*Reconnecting development and wellbeing: a view from Peru*
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**CHAPTER 6. WELLBEING AND INSTITUTIONS.**

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## 6.1. INTRODUCTION

The main objective of this chapter is to explore empirically the relationship between wellbeing and institutions. This first section explores the concepts employed, the Peru context and the methodology used. Section 6.2 builds on Chapter 3 by developing an analysis of the relationship between life goals and institutions. Section 6.3 continues this analysis by identifying institutions in each research site behind provision of resources that respondents perceived to be most important to their wellbeing. Section 6.4 then focuses more narrowly on wellbeing and the institution of the *faena*, this being the word used in Peru for the people working collectively for a specific community purpose. Section 6.5 concludes, illustrating important points with reference to the life history of one particular respondent.

The term institution is used here to refer to an accepted mode of behaviour protected by culture (Powelson, 1997:6). In contrast to an organisation, an institution exists only when a form of social interaction is repeated so often that it is widely viewed as a norm which, if flouted, provokes outrage. Social researchers have been preoccupied with finding general explanations of institutions as providers of specific functions for a long time: economists have explored the extent to which they represent rational and cost-effective solutions to delivery of valued services, and how they overcome the problems (and costs) of establishing group membership along with monitoring and enforcement of membership rights and responsibilities; political scientists are interested in the way they reinforce power and inequality through patriarchy and clientelism; ecologists view the way they contribute to environmental sustainability. However, it is difficult to find literature, particularly in Peru, that explicitly links institutions and social structures with participants' own or *emic* view of wellbeing. This chapter focuses on how the way people perceive wellbeing relates to institutions along the Central Peru corridor described in Chapters 1 and 2. In so doing it seeks better explanations of how institutions and livelihoods evolve in the light of Peruvian experience. In addition it explores a more specific hypothesis: *that institutions reflect local visions of wellbeing, which can be defined relative to their goals, perceived needs, resources and values.* More specifically, I consider how institutions contribute to the achievement of their goals, both directly and by contributing to the production of valued resources

### 6.1.1. Key concepts and historical context

Positive psychology offers two complementary perspectives on wellbeing. One regards human beings as primarily seekers after happiness and avoiders of unhappiness. This *hedonic* perspective is closely linked to the assumptions of economics as well as the institutions of capitalism to the extent that they are oriented towards the urges of people as individual workers and consumers. A second approach, the *eudemonic*, emphasises

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more the nature of human beings as searchers after meaning (actions consistent with their values) through fulfilment of cherished goals. I agree with Ryan and Deci (2001) that the two approaches are not separate since some goals are hedonic, while goal fulfilment is often very enjoyable. But since not all goals are hedonic and not all fulfilment comes without pain the distinction between the two is also important. While anthropology has a strong affinity with a *eudemonic* perspective, it has paid surprisingly little attention to the study of wellbeing and happiness in the context of different cultures (Thin, 2005).

Institutions are defined here to include not only collective action such as *faena* and *fiesta*, but also include norms governing what services are performed by family, community networks, market and the state. The aim is to contribute to understanding institutions from an *emic* or insider perspective. To this end institutions are viewed not only as means for producing material services, but also as performing a symbolic function in reproducing shared values, and as laden with culture and meaning. Naturally, institutions also have a social function in sustaining interpersonal networks. The central idea is that the relationship among these different elements produces wellbeing or illbeing. The assumption behind this is that there are *meta* goals or felt needs underlying more immediate goals of life, that are promoted by culture, that if met lead to emotions of satisfaction. Satisfaction is therefore generated at both the individual and collective level. Access to resources (material and subjective) is needed for goal achievement and satisfaction. Values are not only guiding principles of behaviour, they can be viewed also as adaptation strategies. Social networks and behaving in accordance with values within them is also part of the wellbeing process (Yamamoto *et al*, 2004).

In proposing a holistic approach to the analysis of institutions as implicated in the reproduction of wellbeing, we acknowledge the contributions of many social scientists. For Marx (2000:104) institutions were part of the superstructure of society, derived from an economic base and resulting class structure. Weber (1930; 1962) emphasised how religion, state and bureaucracy exert their own influence, while Polanyi (1944:63) explored both how pure capitalism privileges institutions of the market over all others, and how society reacts to this. Berger and Luckmann (1967), founders of constructivist analysis, view institutionalization as the result of a process of "habitualization", while Giddens (1986) elaborates on the interaction of structure and agency through processes of signification, legitimation and domination. Bourdieu (1998) adds to the literature by introducing the idea of "habitus" in an attempt to eliminate the false antimony between a social physics of objective structures and a social phenomenology of subjective knowledge. More recent literature has focused particularly on the relationship between institutions, social capital and trust (e.g. Putnam, 1993; Levi, 1998; Mishler & Rose, 2001; Brooks & Cheng, 2001; Rothstein, 2003; Baltatescu, 2006).

In seeking to add to this literature through a more explicit treatment of how participation in institutions relates to people's own perception of their wellbeing, we emphasise that institutions are likely to be geographically, historically and culturally distinct. Hence, the starting point for understanding them must be an empirical process of identifying what people most value or aspire to in their lives. Wellbeing or life satisfaction can then be defined as a high level of consistency with these values and achievement of these aspirations. It is likely to motivate people's actions and in so doing to play an important role in defining the way social institutions work. In this way, we maintain which institutions are a space where goals, resources, values are made concrete, and have crystallization in happy and unhappy events. We will do this by combining four levels: what people are 'having', 'doing', 'thinking' and 'feeling'

because to study these aspects separately places limitations on understanding this phenomena as a whole. We maintain that wellbeing is a whole experience.

At the same time, it is clear from the above that empirical insight into individual perceptions of wellbeing will be limited if not also located in wider analysis of its context. This has already partially been provided for this study by Chapters 1 and 2. However, it is worth elaborating on the ongoing historical tension between Pre-Colombian and Western institutional norms. The 16th century Inca system comprised a state that used reciprocity and redistribution in a complex negotiation and manipulation of different ethnics groups. The basic local unit of society was the *ayllu*, which formed an endogamous nucleus of kinship groups who possessed collectively a specific territory. Grazing land in the *ayllu* was held in common, whereas arable land was parceled out to families in proportion to their size. Since self-sufficiency was the ideal of Andean society, family units claimed parcels of land in different ecological niches in the rugged Andean terrain. In this way, they achieved what Murra (1989) called "vertical complementarity": the ability to produce a wide variety of crops at different altitudes for household consumption. The Inca state imposed a political and military apparatus on all of these ethnic groups, while relying on the indirect rule of a hierarchy of *kurakas*, who declared their loyalty to the Inca and ruled in his name. In this sense, ethnic groups maintained their distinctiveness and self-awareness within a larger imperial system. They regularly performed *mita* or service for public works, such as roads and buildings, or for military purposes that enabled the development of the state. But in return for these services, the Inca allocated land and redistributed part of the tribute received in the form of food, cloth and clothes to the communities, often in the form of welfare. Tribute was stored in centrally located warehouses to be dispensed during periods of shortages caused by famine, war, or natural disaster. In the absence of a market economy, Inca redistribution of tribute served as the primary means of exchange. The principles of reciprocity and redistribution, then, formed the organizing ideas that governed all relations in the Inca Empire from community to state (Murra 1989; Rostorowsky, 1988).

