little to no Spanish at all? Why do men have a better knowledge?
- Please give me some examples?
- Moreover, I have noticed that women use to wear traditional Andean costumes in contrary to the men who prefer the more western clothes. Why do you think this is happening?
- I have also noticed that those who participate on the weekly meetings as well as the other days are almost exclusively men? Why is this happening?
- Is this traditional gender role distinction changing over the years? What has it made to change?
- Do young people speak Quechua the same as the older ones?
- If not, what is it that is causing them to fend off?
- How have the campesinos changed in modern times?
- What is the state doing to preserve traditional campesino ways?
- What are the campesinos doing (or not doing) to preserve their tradition?
- Do you think that globalisation has helped to the promotion of the campesino culture?
- If yes, how? If not, why?

Interview Guide ES

GENERAL

Identidad (sentido de pertenencia)

- ¿Quiénes son los campesinos en Cusco?
- ¿Qué es lo que hace que una persona se identifique como campesina?

- ¿La identidad de los campesinos ha cambiado con los años? ¿Cómo?
- ¿Qué fue lo que cambió de su identidad?
- Por favor, mencione algunos ejemplos.
- ¿Cuántas comunidades campesinas hay en Cusco?
- Las principales actividades de los campesinos son: la agricultura, el comercio y la minería. Principalmente en Cusco, el maíz y la fibra de alpaca. ¿Usted piensa que son suficientes para ganarse la vida?
- Por ejemplo, la fibra de alpaca es un producto de gran demanda por los turistas. Los campesinos que ganan de esto?
- ¿Qué más tienen (los campesinos) que hacer para aprovechar sus cultivos?

Organización

- ¿Cómo se organizan los campesinos?
- ¿Cuáles son los temas principales que les interesa sobre sus comunidades?
- ¿Cuáles son los temas principales que les interesa fuera de las comunidades?
- ¿Todas las comunidades tienen el mismo tipo de organización?
- Muchas comunidades tienen conflictos sobre la tierra, ¿cómo afecta esto los campesinos y su desarrollo?
- Mencione algunos ejemplos

ONG

Casa Campesina

- ¿Qué está haciendo la CC?
- ¿Cómo trabaja CC con los campesinos?
- ¿En qué áreas los asiste?
- ¿Cómo y por qué necesitan ayuda al principio?
- ¿Cuál es la contribución del trabajo de la CC?

DISCRIMINACIÓN

- En acuerdo con la descripción de su página oficial, CC está tratando de abordar la discriminación y la desigualdad y promover el diálogo intercultural, a través de diversos proyectos.
- ¿Podría hablarme de estas relaciones de desigualdad y de dónde surgen?
- ¿Qué es lo que está causando la discriminación en Cusco?

- ¿Cómo son las relaciones sociales entre las diferentes clases en la región de Cusco?
- Podría por favor, darme algunos ejemplos?
- ¿Qué deberían hacer los campesinos para superar la desigualdad y la discriminación?
- ¿Que debería hacer el Estado?
- ¿Qué debería hacer la sociedad civil?
- ¿Cuán exitosos están los esfuerzos de las personas, organizaciones, etc. que están trabajando para ayudar a los campesinos?

GLOBALIZACIÓN

- ¿Cuál es el impacto del turismo sobre los campesinos?
- ¿Cuál es el impacto de Internet en los campesinos?
- ¿Cuál es el impacto de las empresas extranjeras, como ellas que hay en el turismo y la industria minera?
- En general ¿cómo ha afectado la globalización las comunidades campesinas?
- ¿Usted puede ver una mejora de las condiciones de su vida ?

Migración

- Es fácil ir a buscar trabajo en las ciudades grandes? ¿Dónde migra usualmente la gente?
- ¿Son los jóvenes quienes se pueden ir más fácilmente y más a menudo?
- ¿Dónde se van usualmente?
- ¿Por qué cree que esto está sucediendo?
- ¿Cuál es el impacto de esta migración en las comunidades campesinas?
- ¿Qué le parece que está sucediendo en Cusco, en términos de migración?

Fiesta del Sol

- ¿Qué es esta fiesta?
- ¿Cuál es su origen y qué representa?
- ¿Quién(es) organiza(n) esta fiestas? ¿La Municipalidad?
- Supongo que debería tener esponsores? ¿Cómo son elegidos?
- ¿Cómo esta afectada de la gran afluencia de las turistas por este periodo?
- ¿Que significa la Fiesta del Sol para los campesinos y su tradición?
- ¿Qué significa en la actualidad (por ejemplo, genera nuevos puestos de trabajo)?

La sociedad tradicional / moderna

- En las reuniones semanales en CC, me he dado cuenta que usan ambos idiomas; Quechua y español. ¿Cuál es la importancia del quechua para las comunidades campesinas?
- Las mujeres que he visto aquí hablan poco o nada de español. ¿Por qué los hombres tienen un mejor conocimiento?
- Por favor, mencione algunos ejemplos.
- También, me he dado cuenta de que las mujeres visten con los trajes tradicionales andinos al contrario de los hombres, que prefieren la ropa más occidental. ¿Por qué cree que esto está sucediendo?
- También me he dado cuenta de que los que participan en las reuniones semanales, así como en los demás días son casi exclusivamente hombres. ¿Por qué está pasando esto?
- Esta distinción tradicional de los roles de género está cambiando los últimos años? Que es que lo que lo ha hecho cambiar?
- ¿Los jóvenes hablan quechua como los mayores de edad?
- Si no es así, ¿qué es lo que hace que se desliguen del idioma?
- ¿Cómo han cambiado los campesinos en los tiempos modernos?
- ¿Que está haciendo el estado para preservar los tradiciones campesinos?
- ¿Qué están (o no estan) haciendo los campesinos para preservar su tradición?
- ¿Cree que la globalización ha contribuido a la promoción de la cultura campesina?
- En caso afirmativo ¿cómo? Si no es así, ¿por qué?

Pictures from the fieldwork

Legends:

1. Campesino girls, dressed in their traditional costumes
- 2- 3. Festivities in Cusco
4. Day of arrival in Cusco. A massive protest against Keiko Fujimori
5. The market of Espinar
6. The workshop in Espinar
7. The first "Martes Campesino" meeting at Casa Campesina
8. A campsina opened her shop after the workshop in Chumbivilcas



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