These facts are relevant because anthropologists have revealed the persistence of institutions like community, as well as values like reciprocity and exchange today explicitly relate to this heritage (Mayer, 2002). These institutions were of course subsequently incorporated into a global system (Wallerstein, 1974 and 2004). Spanish colonial rule resulted in new and dominant forms of racism and exclusion (Manrique, 1993). Native communities (*ayllus*) were concentrated into colonial settlements called *reducciones* to facilitate administration and the conversion to Christianity. The Inca *mita* system was shifted from performing public works or military service to supplying compulsory labor for the mines and other key sectors of the economy and state. Gradually, the land tenure system became polarized: one sector consisting of large *haciendas*, worked by native peasant serfs in a variety of labor arrangements and governed by their new overlords according to hybrid Andean forms of Iberian paternalism; the other made up of remnants of the essentially subsistence-based indigenous communities that persisted and endured (Macera, 1978). Independence from Spain and incorporation into global capitalism resulted mainly in changes at the elite level of power: Creoles replaced the Spanish leaders, but indigenous people continued to be excluded from society (Bonilla, 2001). As leaders struggled to choose between republicanism and monarchy, Western models maintained their hold over debate (Connif in Knippers, 2005).

In the twentieth century, the rise of US capital changed Latin America's relationship with world capitalism. Mariategui and Haya de la Torre explain how feudal

and capitalist systems coexisted together in Peru (Mariategui, 2002; Haya de la Torre, 1936) while Long (1984, 2001) highlights the heterogeneity of regional responses. People incorporated the institutions of the market economy in their own way, mixing different traditions, values and norms with capitalist values. Chapter 2 described how a less traumatic colonial experience enabled inhabitants of Mantaro Valley to incorporate elements of modernity without losing the essence of their traditions. Arguedas (1986) and Romero (2004) among others have explored the resulting *mestizo* culture: drawing on ethnography of music and dance as evidence. Another aspect of differentiated response was the *desborde popular* (popular overflow) to informal urban settlements. Again, external influences transformed people's perceptions, but without eliminating Andean traditions completely (Altamirano, 1986; Golte, 2001; Matos Mar, 2004). De Soto (2001) suggests that the people in the city have acquired a liberal ethic and are forging another "path" to capitalist. They have not been fully incorporated into the state and global western development, but they aspire strongly to this model. In contrast Figueroa (2003) suggests that economic, social and cultural exclusion remain resilient features of capitalism in Peru.

**6.1.2 Methodology for an empirical approach**
The empirical data for this chapter comes from the same seven research sites in Central Peru already described in earlier chapters. It was collected in five separate ways. The first relied on the ECB *(entrevista de componentes de bienestar* or "components of wellbeing interview")*. This comprised semi-structured interviews focusing on subjective components of wellbeing: goals, perceived resources, values and institutions of social support. It had bilingual versions (Quechua and Spanish), based on the questions listed in Table 6.1.

*Table: 6.1.  Checklist of questions for semi-structured interviews.*

| |
|---|
| 1. <u>Goals</u>. Let's suppose that I would like to move to live here. What things do I need to be happy? What things are necessary to be happy?<br>2. <u>Resources</u>. How do I get those things? (Ask for each goal mentioned by the respondent).<br>3. <u>Emotions (individual level)</u>. How do you feel in relation to…? (Ask this for each goal mentioned by the respondent).<br>4. <u>Emotions (collective).</u> How do people of this community feel about….? (Ask this for each goal mentioned by the respondent).<br>5. <u>Values.</u> Who are the people that you most admire in this community? (Alternative question for non-formal comprehension: Who are the best persons in this community? What are the things that you admire in this person (Ask for each person mentioned).<br>6. <u>Social networks</u>. Where do you find support when needed?<br>7. <u>Happiest life episodes</u>. What were the happiest moments of your life?<br>8. <u>Unhappiest life episodes</u>. What were the unhappiest moments of your life? |

Source: ECB, for more details see Yamamoto (2006)

The second source of data was the RANQ (resources and needs questionnaire) completed for 1,000 households. This relied on closed questions to identify material, social, natural and cultural resources at the household level as well as indicators of need satisfaction. The third source was the Peru WeDQoL: a set of psychometric scales whose design was based closely on findings from the ECB, as described in Chapter 3. The fourth source comprised participant observation on the part of six field workers - all recent graduates of anthropology, supervised myself. Living in the sites, the field team

interacted with the community, speaking their own language and participating in different daily activities. They collected life histories, a register of critical events and conducted open interviews with key informants. Using these methods, we constructed an inventory of community institutions (practices of collective action) in each site. This involved making a chart of each institution identified that described their formal objectives and actual outcomes as observed and perceived by key informants. The fifth and final source of data was also ethnographic. Each field researcher identified one particular *faena* and collected as much information about it as they could. Data collection was organised using a checklist of questions drawn up by the field team.[2]

## 6.2 WELLBEING AND THE INSTITUTIONAL MATRIX IN EACH SITE.

As described in Chapter 3, a comprehensive list of life goals was derived from the ECB and turned into a checklist of questions for the WeDQoL. Principal component analysis was then used to identify meta-goals behind responses to the following question: "Let's suppose that I would like to move to live here. What things do I need to be happy? What things are necessary to be happy?" (Yamamoto, 2006). Different factor solutions were also confronted with the qualitative experience of the field team, who played the leading role in naming each factor. The following three factor solution, explaining 35% of variation in responses was finally selected.

(1) "Place to live better" derived from three more specific goals: "clean and nice neighbourhood", "peacefulness neither delinquency nor violence", and "to progress or move forward".

(2) "Raise a family" is derived from two goals: "marriage/partner", and "children".

(3) "Improvement from a secure base" has five aspects: "work with salary", "house/furnishings", "education for children", "health" and "to be professional".

This section cross tabulates these goals against the inventory of community institutions in each site. The inventory for each site is too long to reproduce, but a sorted and summarised version is reproduced in Appendix 6.1. This is in turn summarised in Table 6.2. which further simplifies by indicating only the broad type of institution involved in each: "X" signifying some involvement, and "XXX" dominant involvement. The first category (agriculture, environment and natural resources) covers a particularly heterogeneous set of activities, ranging from farmers' associations in rural sites to *ad hoc* neighbourhood groups in urban areas formed to secure land title or house improvements. Business development refers primarily to trade associations and microfinance groups. Culture is diverse, with church congregations and festival committees being the most common. Education and health is dominated by central government, whereas nutrition programmes and local administration (defined broadly to include law and order) are areas in which central and local government collaborate strongly, while NGOs concentrate mostly on social action initiatives. Finally, *ad hoc* neighbourhood committees and groups are important in securing and maintaining different utilities, whether provided by government, users groups, or private companies. The final column summarises the extent to which this institutional landscape was uniform across the seven sites.

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[2] The same method was used to investigate the operation of one "glass of milk" committee in each site, affiliated to a national nutrition programme of the same name. This data is presented and analysed by Copestake (2006).

Table 6.2. A summary of community institutions by purpose.[3]

| Field | CBO led | NGO led | Council led | Central govt led | Uni-formity |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Agri., env. and NR | XXX | X | | X | Low |
| 2. Business dev.[4] | XXX | X | | | Medium |
| 3. Culture | XXX | X | X | | Medium |
| 4. Education | | X | X | XXX | High |
| 5. Health | | X | | XXX | High |
| 6. Nutrition | X | X | | XXX | High |
| 7. Security & admin | X | | | XXX | Medium |
| 8. Social action | | XXX | X | | Low |
| 9. Utilities | XX | | X | X | Medium |

### 6.2.1. Institutions and the goal of a "place to live better"

This dimension of goals on the Peruvian corridor is expressed at different levels of institutions. These show different practices of collective action. The goal "neighbourhood clean and beautiful" lies behind "*faenas*" (self-help joint labour activities) in all sites. This illustrates the importance of this practice for poor people within Andean tradition. It happens through neighbours' associations in an urban context as well as in villages. Additionally, municipality and state institutions support people to achieve these goals: paying the salary of technicians or supplying machinery, for example. In the same way, the goal "tranquillity without violence" uses collective and communal practice to resolve conflict. In the case of Llajta Iskay, a communal prison was built to punish delinquency. Descanso and Selva Manta have *"rondas campesinas"* (self-defence groups) through which peasant groups receive arms and military training for defence. These originate in the political violence period. Also, the police and neighbourhood associations are important in some places. The following table will illustrate this evidence extensively. Finally, "to move ahead" goal is pursued in the context of family and community. In sum, these goals are connected with collective action practices as well as involving other external institutions[5].

Table 6.3. Link from components of "place to live better" to institutions

| | Nice and clean neighbourhood | Tranquillity without violence & delinquency | To progress (*salir adelante*) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Llajta Iskay | *Faena*; community | Community (prison) | Community; family |
| Llajta Jock | *Faena*; community | Community | Community; family |
| Selva Manta | *Faena*; community; municipality | *Rondas campensinas* | Community; family |
| Alegria | *Faena*; community; municipality | Community; police | Community; family |
| Descanso | *Faena*; community; municipality | *Rondas campensinas* | Community; family |
| Progreso | *Faena*; community; neighbourhood associations | Neighbourhood associations | Neighbours; family |

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[3] CBO = Community based (= unregulated and/or membership based) organisation, including neighbourhood and communal farmers' associations; NGO = Non-government (non-profit) organisation; Council = district/municipal council. "X" indicates some involvement. "XXX" indicates dominant involvement. "Uniformity" refers to the extent to which the same activities are present in all seven sites.

[4] Note also commercial (ie. market) involvement here and in provision of utilities.

[5] Second part of this study demonstrates this evidence with qualitative data. The case of "faenas" will be analyzed in depth.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nuevo Lugar | Community; neighbourhood associations; municipality | Neighbourhood associations; neighbourhood watch; police | Neighbours; family |

### 6.2.2 Institutions and the goal to "raise a family"

"Raising a family" is another important goal cited in the corridor. It has two dimensions: "marriage/partner" and "children". Both connect with family, community institutions and religious institutions in rural locations. They also connect with institutions of family, neighbours and migrant associations in urban sites. The goals link strongly with cultural institutions, such as rituals and festivities, celebrating the cycle of life, having been constructed in Andean culture through centuries of practice, during which considerable. A syncretism with the catholic religion took place. For instance, in also exists with Catholicism. An example of one such ritual, in the *"huanca"* cultural area is the wedding, known locally as *"La palpa"*. Families organise the fiesta well in advance as it is a competition of gifts. The wedding is the provides an opportunity for families of the wife and husbandthem to demonstrate their economic power. Both, extended, through the purchase of extravagant gifts. Extended families, friends and spiritual families *("padrinos", "compadres")* give to the newlyweds furniture, artefacts, and agricultural products. There exists competition between the families of the bride and groom, in the showering of gifts which confers future benefits on the new family. It is also a big fiesta, lasting several days.

This has been demonstrated with The ECB instrument was used to investigate the following question: *What were the happiest moments of your life?* (See table 1.1.) The responses illustrate that weddings, births and fiestas are important happy events, cultural institutions constructed in relation to people's goals, making them moments in which the essence of an institution has crystallised., to provide a space where goals of life emerge. The following table illustrates how goals like marriage, children, and fiesta are connected with similar institutions along the Peruvian corridor.

Table 6.4. Link from components of "raise a family" to institutions.

| | Marriage | Children | *Fiesta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Llajta Iskay | Family; community | Family; community | Community; religious associations |
| Llajta Jock | Family; community | Family; community | Community; religious associations |
| Selva Manta | Family; religious associations; town relationships | Family; religious associations; town relationships | Family; municipality associations |
| Alegria | Family; community | Family; community | Community; religious asssociations |
| Descanso | Family; neighbours | Family; neighbours | Community; religious and neighbourhood associations |
| Progreso | Family; neighbours; migrant associations | Family; neighbours; migrant associations | Religious, neighbourhood and migrant associations |
| Nuevo Lugar | Family; neighbours; migrant associations | Family; neighbours; migrant associations | Religious, neighbourhood and migrant associations |

### 6.2.3. Institutions and the goal of "improvement from a secure base"

This goal includes the following components: work with salary, housing, education for children, health and nutrition and being a professional. These are predominantly linked to the role of the market, and to a lesser extent the state, which has programs for supporting people's goals, which may vary depending on the government of the day. However, local institutions also have considerable importance as mediators, because state programs are far from constituting athe market is of course not perfect, there is little welfare state or perfect market.  For instance, the goal "work with salary" is mediated for social relationships inside rural communities. In urban sites, neighbours associations mediated the goal to achieve "house". In sum, marketprovision and local institutions often have a mediatory role, resulting in the existence of complex and multiple mechanisms and relationships. An example of this is that in rural areas, the goal of achieving 'work with salary' is mediated by social relationships within the communities, whereas at urban sites, the goal of achieving housing can be affected by neighbourhood associations. The following table illustrates such relationships.

Table 6.5.Link from components of "improvement from a secure base" to institutions.

|  | Work with salary | House | Education for children | Health and nutrition | To be a professional |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Llajta Iskay | Community; migration; market | Family; community | State | State; family | Family; state |
| Llajta Jock | Community; market | Family; community | State | State; family | Family; state |
| Selva Manta | Landowner; market | Family | State | State; family | Family; state |
| Alegria | Community; migration; market | Family | State | State; family | Family; state |
| Descanso | Community; migration; market | Family | State | State; family | Family; state |
| Progreso | Migration; market | Family; association; market | State | State; family | Family; state |
| Nuevo Lugar | Market | Family; association; municipality | State | State; family | Family; state |

These institutional matrixes show how each goal is supported in each site. Each life goal has a different set of connections to institutions. Also, the evidence illustrates, and it becomes evident that one institution may serve several goals. In other words, the goals need, also that institutions are fundamental to the possibility of goal realisation. In summary, social, cultural and local institutions are crucial to the achievement of goals for wellbeing in the Andean Peruvian corridor.

### 6.3 PERCEPTION OF RESOURCES AND INSTITUTIONS

In addition to the three goal factors, the WeDQoL asked respondents to indicate the importance to them of a list of resources (again derived from the ECB) that were not necessarily important in themselves, but important means to achieving other goals. Principal component analysis (described in Chapter 3) indicated a robust single factor solution derived from seven questions. Results express a list of resources from an *emic*

perspective. These items were "to get loans", "to save", "to rent or lease land", "to get help", "to get inheritance", "to contact and negotiate with government". Migration was already discussed in the previous chapter. In this section, I connect the other items with a mixture of ethnographic and RANQ data to explore variation in the institutions across the seven sites for obtaining resources perceived to be important.

*To get loans.* RANQ survey asks people: "if you need to borrow money, where do you go? If your spouse(s) need to borrow money where do they go?" Overall most loans are sourced inside the community, mostly from friends and neighbours, and without the need for a contract or written documents. But there is variation. In the rural annexes nearly all loans were from within the community, the longstanding school teacher in Llajta Jock being an important provider, for example. But in Descanso, 15% of loans came from the town bank branch, NGOs and merchants. More formal sources were even more important in Nuevo Lugar (37% of loans), though less so in Progreso (10%).

*Saving.* Nearly all households accumulated savings at some stage in the year. Saving is often in livestock or crops, and many people also use informal *juntas* (rotating savings and credit associations) and community banks (in Descanso, Nuevo Lugar, and Progreso. Responses to the RANQ revealed that the proportion of households with bank accounts varied widely: zero in Llajta Jock; 2% in Llajta Iskay and La Ezperanza; 4.2% in Nuevo Lugar; 5.1% in Alegria; 10% in Rondyacu and nearly 20% in Descanso.

*To rent or lease land.* Secure access to land is important both for agriculture and for dwelling places. Communal ownership of land through peasant associations is strongest in the more isolated rural sites, but private access to land is more important for most farmers and sharecropping is common. In urban areas, Chapter 2 highlighted the importance attached to gaining secure title to a plot, but also how this goal was pursued through collective action. In Nuevo Lugar allocation of a 90 metre square plot (*unidad comunal de vivienda* or UCV). A family must construct a house and manage some basic services, belong to the zonal committee and participate in "*faenas*" and other local activities. Property can subsequently be sold or transferred, but only with the approval of the community leaders or if necessary the communal Assembly, although a totally free market for land has emerged in some areas[6].

*To get help.* The RANQ asked people specifically about ways of looking for a job. Nearly all households had experience of outside work and they used a wide array of strategies for seeking it. In Alegria, Descanso, Selva Manta and Nuevo Lugar links are forged more at the household level and often have a significant cultural dimension: those asked being referred to as *compadres*, *padrinos* and *ahijados*. In contrast, in Llajta Iskay and Llajta Jock, where people have a close knowledge of each other, individual relationships are more important than those forged between households. This was also true in Progreso, but for a very different reason. Here violence and the erosion of trust between people meant that work in the local markets was sought and secured more on an atomistic face-to-face basis.

*To get an inheritance.* We will present the Descanso inheritance system, as it again illustrates how local institutions influence and are influenced by wellbeing perspectives. In this case, the first son has the preference. He receives assets from parents even before they die, for example on marriage. Wives, daughters and younger sons get very little and this produces conflicts inside the family, and can be a major factor behind migration. The older sons resist change on the grounds that land is scarce

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[6] This approval may take place at a higher or lower level of the community, depending on the economic value of the plot concerned. The lower-lying terrains are generally more likely to be governed by the free market, while higher-lying lands are more often controlled by the UCVs.

and must be passed on between generations intact. The farming system also gives the first son additional rights and responsibilities. He must work in the community in *"faenas"* and receives land and animals from the community. When his father has an accident or disease, he must replace him in community labour. Obviously, there are cases when  first son renounces his rights: when they are migrants or professionals and do not need the family assets.

   *Contacts within government* RANQ surveys ask people if "any close relative of this household ever held a recognized government position?" Fewer than 20% reported that they had, with little variation between sites except for Nuevo Lugar where the proportion was far lower. For most households access and quality of government services to programs like food aid, health and education are negotiated through community level leaders and brokers, or directly with relevant officials. Consequently, despite the low levels of reported contacts within government, such contacts are a major aspiration for the majority.

## 6.4 CASE STUDIES OF COLLECTIVE ACTION, *FAENAS* AND WELLBEING.

### 6.4.1 Relevant theory
The literature on collective action can be traced back to the work of Durkheim who distinguished between "organic solidarity" as a natural form of relations among people in traditional societies, and "mechanic solidarity" as a dominant contractual form of relation in modern societies. Marx, through use of the term "class consciousness" and Weber with reference to the ideal type "collective behaviour" also reflected on this issue (Marshall, 1998). Anthropologists were inspired particularly by Mauss (1967) and his study of gift giving and reciprocity. In contrast, for economists it was Olson (1965) who opened up the study, by investigating collective action as the outcome of rational individual decisions of *homus economicus*.[7]  Relevant questions arising from this literature include  that of are what happens when the social actors are influenced by moral interest (Elster, 1985) or by pleasure in the action itself and not necessarily just in the results (Hirschman, 1982). Granovetter responded by suggesting the existence of "thresholds of collective action": or different levels of intensity of collective action in proportion to the level of interest. For instance, when the interest is mobilized for moral principles the threshold is null (Granovetter, 1983). With reference to the Amazon, Pizzorno (1986) explores the important case of the defence of cultural identity in a changing context. Roberts (2005:1) explores how collective action has evolved in Latin American cities, concluding that the repertoire of collective action has adapted to reflect more localized and territorial issues. Hupper (2005) brings together a set of studies that reaffirm the importance of collective action to wellbeing in developed countries. She quotes Keyes and Haidt, who argue that social wellbeing entails "feeling that we are contributing to society and engaging in pro-social behavior, and believing that society is capable of developing positively" (Keyes & Haidt 2003, quoted in Hupper 2005). Deneulin and Townsend (2006) develop this theme by asserting the importance of "common goods" that can only be enjoyed through participation in the act of joint production.[8]

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[7] In the case of Peru the studies of Gonzales Olearte reflects this theoretical approach.
[8] In contrast, the idea of public goods (not fully rival or excludable) underpinning the economics literature generally assumes that the benefits of collective action can still be enjoyed individually. In contrast, common goods (such as playing in a sports team or musical ensemble, can only be enjoyed through participation in their production: even when terms of that participation are heavily contested.

Mayer (2002) relates some of this literature to the contemporary Andean context. Reciprocal domestic and inter-personal labour exchange remains common (*ayni),* along with *minka,* which occurs when a household head seeks the help of neighbours for construction of houses, tree felling, planting and harvesting activities at different times of the year. Within this analysis reciprocity and collective action have complementary functions and are bound together. But it remains hard to explain their resilience in the face of the incursion of the market. One explanation is that inputs such as paid labour cannot be valued solely in terms of commoditised value so long as such institutions also "reproduce certain social arrangements regarded as essential for the well-being of the group or community as a whole" (Long, 2001:109). The Peasant Community Law recognises that collective action and the common good cannot easily be unbundled by officially acknowledging the role of collective action not only as an economic institution but also as a cultural instrument in preserving historical memory and Andean identity.

In an urban context Altamirano (1984, 1988) highlights the continuity between rural collective action and the role played by regional associations of migrants as a social and cultural resource in the struggle for land authorisation, civil rights and local services. In contrast, De Soto (2001) suggests that collective action is likely to decline with modernisation and development. These studies reveal how institutions of collective action evolve and depend on historical processes: emphasising their resilience is not to deny the importance of the incursion that institutions of market and state make into people's lives and livelihoods (Matos Mar, 2004). Rather we emphasise the need for openness to their continued influence in ongoing empirical analysis of the relation between institutions and wellbeing.

**6.4.2 Case studies**
This section examines how wellbeing is reproduced in everyday life through the institution of the *faena*. Background information on each of the seven case studies (one from each research site) is provided in tabular form in Appendix 2. These case studies illustrate how goals, resources, values and happiness events mix with and relate to social institutions. We study these everyday practices because institutions are constructed through the process of "habitualization" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). We can find this practice at different levels and in different contexts. We explored the dimensions of an event like *faenas* as "privileged points of penetration into other social and cultural universes" (Handelman, 1990; 9). Selected ethnographic data for each *faena* reveals its internal structure and what it means to participants. Our ethnographies covered the main objective of these, if they have a traditional ritual or not; the social actors involved, hopes, interests, time, punishment, tools, food and impact on wellbeing. In this logic, we understand how wellbeing or illbeing is produced. On the next page, we will present the matrix which captures the summary of these ethnographies in all sites of the corridor. It illustrates how collective action involves all of these aspects of life in the context of rural societies. The practice is used in production, exchange of service and consumption and also when people celebrate festivities. The integration of collective action is the norm: in rituals, language, symbols, networks and social order, as is its evolution over time and in relation to context.

The analysis here draws on findings from the ECB in particular to explain how *faenas* reproduce values, resources, goals and happy events.[9] We selected the institution

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[9] In each case the ECB yielded a list of items mentioned or not mentioned by each respondent. Factor analysis was then used to identify the most important across the community as part of the process of constructing the WeDQoL scales. Appendix 6.2 reproduces a comprehensive list of goals by site.

of *faenas* because it is a common and multidimensional practice of collective action incorporated flexibly into everyday life; it is an important practice in the research sites as well as a mechanism for cultural cohesion more widely in Peru. *Faenas* are also connected to past events, serving as part of the historical tradition of Andean culture; they incorporate a set of values and serve as a "reservoir of meaning" (Handelman, 1990:56; Connerton, 1989:2).

Llajta Iskay – a community crop of barley.
According to the ECB, the most important institutions of Llajta Iskay are family, community, government and authority. The selected *faena* took place as a result of the intervention by the government agency National Program of Management of Water Resources and Soils Conservation (PRONAMACHS) in a way that sought to involve family and community also. Its goal was to improve communal agriculture and nutrition through better barley production. The *faena* coincided with important goals and resources identified by individuals through the ECB, including: "community", "job", "relationships", "sowing crops". It also provided a space where people articulated important values identified through the ECB: "good person", "help", "worker", "cheerful", "make *fiestas*", "being organized" and "prosperous." In Llajta Iskay, the *faena* required a minimum of ten days of planning. It started early in the morning and when the task began, the head of the community (called the *uma*) and the commoners screamed: "*huq umalla*" (meaning "only one head"), "*huq makilla*" ("only one hand"), "*huq songa*" (one heart). The people worked very hard with much discipline, great emotion, jokes and laughter. This *faena* also provided an opportunity for playing of music and for dances. There were spaces of time for rest where women offered coca leaves and food, and people discussed community issues and exchanged gossip (*chismes* – itself an important mechanism of social control). Many important decisions relating to communal life emerge from such events. The people of Llajta Iskay are improving nutrition, agriculture, land, and participation in community life. Furthermore, like *fiestas*, this is a happy event that people could look forward to and remember positively. It was also an event within which people can maintain and strengthen family networks, spiritual bonds with *compadres* and *padrinos,* and wider relationships inside and outside of the community that are important throughout the year.

Llajta Jock: construction of school boundary wall
This event again involved collaboration between important institutions identified through the ECB: family, community and an NGO (Caritas). It began when a school teacher asked the community leader for support in construction of a wall around the village school. After some days of deliberation, they decided to organize the task with labour provided by the children's fathers. As is the norm, households headed by widows or single mothers were not required to participate. The president of the community also approached Caritas to request food for lunch, promising that women of the community would cook. The traditional structure of the *faena* was repeated: they took *chaccha* (coca) when they started the job and organized different activities in relation to participants' experience in construction. Three women also attended the *faena* on the first day, and this prompted very intense discussion over whether they should pay the quota or fine that is normally charged when the husband of a family does not attend. The norm was clear: husbands belonging to the communal association must assist, but some members argued that this rule need not apply to a *faena* that did not concern agricultural labour. The teacher of the school intervened arguing that in this situation the norm is not necessary because the task is for the children, rather than being a strictly

communal association activity. The *faena* was only needed because of the failure of the state to provide resources for building the wall, Llajta Jock being such a distant place. This intervention reveals the teacher's authority over the people, as well as the importance of values cited in the ECB: "not fight", "receive advice", "be good person". Goals like "work", "to be commoners" were also revealed by the *faena* and linked to the "raise a family" meta goal. The result was good. When they finished the task further plans were made for the construction of a new classroom.

Selva Manta: clearing field roads
Selva Manta is a jungle area with abundant weeds that make it difficult to pass along farm tracks to carry out agricultural activities. The village does not reflect traditional Andean practices because people mostly work for large landowners *(hacendados)*. They are also governed more by an evangelistic ethic. However, come winter they nevertheless organise *faenas* to clear all the weeds blocking access roads to the fields. In this case, groups of neighbours initiate the task by asking the municipality for help in supplying a grader to support this work. The representative from the municipality also helps to coordinate the neighbours, decides on the day and informing all inhabitants. The landowner is the mayor of the municipality, and most people have either a genetic or symbolic family relationship with him. Being *compadres*, *ahijados* or *padrinos* underpins a patron-client relationship that confers on him power to give them jobs. They start the *faena* very early. The representative from the municipality explains the task for the day that must be completed. They bring food and tools. Only the men are allowed to participate, and if they fail to attend, they must pay a quota that is the equivalent of one day's wage. The ECB goals which people achieve include: "good environment", as well as happiest events like "good agricultural production" and "good prices for products." The *faena* also reproduces values such as being a "good person", "offering help to others" and bringing about "peace and tranquillity." The latter is especially valued by local people given that this place suffered heavily during political violence in the 1980s.

Alegria: an agricultural competition to raise money for a *fiesta*
This *"faena"* mixes different elements of everyday life, being simultaneously an agricultural activity, a competition and a *fiesta*. The immediate objective was *chacmeo*, or the preparation of soil for cultivation of potatoes. It also served the following individual goals recorded through the ECB: "sowing crops", "food", "to participate in the community", "not to fight", and "to care for the land". At the same time the *faena* is part of religious festivities, a competition for younger members of the communal farmers association and a means of spreading information about authorities' activities and political campaigns. It began when the president of the community informed the members of the communal farmers association through the local radio. The communal association's leader and spokesperson (the *varayoc*) invited other organisations to donate prizes for the competition: the justice of peace offered the first prize of 80 soles in cash; the second prize was a sack of sugar donated by the municipality. The NGO Caritas donated provisions to prepare a *pachamanca*: traditional food to mark the significance of the day. The *faena* starts with each neighbourhood in the town (*barrios*) encouraging the younger and most efficient *communeros* to compete. They arrive to prepare the soil very early in the morning. But all *communeros* including widows, single mothers and the old must participate on this special day, arriving to help later. The *varayocks* control the two groups. Everyone sows potatoes to show respect to the religious saint that the land belongs to: the harvest will support religious festivities:

including costs of hiring an orchestra, buying food and alcohol. During rest breaks women offer *coca* leaves, liquor and some food. During lunch, the leaders also inform participants of different government plans. This is an opportunity for participation, criticism and discussion, with much joking also. On this occasion the governor is also campaigning, offering gifts of agricultural tools because he hopes to become the district mayor. In the afternoon a local orchestra arrives and the judges of the competition select the winners. Normally, there is conflict over the decision: all the more intense for the more valuable prizes. All *barrios* aspire for first place, making the deliberation sometimes very difficult. Peace returns when older *communeros* invoke the religious motive underlying the task and festivities. The *faena* reproduces the following values of the people as revealed by the ECB: "work very hard", "do things for community", "to help". Also it represents an important event in emotional terms for the community: a collective event that helps people to organize themselves in relation to the annual calendar. As with the case study from Llajta Iskay, it is also an event that reproduces social relationships.

Descanso: cutting timber
Descanso has substantial forests of eucalyptus trees, constituting one of the main assets of the communal farmers association, and when the association needs money for different activities through the year it can sell timber. The general assembly has a meeting to decide when it must pay for different items. The leaders of the community call commoners with bugles and big drums. Different *barrios* are represented at the assembly and deliberations occur over community and family needs, action and tasks. The *faena* described here was just one outcome of such a meeting. *Communeros* were required to provide labour for cutting timber in order to pay for the expenses for the community. The leaders first negotiate a contract and price for its sale. The tree felling starts at 8.00am in the morning and the majority of *communeros* attend. Leaders have a list and check attendance. Those who are absent have to pay fines. The statutes indicate that children and people over fifty years old cannot be sent. The *communeros* also bring tools for the day. The jobs are organised according to different areas according to experience. Those with experience as carpenters and builders plan the day's task. There is also a competition. Those who finish the task first get a prize of soda water and *aguardiente* (liquor made from sugar cane). During the *faena* the *communeros* exchange items with each other and gossip about everyday life, and in the rest periods they consume coca, fruits, cigarettes and bread. Also, lunch is a very significant time when leaders inform others about community activities. When the day ends, the *communeros* are very happy with the task because the profits are for the community. This case study demonstrates how the "business" (of harvesting and selling the trees) is viewed simultaneously as value, goal, resource and a happy community event.

Progreso: cleaning the drinking water system
This shantytown has only been in existence for a short time and many basic services are still absent. The water committee is an important institution, providing drinking water to many residents with enormous effort (see Chapter 2). The individual goals it serves are "water", "live in good health" and "nutrition." Members have a rural background but have adopted some urban values and modes of behaviour. The state program National fund for compensation and social development (FONCODES) has supported capital costs of developing the drinking water system, but members of the water committee contribute voluntary labour through *faenas* every three months for maintenance of the water channel. They divide into four different groups and walk for 45 minutes to the

starting place, getting there by 08.00. The representative of municipality is the leader, and checks the attendance of all users. The work continues until mid-day after which everyone returns to their home because they do not bring food. That is one of the main differences from rural *faenas*, but participants nevertheless use the occasion to exchange jokes and tell stories. The neighbours attending can be up to fifty years old and must be men: if they do not attend then the water committee cuts the water service as a punishment.  Important values reproduced include: "to help", "to secure assets for the community" and "to be hardworking."

Nuevo Lugar: construction of a school boundary wall.
*Faenas* in Nuevo Lugar mostly take place in the service sector to make up for absence of provision by state or the private sector. They generally do not include rituals, and individual-family values dominate the social sphere.  However, the case study reveals how collective action can link values, goals, resources and happiness events even in an urban setting: the specific goals being served being "to raise a family", "and educate children." "To be professional" and "to accumulate assets" are important underlying values, while "education of children" is not only valued and seen as a resource, but also the most common "happiest event" in the area. Participating in the *faena* to construct a wall around the secondary school is also a resource for "leaving the community." The *faena* was designated for one Sunday every month. On the day in which the field investigator participated the group were cleaning the area to organize a *pollada* on the following day. This is a collective practice whereby one association or family cooks chicken and other food, as well as selling beer, to raise profits for some public goal or in response to an emergency need for cash, such as a funeral or need to pay medical expenses. The *faena* was organized by the parents association ("APAFA"). It started at 08.00 in the morning and the quota for not attending was ten soles.  Everybody was required to bring with them tools for the work. On arrival they were allocated tasks according to gender, age and specialist skills. Some people complained about their participation, particularly the amount of time it occupied. But while working together they talked about jobs, the political situation, media, TV programs, transport problems and issues with neighbours. In the period of rest they drink *Coca cola* and lemonade, but no alcohol. Either they brought food for lunch, or their wives brought it for them later. The majority wanted to finish the task early so as to be able to rest and watch television, because it was Sunday and normally this is the day that people rest after working very hard during the rest of the week. Nevertheless they attend because they think that it is important for their children to study in a good environment and they have a plan to continue the *faena* in order to construct a sports field.

**6.4.3 Synthesis**
In this section we note similarities and differences between the selected case studies, with a view to highlighting how the institution of *faenas* contributes in different ways to wellbeing.[10]  Table 6.6(a) illustrates how the institution was adapted to serve different material goals in different contexts. While generally more ritualised in the Andean rural sites this distinction is not perfect. Likewise it is worth noting that *faenas* were initiated by parent-teacher associations in both the smallest rural and the largest urban site. In other words, it is too simplistic to assume more embedded communal forms with rural

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[10] Here it should be noted that no claim can be made that these are representative of *faena* generally: one criterion for their selection being that they coincided with the period when this work was included in the field team's work plan (June and July 2005) and another being that the field worker was in a position to participate easily.

areas and more disembedded individualised versions with urban areas. Table 6.6(b) highlights adaptive flexibility of *faenas*, in terms of who participates and provides inputs, but also significant continuity with respect to a norm of penalising non-participation. The last column also furnishes the researchers' assessment of the extent to which each *faena* achieved its main purpose.

Table 6.6(a). Characteristics of selected *faenas*

| Site | Main purpose | Ritual or not? | Main social actor | Time to plan (days) | Duration (days) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Llajta Iskay | Demonstraton plot of barley | Yes | Communal association | 7 | 1 |
| Llajta Jock | Building the wall of a pre-school | Yes | Parent teacher association | 20 | 1 |
| Selva Manta | Clearing field roads of weeds | No | Municipality and landowners | 20 | 1 |
| Alegria | Potato planting competition | Yes | Communal association | 7 | 1 |
| Descanso | Tree felling | No | Communal association | 14 | 1 |
| Progreso | Cleaning water supply channel | No | Water users' committee | Quarterly event | 1 |
| Nuevo Lugar | Construction of the wall of the school | No | Parent teacher association | 7 | 1 |

Table 6.6(b). Characteristics of selected *faenas* (continued)

| | Participation | Punishment for non-participation | Supply of tools | Food | Outcome perception |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Llajta Iskay | *Communeros* (18-60) | Community jail | *Communeros* and NGO | Community | Bad: small harvest |
| Llajta Jock | All parents | Fine of 10 soles | Parents | Government (PRONAA) | Good: better place for children |
| Selva Manta | All men in the locality | Fine of 15 soles (one daily wage) | Municipality | Each person | Good: improved access to fields |
| Alegria | *Communeros* and neighbours | Fine of 10 soles | *Communeros* | Communal association | Good: most demonstrated competence |
| Descanso | *Communeros* and some labourers | Fine of 20 soles (one daily wage) | *Communeros* | Buy with money from fines | Bad: they hoped for more |
| Progreso | Water users | No water | Users' | At home | Good: water access highly valued |
| Nuevo Lugar | Parents | Fine of 10 soles | Parents | Buy fried Chicken | Quite good: seeking more state support |

With a larger sample it would be possible to subject observable details of *faena* organisation and outcomes to more rigorous functionalist analysis, thereby contributing to an expanding empirical literature in institutional economics on determinants of the effectiveness of group mediated action. Here we are instead concerned to emphasise the wider range of effect of *faenas* on social and symbolic as well as material dimensions of wellbeing. These are highlighted in Table 6.6(c) which shows how each event acts a way of linking social values and goals identified using the ECB with social

relationships, resources and happiness.[11] These linkages are very diverse. For example, in Llajta Iskay communal crop production was intended in part to reproduce community solidarity and shared instruction in technical aspects of barley production, whereas in Alegria it was also a way of not only raising money but also encouraging individual competition. Building on the distinction drawn by Deneulin and Townsend (2006) there are also striking differences in the extent to which the *faenas* contributed instrumentally to production of "public goods" which were then consumed individually (e.g. water, better education, access to fields) or to "common goods" enjoyed only through participation (e.g. *fiestas*, generation of funds to sustain communal self-organisation).

Table 6.6(c) Characteristics of selected *faenas*

|  | Values | Goals | Social actors | Resources | Happiest events |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Llajta Iskay: sow a community field of barley. | Help; make *fiesta*; be organised | Animals; agriculture; community; food | Family; government; community; authority | Community; sow crops | *Fiesta*; authority, work |
| Llajta Jock: construct a pre-school boundary wall | Good person; not fight; give advice; to share | House; family; be a good *communero*, | Family; neighbours; community; NGO | Work direct; community | Study/learning |
| Selva Manta: field road maintenance | Peace and tranquillity; to help; to give work | Family; land; good environment | Neighbourhood associations; landowner | Landowner; contacts | Good agricultural output and prices |
| Alegria: potato planting competition | Work hard; do things for the community; | Build community | Community; government | Community | *Fiestas*; agriculture |
| Descanso: tree cutting | Responsible; to have goods | Business | Neighbourhood associations | Business; work in community | Business |
| Progreso: cleaning of water channel | Assets for the community | Water; good relations with neighbours; healthy environment; health; food | Neighbourhood associations; water committee | Neighbourhood associations; sacrifice; support; institutions | Assets |
| Nuevo Lugar: construct a school boundary wall | Be professional; help; study | Basic services; family; children | Neighbours; friends | Neighbourhood organisation | Family life; children's education |

Source: case studies cross-analysed with qualitative data collected through the ECB. A full list of concepts raised in the ECB is listed in appendix 6.3.

### 6.4.4 Epifania Meza, president of *"rondas campesinas"* from Descanso

The data consolidated in the previous section refers to single events in each site and this limits the scope for analysis of how institutions, in this case *faena,* have evolved over time. To compensate for this we present in this section the life history of one woman to

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[11] A more comprehensive list of goals identified using the ECB is reproduced for each site in appendix 6.2. Similar lists are also available for the other variables.

illustrate the role of individual agency in the evolution of institutions.[12] Epifania Meza participated in numerous institutions through the practice of collective action. She was born in September 1949 in the community of Descanso. Her father was a farmer with only primary school education. "He walked without shoes, only using *yanquee"* (traditional leather shoes). He always said to her "we must care for our own land". Her mother was illiterate and sold food in the town market. When she was younger she left home to work in Lima without the permission of her parents. *She wanted "to learn about the city".* In Lima she worked for three years (from fourteen to seventeen) with her family *patron* (head). When she became *"a little tired"* she came back to Descanso again.

After that, she went with her sister to the mining centre of Morococha which belonged at the time to an American company. She married a worker from this company after fifteen days of being in love. He was a watchman and leader of the labour union and they organized a strike against the company. She explained: "the wives must take care of their husbands from the attacks of the police, because the strike was illegal". The wives of the watchmen organized a "women's committee" in defence of their husbands. As a consequence of this strike, the watchmen organization secured better rights. She added: "Wives played an important role". The workers obtained stability and security. But she divorced her husband because he had affairs with other women: "he enjoyed a happy life - girls and drinking alcohol. He was a failure".

She then moved to Conception in the Mantaro Valley with her children. There, she became involved with a school organization as a leader of the parents association. They fought with a director of the school because "he was a corrupt man" and managed to force him to leave. The new director was a good man because he worked in coordination with the parents' association and together they bought land for the construction of the school. She decided to go back to Descanso after her father died and her children studied in the school there. She accepted the presidency of the school association because "If in Concepcion I did something why not in my own town". They constructed the school with enormous effort and received support from parents, families and the local government. They bought lands and diverse propriety. Initially, the children studied in the office of the local municipality. After that, she was elected president of the water committee. She coordinated with the government and achieved the installation of domestic water for half of the community. From 1980 she started to participate in a mother's club as a member because she needed food for her children. There she got to know a nurse who said to her "Epigenia, you are an energetic woman - we need land for the medical post. Why don't you organize an association to achieve this goal?" She achieved this with support from diverse institutions, including the Women's Association of the Mantaro Valley (called *Yachaqmama).* It was formed by women leaders from different towns around the region who had meetings in Huancayo. Reflecting on her experience she maintains: "we are poor but through poverty we learn to do things well, for we will not be discriminated anymore. We must self educate for progress, if not we will never escape our situation".

Later she visited Nicaragua as a leader of National Confederation of Women Farmers of Peru. There was an international meeting marking 500 years of indigenous resistance. There she got to know Rigoberta Menchu, winner of the Nobel peace prize. She told her about her experience in organizations. This was at the time of the terrorism. She recalls "the violence was very hard, we could not sleep safely. We had to sleep

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[12] The method is generated in interaction and dialogue with informants in the field (Brettell; 526 in Russell, 1998). It can be "negotiated and contested; forgotten, suppressed, or recovered; revised, invented, or reinvented" (Climo, 2002:5).

outside at home. People were murdered, and we didn't have authorities, and so we organized *rondas campesinas*". She was elected president. "I did not forget that men had been too afraid to be elected leaders. They said we will protect you. You won't be killed because you are a woman". But her secretary of economy, Ricardina Romero, was killed by the *Sendero Luminoso.* Later she went to Lima for a national parade as the first *rondera.* "When we paraded in the avenue I stopped and gave the president of the Republic, Fujimori, a memorandum with a list of needs of my town. The police were nervous but after only a few seconds I returned to my line".

Now, she continues with this office. "Even when there is no internal war, the organization achieves goals of development and progress, for instance; to make illiterate people learn, to educate society". In the most recent municipality elections she was elected as a registrar (*regidor)* and given responsibility for health, parks and transport. "It was very hard because we must learn to manage the budget and that is very difficult". She organized the municipal transport. "We fought with the private company. It provided a bad service". Simultaneously, she is member of communal farmers association where "the life is traditional. The people work together between laughs and jokes. We are more women than men but in the decisions men win. I cry because we need more participation. The community is not like the city, sometimes women are excluded". She assists in trainings, sometimes neglecting her family. But she does not regret this because they learn very fast: "our children must be better than us".

This life history illustrates formation of values, goals and perceptions of resources. It reveals how the experience of wellbeing is transformed, reproduced and constructed through time. It also furnishes fourteen instances of how one woman participated in different forms of collective action in order to convert values and goals into resources and wellbeing. WeDQoL goals reflected in her testimony include the following: peacefulness (neither delinquency nor violence); to progress; clean and nice neighbourhood; marriage; children; education for children; Health and nutrition; work with salary; and to be professional. Resources include: get help and migration. Values include: to be professional; to give help to people; to be responsible and to work hard. In summary, there are values and goals of life which provide incentives to mobilise resources and generate emotions of satisfaction and fulfilment. Institutions provide a space where people achieve these. They are embedded in culture and have multiple dimensions (material, social, symbolic). The combination of elements as much as each one on its own contributes to wellbeing or illbeing

## 6.5 CONCLUSIONS

We considered at the beginning how different theories are able to explain the purpose and evolution of institutions. It would appear that discipline specific theories are limited in explaining the relationship between institutions and wellbeing. We have demonstrated that wellbeing is generated through the relationships between goals, resources, and values inside institutions. Studying events like *faenas* and *fiestas*, these relationships can be explored and demonstrated. Life goals are important to understanding institutions, and other theories need to be reinterpreted in this light. Institutions emerge and relate to wellbeing goals and resource perception. The happiest moments are the privileged events expressed by these relationships. In this way, wellbeing is a whole experience expressed in the connection of goals, resources and values where institutions are a space for their achievement. These points have been demonstrated through case studies of the relationship between collective action and wellbeing.

Reflecting back on the literature, I conclude that the thesis of Polanyi (about the separation of institutions in the early phases of capitalism) most closely resonates with these experiences in Peru. This is because the institutions operate as a whole rather than acting independently. That is clear in the rural context where people have experiences with diverse institutions as part of their everyday life.  Furthermore, in the city, the associations are involved in markets and provide space or scope for achievement of other goals such as that of education or health. Along with this institutionalisation comes the process of habitualisation described by Berger and Luckmann.

## Appendix 6.1 Summary of collective action activities observed by field investigators in the selected research cites.[13]

| Main field | Specific activities | Lead agency | LI | LJ | S | A | D | P | N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1. Agriculture, land, environment, and natural resources** | House improvement | CENCA | | | | | | | X |
| | Irrigation management | Irrgn committees | | | | | X | | |
| | Land management | Communal assn | | | | X | X | | |
| | Reforestation | Min of Ag | X | | | X | | | |
| | Reforestation + ag. extension | Caritas (NGO) | X | X | | X | | X | |
| | Secure land titles | Neighbourhood groups | | | | | | X | |
| **2. Business development** | Business loans | My Bank | | | | | | | X |
| | Business loans & training | EDPYME Confianza | | | | | | | X |
| | Market services | Trader's assns | | | | | X | | X |
| | Producer/craft groups | Self-help | | | | | X | | X |
| | Rep. to council | Informal trade assns | | | | | | | X |
| | Savings and loans | Metropolitan Savings Bank | | | | | | | X |
| | Self-regulate+promote | Transport Assn. | | | | | | | X |
| | Self-regulate+promote | Taxi drivers assns. | | | | | | | X |
| | Training, group credit | ADEIH | | | | | | | X |
| **3. Culture** | Folklore | Folklore assn. | | | | | X | | X |
| | Heritage conservation | National Cultural Institute | | | | | | | X |
| | Religious worship | Churches (various) | X | | | X | X | X | X |
| | Seasonal fiestas | Carnival assns | | | | | X | | |
| | Sports activities | e.g. football club | | | | | X | | |
| **4. Education** | Adult literacy | UGEL Literacy | | | | | X | | |
| | Adult literacy | Education Assn. | | | | | | | X |
| | Pre-school - secondary | Min of Edn | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| | Youth promotion | Youth Assn. | | | | | | | X |
| **5. Health** | Health campaigns | IDEAS | | | | | | | X |
| | Hospital+campaigns | MoH | | | | | | | X |
| | Nutrition education | Caritas | | X | | | | | |
| | Primary+pharmacy | Parish clinics | | | | | | | X |
| | Primary+vaccinations | MoH posts | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| **6. Nutrition** | Food distribution | Caritas | | X | | | | | |
| | Food for work | PRONAA | | | | | X | | |
| | Glass of milk | PRONAA/Council | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| | Popular canteens | Women's clubs | | X | | | | | X |
| | Pre-school care | Wawa Wasi | | | | | | | X |
| | Pre-school snacks | PRONAA/Various | X | X | X | X | | X | X |
| | School breakfast | PRONAA/Various | X | X | X | | X | | X |
| **7. Security, law and order, politics, planning and administration** | Combat terrorism | Army / Rondas | | | | X | | | |
| | Crime reduction | Police / council | | | | | X | | X |
| | Justice | Local judge | | | | | X | X | X |
| | Projects+advocacy | Assn of founders/Lima emigrants | | X | | | X | | X |
| | Projects+planning | Local councils and committees | | | | | X | X | X |
| | Represent govt | Governor's office | | X | | X | X | X | |
| | Security+advocacy | Neighbourhood groups | | | | | X | X | X |
| **8. Social action, including social and community development** | Child rights advocacy | Manitas Unidas (NGO) | | | | | | X | |
| | Child rights advocacy | Every child (NGO) | | | | | X | | |
| | Fight against poverty | PROPOLI | | | | | | | X |
| | Income generating activities | Caritas | | X | | | | | |
| | Mutual support, IG activities | Mothers' Clubs | | | | | | | X |
| | Support+advocacy for disabled | Local council | | | | | X | | |
| **9. Utilities and infrastructure** | Cable TV | Cable Vision | | | | | | | X |
| | Electricity supply | Southern Light | | | | | | | X |
| | Electricity supply | Electricity Board | | | | | X | | |
| | Electrification | Neighbourhood groups | | | | | | X | |
| | Land phones | Telefonica | | | | | | | X |
| | Road improvement | Local council | X | | | | | | X |
| | Road/bridge upgrading | Ad hoc group | | | | | X | | |
| | Waste/cleaning | Local council | | | | | | | X |
| | Water and sewerage | SEDAPAL | | | | | | | X |
| | Water, drainage & other projects | Neighourhood groups | | | | | X | X | X |
| | Water/sewerage projects | Local council | X | | | | | | X |

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[13] N=Nuevo Lugar, P=Progreso, D=Descanso, A=Alegria, LJ=Llajta Jock, LI=Llajta Iskay, S=Selva Manta. The table is based on more comprehensive data collected in Nov/Dec 2004 and available in English in the accompanying Excel spreadsheet.

Appendix 6.2. Individual goals identified through the ECB by site

| | LL | LJ | A | D | P | N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Affection/caring | | | X | | | |
| Agriculture/crops/seeds | X | | X | X | | |
| Animals/livestock/cattle | X | | X | X | | |
| Being a professional | | | X | | | |
| Being sociable | | | X | | | |
| Business | | | | X | | X |
| Car | | | | | | X |
| Cattle | | X | | | | |
| Children's education | X | | | | X | X |
| Community | X | | X | X | | |
| Couple relationships | | | X | X | X | X |
| Desire to work outside district | | | | X | | |
| Farm equipment | | | | X | X | |
| Family/children | X | X | X | | X | X |
| Food | X | | X | | X | X |
| Friends | | | X | | | X |
| Furniture | | | | | | X |
| God | | | | | | X |
| Goodness | | | X | | | |
| Health | | | | | X | X |
| Health services | | | | | | X |
| Healthy environment | | | | | X | |
| House | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Household goods | X | X | X | | | X |
| Infrastructure/light/water | X | | X | X | X | X |
| Irrigation | X | | | | | |
| Labour | | X | | | | |
| Land/own land | X | X | X | X | | X |
| Local organisation | | | | | X | X |
| Marriage/spouse | X | X | X | | | |
| Mobility/transport | | | | | X | X |
| Money | | | X | | X | X |
| Neighbourhood relationships | | | | | X | |
| Pastures | X | | | | | |
| Paths | | | | | | X |
| Peace | | | | | | X |
| Recreational spaces | | | | | X | |
| Respectful | | | X | | | |
| Roads | | | | | | X |
| Room | | | | | | X |
| Security | | | | | X | |
| Shop | X | X | | | X | X |
| Small animals | | X | | | | |
| Social relationships | | | | X | | |
| Telephone | | | | | | X |
| Work | X | | X | | X | X |
| Working animals | | X | | | | |

Note: The items listed above all contributed significantly to one or more principal components in a factor analysis of all coded responses from all respondents. Similar lists are available for values, resources, happiest and unhappiest events.